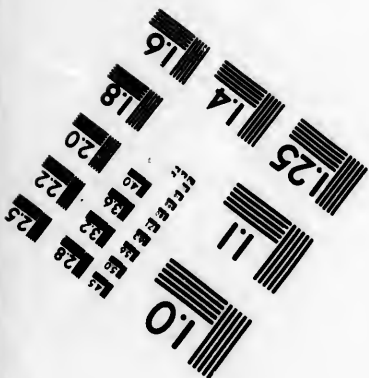
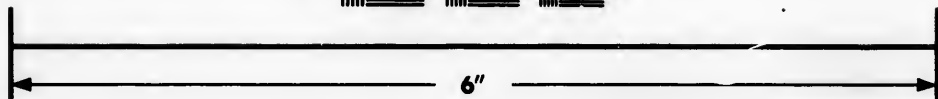
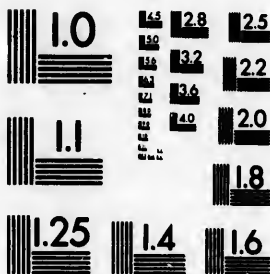


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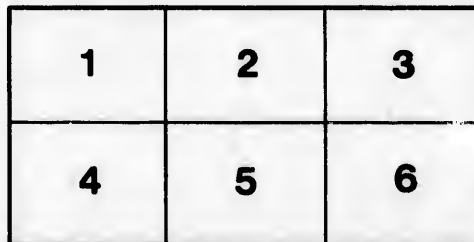
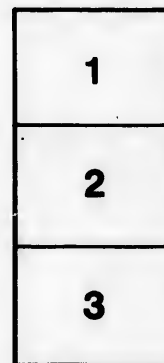
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The NATURAL and CIVIL  
**H I S T O R Y**  
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**FRENCH DOMINIONS**  
 I N  
**North and South America.**

With an Historical Detail of the ACQUISITIONS, and CONQUESTS, made by the  
**BRITISH ARMS** in those Parts.

Giving a particular Account of the

CLIMATE,		MANUFACTURES,
SOIL,		TRADE,
MINERALS,		COMMERCE,
ANIMALS,		AND
VEGETABLES,		LANGUAGES.

TOGETHER WITH

The Religion, Government, Genius, Character, Manners and  
 Customs of the INDIANS and other Inhabitants.

ILLUSTRATED BY

*Maps and Plans of the principal Places,*

Collected from the best Authorities, and engraved by

T. JEFFERYS, Geographer to his MAJESTY.

PART II. Containing

Part of the Islands of St. Domingo and St. Martin,

The Islands of

St. Bartholomew, Guadaloupe, Martinico, La Grenade,

AND

The Island and Colony of Cayenne.

L O N D O N :

Printed for T. JEFFERYS, at Charing-Cross; W. JOHNSTON, in Ludgate-street; J. RICHARDSON  
 in Pater-noster-Row; and B. LAW and Co. in Ave-Mary-Lane.

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# THE HISTORY OF THE

WEST INDIES

IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

BY SAMUEL JOHNSON

IN TWO VOLUMES

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THE HISTORY OF THE WEST INDIES

IN TWO VOLUMES

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IN TWO VOLUMES

THE HISTORY OF THE WEST INDIES

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To the Honourable MAJOR GENERAL

# BARRINGTON.

THIS Second Part of the Natural and Civil History of the *French Dominions in North and South America*, is most humbly dedicated as a respectful Memorial of the Service he has done to his King and Country, by the Reduction of the Islands of *La Desiderada Marigalante, Los Santos, and Guadaloupe*, the Description of which makes a principal Part of the Work.

By His most

Obedient

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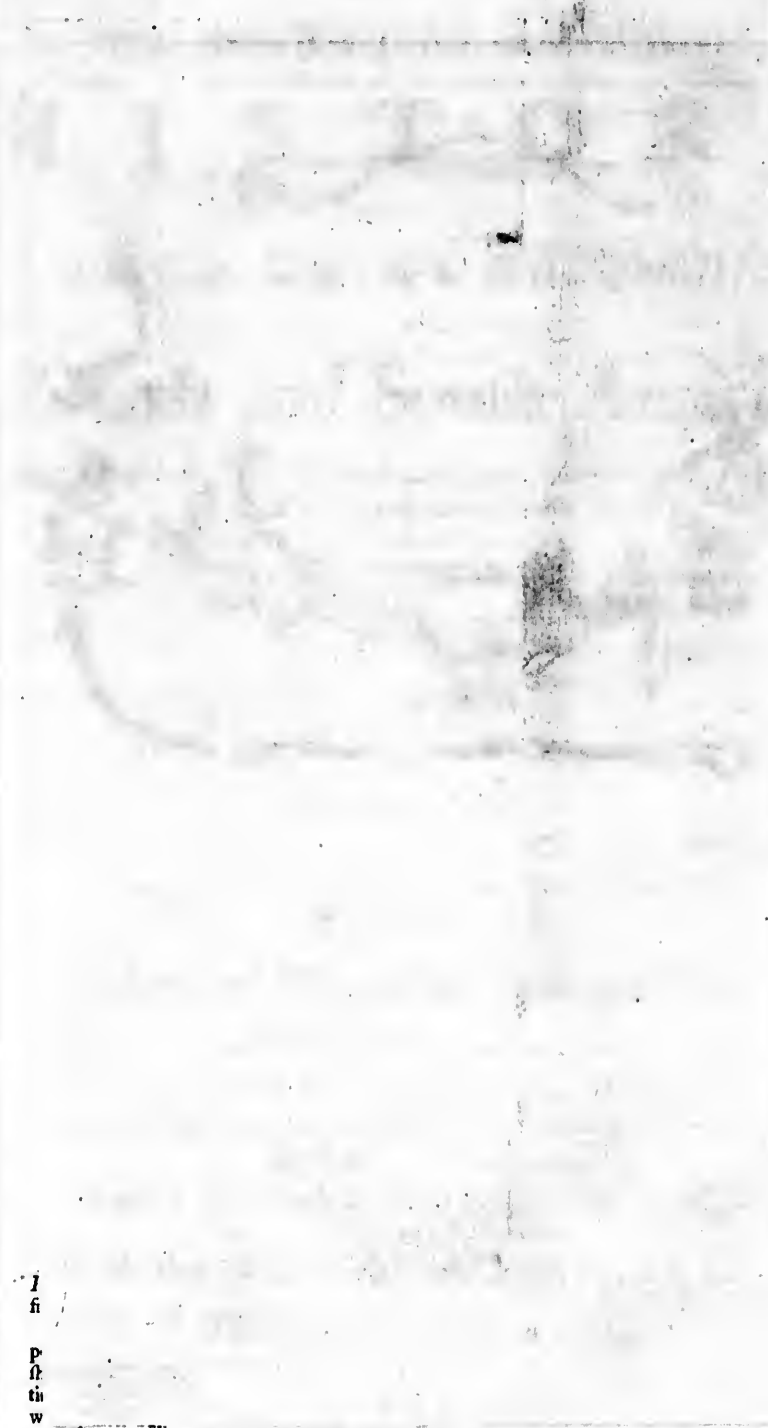
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Humble Servant,

THOMAS JEFFERYS.







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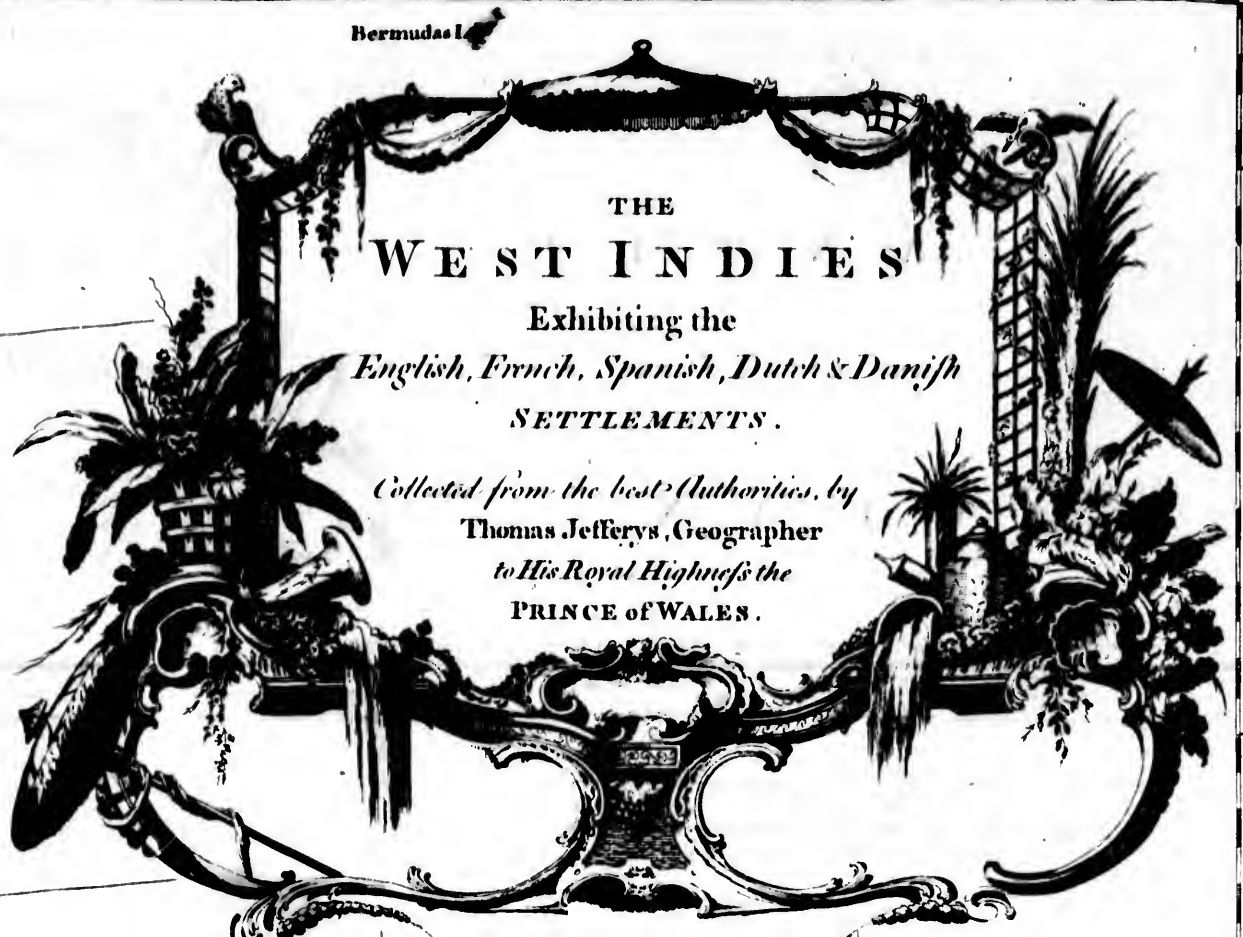
T I C

# THE WEST INDIES

Exhibiting the  
*English, French, Spanish, Dutch & Danish*  
SETTLEMENTS.

*Collected from the best Authorities, by*  
Thomas Jefferys, Geographer  
*to His Royal Highness the*  
PRINCE OF WALES.

A N



Island named  
Salvatore by Columbus  
in 1492.







72-55

West Longitude from London

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Published according to the Act by Tho: Jefferys Geographer to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales near Charing Cross.



*Account of the Discovery of the Antille Islands.*

ty. This tradition was so deeply rooted in the minds of the people, that several *Portuguese*, and perhaps *Spaniards*, either beggared themselves, or perished in attempting to find this island.

*Portuguese*  
story.

Some *Portuguese* authors add, that towards the middle of the fifteenth century, when the infant *Don Henry*, Count of *Viseo*, put all his country in motion to discover a new rout to the *Indies*, a *Portuguese* vessel was forced by a storm on the coast of the *Antille*, and that the Count being informed of this adventure, wanted to send back the pilot thither, who for fear of being obliged to undertake so long a voyage, especially as he had not carefully observed the course he steered in his return home, deserted his country. Now as *Columbus* was too well read not to be acquainted with all the written traditions relating to this matter, he was likewise too inquisitive to be ignorant of those that were merely oral.

Traditions  
confirmed by  
observations.

These traditions and reports, with some other of the same import, were confirmed by observing that the waves, after a western wind, often threw on the coasts of the *Madeira*, *Canary*, and *Azore* islands, pieces of wood and reeds of an unknown species, and even dead bodies, which, as it was apparent by many signs, did not belong to *Europe* or *Africa*. For considering that the winds blow more generally from the east than the west in high latitudes, if these bodies came from lands at the distance west from *Europe*, where the *Indies* were supposed to terminate, they could not possibly have any marks of distinction.

*Antilles* why  
so called.

After the foregoing account of the first discovery of the *Antilles*, or *West Indies*, or the motives which induced *Columbus* to attempt it, we need not say much to account for their etymology. To obtain the former name, it was sufficient that they were found pretty near the spot where the old geographers had placed their *Antille*; and to be honoured with the latter, the constant opinion of *Columbus* and others till the *Pacific Ocean* was discovered, that the continent of *America* was nothing but a continuation of the *Indies*, was sufficient. Some indeed would derive the word *Antilles* from the Greek particle *ἀντι*, and others from the *Latin*, *ante*, as expressing, according to the former, islands opposite to the continent, or, according to the latter, islands in the way to the continent; but the first derivation from the ancient *Tbule* seems to be the most natural.

Why named  
*W. Indies*.

These islands lie between the 10th and 28th degrees of latitude, and the 59th and 84th degrees of longitude West from *London*, and 42 and 67 degrees West from *Ferro*. They are generally divided into the *Great* and *Little Antilles*. The *Great Antilles* are but four, which are *Cuba*, *Hispaniola* or *St Domingo*, *Jamaica*, and *St John* or *Portorico*; but the *Little Antilles* are many in number. The winds, which in these seas blow constantly from the east, or within a few degrees of it, have given room to another division by the *Spaniards*, a great deal more in use than the former, tho' as yet geographers are not well agreed in dividing them by it. According to this system, the most easterly islands are called the *Windward Islands*, and the others the *Leeward Islands*; or, to keep to the *Spanish* names made use of by all ancient authors, the first are called the islands of *Sotto Vento*, and the others, the islands of *Barlo Vento*. Some ancient maps give the first name to such only, as compose a chain of little islands near the *Terra Firma*, between the mouth of the great river *Oronoco*, and that of the lake *Maracaibo*, among which are the islands *Cubagua*, formerly called the *Isle of Pearls*, and *Curacao*, or *Coracol*; but it appears at present, that the islands of *Sotto Vento* begin with the island of *Santa Cruz*, and that all those to the south of *Santa Cruz* are known by the name of *Barlo Vento* islands. Perhaps, it would have been much more reasonable, to divide the *Antilles* according to the different characters of their original inhabitants, of which some were *Carribeans*, or *Cannibals*, a fierce and anthropophagous generation; and the rest, who had no particular name, were remarkably mild and peaceable, and detested the practice that prevailed among the others, of feeding on human flesh.

Other deno-  
minations.

The FRENCH ANTILLES are

<p>Part of St DOMINGO. La Tortue or Tortuga. La Gonave. Isle à Vache. St BARTHOLEM EW. Part of St MARTIN.</p>	<p>GUADELOUPE. La Desfrade. (Desert.) Marie-Galante. Les Saintes. MARTINICO. Becouya or Little Martinico. Desert. Les Grenadins or Grenadilles. Des. La GRENAD E.</p>
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*Santa Cruz* was sold by the *French* to the *Danes* about the year 1733, for 75,000*l.* sterl.

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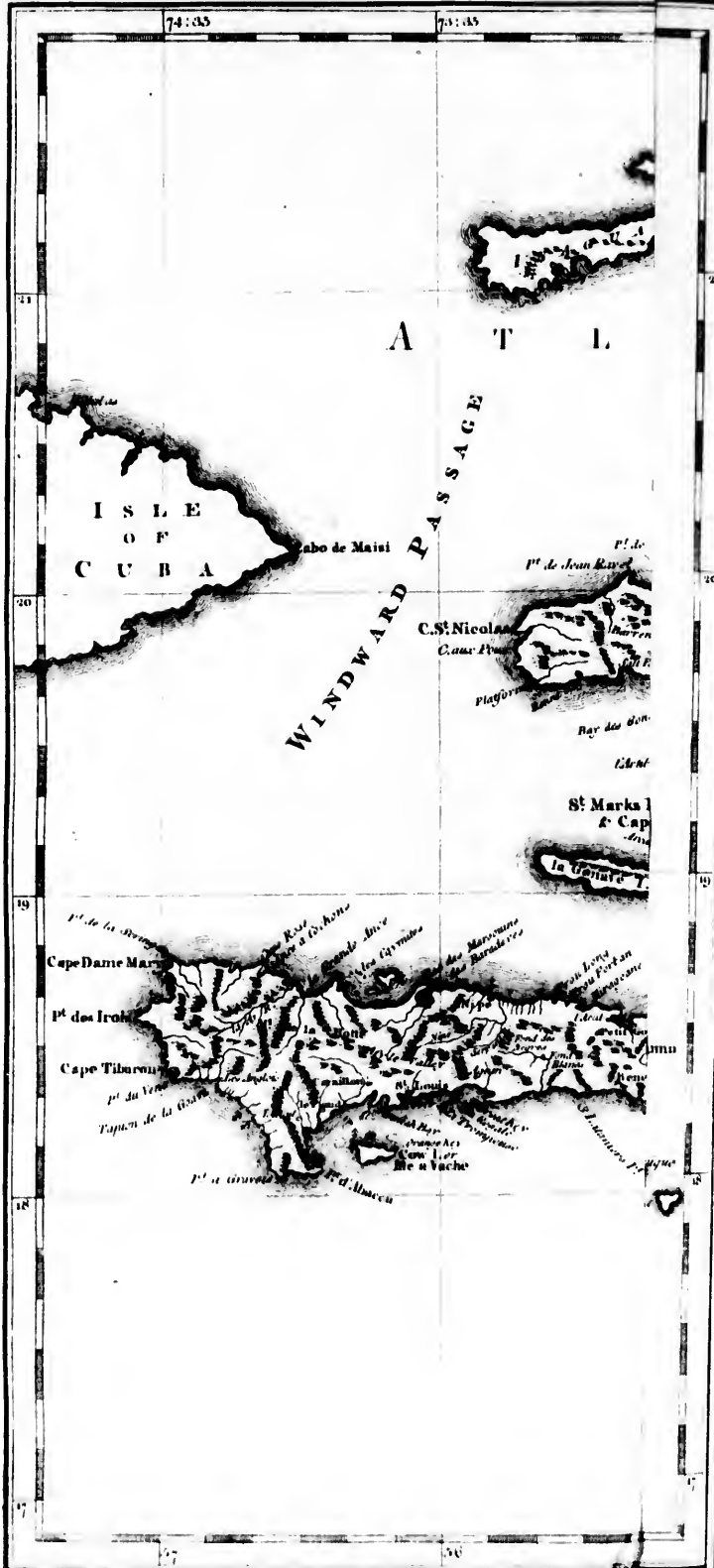
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*Description of HISPANIOLA, or St DOMINGO; also of Tortuga, La Go-  
nave, and Isle a Vache.*

THIS island is, next to *Cuba*, the chief in extent of the *Antilles*; but, in point of importance, is superior to them all. Hence it first drew, or in a manner engrossed, all the attention of the *Spaniards* who discovered these islands; nor could any other island enable them to make solid establishments in countries separated from all others, then known, by so great an extent of ocean. And it may be truly said, that this island has proved the mother of all the *Spanish* colonies in the new world. Island of Hispaniola. Its impor- tance.

Its first inhabitants called it *Quisqueia*, and *Haiti*: The first of these names signifies a large country, and the second a mountainous one; but the island has lost both, by changing its masters; for, at present, it is never mentioned by any other names, than those we have given it. Primitive names.

*Columbus*, from some resemblance he fancied between it and *Spain*, called it *Spanish Island*, and the generality of *Spanish* authors give it no other name, but that and *Espagnola*, both which have been latinized into the diminutive *Hispaniola*. The name of *St Domingo* it owes to the *French*, who called it so after its capital *San Domingo*. We must not confound *St Domingo*, with another of the *Antilles*, named *Dominica*, from its being discovered on a *Sunday*, called *Dies Dominica* in the *Roman* ritual. Modern 'ap- pellation. Dominica isle why so called.

If we may believe *Dom Peter Martyr d'Anglerie*, this island was first peopled by *Savages*, who came thither from *Martinico*, otherwise called *Matinino*, and astonished at its extent, immediately concluded it was the largest country in the world, and called it *Quisqueia*, from the word *Quisquey*, which, in their language, signified *all*. After this, on observing the long ridges of mountains, which take up almost all the heart of the country, and reach many of them from one end to the other, they called it *Haiti*, which signifies a rugged mountainous country. At last they found among these mountains, some that pretty much resembled those of their own island, which in their native language was named *Cipangi*, whence they gave the new discovered island the name of *Cipanga*. The island is 160 leagues in length from East to West; its mean breadth from North to South is 30 leagues; and its circumference, measured by tracing the coast, may amount to near 600 leagues. Whence peo- pled. Its extent.

Its situation, with respect to the rest of the *Antilles*, is the most advantageous imaginable, as it stands, you may say, in the center of this great cluster of islands, and looks as if intended by nature to give laws to them. The other three *Great Antilles*, especially, lie in such a manner, as to prove its superiority, and their own dependance; for it has three points of land, corresponding respectively to each island. *Cape Tiberon*, the land's end to the South West, is but 30 leagues from *Jamaica*. There are but 18 between *Portorico* and *Cape Espada*, its easternmost point; and 12 between *Cuba* and *Mole St Nicolas* to the North West. It is besides surrounded with a multitude of scattered isles, which are as so many ornaments to set it off, and are besides capable of being rendered beneficial to it. The most considerable are *la Saona*, *la Beata*, *Sainte Catherine*, *Altavela*, *l'Isle Avache*, *la Gonave* and *Tortuga*, besides *la Navazza*, and *la Mona*, the first of which lies 10 leagues from *Cape Tiberon* towards *Jamaica*, and the second halfway between *Cape Espada* and *Portorico*. Situation.

Moreover, bounteous nature seems to have been as careful to provide for the safety of this island, as for its convenience and dignity. It is encompassed by numbers of rocks, which render it not easy of access. The North shore especially is bordered with shoals and little islands so very low, that it would be the height of imprudence to venture among them, without a thorough knowledge of their position. Difficult of access.

The air of this island, as well as of the rest of the *Antilles*, and indeed of all islands situated between the tropics, is not near so warm as one would at first be apt to conclude; and so far from being dry, that you find it moist to the last degree. Its tempera- ture.

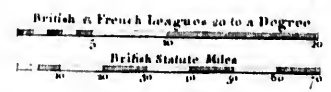
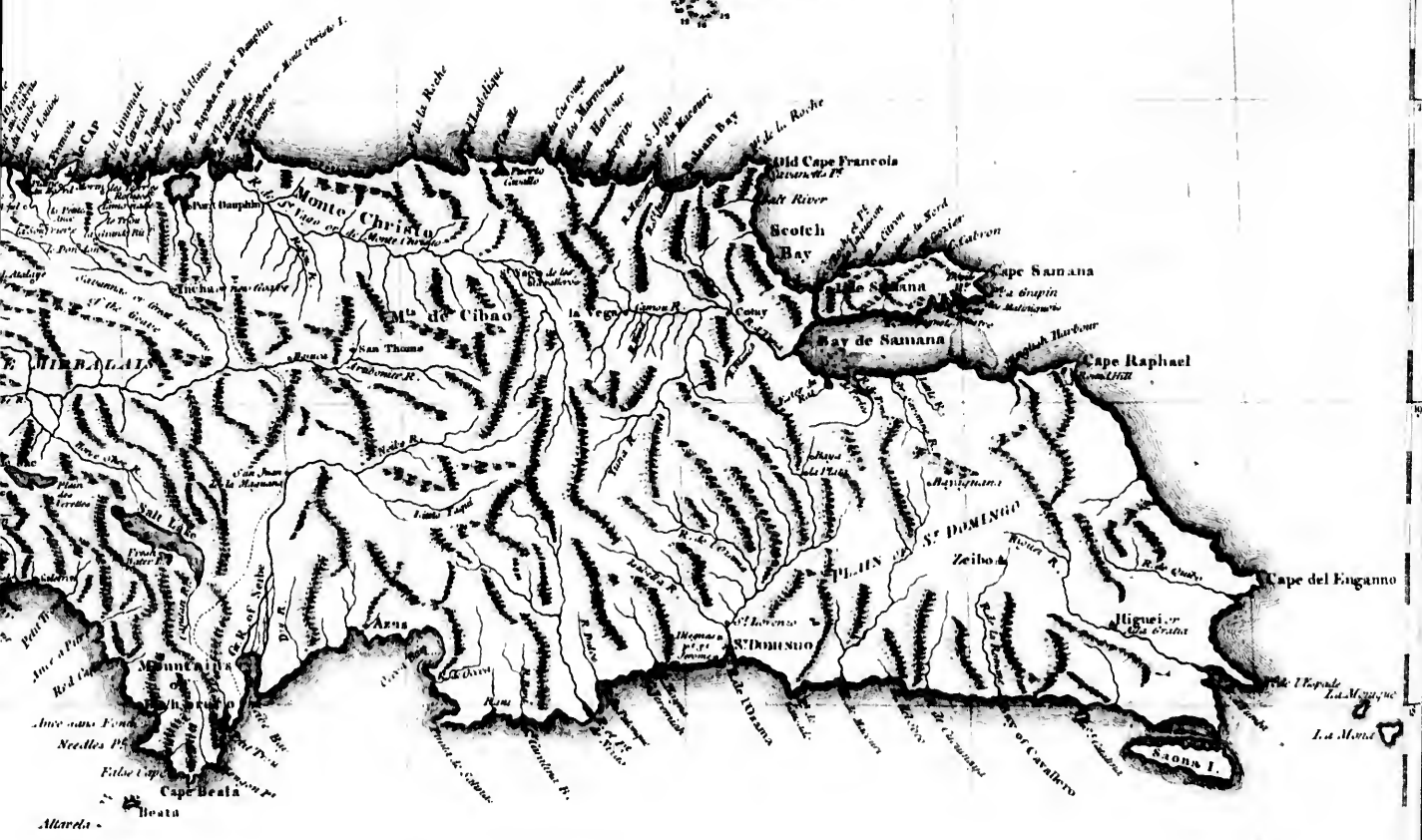
Its temperature, in point of heat, is owing to certain winds, which blow constantly from East to West, from about 9 or 10 in the morning till near sun-set, and in the night time from the land towards the sea. The first of these winds must be attributed to the diurnal rotation of the globe from East to West; and the second, to the superior solidity of earth above that of water, in consequence of which, the heat received by the former in the day time becomes permanent, whereas the heat received by the water immediately rises into the atmosphere, with such particles of water as it has seized, in form of a very subtil: vapour. By this means, the surface of the land must be much warmer at the Of heat whence.



The ISLAND of  
**HISPANIOLA**  
called by the FRENCH  
**ST. DOMINGO.**  
*Subject to*  
**FRANCE & SPAIN,**  
from  
*the best Authorities by*  
**Thomas Jefferys, Geographer**  
*to His Royal Highness the*  
**PRINCE of WALES.**



T I C O C E A N



## A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

the approach of night, than that of the sea, and therefore communicate to the superincumbent air an extraordinary quantity of heat, so as to rarify it, and make it flow towards the sea, where the air is cooler, less elastic, and therefore ready to give it admittance. This theory is confirmed by observing, that the night is calmer in the inland parts of the island than on the coasts. And this is not the only advantage the coasts have over the inland parts, for when the latter have spent all the heat they received in the day time, they remain so long without a new recruit, on account of the circumjacent mountains, which so interrupt the sun's rays, that the inhabitants are often under a necessity of making fires to supply their absence.

Of moisture how caused.

As to the moisture of these intra-tropical climates, it is plainly owing to the perpendicular direction of the sun's rays on the vast surface of water within their sphere of action, and the volubility of this element, in consequence of which it is impossible that the atmosphere should not be constantly replete with a moist vapour, ready to resolve itself into rain or dew, on its meeting with any bodies capable of condensing it. These bodies are, on land, chiefly hills and mountains, which, by presenting a greater surface to the sun's rays than any horizontal section of them would do, must be struck by a smaller quantity of them in proportion, and even reflect into the circumjacent plains most of those that strike them in this manner.

Its good and bad effects.

But whatever may be the causes of this moisture, and of the dews and rains produced by it, both which serve to soften and fertilize the land, and the latter especially to refresh the air, their other effects are very mischievous. It is no easy matter to keep meat in this climate for so small a time as twenty four hours, and the dead must be buried when the breath has scarce left their bodies. Most fruits pulled ripe immediately rot; and those which have been pulled before they are quite ripe, are scarce more lasting. Bread, unless baked as hard as biscuit, grows mouldy in two or three days. Most wines turn sour in a very short time. Iron utensils, scowered in the morning, are rusty before night; and it requires the greatest care to keep rice, *Indian* corn, and bean seed, from one year to another. In short, it is computed that there often falls more rain here in a week, than in *Paris* in a whole year.

Difference of the weather in *St. Domingo*, & its causes.

One of the most surprising peculiarities of this island, is the great variety of soils that compose its surface; for we can ascribe to nothing else the great difference in point of weather, between parts of it which are even contiguous. Thus some spots shall scarce ever be free from rain, while the adjoining are almost perpetually dry, the clouds stopping short the moment they reach their borders, and just detaching a few vapours, which produce some drops, and immediately disappear.

Cause of the difference between the N. and S. parts.

There is also a great difference in respect of weather, between the North and South coasts of the island; for, in some seasons of the year, while one side is deluged with constant rains, and shook with thunder, the other shall be free from both, or rather in the greatest want of the former. But this difference may be accounted for by the sun's lying sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other of the mountains, which advance into the air between the two coasts, intercept the sun's rays, and condense the clouds driven against them. What serves greatly to confirm this theory, is, that this difference in the weather is chiefly, if not only, sensible during the six months that the sun is on the North side of the line, when the difference between the direction of the sun's rays with regard to the two coasts, as the island lies between the line and the tropic of *Cancer*, must be much greater in proportion than during the other half year. Hence little thunder is heard in this island till the sun is declined so far north, as to be within as many degrees of the island, as the island itself is of the adjoining tropic.

Clear air and bright nights with causes.

Though the weather is so very moist here, the air is however very clear, as the vapours raised by the excessive heat remain but a very short time in that state where they become visible in the form of clouds. For the same reason, a day seldom passes without sunshine, and the stars and moon in cloudless nights give light enough, the former to travel by, and the latter for reading the smallest characters, sometimes forming rainbows. But this extraordinary light afforded by the moon, must be attributed in a great measure to the more direct incidence of her rays upon the atmosphere, in their passage to those parts of the globe that lie within her orbit, and consequently their reaching them in greater numbers, than where many of them, on account of their obliquity, are lost to us by reflection. But it is not so easy to give a reason why the stars at or near the zenith should be here visible at noon day, as we are told by *Charlevoix*; since the same causes which render them more brilliant here than elsewhere, having the same effect upon

the sun, it seems equally eclipsed.

To this little part of the island they call winter, in the heart of the island, last to us in their spring or autumn.

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the sun, it seems but reasonable to conclude that the superior light of the sun should equally eclipse that of the stars.

To this little conformity, however, that is to be found between the weather in different parts of the island, must be ascribed the disagreement between the inhabitants in what they call winter and summer. Those who live in the western and southerly districts, and in the heart of the country, give the name of winter to the season in which storms infect the island, lasting from *April to November*. Those on the northern coast come nearer to us in their distinction of the seasons, tho' few of either quarter have any notion of a spring or autumn.

Difference in reckoning of seasons.

Some indeed, who are more attentive to what happens, divide the year in the following manner: Winter, they say, begins with *November* and ends with *February*. During this interval, the evenings and mornings are in some degree cold, vegetables grow but slowly, and plants receive but little nourishment, tho' it be the season for heavy rains. These circumstances are often the cause of a murrain among cattle. Spring follows, and lasts till *May*; nature at this period, seems to revive; the meadows put on a new livery; the sap rises in trees; plants produce flowers, which perfume the air with their sweets. The drought that succeeds, and puts an end to all these charms, is but too exact a picture of summer, for it is a summer of the torrid zone. This season lasts till the end of *August*. To conclude, the storms, which after some interruption now again begin to discharge their fury, from the wane of the *August* moon to the month of *November*, give this quarter some resemblance to our autumn.

Division of seasons.

From what has been said, it follows, that a man must have a very good constitution, and besides live very soberly, or else have been naturalized to this climate, to have a chance of living long in it. Hence very few *Europeans*, after having spent some years in this colony, find not their strength considerably impaired. The heat by its constancy insensibly, undermines the most vigorous bodies, unaccustomed to it, and dries up by little and little, what the physicians call the radical moisture, there being no winter for nature to repair the forces lost by an immoderate perspiration. Hence the florid colour of the face loses its brightness, and the stomach a great part of its natural heat. Hence the blood drawn by venesection, even by way of precaution, appears quite livid, an indiscreet bleeding is sufficient to bring on a dropsy, and the inhabitants, when heated, have not that greediness for cooling liquors remarkable in those of more temperate regions, but rather seek after what will cherish warmth. Hence, in short, it is, that people grow old before the time, and that children born of *European* parents are not so strong or perfect in their bodily frame as others, and that such numbers die in their infancy.

Inconveniences of Hispaniola.

But a great part of these evils is owing to the little care people in general take of their health, and to excesses of debauchery or labour. Besides, in proportion as the *Creeles* are more remote from their *European* extraction, they become less subject to these inconveniencies. The ancient islanders enjoyed good health, and were long lived; the *Negroes* here are stout and strong, and enjoy a constant state of good health, as well as the descendants of the *Spaniards* settled here two hundred years ago. Nay, it is no uncommon thing to see people among them 120 years old. In short, if people grow old here sooner than elsewhere, they continue old longer than elsewhere, without feeling the inconveniencies of extreme old age.

Much owing to the excesses of the inhabitants.

It was observed that the difference of the weather in some measure, at least in different parts of this island, was owing to the difference in soils, of which, indeed, there is here every variety of kind and colour. The most esteemed is of a dusky black, a little intermixed with sand, which serves to make it light, friable, and porous. But there is no land, or very little, that may not be turned to some account. One half of the island consists of mountains, but these mountains may be cultivated to their very tops, and none of them can be called barren, except a few very steep, and of an extraordinary height; those, for instance, in the neighbourhood of *Cape Tibron*, from whose lofty summits, *Charlevoix* says, *St Martha* may be seen, tho' 180 leagues distant. Some on the coasts serve for dikes to check the fury of the waves, and woe to those ships that a gust of wind should happen to force upon shores without banks, where nothing is to be seen but lofty rocks, rising perpendicularly out of the water, and forming what for that reason are justly called *Cotes de fer*, or iron coasts: Such in particular is that shore, whose whole eastern extremity terminates at *Cape Francois*, thence named, and western reaches to *Port de L'Acuil*.

Difference of soils.

Mountains of a prodigious height.



Mines and  
quarries.

There is no island in the world, as yet discovered, where such rich mines of gold have been found. There are not wanting also mines of silver, copper, and iron, besides others of talc, rock-crystal, antimony, tinglafs, brimstone, and pitcoal; quarries of white marble and jasper, and many other kinds of stone. The commonest are *ierre à feu*, or sap-stones, some of which are as white as crystal, with sharp points like a diamond, which they also resemble by their brightness, and even hardness, since they cut glafs. There are likewise pumice stones, hones, and what is called the eye-stone, (in *Latin Umbilicus marinus*) on account of its virtue in purging the eyes of any filth that might have entered them.

Salt-pits and  
mountains.

There are natural salt pits in many places along the coast, and mineral salt in a mountain near the Lake *Xaragua*, much harder and more corrosive than sea-salt, the breaches of which, it is said, are not to be repaired in less than a year. *Oviedo* adds, that the whole mountain is but one mass of very good salt, as bright as crystal, and no ways inferior to that of *Catolonia*.

Other con-  
siderable ad-  
vantages.

If to all these advantages, we add another that is universally allowed, namely, the prodigious multiplication of useful animals transported from *Europe*, and in consequence of which, a sheep has been often sold for a real, a cow for a castellan, and the finest horse for three or four: If we consider besides the quantity and variety of precious goods to be mentioned hereafter, which this island could supply were it sufficiently inhabited; if we reflect in the last place, that no country in the world produces more delicious fruits, roots, and other esculent vegetables, or a greater variety of them, we cannot but allow, that there is no great exaggeration in the praises bestowed upon it by the *Spaniards*, and especially *Oviedo*, who spent the best part of his life in this isle.

Hurricanes.

The seas hereabouts are generally calm, the reason of which is evident from what has been said of the winds that prevail here. But like some persons hard to put in a passion, and whose transports are as furious, as they are rare; when it grows angry, it is very terrible. It breaks over its bounds, deluges the country, carries off every thing that opposes it, and leaves every where it passes the most shocking marks of its fury. It is after these storms, known by the name of *Hurricanes*, that the shores of *St Domingo* and the other *Antilles* are covered with shells, which greatly surpass in beauty and brilliancy the finest of *Europe*.

Rivers.

This island is intersected by a prodigious number of rivers, but few of them are better than torrents, or very rapid rivulets. The waters are every where very wholesome, and even salutary, but so cold and piercing, that they ought to be drank with great caution; and, as for bathing, it is very dangerous to make use of them for that purpose. We are told that there are fifteen of them as broad as the *Cbarente* at *Roche fort*, exclusive of the six principal ones. These six are the *Ozama*, whose mouth forms the port of *San Domingo*; the *Neyva*, which has nothing remarkable, but the great number of channels by which it falls into the sea, and labours under one very great inconvenience, namely, that of often shifting its bed; the *Macoris*, which is the most navigable river of the island, and the best supplied with fish, but then its course is very short; the *Yagui*, or river of *Monte Christo*, at whose source there has been discovered a fine gold mine, of which it every where shews samples intermixed with its sand; the *Yuna*, which is very rapid, and rises at a place where there is a very rich copper-mine; and, lastly, the *Hattibonite*, commonly called the *Artibonite*, which is the most considerable in length and breadth amongst them all. Of these six rivers, the three first empty themselves into the sea on the South, the next on the North, the fifth on the East, and the last on the West coast.

Lake of *Cal*  
*de Sac*.

Near the town of \* *Cal de Sac* is a lake, or pool of the same name, of an irregular form, whose greatest length exceeds not 4 leagues, and its breadth is but one and a half, and in many places much less. It extends from North-West to South-East, its waters are sweet but very insipid. To the East of this lake, is a plain known by the name of the *Plaine des Ferrettes*, about four leagues long, and terminated at both ends by mountains.

Plaine des *Fer-*  
*rettes*.

The breadth of this plain, which is but 3 leagues, separates Lake *Cal de Sac* from another which is larger, and called by the *Spaniards*, *Riguille*, and by the *French*, *Etang Salé* or the *Salt Lake*. This second lake is 8 leagues long from East-South-East to West-North-West, and lies to the East of the *Plaine des Ferrettes*; the greatest breadth is but two leagues. Its waters, tho' called salt, are scarce more than brackish, these lakes are full of crocodiles. It is commonly thought that the *Salt Lake* has a communication with the sea; but this

Salt Lake.

supposition

\* Any place which has no passage is a *Cal de Sac*, and signifies if literally translated the bottom of a bay.

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supposition is altogether needless, since the great number of salt mines in the neighbouring mountains sufficiently account for the brackishness of its waters.

Four leagues distance from the last lake, is another about a league in circumference, which in times of great rain overflows its banks, and unites with the lake next to it. This little lake lies between the mountains *de la Beata*, called by the *Spanish* authors, mountains of the *Baoruco*. These lakes thus united we may suppose to be the Lake *Xaragua* described by *Oviedo*.

*Xaragua lake*

When the *Spaniards* discovered this island, they found it divided into five distinct kingdoms, perfectly independent of one another; there were indeed some petty princes who did homage to no other, and were called *Caciques*.

Island entirely divided.

The first of these five kingdoms was called *Magua*, which signifies the kingdom of the plain. It comprehended what has been since named the *Vega Real*; or at least contained the middle and best part of that district.

*Magua kingdom.*

*La Vega Real* is a plain 80 leagues long, and ten where broadest. *Bartelemy de las Casas*, who lived a long time on the spot, assures us that it is watered by thirty thousand rivers, of which twelve are as large as the *Ebro* and *Guadalquivir*. The rest are no better than torrents and insignificant rivulets. Twenty five thousand of these rivers spring from a long ridge of mountains on the Eastern border of this district, and most of them roll down gold intermixed with their sand; for this country lies near the famous mines of *Cibao*; these mines however did not belong to the kingdom of *Magua*, whose king at the arrival of the *Spaniards* was called *Guarionex*. This prince's capital stood on the same spot of ground, where the *Spaniards* afterwards built a very famous city, called *Conception de la Vega*.

*La Vega Real plain.*  
*Bartelemy de las Casas.*  
Well watered

Gold mines of *Cibao*.

*Conception de la Vega city.*  
*Marien kingdom.*

The second kingdom was that of *Marien*, *Bartelemy de las Casas* scruples not to say, that it was larger and more fruitful than *Portugal*. It contained all that part of the Northern coast, which extends from the Western extremity of the island, where *Cape St Nicolas* lies, to the river *Yague*, known at present by the name of *Monte Christo*, and contained all the Northern part of *la Vega Real*, now called the plain of *Cape Francois*. It was at *Cape Francois*, that *Goacanaric*, king of *Marien* resided; and it is from an abridgement of his name, that the *Spaniards* still call this port, *el Guaric*.

The third kingdom was called *Maguana*, and contained the province of *Cibao*, and almost all the course of the river *Hattibonito*, or *l'Artibonite*, the largest in the whole island. *Caonabo*, who reigned there, was a *Caribbean*, who came over to *Haiti* as an adventurer to seek his fortune: As he did not want understanding nor courage, he soon gained the esteem and respect of people, who were deficient in both these qualifications, whence he found it very easy to acquire a considerable territory among them. He generally resided at the town of *Maguana*, from whence his kingdom took its name. The *Spaniards* afterwards built another on the same spot under the name of *San Juan de la Maguana*, which is now in ruins. The *French* call the district, where it was seated, the *Savanna* of *San Ouan*. *Caonabo* was the most powerful monarch of the whole island, and seemed best to understand how to use his authority.

*Maguana kingdom.*

*Caonabo a famous monarch*

The kingdom of *Xaragua* was the fourth, and either owed, or gave its name to a pretty considerable lake, already mentioned. This kingdom comprehended all the Western, and great part of the Southern coast of the island. Its capital, called also *Xaragua*, stood on the same spot, where now stands the town of *Cul-de-Sac*. The inhabitants of this kingdom were handsomer than those of the rest; there was also a greater number of noble families among them. The people here, too, were more polite, in easier circumstances, and moreover spoke more elegantly than those in other parts of the island.

*Xaragua fourth kingdom.*

The fifth kingdom was the *Higuey*. It comprehended the Eastern part of the island, and was bordered on the North by the river *Yague*, and on the South by the river *Ozama*. The inhabitants of this kingdom were the most warlike of the whole island, on account of the frequent necessity they were under of defending themselves against the *Caribbeans*, who often made descents upon their coast in order to carry off prisoners.

*Higuey fifth kingdom.*

These barbarians immediately killed the men, devoured their entrails on the spot, and salted their carcases; the boys they castrated in order to fatten them, and regale themselves with the flesh at their entertainments; for this purpose they inclosed them in parks, as we serve oxen or sheep. As to the female captives, they preserved the young and the healthy for the sake of having issue by them, and made slaves of the old and infirm. The people of *Higuey* made use of bows and arrows like their enemies,

Inhumanity of the *Caribbean Cannibals*

but

## A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

but were very far from handling them with equal dexterity, and accordingly their defence consists chiefly in flight.

Of the origin and difference of the inhabitants of the *Antilles*.

It is very probable, however, that the continent of *America* was inhabited before the adjacent islands. The difficulty is to determine whence those came, who first peopled this island; neither is it very easy to assign reasons, why the inhabitants of the *Great Antilles* should have been so very mild, and so peaceable a people, and those of the *Little Antilles* so fierce, so warlike, and so inhuman. Besides, both the *Cannibals*, their neighbours to the South, and the *Floridians*, their neighbours to the North, fed equally on human flesh, tho' there is scarce any room to doubt, that the original inhabitants of *St Domingo* were descended from one or the other, or perhaps from both. But whatever sentiment we follow, we shall still be under a necessity of accounting for the difference in the manners and characters of these people. The inhabitants found on this island, when the *Europeans* first landed here, are made by some authors to amount to three millions, by others to one only. The last perhaps say too few, but it is very probable that the first make them too many, and that we ought to take a mean between these two opinions.

Number of the original inhabitants of *Hispainia*.

Their outward figure.

These islanders were in general of a middle stature, but well made, Their complexion was very swarthy, their skin reddish, their features coarse and even hideous, their nostrils very wide, their hair, of which they had none but on their head, very long, their forehead so low as scarce to deserve that name, their teeth foul and rotten, and their eyes particularly fierce and louring.

Accidental causes.

But all these properties were not equally natural. The redness of their skin proceeded, in some measure, from the *Rocou*, with which they used frequently to rub it; to this cause we may add the excessive heat of the sun, against which they had no cloathes to defend themselves. And as to the singular conformation of their heads, which they considered as a great beauty they effected it by art. For this purpose, the mothers took care to press together with their hands, or with two little boards, the crown of the head in their new-born infants, in order to flatten it by degrees, and hence the skull compressed, and in a manner bent back upon itself, became so hard, that the *Spaniards* have often broke their swords in striking those unhappy creatures on the head with them. Now it is easy to judge, that the above operation must have given a turn to all the features, and consequently contributed to the wildness observable in the countenance of these people.

Their constitution & character.

The men went quite naked, and took but little pains to hide what should not be seen. The women wore a kind of petticoat, which in women of quality reached no lower than the knees; the girls had no manner of covering whatsoever. Both sexes were of a weak constitution, a phlegmatic temper, somewhat melancholy, and lived almost upon nothing. A crab or a burgot served them a whole day, whence they could not but be feeble, and destitute of vigour and strength, they never worked, gave themselves no concern about any thing, and pass their lives in the most indolent manner imaginable. After spending part of the day in dancing, if they were at a loss for something else to do, they went to sleep. But then they were the simplest, the mildest, and the most humane mortals upon the face of the earth, and if they had not, they at least seemed to have, the smallest share of reflexion and memory, without gall, without bitterness, without ambition, and in a manner without passions of any kind. In short, more like children than men. They neither knew, nor desired to know any thing. It could not therefore be expected they should give any rational account of their origin; for which reason, as we can say nothing on that subject, but from their own reports, our conjectures must be very weak and ill grounded.

Their traditions.

Besides, they had neither the art of writing, nor any thing that could supply the place of it, except songs. But these songs were altered at the death of their princes, and therefore it is impossible from a few ill digested fables, and these too from time to time subject to alterations, to derive very antient traditions.

Of the origin of mankind.

Of this we may form some judgement, by what they related of the origin of mankind. The first men, they said, issued from two caverns of the island. The sun, incensed at their appearance, changed the guardians of these caverns into stones, and transformed the men newly escaped from their prisons into trees, frogs, and several other kinds of animals. The world, however, was soon stocked with inhabitants.

Of the sun & moon

Another tradition affirmed, that both sun and moon had issued from a grotto of the same island, in order to give light to the world. And the inhabitants used to go in pilgrimage to this grotto, which was adorned with paintings, and its mouth guarded by

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two Demons, to whom the Pilgrims were obliged to pay their respects before they were permitted to advance further. These fables show, that the islanders made no doubt but that the rest of the earth owed its inhabitants to their island, and there are few nations of America, that have not discovered the same prevention in favour of their country.

*Oziris* complains greatly, that no one thought of informing himself of the manners, customs, and religion of the ancient inhabitants of this island, till they had been in a manner extirpated. Some authors represent them as very loose, and to this attribute the distemper commonly called the *French disease*, that raged among them, and soon communicated itself to the *Spaniards*. The islanders could not make a complete cure of it, tho' they often greatly weakened its fury by the use of *Guaiacum*.

This people had a great aversion to any thing that looked like avarice, so that nothing could disturb the tranquillity of the island. Accustomed to confine themselves to the mere necessaries of life, they never entertained any thoughts of hoarding, and what the earth produced, almost without cultivation, was in a manner looked upon as every man's property; at least, those who happened to be in easy circumstances, never denied their assistance to the indigent. They were likewise most religious observers of hospitality, and that towards all comers without exception. It was not requisite to be known in a house, to be well received in it, and the greatest strangers met with as hearty a welcome, as the best friends could expect.

The Princes of this island were all despotic. The lives, the goods, and even the religion of the subjects were all at the disposal of their sovereigns, who, however, made no ill use of this their extensive authority. The subjects, on their side, were very dutiful, punctually executing the orders of their *Caciques*, and cheerfully submitting to their determination in affairs of every kind.

Their laws were few, and mild; theft or robbery, however, were considered as a most grievous offence, and punished accordingly. The criminal was empaled without distinction of rank, and left exposed in that condition to the eyes of the publick; it was not even lawful for any one to intercede for him. This great severity produced the desired effect. Few persons ventured to engage in so dangerous a business; and considering also that these islanders did not know what it was for one man to make an attempt upon another's life, they all lived in the greatest peace and security.

All the principalities of the island were hereditary, but when a *Cacique* died without issue, the children of his sisters succeeded him preferably to those of his brothers. The reason of this custom was the same with that which established it in so many other countries, especially in America; namely, that the sisters children are more certainly of the uncle's blood, than those of a brother. For the same reason they should have set aside the children of the prince himself, but custom interposed in their favour. In some provinces, the widows of the *Caciques* were obliged to follow their husbands by way of company into their graves, on pain of passing for women that had been unfaithful to them during their lives. And when a woman happened to be too easy about her character to secure it at so dear a rate, her children were excluded the succession, this behaviour of hers being considered as a tacit acknowledgement of her offspring's illegitimacy.

When the *Caciques* happened to differ, which was seldom known but on occasion of their sitting parties, the quarrel was soon terminated, and almost always without the effusion of blood. And indeed their arms were ill contrived for that purpose, being nothing more than sticks, or a kind of clubs, which they called *Mancanas*, about two fingers broad, terminating at one end in a point, and at the other in a handle like the hilt of a sword. They had likewise javelins, of the same substance, that is, a very hard kind of wood, which they lanced with great dexterity. After all it must be allowed, that these arms were sufficient for people who went quite naked, and made use of no defensive weapons. The worst circumstance that attended wounds made with this wood, which was very brittle, was its often leaving splinters behind it. For as they wanted skill to extract them, the consequences generally proved fatal to life or limb. The inhabitants of the Eastern provinces had the use of bows and arrows, which they no doubt borrowed from their inveterate enemies the *Caribes*, who inhabited the *Little Antilles*.

The common food of our islanders was maiz, which in Europe is called *Turkey-wheat*, or great millet, potatoes and cassava; the public may expect a full account of all these articles in a very laborious work now preparing for the press. Hunting, fowling, and fishing formed another great resource; but the best of the game was always reserved for

## A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

for the *Cacique's* table, and it would have been a crime in a subject to express ever so little a desire of tasting it. The leaf and root of a kind of *Arum* or call's foot, which the *French* have called *Caribee cabbage*, purslane, wild spinach, the buds of potatoes, and of *Mombins*, were made use of on extraordinary occasions, or rather served as ragouts. They mixed them all up together, and seasoned them with their *axi*, or pimento; this composition they called *Yracas*. In times of scarcity, when the ordinary foods were not to be got, they had recourse to the wild fruits, with which their forests abound. Besides they had so well accustomed themselves to eat of everything that came in their way, even those things which *Europeans* abominate most, such as worms, spiders, bats, adders, and the like, that it was impossible they should starve. But tho' these animals are no way poisonous in the islands, the use of them, and the slightness of their common food, must have been the true causes of their having such bad constitutions, and being so incapable of hard labour. But if these islanders fared so poorly, it was entirely their own fault, for we may safely affirm, that their country, and in general a great part of *South America*, has great advantages, in regard to the means of subsistence, over *Europe*, where wheat and other corn fit for bread, are become of such absolute necessity, that the failure of them generally occasions a famine, in consequence of which thousands perish. But in this part of the New World there are six species of vegetables, all as good food as bread, which never fail, but multiply in a surprising manner. The ground here may be made to yield three crops a year of maize, and two of rice. Among the different kinds of potatoes, which are all very palatable and wholesome, there is one called the six-weeks potatoe, because it may be eaten in six weeks, or two months at most, after sowing. In a tuft of bananiers, which generally consists of a dozen plants, there is always some one or another loaded with fruit; and this fruit likewise is very nourishing. The manioc and igname are indeed to be had but once a year, but the crops are almost always very plentiful; at least they never can be said to fail, though these vegetables scarce require any labour or attendance.

Their houses.

The manner in which the inhabitants of *Haiti* built their houses, perfectly answered their frugality in other respects, all their buildings being reducible to two very simple designs. Every one was at liberty to follow which he liked best, there being no rule to the contrary, but the poorer sort generally made use of the following. They first planted pretty deep in the ground, and in a circular form, at about four or five paces distance, stakes about the size of our ratters; on these stakes they laid flat, but very thick pieces of wood, which served to sustain a number of long poles united at top by their small ends, so as to form a conical roof. The poles were bound together by canes, which, to make the frame the stronger, they placed two by two, and that only at about a palm interval between every two canes. To complete the roof, they thatched it with very fine straw, or with palm leaves, or the small ends of canes. As to the wall, the intervals between the stakes were filled up by canes fixed into the earth, and bound together with a kind of very tough strings, called by *Oviedo*, *Befchiufibi*, that grow upon some trees, and hang down from the branches. The walls made in this manner were very solid, and so tight, as not to admit the least breath of air thro' them. The canes used in building them grow to a much greater size in *America*, than those to be seen in *Spain* and *Italy*. The strings I mentioned, are of different sizes, and all, even the finest, may be split in two, so as to afford threads fit to bind up the smallest parcels. They have besides their uses in medicine, according to the same author, but he does not tell us what these uses are. The houses, or rather huts built in this manner, were fitted to withstand the impetuous winds, which sometimes infect the island. To make them still stronger, it was usual, at least in such places as were most exposed, to plant a post in the center, and bind the extremities of all the poles to it. The other houses were of the same materials and construction, but differed in form, being very like our barns. The roof was supported by a long beam, and the beam itself by forked pieces of wood fixed in the ground from one end of the house to the other, so as to divide it into two equal apartments or rooms. These houses were larger than the first, and better adorned. Many of them had a kind of portico or porch, thatched with straw. This was the place where they received visits; and *Oviedo* assures us, that the roofs of these parlours exceeded those of the houses in *Flanders* at the time he wrote this account.

Their language.

The language of these islanders was not every where exactly the same, for each province had its distinct dialect, but such, however, as could be understood in every other part of the island; that used in the heart of the country was most esteemed. It was

even deemed far from being the judge of their nations of *Europe* their *canoe*, and made of linnen ropes to two *uracane* those cond hand from these words, those remaining quered them.

To return to were always gan the song, lated the steps many backward were always the women on different whet ant occasions, rally the first of the country, it, to express Incas of *Peru* villages.

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The victo they never fa accomplished hauled with ments against bacco on hal the smoke, a soon ascended this sport, e dreams succed But we may considerably

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even deemed sacred, and in great vogue in the other provinces. These dialects were very far from being barbarous, and were moreover attainable with great ease. We may judge of their sweetness, by some words of them that still subsist, and which the other nations of Europe have borrowed from the Spaniards. Our word *canoe* comes from their *canoa*, and of *amacha* we have made *kamock*, which is a kind of hanging bed made of linnen or cotton, and suspended at its corners, or extremities, by means of ropes to two posts or trees, and of general use in all hot countries. Our islanders called *uracane* those terrible storms so frequent in their country, and we have taken it at second hand from the Spaniards, just changing it to *hurricane*. Father *le Pers* adds to these words, the term *Savanna*; but this is a mistake; for *Mariana* places it among those remaining among the Spaniards, of the ancient language of the *Visigoths*, who conquered them.

To return to their songs, in which, as I said before, all their annals consisted, they were always accompanied with a round dance, and he who led the ball, first began the song, which was repeated after him by the rest of the company. He also regulated the steps in the like manner: First he made some steps forwards, and then as many backwards, while all the other dancers copied after him. Time and measure were always strictly observed. Sometimes the men danced by themselves on one side, and the women on the other; at other times the two sexes intermixed, and then it was indifferent whether a man or woman led the way. But on public festivals, and other important occasions, they always danced to the sound of a drum, and the drummer was generally the first man in the town, or even the *Cacique* himself. *Cacique*, in the language of the country, signified prince or lord, and the Spaniards have made a general word of it, to express not only all the Sovereigns of America, the Emperors of Mexico, and the Incas of Peru only excepted, but even the petty lords that commanded the smallest villages.

Their songs and dances.

This drum was nothing more than the trunk of a tree fashioned into a cylinder, on one side of which was made a square oblong opening towards the opposite side, where, after lessning gradually, it terminated in another opening in the shape of a H. This drum, whose music could not be very agreeable, they placed on its greatest opening, while they struck it with a stick upon the other.

Drum to which they danced.

Another diversion called *batos* was equally in vogue among these islanders. The *batos* was a kind of ball or foot-ball, of a solid substance, but extremely light and elastic, so as to rebound almost as much as those made of a bladder blown up within a leathern case of a spherical form. They never applied either hand or foot to it, but only the head, hips, elbows, and especially the knees. The person who struck it last, marked one, and the game consisted of as many strokes as the players thought proper. The women played at it as well as the men. *Gonzalez Fernand d'Oviedo*, an ancient author, says, that the *batos* consisted of a composition made of the roots of certain trees, which he does not mention, and several herbs, by boiling them together; and that this composition formed a black paste pretty much like pitch, but not sticking to the hands, when it was well dried. The number of players was not limited, and sometimes amounted to twenty on a side. The opponents were separated by a line, which it was not lawful for either to transgress. In every town there was a piece of ground set apart for this exercise, and another near it for more numerous parties, as, for example, when one town challenged another, which often happens.

Play of the *batos*.

The victory was always celebrated by a general dance, at the conclusion of which they never failed to get themselves drunk with the smoke of tobacco; a thing easily accomplished, as, in the first place, they never began to smoke till they were quite exhausted with fatigue; and, secondly, the stoutest head could hold out but a few moments against their manner of smoking. Their way was to spread moist leaves of tobacco on half-kindled coals, and then thrust the trunk of a pipe formed like a Y into the smoke, and the two branches into their nostrils, and so draw in the fumes, which soon ascended to the brain. Every man remained on the spot, where he fell a victim to this sport, except the *Cacique*, whose wives removed him to his bed. Whatever dreams succeeded this drunkenness, were considered as so many inspirations from heaven. But we may well imagine, that this kind of debauch, which had frequent returns, must considerably impair both the brain and the constitution of these Indians.

Drunkenness caused by tobacco.

Tobacco was a natural production of *Hispaniola*; the inhabitants called it *coliba*, and the instrument with which they smoked it, *tabaco*. This derivation is no longer called

Derivation of the word *tabaco*.

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called in question, and it is a popular error to derive it from the island *Tobago*. Father *Labat's* opinion, that it comes from *Tabasco*, the name of a town in *New Spain*, appears equally groundless. The *Spaniards* say, *Hazer un Tabaco*, to signify the diversion of round dancing and smoking in the *American* manner; and hence, it seems, must be derived the word *tabagie*, so much used by ancient voyage-writers to express an *Indian* festival.

Different names given to tobacco in France.

One thing is certain, which is, that this plant now so well known, and adopted by many people for one of the most indispensable necessities of life, was altogether unknown to the ancients. As it first came into *France* by the way of *Portugal*, it for some time had no other name than the *Brazilian* word, *petun*. It was afterwards called *Queen's herb* and *Nicotiana*, because the *French* owed their first knowledge of it to *Monf. Nicot*, ambassador of *Charles IX.* at *Lisbon*, who at his return to *France* presented some of it to the queen mother, *Catherine of Medicis*. Father *de Tertre*, who wrote almost 80 years ago in the islands of *America*, seldom gives it any other name than *petun*; and *Rochefort*, who wrote at the same time in *Holland*, never calls it by any other but that of *tobacco*. In fact, this is the name the *Dutch* knew it by, and which they borrowed from the *Spaniards*, with whom they always carried on a considerable trade in this article.

Of their occupation.

Hunting.

Fowling.

Necessity sometimes prevailed over the indolence of these *Indians*, and obliged them to turn their hands to some employment, which generally consisted in fishing, fowling, or hunting. In hunting they made use of little dumb dogs, which we shall hereafter mention; but often they did no more than set fire to the four corners of a meadow, which by this means in a minute's time they generally found covered with game half roasted. They seldom fowled, and few of them knew the use of the bow and arrow, tho' they had industry enough to supply the want of arms. They used in particular to take great numbers of parrots, and their manner of catching them was singular enough. A boy about eleven years old, climbed a tree with a tame parrot on his head. The fowlers then, covered all over with leaves, placed themselves with as little noise as possible, round the trunk of it, and made the parrot scream. Upon this all the parrots within hearing flocked about him, screaming likewise with all their might. The child, on their alighting, cast a running knot round the neck of the bird that lay most convenient to his hand, pulled it to him, and twisting its neck enough to kill it, let it fall to the ground; and went on in this manner till not a single bird remained. They had another method of catching wood-pigeons; they brought these birds together by imitating their cooing, and then secured them by nets which, as well as their fishing-nets, were very well adapted to their several purposes.

Their preparations to look for gold.

Tho' these people, before the arrival of the *Spaniards* among them, were very far from valuing gold as much as it is prized by us, they can by no means be said to have despised it. They used to search very carefully for it, but then they generally satisfied themselves with such little grains as were easily found, which they used to flatten, and hang to their nostrils. Nay, it seems they considered this metal as something sacred, since they never went in search of it, till they had prepared themselves by long fasting and some days continence: They even affirmed that as often as they omitted this preparation, their searches proved unsuccessful. *Columbus* did at first all that lay in his power to prevail on the *Spaniards* to follow this example, and not set out for the mines, till they had approached the sacraments of confession and communion; but he preached to no purpose; no one listened to him; and when he offered to interpose his authority, he was told that the church having enjoined confession and communion but once a year, it did not belong to him to make new precepts on the occasion; that after all, they found themselves condemned against their inclinations to a much longer continence than that observed by the islanders, since they had left their wives behind them in *Spain*; and as to fasting, their life, considering the small pittance of bad food they were reduced to, might well pass for a constant and rigorous fast. *Columbus*, however, would not be contradicted, and, as far as it lay in his power, suffered none to visit the mines, but such as had prepared themselves in the manner he proposed.

Their manner of cultivating the ground & procuring fire

The ancient inhabitants of *Hispaniola* seldom employed themselves in any sort of husbandry, and the *Spaniards* found no tools among them fit for that purpose. Fire was in a manner their universal instrument. They used to set fire to the grats of their *Sucannas*, (this is a term borrowed from the *Spaniards*, and signifies plains, and in

general every the grats of opening the e-

They ne fit for that pu their way wa harder; this instrument fo the hard woo

Fire also v canoes or pir kill it, for th it to the gra their vessel, with a kind stone have rally believed it is said, petr had no comm tant a river.

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These idols earth. They with them, a prizing, since awe of them, attribute the the seasons, a ing; and eve tend to have *Zemes* only a almighty, inv

But this fu ther, who ha ella and *Guat* ship paid the *Zemes*, in th stant readine det's herald, send them to requested.

*Don Fern* the *Zemes* w his own part that they ufe ter; that w repositories, having one vocation, they did no they kicked of the idol

general every place that produces nothing but grass. They used, I say, to burn down the grass of their savannas, when thoroughly dried, and after a slight loosening and opening the earth with sticks, sowed their maiz in it.

Their manner of cultivating maiz.

They never used stones to procure fire, tho' their island abounds with such as are very fit for that purpose; perhaps they did not know how to make use of them. Be that as it will, their way was to take two bits of wood, one very porous and light, the other dense and harder; this they stuck into the first, and turned it very rapidly, much as we turn the little instrument for preparing chocolate. This violent collision immediately produced fire from the hard wood, while the soft wood served, like tinder or touchwood, to receive and retain it.

Fire by collision of woods.

Fire also was the principal means employed by these people for constructing their canoes or pirogues. After chusing a tree, they made a fire round it, just sufficient to kill it, for they let it stand to dry. After this they made another fire round it to bring it to the ground, and then fixing upon dimensions, according to the intended size of their vessel, they gradually hollowed the trunk with fire, paring off the burnt parts with a kind of hatchet or axe, made of a very hard green stone. No quarries of this stone have as yet been discovered, either in this island or elsewhere. It is generally believed, that they were brought hither from the river of *Amazon*, whose slime, it is said, petrifies when exposed to the air. But then how could these islanders, who had no communication with any other people, procure themselves the slime of so distant a river.

Their manner of constructing canoes, or pirogues.

Hatchets of stone.

These people represented their deities under the most hideous figures that can be imagined. The most tolerable were toads, tortoises, snakes, and crocodiles. But in general, they were human figures horrible, and monstrous, with something in them both frightful and ridiculous. From the great variety of these figures, it is reasonable to think, that these islanders believed a plurality of gods; and from their ugliness, that they were persuaded that these deities had more power to do harm than good; and hence these poor heathens seldom thought of more than appeasing the fury of their gods, and engaging them by sacrifices not to do them any mischief.

Hideous images.

These idols they called *Cheemis*, or *Zemes*, and made them of chalk, stone, or baked earth. They placed them at the corners of their houses, adorned their best furniture with them, and impressed the images of them on their bodies. It is not therefore surprising, since they had them constantly before their eyes, and were under the greatest awe of them, that the forms of them often occurred in their dreams. They did not attribute the same power to all these divinities. Some, they imagined, presided over the seasons, and others over health; this class of genii over hunting, and that over fishing; and every deity had its peculiar worship and offerings. Some authors, who pretend to have more thoroughly studied these people, affirm that they considered the *Zemes* only as subaltern divinities, and ministers of one, sovereign, eternal, infinite, almighty, invisible Being.

Chemis idols in high veneration.

Zemes subaltern divinities.

But this supreme God they did not allow to be uncreated, for they gave him a mother, who had five different names, which were, *Attabeira*, *Mamona*, *Guacarapita*, *Tiella* and *Guamoucouon*. But neither this supreme being, nor his mother had any worship paid them, unless we may refer to her the adoration paid to a divinity among the *Zemes*, in the form of a woman, attended by her two principal ministers, in constant readiness to execute her orders. One of these ministers, they said, was the Goddess's herald, whose business it was to summon the other *Zemes*, when she wanted to send them to raise winds, cause rain, or otherwise procure mankind the blessings they requested. The other minister had nothing to do but punish by inundations, those who refused the goddess that homage she required of all mankind.

Mother of the supreme god.

*Don Fernando Columbus*, in the life of his father, *Christopher Columbus*, tells us, that the *Zemes* were considered as the tutelary gods of mankind, and that every man had his own particular *Zemes*, to whom he gave the preference above all the rest. He adds, that they used to let them in private places, where no Christian was permitted to enter; that whenever they were under apprehensions of the discovery of these private repositories, they took care to remove the *Zemes* beforehand; that some Spaniards having one day entered the cabin of a *Cacique*, they observed a *Zemes* making a great vociferation, and uttering abundance of things in the language of the country, which they did not understand; that concluding there must be some imposture in the affair, they kicked the statue to pieces, and thereby discovered a long pipe between the head of the idol and a little corner covered with leaves, where a man, that could not be seen,

Imposture under the mask of a Zemes.



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made the god say whatever he pleased; that the *Cacique* begged the *Spaniards* not to say any thing of the matter, owning that he had recourse to this trick, to make his subjects obey him, and pay him tribute. *Don Fernando* adds, that the *Caciques* had three stones, which they kept very religiously, on pretence that each had its particular virtue; one to make the seed grow, the second to make women bring forth without pain, and the third to procure rain or dry weather as need required.

Solemn procession in honour of their gods.

To conclude this subject, we find in the most ancient authors the description of a solemnity, which we shall relate, as it is the only religious ceremony of this people, they have taken care to transmit to us. The *Cacique* appointed the day, and caused it to be proclaimed by publick criers. The solemnity began by a numerous procession, where the men and married women appeared in their most precious ornaments; but the girls assisted quite naked as usual. The *Cacique*, or principal man of the place, headed the march, incessantly beating a drum; and in this manner the whole company repaired to a temple full of idols, whose figures resembled devils more than gods. Here the priests stood ready to receive the offerings of the people, which they presented to the divinities with great cries and howlings. Part of these offerings consisted of cake, which the women brought in baskets adorned with flowers. When the offerings had been performed, on a signal given by the priests, the women began to dance, and sing the praises of the *Zemes*, to which they added those of the ancient *Caciques*, and concluding with a prayer for the prosperity of the nation. The priests after this broke the cakes, consecrated by their pious oblation, and distributed them among the heads of families that were present. These pieces of cakes were to be kept the year round, and were looked upon as preservatives against all manner of evils. The *Cacique* never entered the temple, but seated himself at the door, where he continued to play on his drum, while the whole procession marched by him. The devout train entered the temple one by one singing, and directed their steps towards the principal idol, and, as soon as they got into his presence, thrust every one a stick into their throats to excite vomiting. The spirit of this ridiculous ceremony was to show, that to appear before the divinity in a religious manner, it was requisite to have a clean heart, and in a manner discernable on the lips.

Imposture and credulity.

The *Zemes* communicated themselves more particularly to the *Butios*, for thus they called their priests, who were at the same time physicians, surgeons, and druggists. And tho' the devil, if we may believe the old *Spanish* writers, had some share in the transactions of these several professions, they were however attended with impostures merely human. When the *Butios* consulted the *Zemes* in publick, the god's answer was never heard, but the people were left to judge of his intentions, by the countenance of his priest. If the priest danced and sung, it was accounted a good sign, and the spectators immediately expressed their joy by every demonstration they could imagine. But if, on the contrary, the priests put on a sorrowful countenance, the votaries burst into tears, and fasted till the divinity vouchsafed to give some certain mark of his anger being appeased.

Priests artful to create respect.

The *Butios* had no mark of distinction, but the figure of a *Zemes*, which they always carried about them. They omitted nothing, however, that could make the people fear and respect them, and were particularly attentive to make the multitude believe, that they were frequently honoured with the conversation of their gods, and admitted to their most intimate confidence, and informed by them of the most secret events of futurity. It was an easy matter for these impostors to get the ascendant over a rude and credulous nation, who often carried their veneration for them to such a degree, as to call them *Zemes*, and consider them as divine men. For tho' the predictions they ventured to make were often contradicted by events, they still found means to preserve both confidence and esteem.

Their danger in practising physic without success.

But the people were very far from always respecting these *Butios* in quality of physicians, as much as they did in that of priests, as it was much harder to impose upon them in regard to health, than in religious matters. When a sick person, in spite of the physician's care and predictions, happened to die under his hands, he was no longer considered but as an ignorant impostor. The nearest relations of the deceased gathered about the body, cut off the nails and hair, mixed them with the juice of a particular herb, and poured this composition into the mouth, entreating the departed to let them know, if it was by the physician's fault that the disease proved mortal. And, it is said, that by virtue of magical operations and invocations, with which these entreaties were accompanied, they have at last obtained an answer. Perhaps what happened on the occasion, was

merely

merely natural. The secret was discovered, and the indifference they immediately showed, and the caution to retreat to this inquest themselves accidentally used applied them, they got that they therefore felt.

Their manner played a thousand affected, produced had extracted 'Here,' said tried to get best united far.

The presence of the island, well as by cer fond of shell continuing to be found even baking cassava nostrils, and of every form.

These people ther life. They met with reward one placed this was to be enjoyed. They particularly above all things Lake *Tiberon* ed the St I souls, who p tainous and o the mamey, respect, and

We have gin of men, issued, and v tained two id thought to be Cape *Franca* narrow. The grotto receiv sleep, thro vault is all o alone. The rock; and t and some h been made

The world for a number of foreigners were rare.

merely natural, for it is well known, that in all nations people have pretended to discover the secrets known to God alone, by signs which in themselves were very ambiguous and indifferent. Be that as it will, if the real or supposed answer charged the physician, they immediately fell upon him, and tore him to pieces, when he had not the precaution to retire to a place of safety. But it was requisite, in order to proceed lawfully to this inquest, that the physician should be already suspected; and very often the priests themselves accused each other, out of jealousy, of having neglected the patient, or maliciously used some charm to abridge his days. It is however allowed, that the Butios applied themselves with much diligence to the study of simples: but when their skill failed them, they made it up with deceit and assurance. Besides the people never forgot that they were ministers of those gods, whose power they so much dreaded, and therefore seldom dared to hurt them in cold blood.

Their manner of treating the sick had something very ridiculous in it. They first played a thousand antic tricks about the patient's bed, and then, after sucking the part affected, produced a thorn, or something of that kind, which, as they affirmed, they had extracted, but had in fact taken care to hide in their mouths for that purpose. 'Here,' said they, '*here is the thing that made you sick, and it was such a one who contrived to get it into your body.*' And thus these mountebanks sowed division among the best united families.

The present inhabitants of *Hispaniola* still find the figures of *Zemes* in several parts of the island, and it is by this sign they know, where *Indian* towns formerly stood, as well as by certain heaps of shells found under ground; the *Indians* having been very fond of shell fish; and as often as this happens, very curious discoveries are to be made, by continuing to dig a little, in the neighbourhood of such heaps; for here are generally to be found every thing this people used; such as earthen vessels, flat earthen plates for baking cassava bread, hatchets, and those little plates of gold they used to hang to their nostrils, and sometimes to their ears; but above all, a considerable quantity of *Zemes* of every form.

These people had but very slender notions of the immortality of the soul and another life. They believed, however, that there was a place where the souls of good men met with rewards, but never spoke of any torments prepared for the wicked. Every one placed this paradise in his own province, and represented to himself the life that was to be enjoyed there as very delicious, according to his own particular notions of things. They particularly rejoiced in the thoughts of finding their friends and relations there, and above all things great choice of wives. Some placed the residence of departed souls, near *Lake Tiberon*, where are great plains all covered with *Mameys*, a kind of fruit now called the *St Domingo Apricock*. This, they pretended, was the ordinary food of these souls, who provided themselves with it in the night time, and lurked all day in mountainous and other places of difficult access. This opinion added a kind of sacredness to the mamey, which is in itself an excellent fruit, and the living abstained from it thro' respect, and for fear of exposing the deceased to the want of proper subsistence.

We have already related the extravagant notions of our islanders, concerning the origin of men, and of the sun and moon. The cavern, from whence the sun and moon issued, and which, we said, was frequented by all the inhabitants of the island, contained two idols, to which they never failed to make very rich offerings. This cavern is thought to be the same with that, in the *Quartier du Dondon*, at six or seven leagues from *Cape Francois*. It is one hundred and fifty feet deep, and about as many high, but very narrow. The entrance to it is larger every way, than the largest coach-way, and the grotto receives no light but by this opening, and another in the roof, in the form of a steeple, thro' which, they added, the sun and moon launched out into the heavens. This vault is all over so regular and beautiful, that one can hardly think it the work of nature alone. There are no statues to be seen in it, but *Zemes* on all sides engraved on the rock; and the whole cavern appears, as if divided into a great many niches, some high and some low, but all pretty deep; one would be apt to imagine that these niches had been made there on purpose.

The women, according to another tradition, did not make their appearance in the world for a long time after the men. These islanders had no set rules in regard to the number of their wives, several had two or three, and others a few more. One of the sovereigns of the island, at the time it was discovered, had thirty; but these examples were rare. It appears, however, that in this respect every man was left to his own discretion,

Their method of treating the sick.

Artiquities of Hispaniola.

Religious notions of the old inhabitants.

Sacred caverns of the sun and moon.

Origin of women.

Plurality of wives.

cretion, and suited the number of his wives to his abilities to maintain them, so that few having any thing to spare, the generality of them put up with one. As to prohibited degrees, they observed none but the first, which they never dispensed with.

Equality of  
wives.

Among the wives of the same man, there was generally one more distinguished than the rest, tho' without any superiority over them. All the wives lay round the husband, and no jealousy ever troubled the peace of the family.

Women in-  
terred alive  
with their de-  
ceased hus-  
bands.

At the death of the *Cacique* above mentioned, two of his wives were obliged to keep him company, and be inclosed alive in the grave where his body was deposited. But, at other times, women have been known to pay this mark of love and respect freely and of their own accord. In general they were permitted to do on the occasion as they liked best, and few were fools enough to throw themselves away in this manner.

Their fare-  
take.

The women were always charged with the care of burying their husbands. This they performed by first wrapping up the body in broad cotton bandages, and then placing it in a pretty deep grave with all the deceased's most precious effects. The corpse was not laid out horizontally, but seated on a little bench under a kind of wooden arch, to hinder the earth from falling in upon it. This ceremony was accompanied with songs and a medley of superstitions, of which no account has been left us; but the bodies of the *Caciques* were not interred till they had been first well emboweled and dried by fire.

Simplicity of  
the natives.

Such was the state of *Haiti*, when *Columbus* discovered it in *December* 1492. And had the original inhabitants been treated by the first adventurers and their successors with common humanity, they would probably be at this day one of the most considerable people upon earth, since they did not want the seeds of sense or courage, as afterwards appeared on many occasions; tho' they shewed too little of either in the beginning, to give the *Spaniards* reason to treat them otherwise, than as a parcel of meek innocent children. Not only they received their new guests with the greatest kindness, but gave them gold in plenty for such things, as the poorest beggar in *Europe* would think beneath his notice.

Tyranny and  
cruelty of the  
*Spaniards*.

It must however be allowed, in justice to the crown of *Spain*, that it gave the strictest orders not to use them ill, and in justice to *Columbus*, and some other commanders, that they did their utmost to see these orders strictly obeyed. But whenever the poor *Indians* driven to extremities by the impositions, extortions, and cruelties of the adventurers, made any attempt, or were even suspected to have formed any plan to redress or revenge themselves, they were immediately treated by the officers as rebels, tho' those who had used them as beasts, were left unpunished. And this behaviour of the officers was winked at, or rather approved by the court, as if any sovereign state or prince had a right to treat as rebels, people whom they had no right to consider as subjects. Some, no doubt, had done homage to the crown of *Spain*, but such homage was generally obtained by force or fraud. And as to any pretence founded on the pains taken to make Christians of them, nothing can be more frivolous. Had the crown of *Spain* taken much more than it really did, the returns, even of the first voyage, had been a sufficient equivalent; for, as to any risk, it does not appear that the conversion of new-discovered countries to Christianity, was the primary motive to venture in search of them.

Conversion of  
the *Indians* to  
Christianity  
opposed.

This consideration, it seems was of such weight with some wise princes and honest ministers of *Spain*, that the adventurers were obliged to bethink themselves of a stratagem to hold the *Indians* in subjection. They represented the *Indians* as incapable of governing themselves, and urged the impossibility of bringing them over to Christianity, if they were not ranged and entrusted to the care of *Spaniards*, who, as guardians, should be intitled to certain services from these poor people. But, instead of complying with the rules prescribed for their behaviour as tutors, many of them neither took any pains to instruct their pupils, nor observed any measures in the hardships imposed upon them. Nay, some had the impudence to affirm, that the *Indians* were incapable of instruction, in hopes of acquiring a right to use them like beasts, when they gave up that of treating them like pupils; while others most scandalously threw out invectives, and even made opposition in the churches, against some zealous missionaries come over on purpose to preach the gospel to the *Indians*, for fear they should become more knowing, and of course less submissive to their worse than *Egyptian* task-masters. But, as a celebrated author very judiciously remarks, those ministers of darkness had no occasion to oppose the instructions thus given the *Indians*, since their own ill usage of the poor people, and their bad examples, were sufficient to defeat them. However, the pious and charitable behaviour of the mis-

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The cruelty minate the I great devastat ive of *Europe* that we gave nate commuta be pitied than altogether vol

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oners unexpectedly got the better of their prejudices, and made them apply for baptism with an earnestness, that even those, who entertained the most favourable opinion of them, never expected.

But it would be highly unjust to suppose the body of the *Spanish* nation so universally negligent or obdurate, as not to afford some persons capable of understanding, and resolute enough to plead the cause of the poor abused *Indians*. *Barthelemy de las Casas*, Licentiate of Divinity, and afterwards Bishop of *Chiappi*, the whole order of *Dominicans*, many others of the clergy, and the *Jeronimites*, who were first sent over to examine into the grievances of the *Indians*, openly espoused their cause. *Las Casas*, in particular, and Their cause espoused. the *Dominicans*, denounced from the pulpits of *San Domingo* the vengeance of heaven against their cruel guardians, and *las Casas* returned to *Spain*, to defend their cause before his Catholic majesty, and was thereupon declared their protector, in which office he exerted himself with indefatigable patience and zeal. It is universally allowed, however, that he has greatly exaggerated the cruelty of his countrymen.

It would be unpardonable not to mention the excellent *Isabella* Queen of *Castile*, whose having chiefly contributed to *Columbus's* undertaking is the smallest part of her merit. She took all opportunities of enforcing the directions she had first given for treating the *Indians*, in every respect, like the *Spaniards* themselves; and carried her zeal so far, that she even recalled her favourite *Columbus*, because he had, as she imagined, trespassed against her orders on this head. One of the chief articles of her will was in their favour, and it is more than probable she would have cheerfully sacrificed her authority over these people, for the sake of forwarding the great and glorious work of civilizing and converting them. Praise of Isabella the Queen of Castile.

The cruelty of the adventurers would, no doubt, have alone been sufficient to exterminate the *Indians*, but some contagious disorders, and especially the small pox, made great devastations among them. Some authors will have the *French* disease to be a native of *Europe*, others make the small pox a native of *America*; but it is equally probable that we gave the *Americans* the last, and received from them the first. In this unfortunate commutation however, in which both sides were losers, the *Indians* were more to be pitied than the *Europeans*, on whose part the most dangerous of the two disorders was altogether voluntary. Native countries of the French and Small pox.

Whatever be the case, hard labour, barbarous usage, and sickness, made such havock among the poor *Haitians*, that, in the year 1509, there remained but 60,000, out of 1,200,000 souls found on the island, by the most moderate computation, at the first landing of the *Spaniards*. In four years more, these miserable remains were reduced to 20,000, and at the year 1533, to 4000. In consequence of the bold behaviour, wise conduct, and singular moderation of a young *Cacique*, who, driven to extremities, had contented himself in inaccessible mountains, from whence also a multitude of fugitive *Indians*, encouraged by his example, had so harrassed the *Spaniards* as to make them think of abandoning the island, the last remnant above-mentioned were set at liberty, permitted to settle in any part of the country, and committed to the jurisdiction of the *Cacique*, who, pursuant to *Qu. Isabella's* directions, had received a good education, and of his successors under the name of *Caciques of Haiti*. These chiefs were even entrusted with a power of life and death, but those who thought themselves aggrieved, had liberty to appeal to the royal tribunal of *San Domingo*. And it does not appear that this colony of *Indians*, as it is called, tho' settled in their own country, has ever since had the least reason to complain of the *Spaniards*. We are however well assured, that in the year 1716, with all their advantages, it consisted of no more than about thirty men and twice as many women. Indians dwindled away to an inconsiderable number.

In proportion as the *Indians* dwindled away the *Spaniards* grew rich and numerous, till an insatiable thirst of gold drove those harpies to *Mexico* and *Peru*, so that at last hands were wanting to work the mines, and those who remained were in process of time, thro' restraints upon their commerce, and by the depredations of the *Dutch*, *French*, and *English*, but more perhaps thro' their own indolence, reduced to the greatest misery and distress. By the beginning of the year 1506 they had built and peopled 17 towns, and the gold dug annually out of the mines, and found in the rivers, amounted at least 460,000 marks, or 1,840,000 ounces. In the same year they began to cultivate sugar, and were soon in a condition to export great quantities of that valuable commodity, as also of hides, Flourishing state of the Spanish colonies. cassia, tallow, horses, pork, and provisions of all kinds, having replaced the *Indians* with *Negroes*, who, tho' not so good miners, vastly surpassed them in every other kind of work.

Things remained nearly in the same situation as to exports, except gold, for many years, till at last they took an irremediable turn, and went backwards so fast, that in the year 1606, the colony was no longer to be known. *San Domingo* the capital, a port formerly crowded with ships of all nations, now received but one yearly from *Spain*, the only country in *Europe* with which it had been for some time permitted, and now could possibly trade. And the inhabitants of the island in general were reduced to such distress, that it was found necessary in several places to celebrate divine service before day-light, to give the people an opportunity of complying with the precepts of the church, without trespassing against decency, by appearing at it half naked in the day-time.

In 1630, a multitude of *French*, just expelled from *St Christophers* by the *Spaniards*, with some other adventurers, *English* as well as *French*, finding the Northern coast of *Hispaniola* uninhabited, and abounding with swine and black cattle, thought proper to take possession of it, and with the more confidence as relying on assistance from the *Dutch*, who now frequented these seas, and promised to supply them with whatever they wanted in exchange for hides procured by hunting.

These first settlers were called *Buccaneers*, from their custom of assembling after a chase, in order to regale themselves with broiling the flesh of the cattle they had killed, and *buccanning*, that is, drying the rest. But many of them, soon tired of this new way of life, chose to turn pirates, trusting to find, among those who remained on land, a quick sale for all the booty they could make at sea. This new body of adventurers were called *Freebooters*, from their making free prey or booty of whatever came to their hands.

These Freebooters resorted chiefly to *Tortuga*, where a harbour afforded security to their ships, and the inland parts of the country to themselves, especially against the *Spaniards*, whom they had most reason to fear. The Northern coast of this island is almost inaccessible even to canoes, and the Southern has but the one just mentioned harbour, which however is not so much a port, as a pretty safe road about two leagues from the Eastern point of the island, and therefore simply called, *the Road*. It affords good anchorage in a fine sand, and may be very easily defended by planting a battery on a hill that commands it. The lands near this road are universally good, and contain some fine plains of wonderful fertility. The whole island is covered with very tall trees, growing between rocks, where it is a wonder how they are nourished. The *Acajou* is the principal, and still constitutes the chief riches of the country. *Tortuga* is eight leagues in length from East to West, and two leagues from North to South, which is also the breadth of the channel between it and *St Domingo*. Its latitude is 20° 10'; the air is very good, but there is no river, and but very few springs. The most considerable yields a stream of excellent water, as big as a man's arm; the rest are inconsiderable, whence the inhabitants were obliged to reserve the rain-waters. This island, tho' now in a manner uninhabited, had formerly six districts well peopled, namely, *la Basse Terre*, *Cayenne*, *la Montagne*, *la Milplantage*, *le Ringot*, and *la Pointe au Maçon*; and a seventh called *Cabeserre* would have been peopled, but for the scarcity of fresh water. All the vegetables of the *Antilles* were to be found here, its tobacco especially was excellent, and the sugar canes of an uncommon size and goodness; some hogs brought hither from *St Domingo* had multiplied prodigiously, and tho' smaller than those of the great island, their flesh was more delicate. Lastly, the seas on all the coasts, especially on the South, abounded with fish.

When the Freebooters formed a design to seize on *Tortuga*, it had a small garrison of twenty-five *Spaniards*, who considering their situation as no better than an exile, were probably as glad to be summoned by the Freebooters to leave it, as the others were to see their summons obeyed without resistance.

As soon as the inhabitants of *St Christophers* got notice of what was doing on the coast of *St Domingo*, they escaped in numbers to *Tortuga*, in hopes of making speedier fortunes by a freer commerce with strangers, and especially with the Freebooters, who always gave good prices, and afforded good bargains. Many of the new comers applied themselves to husbandry, and planted tobacco, and the resort of *French* ships, especially from *Dieppe*, greatly contributed to the prosperity of the colony. These ships supplied the settlers with servants bound for three years, and doing all the services that could be expected from slaves.

Thus the colony consisted of four classes; *Buccaneers*, *Freebooters*, *Planters*, and *Indented Servants*, who generally remained with the *Buccaneers*, or *Planters*. And these

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decay.

First settle-  
ment of the  
*French* on  
*Hispaniola*.

Rise of the  
*Buccaneers* &  
*Freebooters*.

Island of *Tor-  
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Seized by the  
*Freebooters*.

A thriving co-  
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Offices and  
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four orders composed what they now began to call the body of Adventurers. These people lived together in a perfect harmony under a kind of democracy; every freeman had a despotic authority over his own family, and every captain was a sovereign in his own ship, tho' liable to be discarded at the discretion of the crew.

The court of Spain was infinitely more alarmed at the establishment formed by these Adventurers, than it had been at that of the French and English at St Christopher's. Wherefore, from a persuasion that if those on the island of Tortuga could be once dislodged, the rest would disperse of themselves, the general of the galleons had orders to attack this island, and, in order to make short work of it, to put to the sword all he should find there. This commission the general executed perfectly well; for while part of the inhabitants were engaged in hunting with the Buccaneers in the island of St Domingo, he fell upon the remainder, put to the sword all he found, and hanged those who in hopes of mercy surrendered at discretion. Some few fled to the woods and mountains, whom the Spaniards did not think worth their pains to pursue, and left the island without a garrison.

His next care was to rid Hispaniola itself of Buccaneers, for which purpose the general assembled a body of five hundred lancers, who, as they seldom marched more than fifty in a company, were called the *Fifties*. The Buccaneers, well knowing that no peace was to be expected from the Spaniards, thought it best for their defence to elect a chief, and made choice of one Willis, an Englishman, of great conduct and bravery. But he soon gave them reason to repent their favour, for he drew about him a multitude of his countrymen, and laughed at his electors when they proposed transferring the command to another. Hence this colony must have been irretrievably lost to France, had not a bold adventurer found means of opposing to Willis a man of superior merit.

This Adventurer embarked privately for St Christopher's, and informed M. de Poinci, governor general of the French Windward islands, of all that had happened at Tortuga: The governor, who well understood the importance of this island to his country, immediately resolved to rescue it out of the hands of the English, and chose for this purpose an officer named *le Vasseur*, a skilful engineer, and a man of great valour and conduct, but a Calvinist. To this worthy person, besides the government of Tortuga, and of the coast of St Domingo, he granted, by way of further encouragement, the free exercise of his religion for himself, and all others of his persuasion who would accompany him in this expedition.

These terms were too favourable for *le Vasseur* to refuse them, and therefore he assembled as many inhabitants as were willing to go with him, and set sail with no more than thirty-nine men under his command for Tortuga. He did not however think proper to appear before it, till he had got some intelligence from the buccaneers on the coast of St Domingo. With this view he put in at *Port Margot*, about seven leagues to the leeward of Tortuga, where he remained three months, during which he raised some soldiers, and was joined by fifty Buccaneers, mostly Protestants. He then proceeded to Tortuga, in hopes that all the French under Willis would come over to him, as in fact they did. Having landed without resistance, he marched in order of battle, and summoned Willis, and all the English in the island to leave it in twenty-four hours, if they expected quarters. So unexpected a summons, followed by the insurrection of the Frenchmen under him, struck such a terror into Willis, that, without examining whether *le Vasseur* could make his words good, he abandoned the island, leaving the Frenchmen in possession of a fort he had built, and fortified with some cannon.

The English gave the French no farther uneasiness, but the Spaniards being determined, cost what it would, to suffer no strangers on this island, or on the coasts of St Domingo, fitted out a squadron of six ships, and put on board six hundred land forces, who entered the road in full confidence of victory. Five or six hundred paces from the sea is a hill with a plain on its top, about the middle of which rises a rock thirty feet high, and very steep on every side, about nine or ten paces from the spring abovementioned. On this plain *le Vasseur* had formed a terraces capable of lodging four hundred men at their ease, and taken up his quarters, and disposed his magazines on the top of the rock, which was ascended half way by steps cut in it, and above these by an iron ladder, which could be drawn up at pleasure. He had besides contrived a tube like a chimney, thro' which a person could let himself down upon the terras without being seen. This post, however inaccessible in itself, was besides defended by a battery, and there was another on the terras, which commanded the port. *Le Vasseur* suffered the Spaniards to come within half cannon shot of his works, when he fired so furiously, and put them in such disorder, that

Adventurers

Adventurers dispossessed of Tortuga.

Buccaneers elected Willis their chief.

*Le Vasseur* appointed governor of Tortuga.

Expels Willis from Tortuga.

Repulses the Spaniards.

with

## A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

with much difficulty recovering their boats, they weighed anchor the moment they got on board their ships. However, some time after they landed again, but at a good distance from the fort, at a place where *le Vasseur* could not, or did not think proper to oppose them, but immediately marched in order of battie towards the hill, in hopes of carrying it by storm. But by the way they fell into an ambuscade, and with the loss of two hundred men killed on the spot, fled back to their ships with the utmost precipitation, and never appeared afterwards.

Evades a plot to deprive him of his government.

*M. de Poinci*, grown jealous of *le Vasseur*, or apprehending that he might erect a little protestant republic in *Tortuga*, formed a design to remove him from thence with the first opportunity. For this purpose he sent his nephew to him, under pretence of complimenting him on his success, and inviting him to a conference at *St Christopher*, in order to concert further measures for the good of the new colony of *St Domingo*, but with orders as soon as *le Vasseur* left the island, to assume the government of it himself. But *le Vasseur* quickly saw thro' the Envoy's fair speeches, and, tho' he treated him with the utmost respect and ceremony, excused himself from leaving the island, for fear, he said, the *Spaniards* should attack it in his absence, and, finding it without a chief, make an easy conquest of it.

Becomes a tyrant.

*Le Vasseur*, no doubt, might have easily effected what was most apprehended by *de Poinci*, had he continued to behave with as much moderation, as conduct and valour; but as soon as he saw himself in a condition to fear nothing from without, he gave himself little trouble to gain the love of his own people. First, he deprived the catholics of the free exercise of their religion, burnt down their chapel, expelled the priests who officiated there, and took every other measure he could devise to get rid of them. Next he quarrelled with his own minister, and, at length, played the tyrant with all his subjects indifferently, loaded them with taxes, punished them for the least faults with the greatest severity, having contrived an iron cage, in which the inclosed could neither stand nor sit. This he called his Hell, and the dungeon of the castle, a place scarce more tolerable, his Purgatory. In short, from being mild, affable, and generous, he became all at once cruel, haughty, and interested to the last degree. He still, however, made great professions of respect for *M. de Poinci*, till he thought himself sufficiently established to apprehend nothing from that quarter. For on *M. de Poinci's* request to send him a silver statue of the Blessed Virgin, taken by some Freebooters on board a *Spanish* vessel, as more suitable to a Catholic, and a knight of *Malta*, than to a Protestant, *le Vasseur* sent him the model of it in wood, telling him that he knew the catholics had too much sense to fix their esteem on the materials of which such things were made, and that the silver image was of such exquisite workmanship, that he could not prevail upon himself to part with it.

*De Poinci*, we may well think, would immediately have attempted to revenge this insult, but he happened at this time to have work of more importance upon his hands. The court of *France* having nominated another general to succeed him, he thought proper not to resign his place, principally for fear of being called to an account on his return to *France* for his concessions to *le Vasseur*. This step bred a civil war in the infant colonies, some siding with the new general, while others adhered to the old. *Le Vasseur* taking advantage of their divisions, endeavoured, by representing to the Protestants of *Tortuga*, that island as a sure asylum for those of their persuasion, to engage them to acknowledge him for their prince.

Wants to be acknowledged prince of Tortuga.

But *de Poinci* getting the better of his adversary, and seeing himself again in quiet possession of his government, turned all his thoughts to the reduction of his dangerous neighbour *le Vasseur*. For this purpose he fitted out two ships, and gave the command of them, also of *Tortuga*, and the coast of *St Domingo* to *M. de Fontenay*, who, the better to cover his designs, gave out that this armament was intended only against the *Spaniards*. But he was no sooner arrived at *Lecu*, a little port of *St Domingo* opposite to *Tortuga*, than he was informed that *le Vasseur* had been assassinated by *Martin* and *Thibaut*, two of his partisans, said to be his nephews, but certainly constituted his heirs, who, after their parricide, had seized upon the government, and all *le Vasseur's* treasures. On this news, *M. de Fontenay* set sail for *Tortuga*, and after he had been driven from the road by the cannon of the fort, landed his troops at *Cayenne*.

Accompanied

Had surrendered to *M. de Fontenay*.

But the usurpers, finding the inhabitants no way disposed to run any risk on their account, thought proper to surrender the fort, on condition of pardon for what was past, and leave to keep their ill-got treasures. The news of this success no sooner reached *St*

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*De Fontenay* great bastion cent mount that for was the Western *Tortuga*, new

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*Domingo*, than all the Catholics whom *le Vasseur* had driven out of the island, or who had retired from it to avoid his tyranny, immediately returned.

*De Fontenay* then set about repairing and enlarging the fortifications, and erected two great bastions of hewn stone, which took in the whole plain, and extended to an adjacent mountain, hitherto thought inaccessible. The island upon this grew so populous, that for want of room, some families were sent to *St Domingo*, where they settled on the Western shore, tho' nearer to the *Spaniards* than the North-West, and farther from *Tortuga*, whence alone they could expect assistance.

Fortified, and in a flourishing condition.

This new settlement alarmed the *Spaniards*, who therefore sent some armed boats to crush it in its infancy; but the Buccaneers and Freebooters speedily repaired to the assistance of their brethren, and obliged the enemy to retire after burning a few plantations. The *Spaniards*, provoked at their disappointment, resolved to destroy the root of the evil, by recovering *Tortuga*, and leaving a force there sufficient to secure the possession of it to his Catholic majesty. Nor was it long before *de Fontenay* gave them a favourable opportunity of effecting their designs, as he not only permitted, but encouraged the inhabitants to join in cruising with the Freebooters, who now resorted hither from all quarters. Hence the lands were sometimes left uninhabited, and the fortifications without defenders.

Impudence of the new governor

The *Spaniards* took advantage of this negligence and security, and made dispositions to reconquer the island with such secrecy, that the governor had scarce time to prepare for their reception. And at last their fleet, consisting of five large vessels, with a multitude of barks full of troops and stores, commanded by Don *Gabriel Rezas*, appeared in the road. Hence, annoyed by the cannon of the fort, they retired, and landed at *Cayonne* in spite of all the resistance the *French* could make. After a rest of three days, they made a motion, which shewed that their intention was to erect a battery on the top of the mountain adjacent to the bastions of the fortresses. The *French* laughed at the attempt, till a volley from the cannon assured them of its success, and forced them to desert the upper works of the fort. The besieged, however, made a resolute defence, and erected an empalement, which secured them against this formidable battery. But the *Spaniards* planted another halfway up the mountain, which scoured the fort from one end of the new defence to the other. The *French* had now no other resource left, but to nail up the enemy's cannon, and they attempted it with great bravery, but the besiegers, forewarned by a fugitive slave, repulsed them with loss. This success of the *Spaniards*, and the destruction of the garrison occasioned a mutiny in the fort, which the governor with much difficulty appeased. In the mean time, the *Spaniards*, who had flattered themselves with carrying the place by storm, began to grow as sick of the siege as the *French*, and were preparing to retire, when a second deserter informed them of the state of the besieged. On this advice they redoubled their fire, and *de Fontenay*, after another vigorous, but unsuccessful sally, finding he had as much to fear from within as without, determined to surrender, and obtained very honourable terms, by which, among other things, it was agreed that the *French* should, as soon as possible, get afloat two ships that lay stranded in the road, and retire on board them wherever they thought proper. On one of these embarked *Martin* and *Thibot*, with the women and children of the island; but these assassins, one of whom had his wicked hand, which had been shattered by a granado, cut off, falling short of provisions, put all their useless mouths ashore on some desert island, and proceeding to sea were never heard of afterwards.

Island regained by the Spaniards.

Exemplary fate of *Martin* and *Thibot*

*M. de Fontenay*, with the rest of the *French*, embarked in the other ship, which proving leaky, they put into Port *Margot*, where a Dutch vessel, on a supposition that they were returning to *France*, supplied them with every thing they wanted. This encouraged *Fontenay* to attempt the recovery of *Tortuga*, which he had in a great measure lost thro' his own fault, and having proposed it to his men, and some Buccaneers, they all swore never to desert him. He therefore immediately set sail for *Cayonne*, and repulsing the *Spaniards* who opposed his landing, pursued them vigorously, in hopes of entering pell-mell with them into the fort, till a dog happened to discover an ambuscade laid for them. The *French* on this made so furious a fire on the *Spaniards* in ambuscade, that they immediately fled with precipitation, but the *French* too fatigued to follow them, stopt short at a spring to refresh themselves; here the *Spaniards* made a sally upon them, but were forced to retire. These successes however availed nothing, as the *French* wanted cannon to batter the place. Hence they were on the point of relinquishing the project, when *Fontenay* bethought himself of the cannon, which the *Spaniards* had planted against the

Vain attempt of *Fontenay* to retake *Tortuga*.



## A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

epaulment he had raised to secure himself from the batteries on the summit of the mountain, and which, as he was informed, they had left on the same spot, surrounded with felled trees, and guarded by fifty men. Wherefore with all speed he climbed the mountain, and attacked the party, which, surpris'd at so unexpected a visit, quickly gave way, and left him in possession of what he wanted. But he came short of gunpowder, and was oblig'd to abandon his promising enterprize.

Adventurers  
settled at Cul  
de Sac.

The Adventurers upon this began to forget *Tortuga*. The Buccaneers with much difficulty defended themselves against the *Spanish* fifties. Such of the Adventurers, as preferred planting, and were rich enough to undertake it, retir'd to the Western coast of *St Domingo*, where the establishment formed in the Great Bay, call'd the *Cul de Sac*, grew daily stronger, in spite of all the measures taken by the *Spaniards* to crush it.

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quering Ja-  
maica.

As to the Freebooters, who consist'd of a greater mixture of nations than either of the two other classes, they offer'd their service to the *English*, who, after miscarrying in an attempt upon *St Domingo*, thought fit to attack *Jamaica*, where they met with better success, driving all the *Spaniards* into the woods and mountains. But as they could not be easi, while their enemies remained in these fastnesses, they call'd some of the Buccaneers of *St Domingo*, as fittest to scour such places, and setting a price on the heads of the fugitive *Spaniards*, were so well serv'd by these Adventurers, that the remains of the fugitives were soon glad to come in and ask quarter.

*Tortuga* retai-  
ken by the  
*French*.

In 1660, *Tortuga* returned again under the dominion of *France*, thro' the conduct and bravery of *M. du Rauffet*. This officer landed part of his troops from canoes on the Northern coast, from whence they climbed the mountain at the back of the fort, and surpris'd the guard of the cannon with which the *Spaniards* had formerly forc'd the *French* to surrender, while he advanced with the rest unseen, and attack'd them on the South. *Rauffet* soon after return'd to *France*, leaving the command to his nephew *M. la Place*, a man well qualified for his trust, who sent inhabitants to *Port de Paix* and other places, but was soon after oblig'd to give place to *M. d'Ogeron*, whom the *French* king had nam'd governor, on the recommendation of the *West India* company, to whom he had granted *Tortuga*, on their satisfying *Rauffet* for his claims, in consequence of his undertaking the recovery of it at his own peril and cost. The *French* writers consider this event as the epocha of the foundation of their colony of *St Domingo*, and *M. de Ogeron*, for his singular prudence in executing his commission, as the father of it. Their account of the state of the *French* and *Spanish* colonies at that period, has importance enough for inducing us to transcribe the most material particulars:

State of the  
*Spanish* colo-  
ny of *Hisp-*  
*niola*.

The *Spanish* colony consist'd of about fourteen thousand *Spaniards* and other freemen of different colours, with as many slaves, besides about twelve hundred fugitive Negroes, intrench'd on an almost inaccessible mountain about seven leagues from the capital, who kept all the country, and the capital itself, under contribution. Next to the capital, which contain'd about five hundred houses, was *St Jago*, inhabited chiefly by merchants and goldsmiths. This town had been pillag'd a few years before by five hundred *French* adventurers, provided with an *English* commission, in revenge for the death of some of their countrymen, taken by the captain of a *Spanish* man of war out of a neutral ship, and put to death in breach of his oath not to hurt them. The other *Spanish* settlements were little open defenceless towns, whose inhabitants were in most wretched circumstances.

State of the  
*French*.

The worst of these habitations, was however better than the best of the *French* consider'd in themselves. *Tortuga*, the capital of this infant colony, had but two hundred and fifty inhabitants, who cultivat'd nothing but tobacco. A little island by *Port Margot*, seven leagues from *Tortuga*, about half a league in circumference, had sixty dwellers, and on the opposite part of the great island, there might be reckon'd ninety more. *M. la Place* had begun to clear some ground at *Port de Paix*, but this settlement was scarce worth mention. On all the Western shore there was no settlement but *Laegare*, which consist'd indeed of at least an hundred and fifty inhabitants, half of them in *Ogeron's* pay. This was besides the ordinary rendezvous of the Buccaneers, when pursu'd by the *Spanish* fifties. But neither the Buccaneers, in number three thousand, nor the Freebooters almost as numerous, are included in this list. As these two bodies were the principal support of this colony, and the *Spaniards* of course did their utmost to extirpate them, the reader may be suppos'd to require a particular description of their manners and customs, which were indeed quite singular and curious.

Manners of  
the buccan-  
ners.

The Buccaneers bestow'd the name of *Buccani*, from whence they took their own,

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on some little spots of cleared ground, large enough for drying their skins, and erecting some houses for buccanning their meat, with some huts, which they called *Ajoupas*, a word they borrowed from the *Spaniards*, and the *Spaniards* from the *Haitians*. These huts were a bare defence against sun and rain, being on all sides open to the wind, whose refreshing gales were very agreeable to the inhabitants. As the adventurers had neither wife nor child, they associated by pairs, and mutually rendered each other all the service a master could reasonably expect from a servant, living together in so perfect a community, that the survivor always succeeded his partner. This uniting, or knitting, in fellowship they called *S'emateleter* [infailloring], and each other *Matelet* [sailor], whence is derived, at least in some parts of the *French* dominions, the custom of giving the name *Mateletage* [tailorage], to any kind of society formed by private persons for their mutual advantage. They behaved to each other with the greatest justice and openness of heart; it would have been a crime to keep any thing under lock and key, but on the other hand the least pilfering was unpardonable, and punished with expulsion from the community. And indeed there could be no great temptation to steal, when it was reckoned a point of honour never to refuse a neighbour what he wanted; and where there was so little property, it was impossible there should be many disputes. If any happened, the common friends of the parties at variance interpreted, and soon put an end to the difference. [This seems in part a description of the golden age, and proves the truth of the proverb, THERE IS HONESTY AMONG THIEVES.]

As to laws, the Buccaneers acknowledged none but an odd jumble of conventions made between themselves, which, however, they regarded as the sovereign rule. They silenced all objections by coolly answering, that it was not the custom of the coast, and grounded their right of proceeding in such a case, on their baptism under the tropic, which freed them, in their opinion, from all obligations antecedent to this marine ceremony. They were under very little subjection to the governor of *Tortuga*, and were satisfied with rendering him from time to time some slight homage. They had in a manner entirely shaken off the yoke of religion, and thought they did a great deal, in not wholly forgetting the God of their fathers. We are surpris'd to meet with nations, among whom it is a difficult matter to discover any traces of a religious worship: And yet it is certain, that had the Buccaneers of *St Domingo* been perpetuated on the same footing they subsisted at this time, the third or fourth generation of them, would have as little religion as the *Caffres* and *Hottentots of Africa*, or the *Topinambous* and *Cannibals of America*.

They even laid aside their surnames, and assumed nick-names, or martial names, most of which have continued in their families to this day. Many however, on their marrying, which seldom happened till they turned planters, took care to have their real surnames inserted in the marriage contract; and this practice gave occasion to a proverb, still current in the *French Antilles*, *A man is not to be known till he takes a wife*.

They wore nothing but a filthy greasy shirt, dyed with the blood of the animals they killed, a pair of trousers still more nasty, a thong of leather for a belt, to which they hung a case containing some *Dutch* knives, and a kind of very short sabre called *Manchette*, a hat without a brim, but a little flap on the front to take hold of it by, and shoes of hogskin all of a piece. Their guns were four feet and a half in the barrel, and of a bore to carry balls of an ounce. Every one had contract servants, more or fewer according to his abilities, and a pack of twenty or thirty dogs, among which there was always a couple of beagles. Their chief employment at first was ox-hunting, and, if at any time they chased a wild hog, it was rather for pastime, and to make provision for a feast, than for any other advantage. But, in process of time, some of them betook themselves entirely to hunting of hogs, whose flesh they buccanned in the following manner:

First, they cut the flesh into long pieces an inch and a half thick, and sprinkled them with salt, which they rubbed off after twenty-four hours. Then they dried these pieces in stoves over a fire made of the skin and bones of the beast, till they grew as hard as a board, and of a deep brown colour. Pork prepared in this manner will keep in casks a twelvemonth and longer, and when steeped but a little while in luke-warm water, become plump and rosy, and yield moreover a most grateful smell, either broiled or boiled, or otherwise dress'd, enough to tempt the most languid appetite, and please the most delicate palate. Those who hunt the wild boar, have of late been called simply Hunters.

In hunting, they set out at day-break, preceded by their beagles, and followed by their servants, with the rest of their dogs. The beagles often led their masters, who ventured to follow them, through most dreadful roads. As soon as they had rouz'd the game, the

Their laws and religion

Assume nick-names.

A proverb.

Their apparel, and hunting.

Buccanning flesh.

Manner of hunting.

## A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

the rest of the dogs struck up and furrounded the beast, stopping it, and keeping a constant barking till the buccaneer could approach to shoot it, in which he commonly aimed at the pit of the breast, and as soon as the beast was down, he ham-strung it, to prevent its rising again. It has sometimes happened that the creature, not wounded enough to fall to the ground, has run furiously at his pursuer, and ripped him open. But in general the Buccaneer seldom missed his aim, and when he did, was nimble enough to get up the tree behind which he had the precaution to place himself. What is more, some of them have been seen to overtake the beast in chace, and ham-string him with all the dexterity and dispatch imaginable.

Way of eating.

As soon as the prey was half skinned, the master cut out a large bone, and sucked the marrow for breakfast. The rest he left to his servants, one of whom always remained behind to finish the skinning, and bring the skin with a choice piece of meat for the huntmen's dinner. They then continued the chace till they had killed as many beasts, as there were heads in the company. The master was the last, to return to the boucan, loaded like the rest, with a skin and a piece of meat. Here the Buccaneers found their tables ready, for every one had his separate table, which was the first thing, any way fit for the purpose, that came to hand, a stone, the trunk of a tree, and the like. No table-cloth, no napkin, no wine, appeared; bread, potatoes, and bananas, were not wanting if they came in their way; otherwise the fat and lean of the game, taken alternately, served to supply their place. A little pimento, and the squeeze of an orange, their only sauce, contentment, peace of mind, a good appetite, and abundance of mirth, made every thing agreeable. Thus they lived and spent their time, till they had compleated the number of hides for which they agreed with the merchants, which done, they carried them to *Tortuga*, or some port of the great island.

Diseases, and changes of life.

As the Buccaneers used much exercise, and fed only on fresh meat, they generally enjoyed a good state of health. They were indeed subject to fevers, but either such as lasted only a day, and left no sensible impression the day following, or little slow fevers, which did not hinder them from action, and were of course so little regarded, that it was usual with the patient, when asked how he did, to answer "Very well, nothing ails me" but the fever." It was impossible, however, to prevent their wasting away in time under a climate, to whose intemperature they had not been early enough inured, and to support besides for many years so hard and laborious a way of living. Hence the most considerate among them, after they had got money enough to commence housekeepers, relinquished it. The rest soon spent the fruits of their fatigues in taverns and tippling-houses, and many had so habituated themselves to this kind of life, as to become incapable of any other. Nay, there have been instances of young men who persisted in this painful and dangerous profession, in which they had at first embarked, merely thro' a principle of libertinism, rather than return to *France*, and take possession of the most plentiful fortunes.

Their boucan.

The principal places of assembly, or *Boucan*, as they called them, of these people were at the Peninula of *Savana*, a little island in the center of the Bay of *Samana*, Port *Margot*, *la Savane Brule*, or, the *Burnt Savanna*, near the *Gonaives*, the Embarcadero of *Mirbalut*, and the bottom of the bay of *Ile Avache*, from whence they made excursions to the gates of the *Spanish* settlements.

Their bloody contentions with the Spaniards.

Such then were the Buccaneers of *St Domingo*, and such their situation, when the *Spaniards* undertook to extirpate them. And at first they met with great success; for as the Buccaneers hunted separately, every one attended by his servants, they were easily surprized. Hence the *Spaniards* killed numbers, and took many more, whom they condemned to a most cruel slavery. But whenever the Buccaneers had time to put themselves in a state of defence, they fought like lions, to avoid falling into the hands of a nation, from whom they were sure to receive no quarter, and by this means they often escaped; and there are instances of single men fighting their way through numbers. These dangers however, and the success of the *Spaniards* in discovering their boucans, where they used to surprize and cut the throats of them and their servants in their sleep, engaged them to cohabit in greater numbers, and even to act offensively, in hopes that by so doing, they might at last induce the *Spaniards* to let them live in peace. But furious as they behaved whenever they met any *Spaniards*, their fury served only to make their enemies more intent on their destruction, and assistance coming to both parties, the whole island was turned into a slaughter-house, and so much blood was spilt on both sides, that many places on account of the carnage of which they had been the theatres,

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were intitled *of the massacre*; such as *the hill of the massacre, the plain of the massacre*; and retain those names to this day.

For several years the court of France seemed to give itself but very little trouble about the Adventurers, with a view either to disown them, or claim them as subjects, as might at any time best suit with its interest. It sent them no assistance, nor named any governor till *du Rouffet*; for *le Vasseur* and *de Fontenay* had no commission but from *de Poinci*.

On the other hand, the court of Madrid, alarmed at the increase of these people, sent orders to the president of the royal audience of *St Domingo* to endeavour their extirpation, with commission to fetch troops for that purpose from the neighbouring islands and the continent, and promises of rewards to those who should distinguish themselves on the occasion; and, for the greater security, sent over an old *Flemish* officer called *Vandelmof*, who had served with reputation in the *Dutch* wars, to command in the expedition.

*Vandelmof* arrived at *St Domingo* in 1663, and on notice that the principal boucan of the *French* was on the burnt meadow abovementioned, he immediately put himself upon his march with 500 chosen men to surprize them. But the *Buccaneers*, warned of his approach, and tho' but 100 strong, received him at a defile, where the *Spaniards* lost the double advantage of an expected surprize and of numbers. They fought, however, with great bravery, tho' *Vandelmof* fell at the first discharge, but were at last broken, and fled to the mountains, whither the *Buccaneers* did not think fit to pursue them.

Though the *Spaniards* lost but twenty-five men on this occasion, they thought proper to recur to their old way of dealing with these people, who frequently suffered themselves to be surprized, till at last, alarmed by their many losses, they resolved to remove their boucans to the little islands about *St Domingo*, retire thither every night, and never hunt but in large parties. This expedient succeeded, and the parties in consequence becoming less unequal, they suffered no considerable loss for a long time, and their boucans by that means becoming more settled soon grew into towns.

Hence arose the settlement at *Bayaba*, which was mightily promoted also by the goodness of the port, the safest and most spacious about *St Domingo*, and perhaps there is not a better in all *America*. In the middle, is an island defending its mouth, which is very narrow; and the largest ships may ride in it close enough to the shore to touch it with their bowsprits. But the chief motives inducing the *Buccaneers* to establish themselves in this quarter, were the plenty of game in the adjacent parts of the great island, and the vicinity of *Tortuga*, to which they could pass in a few hours, and dispose of their hides. And the *French* and *Dutch* vessels which traded to the coasts of *St Domingo*, finding *Bayaba* more commodious than *Tortuga*, even that short run was soon saved, and the former by degrees became the seat of a fair little town.

When the *Buccaneers* had once fixed themselves as related, each boucan ordered scouts every morning to the highest part of the island for reconnoitring the coasts, and discovery of *Spanish* parties. If no enemy appeared, they appointed a place and hour of rendezvous in the evening, and were never absent if not killed or prisoners. When therefore any one of the company was missing, it was not lawful for the rest to hunt till they had got intelligence of him if taken, or avenged his death if killed.

One evening the *Buccaneers* of *Bayaba* happened to miss four of their company; they immediately resolved to assemble all in a body the next day, and never to separate till they had heard what was become of their friends. With this resolution they set out the next morning in a body for *St Yago*. They had not gone far when they were informed that those they were in quest of had been taken, as they suspected, by the *Spaniards*, and put to death without mercy. The *Buccaneers*, on this advice, were exasperated to madness, and, after dispatching the informers, ranged over the first habitations in their way, like so many wild beasts, and sacrificed all the *Spaniards* they could find to the manes of their brethren.

But the *Spaniards* had also frequent opportunities of discharging their fury on the *Buccaneers*. And once in particular surprized about thirty, fording a little river that falls into the sea near *Bayaba*, with every man a hide on his back, and, after a very resolute defence, killed them all, whence that river has ever since been called *the River of the Massacre*.

But these little advantages were far from being decisive, and only served to incense the parties to the highest degree, so that now they began to think of nothing but revenge, tho' to the detriment of interest and business. With this view chiefly the *Spaniards* made a general hunt over the whole island, and destroyed all the wild cattle they found. This

Policy of the French was dry.

Court of Spain resolves an expedition the Adventure.

Spaniards routed by them.

Adventurers secure themselves on little islands.

Port & town of Bayaba.

Custom and ordinance of the Buccaneers.

They revenge the death of their comrades.

River of the Massacre.

destructive revenge put most of the Buccaneers under a necessity of betaking themselves to some other profession. Hence many of them commenced planters, and cleared the districts of *Great and Little Guaves*, and *Logane*. The settlement of *Port du Paix* was also considerably increased by this event. Such of the Buccaneers as did not relish the life of a planter, as too sedentary or regular, entered among the Freebooters, who by this junction became a very famous body, and deserving our attention no less than the Buccaneers.

We may well suppose that those of the Adventurers who turned pirates under the name of Freebooters were none of the honestest men among them. The infancy of this afterwards so formidable a power was very weak and inconsiderable. The founders had neither ships, nor pilots, nor ammunition, nor provision. They began with forming little societies, to which, in imitation of the Buccaneers, they gave the name of *Mateclatage*, but among themselves they went by no other than that of *Freres de la Côte*, "brothers of the coast," which in time was extended to all the Adventurers, especially the Buccaneers; at least however the title *Gens de la Côte*, or "men of the coast," was used to signify the military, or rather fishing men, of the *French* colony of *St Domingo*. Be that as it will, every society of Freebooters purchased a canoe that would carry twenty-five or thirty men. Thus provided, their next business was to take the first opportunity for seizing on a fishing boat, a bark, or some such small vessel. This effected, they returned to *Tortuga*, to compleat their crews, which for a bark generally consisted of 150 men, after which they sailed to *Bayaba*, or *Port Margot*, for a stock of beef or pork; those who preferred turtle plied away for the Southern coast of *Cuba*, where these creatures abound.

What, after this, engrossed their attention was the choice of a captain, whom they could divest at pleasure, and who had no authority but in time of action, nor more than two shares in prizes. The surgeon's chest was furnished at the common cost, smart-money to the maimed and wounded deducted from the prize-money before the dividend, and proportioned to the damage. Thus a man who had lost both eyes or legs received 600 crowns, or six slaves, and the cruise was to be continued at all events, till there was enough to satisfy all such demands. This convention they called *Chasse-partie* "hunting match," and the resulting division *d'Compagnon bon Lot*, "a comrade's fair share."

Though the Freebooters at first made prizes of all ships that came in their way, the *Spaniards* were the chief objects of their enmity and animosity, because they were prohibited by that nation from hunting and fishing on their territories and coasts, to both which the Freebooters pretended a natural right. And they had so well formed their consciences, and grounded their proceedings upon this maxim, that they never set out upon an expedition without first offering up publick prayers for its success, nor ever succeeded without returning solemn thanks to God for their victory.

It is impossible to reflect on transactions, during the war between the *Spaniards* and Freebooters, without acknowledging the hand of God in employing those pirates to revenge on the *Spaniards* the inhuman cruelties they had exercised upon the original inhabitants of the New world. The relations published of their behaviour were sufficient, without their known haughtiness, and exorbitant power, to render them odious to all other nations. Hence Adventurers have been known to fight against them out of pure animosity, and not from any motive of libertinism or interest.

We have a remarkable instance to this purpose in a gentleman of *Languedoc*, named *Montbarr*. He had read, when a child, some relations recording the cruelties and bloodshed of the *Spaniards* in those parts of the world, on which he conceived such an implacable hatred against that nation, as sometimes kindled into fury. It is reported of him that while he was at the college, happening to act in a play the part of a *Frenchman*, he fell with such fury on his school-fellow, who played the *Spaniard*, that he would have killed him had not the spectators interposed. A passion that stewed itself so early, and by such violent sallies, was not to be easily conquered, and *Montbarr* longed for nothing so much as to quench it in the blood of the *Spaniards*. Hence war was no sooner declared against them, than he took shipping for those fatal coasts, so often stained with the blood of the poor unfortunate *Indians*, whom he hoped, and took the greatest delight in thinking, that he should be able to revenge. And it is impossible to express the mischief he did the *Spaniards*, sometimes by land, at the head of the Buccaneers, and sometimes by sea, commanding the Freebooters, whence he was furnished the Extirpator. It is confessed, however, that he never killed a man but in fair fight, nor is he accused of those

Buccaneers turn Planters or Freebooters.

Fuller account of the Freebooters.

Their rise and names.

Gradual increase.

Convention.

Animosity of the Freebooters against the Spaniards, how grounded.

Serious reflections.

Montbarr a scourge to the Spaniards.

those piracies before God and

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those piracies and debaucheries which rendered so many of the Adventurers abominable before God and man.

But to return to the Freebooters, they were so crowded in their little barks, and so careless of their provisions, that hunger and want of room made danger disappear in search of their wants, and the sight of a large ship, instead of cooling, excited their courage in hopes of finding a good stock of provisions as well as enlarging their quarters. Wherefore they attacked every thing they could come up with, and immediately boarded. A single broadside would have sunk their puny vessels, but they were light and governable, the sailors dextrous, and never presented to the enemy more than the bowsprit, well lined with good marksmen, who, by firing into their port-holes, soon disconcerted the gunners. A ship once grappled by them, however well manned, was as good as taken. The Spaniards, who looked upon them as devils, and called them by no other name, lost courage at the sight of them, and surrendered directly, calling for quarter, which was seldom granted but when the prize turned out rich, otherwise they were thrown overboard.

Courage and success of the Freebooters.

They usually brought their prizes to *Tortuga*, or *Jamaica*, and before distribution every man held up his hand, and solemnly protested he had brought in all his plunder to the common stock. If any man was convicted of a false oath, he was without further ceremony put ashore on some desert island, and there left to shift for himself. Whenever they took commissions from the governor of *Tortuga* they paid him the tenth of the booty; but when *France* was not at war with *Spain*, they repaired to some remote quarter, and there divided the plunder, after which they took their pleasure, till every thing was spent. Their patience under hunger and thirst, and other inconveniences, was really amazing, but as soon as victory had restored peace and plenty, they carried their lewdness and debauchery to the highest pitch.

Their conduct and behaviour.

As to religion, it would be absurd to suppose they could have any. However, now and then they appeared to think seriously of their condition, and before an engagement used to embrace in token of mutual reconciliation. After this they would fall to thumping their breasts, as intending to excite in their hearts a compunction of which they were scarce any longer susceptible; but when danger was over, they returned to their former way of living.

Of their religion.

The Buccaneers accounted themselves honest men in comparison of the Freebooters, whom they considered as first-rate villains. The former were indeed less vicious, tho' the others preferred a much greater share of religion. But, in short, if you except a certain openness and integrity of heart, which characterised them both, and their not feeding on human flesh, few barbarians of the new world surpassed; but many came short of them in wickedness.

More religious and vicious than the Buccaneers.

The Planters had also their associations, and every association was allotted land in proportion to the number of persons that composed it. Though the Adventurers of this class were much seldom obliged to measure their strength with the Spaniards than the other two, they had many brave fellows among them, and from this body was drawn the militia which distinguished itself on so many occasions. If we may give credit to some facts recorded in the history of the Freebooters, the Planters were every whit as bad as they or the Buccaneers. -- We have but little to say of the fourth class of Adventurers, the Indented Servants, since they never did any thing but by order of their masters. Many of them indeed have been known to fight occasionally with the greatest bravery, and not a few have been industrious and saving enough to purchase their freedom, and raise immense fortunes.

Of the Planters.

Indented Servants.

The Freebooters generally cruised on the coasts of *Cumana*, *Carthagena*, *Porto-bello*, *Panama*, *Cuba*, and *New Spain*, at the mouth of the *Chagre*, and in the neighbourhood of the lakes of *Maracaibo* and *Nicaragua*. They seldom attacked ships bound from *Europe* to *America*, their cargoes usually consisting of flour, wines, and linnen goods, too troublesome and bulky, and besides not so easily vented. But they waited their return, where they were sure to find them freighted with gold, silver, curious stones, and all the noblest wares of the new world. It was usual with them to follow the galleons to the *Bahama* channel, and if any one of them, through bad weather, or any accident, happened to be left behind, it was sure to fall into their hands.

Places of cruising and quality of prizes.

Thus one of their captains, called *Pierre le Grand*, a native of *Dieppe*, made himself master of a vice-admiral of the galleons, whom he carried into *France*, though his own ship carried but five little guns, and twenty men. He boarded the *Spanish* vessel, after giving orders

Bold action of two captains.

orders to sink his own ; which struck such a panic into the *Spaniards*, that they suffered him to go quietly into the admiral's cabin, where he immediately clapt a pistol to his breast, and obliged him to surrender. He then put his prisoners ashore at *Cape Tiboron*, except a few necessary to help navigate the vessel. Another Freebooter, one *Michael le Basque*, made a still bolder attempt with equal success. He had the assurance to attack, under the cannon of *Porto-bello*, another ship belonging to the same fleet, with a million of piasters on board, and carried her off.

M. d'Ogeron appointed governor of Tortuga, and the coast of St Domingo.

It appears by this account of the *St Domingo* Adventurers, that it was not easy to find a person fit to govern, or rather to make men and christians of them ; yet such was M. d'Ogeron : He knew how to gain both their love and respect, brought them to reverence laws that they thought no way obligatory to them, gave their bravery a turn, which not only freed it from that air of piracy, which had hitherto rendered it universally odious, but made it extremely useful to their king and country, and converted great numbers of them into settled inhabitants, tolerating with quiet discretion in the rest those abuses he had not power enough to abolish ; nay, he appears, on all occasions, to have acted more like a father than a governor. However, though he had, in quality of an inhabitant of the coast of *St Domingo*, where he had for some time lived before his promotion, given the Adventurers sufficient reason to know what they might expect from him as commander, he was obliged, in order to secure his footing at *Tortuga*, to dissemble his being sent in behalf of the *West India* company, and his intentions to suppress the trade carried on with the *Dutch* by the Adventurers, who alledged that the *Dutch* had never suffered them to want any thing at a time, when the court of *France* did not so much as know there were any *Frenchmen* at *Tortuga*, or on the coast of *St Domingo*.

His care and projects for the advantage of his colony.

M. d'Ogeron's first care, after he had taken possession of his government, was to repair and augment the fortifications, to employ all the inhabitants, facilitate commerce, and, in short, to procure his colony a name that might render it respectable. And though most of the projects he had formed for those commendable purposes miscarried for want of timely assistance, *Tortuga* and the coast of *St Domingo* soon began to put on a new face, which confirmed the *Spaniards* in their uneasiness concerning the establishments formed by the *French*. In fact, Ogeron, the year after his arrival, proposed to the *French* ministry an attempt upon *San Domingo* ; and probably nothing hindered M. Colbert from approving and seconding it, but his not being sufficiently acquainted with the character of the proposer. This minister, however, really came into Ogeron's way of thinking as to the expediency of appointing a particular governor for *Tortuga*, whose salary this disinterested officer offered to pay out of his own purse, that he might visit every place where he might think his presence necessary. Colbert also approved his representation on the necessity of building a fort at *Tortuga*, surrounded with good walls for securing the road, and for barring the entrance of the same road to the *West* ; of making a highway twelve or fifteen leagues long in the island of *St Domingo*, to facilitate the communication between the several quarters ; of forming an establishment on the Southern shore near *Ile Avache*, as the ships bound for *Jamaica* generally passed by it ; of lowering at least one third of the duties on all manner of goods coming from *France*, without which it would be impossible to induce the *Buccancers* and *Freebooters* to become planters ; of sending yearly a supply of 1000 or 1200 persons, one third children ; of remitting to the inhabitants one half of the duties payable on tobacco and other exports ; and, lastly, of putting an effectual stop to the trade carried on there by the *Dutch*. All these regulations would doubtless have been of infinite service to the colony, but, tho' all approved, were none of them put in execution.

Objects of his.

Alterations produced by them.

Ogeron formed another design, in which he was better seconded, contriving to fix the Adventurers by giving them wives. The *West India* company sent him for that purpose fifty young girls ; and, small as this number was, the alterations they made in the manners of the Adventurers were very conspicuous. These women communicated to their husbands some share of those virtues which adorn the fair sex, and in exchange borrowed from their husbands qualities peculiar to the men. For a long time *St Domingo* was famous for producing *Atalantas* as alert and dextrous in hunting the bull and boar, as the most celebrated *Meleagers*, and many an *Amazon* ready to exchange a brace of bullets with the most resolute warriors. Ogeron sent back the ship for another cargo of the same kind, and obtained it ; but tho' no goods ever turned to better account ; it was the last. Wherefore many young fellows, who, could they have procured wives, would have remained in *St Domingo*, and commenced planters, detested the place as soon as a peace was made, and

left

left the colony indented for of the great lest of sending overfights.

The governorable to prospect of lead a licent advance mon ships, and se Adventurers, freight. An vernor immo notes for any but was cont served, on ma modesty or t short, he was ance, and his he gained the

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While th tinent, the believe that in 1659, a either recei their hostil centinels r and, in spi in the ver

left the colony in a very languishing condition. They began indeed to send girls indented for three years to *Tortuga*, but this commerce was soon prohibited on account of the great disorder it produced. *French* authors charge their ministry with this neglect of sending female supplies to their new colonies, as the commonest and greatest of oversights.

Supplies of females necessary in a new colony.

The governor bethought himself of another expedient to make trade flourish, honourable to himself, and advantageous to the colony. He engaged the company, by a prospect of profit, to advance money to a multitude of Adventurers, who continued to lead a licentious and vagrant life for want of sums to commence planters. He offered to advance money himself for the same purpose without interest; nay more, he bought two ships, and sent them to *France* on his own account, tho' those ships rather belonged to the Adventurers, who were all free to put on board what they thought proper at a moderate freight. And when the ships returned with *European* commodities, the charitable governor immediately exposed the cargoes to sale, without requiring ready money, or even notes for any thing they wanted. Nay, he would not accept of notes when offered, but was content with the buyer's promise to pay as soon as able. He has been even observed, on many occasions, to use a kind of good-natured violence with those who, through modesty or timidity, were shy of asking, or hesitated in taking what was offered. In short, he was never known to hear of any person in distress without flying to his assistance, and his manner of doing favours greatly enhanced their value. By such behaviour he gained the hearts, and could command the purses of all the inhabitants.

The governor's wife & charitable behaviour.

People now flocked from all parts of *St Domingo*, for the sake of living under so wise and beneficent a governor, who distributed the new comers in so judicious a manner, that all that part of the Northern shore of *St Domingo*, which lies between *Port Margot* and *Port de Paix*, came by degrees to be inhabited. The war which the revolution in *Portugal* had kindled between the courts of *Lisbon* and *Madrid*, and in which *France* so deeply interested herself, gave the governor an opportunity of gaining over a great number of Freebooters, who had hitherto preserved an intire independence, by distributing among them commissions received from the new king of *Portugal*. In doing this he had in view to make useful inhabitants of those pirates, when he had first taken advantage of their bravery to strengthen his colony against the *Spaniards*.

He gains over all the Freebooters.

Though the Freebooters may be regarded as founders of the colony of which we give a history, we shall not follow them in their courses, which were now no longer confined to the *Atlantic*, or seas of the *Antilles*, but reached to the remotest corners of the *Pacific Ocean*. And though they did the *Spaniards* infinite mischief, they suffered enough themselves to pay dearly for all their advantages, even had they been gained by such hostilities as the laws of God and man could justify. They seldom returned home without losing great numbers of their men by sickness, sword, fatigue, and famine; and usually brought home but a very small part of their ill-gotten wealth. In all attacks, their first attention was to make some prisoners of consequence, not only to obtain those ransoms which the rules of war allow, but to enforce the most unreasonable demands, as it was usual with them, when the *Spaniards* refused to send them the sums they demanded in ransom for houses or effects, or proved dilatory in their payments, to strike off the heads of some of them, and send them to their countrymen, with menaces to serve the rest in the same manner, if their demands were not punctually answered. And, when like to be overpowered, they used to make their prisoners march before them, threatening to put them all to the sword, if the least opposition were made to their retreat. They have even been known to put scaling-ladders into the hands of nuns and clergy, and others most respected by the *Spaniards*, and force them on other such service, in hopes that the *Spaniards*, for fear of hurting their friends, would spare their most inveterate enemies.

Proceedings of the Freebooters.

While the Freebooters were thus worrying the *Spaniards* both far and near on the continent, the *French* at *Tortuga*, and on the coast of *St Domingo*, were weak enough to believe that the *Spaniards* would remain quiet in consequence of the peace of the *Pyrenees* in 1659, and *Ogeron* received orders to stand only on the defensive. But the *Spaniards* either received no such orders, or else did not think proper to obey them, but continued their hostilities with such inveteracy, that the *French* could not go to rest without placing centinels round their habitations, nor work without being equally prepared to fight, and, in spite of all these precautions, were murdered by night in their beds, and by day in the very heart of their plantations. This inveteracy of the *Spaniards* made it im-

Spaniards molest the French on St Domingo.



## A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

possible for *Ogeron* to restrain the Buccaneers, and such of the Freebooters as remained in the neighbouring seas; and probably he was not sorry that the *Spaniards* by such behaviour should authorise the Adventurers to continue the war, since most of those who composed his colony were unfit for any thing else, and, if kept at home inactive, might occasion great disorders, both at *Tortuga* and elsewhere.

St Jago -  
Spanish town.

At last the war broke out afresh between *France* and *Spain* in 1667, and as *Ogeron* was now at liberty to act openly against the *Spaniards*, he sent one *de Lisle*, a captain among the Freebooters, at the head of four hundred volunteers, to plunder *St Jago de los Caballeros*, whose inhabitants were most troublesome to the *French*. This place lies fourteen leagues from the sea, in a fertile and agreeable plain, at the banks of the river *Laque*, or *Monte Christo*, and directly South of *Puerto de Plata*, which is its embarkation or sea-port. The churches here are very fine, but the houses very mean, and the inhabitants; like those of almost all the *Spanish* towns in *America*, situated at some distance from the sea, and very poor, their whole trade consisting in tallow and leather, and all their riches in cattle, of which they feed vast herds in the neighbouring savannas.

Taken by de  
Lisle.

*De Lisle* landed his men at *Puerto de Plata*, and his arrival struck such terror into the *Spaniards*, that they not only made no opposition at the desiles, but deserted the town itself, where the *French* found some treasure, which did not amount to more than three hundred crowns to each man, including the ransoms of the prisoners, and twenty thousand piastres paid them for not reducing the town to ashes.

Successes of  
the Freeboot-  
ers.

At this epoch of time the Freebooters were at the height of their glory. Their principal commanders among the *French*, besides those mentioned, were *P'Olonois*, *Vauchin*, *Grammont*, *Poinet*, *le Picard*, and *Tributor*; and, among the *English*, *Rock*, *David*, *Morgan*, and *Mansfield*. They took, plundered, and ransomed *Cumana*, *Coro*, *Santa Marta*, the *Caraccas*, *Maracaibo*, *Porto-bello*, and *Panama*, some of them, particularly the last, after they had notice of the peace concluded at *Aix la Chapelle* in 1668, pretending they were not obliged by it, as neither signed by them or their plenipotentiaries, nor themselves called upon to assist at the conferences.

Jamaica  
sued by St  
Domingo.

*Ogeron*, who had made a voyage to *France*, returned in 1669 with a new commission, the abuses, heretofore committed by the proprietary governors of the *French* settlements, having determined the court of *France* not to grant any commission for the future for more than three years. This gentleman, before he left *Paris*, had presented *M. Colbert* a memorial, intimating that when he was appointed governor of *Tortuga* and the coast of *St Domingo*, the planters were but nine hundred, and now fifteen hundred; and that he had reinforced the colony with three hundred persons at his own expence. He adds that one advantage of this colony was its keeping the *English* of *Jamaica* so much in awe, that the governor of that island had offered him a perpetual neutrality for the settlements of the two crowns in the *West Indies*, whatever disturbances might happen between them in *Europe*. *M. Colbert* having expressed a desire of building a fort on the coast of *St Domingo*, the *West India* company, who had taken *Ogeron's* advice on the occasion, made answer, that first the building would cost between eighty and a hundred thousand livres, besides the pay of the garrison; secondly, that the expence would be quite useless, as the *French* required no safer retreat than the woods, where the *Spaniards*, embarrassed by their lances, could make no stand against them; thirdly, that the colony after all would not be obliged to fly to the woods for shelter, if good roads were once made for affording the several ports an easy communication, and four hundred men well armed and disciplined were constantly kept on foot at *Leogane*; lastly, that tho' a fleet were to land a large body of troops on the coast, these forces could do no more than burn a parcel of sorry huts, which could be rebuilt in three days; and that it would be dangerous to make a fortress, because the Adventurers would either retire elsewhere, for fear such an erection should draw the *Spaniards* on their hands from all quarters; or, if they remained, would lose courage as soon as they found themselves shut up in a place however defensible, and even perhaps mutiny against the governor, and oblige him to surrender, as had already been the case at *Tortuga*, where *Fontenay* commanded them.

Reasons a-  
gainst build-  
ing a fort on  
the coast of  
St Domingo.

Advantages  
of a French  
settlement on  
the coast of  
Florida.

Another thing, which *Ogeron* had greatly at heart, was establishing a *French* colony on the coast of *Florida*, as this country is but two hundred leagues from *Tortuga*, and the winds are always favourable to go or come, so that the *French* of the *Antilles*, by having a sure and easy retreat, if at any time their settlements happened to be broken, might be under no necessity of going over to the *English* islands, which by that means they considerably strengthened. Another advantage from such a settlement would re-

sult

sult to the *French* different kind on the coast of *maica*, where concluded, the *French* against the *English* company, entered to carry on the island was done. It would effect, since the settlement was precarious.

We have knowledge of hindering the Hence he has *India* company grew tired of the arrival of two in exchange *India* company writer, in a turers should that respect plan of con- flight of his them in the withdraw, them with them to stay after all they had to oppose of *Spain*.

Things v who comm *tuga*, and n execute his same station their way h give *Ogeron's* appearance be imprac- mained on on conditio vessels thou the campa *France*, an were reason had no less

About booters a seas. *M.* with this of *St Don* venturers of these had not pilot, was

sult to the *French* islands, which would receive from thence, at an easy price, all the different kinds of provisions to be had in any part of *America*, the dearths of which on the coast of *St Domingo* had once forced many of the Freebooters to retire to *Jamaica*, where they were much cheaper. And, lastly, such an establishment, he justly concluded, might, by means of a port to command the streights of *Babama*, render the *French* masters of the commerce of the *Spaniards*, and serve besides as a fence against the growing power of the *English*. But neither the court, nor the *West India* company, expressing any readiness to go to any great expence in *America*, Ogeron offered to carry his plan into execution, with the revenues of *Tortuga* alone, after that island was once put in a posture of defence, which was necessary to be immediately done. It was well for the *English* that this scheme of settling *Florida* did not take effect, since very probably they would not only by that means have lost some valuable settlement, but the possession of all the rest would have been rendered very precarious.

We have before observed that Ogeron, in order to engage the Adventurers to acknowledge him for governor, was obliged not to oppose openly the condition of not hindering them from trading with foreigners; but it was his resolution not to suffer it. Hence he had, by degrees, found means of establishing the exclusive trade of the *West India* company. But the Adventurers, who in the main acknowledged no superior, grew tired of so unjust a restraint, and, in 1670, publicly declared against it on the arrival of two *Dutch* vessels, which supplied them with all manner of *European* goods in exchange for their tobacco, three or four hundred per cent cheaper than the *West India* company would afford; a thing almost incredible, were we not told it by a *French* writer, in a work published at *Paris*, as an undoubted truth. No wonder the Adventurers should conceive the greatest prejudice against such blood-suckers, and even lose that respect for their instrument, M. Ogeron, tho' no way concerned in their iniquitous plan of commerce, which on many accounts he justly deserved. They not only made slight of his authority, but insulted him; and the *Dutch* captains failed not to support them in their proceedings, alledging to the governor, when he summoned them to withdraw, that they had dealt fairly and honestly with the Adventurers, and supplied them with arms, ammunition, and provisions at a moderate rate, when the *French* left them to starve, and in danger of having their throats cut by the *Spaniards*; and that after all they did not know what right an officer, commissioned by the court of *France*, had to oppose a trade managed with people living upon territories belonging to the court of *Spain*.

Things were carried to such lengths, that Ogeron, being refused assistance by *Gabaret*, who commanded a *French* squadron in those seas, was upon the point of abandoning *Tortuga*, and retiring to some of the islands in the Bay of *Honduras*. But before he could execute his design, *Gabaret*, and another commodore who was to succeed him in the same station, received positive orders to take *Tortuga* and the coast of *St Domingo* in their way home, and take or destroy all the *Dutch* vessels they should find there, and give Ogeron all manner of assistance. Hence it was not long before *Gabaret* made his appearance, when the rebels, if they deserve so harsh a name, considering that it would be impracticable to maintain a trade with foreigners while any *French* men of war remained on the coast, thought it best, after some few unsuccessful hostilities, to submit on conditions, importing that matters past should be buried in oblivion, and that all *French* vessels should, have liberty to trade to *Tortuga*, or the coast of *St Domingo*, on paying the company five per cent. And the year following the promised amnesty came from *France*, and the inhabitants, who had been declared to have forfeited their privileges, were restored to them in the amplest manner. At this time the colony of *St Domingo* had no less than 2000 men fit to bear arms.

About this time *France* declared war against *Holland*, and so afforded the Freebooters a plentiful harvest, as the *Dutch* carried on a very considerable trade in those seas. M. de *Beas*, however, governor general of the *French Antilles*, not satisfied with this advantage, resolved to attack *Curacao*, and sent two men of war to the coast of *St Domingo*, with orders to Ogeron to come to his assistance with as many of his Adventurers as he could assemble. Wherefore Ogeron put 100 Adventurers on board one of these vessels, and embarked himself on the other with 300 more. But they had not been long at sea when this last, through the ignorance or negligence of the pilot, was stranded in the night on one of the keys, or little low islands, on the north-western

Extortion of the *French West India* company endangers a revolt.

Mal content submitted on conditions.

Misfortune of the Adventurers.

## A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

thern coast of *Puerto Rico*, where all of them, except *Ogeron* and two or three besides, who timely saved themselves in a canoe, and a few more whom the *Spaniards* protected out of mere compassion, were, after being kept a long time in misery and suspense, put to death in cold blood, in consequence of *Ogeron's* appearing to demand their enlargement in a hostile manner, when he saw that *de Baas* neglected the proper measures to obtain it by fair means.

French colonies of *Cape Tiberon* and *Samana*.

In the mean time the King of *Spain* had, in favour of *Holland*, declared war against *France*. And *Ogeron*, on the news of this event, began seriously to think of executing the plan he had before formed of reducing what the *Spaniards* still held in the island of *St Domingo*, by seizing or blocking up all their havens, as the *English* had before done at *Jamaica*. With this view he sent a colony to the Southern coast towards *Cape Tiberon*, and some time after another to the Peninsula of *Samana*. And having these settlements, deprived the *Spaniards* of all communication with the sea, except *San Domingo*, he studied on means for reducing this capital. But his first colony, which settled in a plain now called *le Fond de l'Isle Avachet*, was attacked by the *Spaniards* before it could fortify itself, and dispersed. This disappointment, however, did not dishearten him, but, as he could in some measure dispense with a Western settlement, served only to increase his attention to strengthen the Eastern at *Samana*.

*Samana* peninsula described.

*Samana*, as we said, is a Peninsula on the Eastern coast of *St Domingo*. Its isthmus is not above a quarter of a league broad, and so marshy as to be easily defended. The mean breadth of the Peninsula may be about five leagues, and its length between fifteen and sixteen. It helps to form a commodious bay fourteen leagues deep, where ships may be moored close to shore, or ride at anchor in fourteen fathom water. This bay is full of little islands, or keys, many of which are at its entrance, but may be easily avoided by keeping close in with the Western shore. The lands of the Peninsula are not very level, but extremely fertile, and the situation besides is very convenient for trade, with *Europe* especially.

Colony by accident stocked with girls.

The Adventurers had at first some thoughts of fixing at *Samana*, but as it is but twenty leagues from *San Domingo*, they were apprehensive of perpetual molestation from the *Spaniards*, and therefore chose *Tortuga* as more remote and tenable. However, as buccaneering flourished, it was the residence of Buccaneers, and the resort of Freebooters. All these reasons determined *M. Ogeron* to chuse that part of the Western coast for a colony. But as he knew that the Adventurers he sent thither must be mere soldiers for a time, he gave them no women. But soon after a ship from *St Malocs*, bound to *Tortuga*, with a cargo of girls, happening to put in at this port, the Adventurers took each of them a girl at the price demanded, to the great joy of *Ogeron*, who wished nothing more than to see the Adventurers bind themselves to a settled life, tho' a little sooner than he expected.

Schemes and death of *Ogeron*.

The year following the *French* king suppressed the *West India* company, and assumed all his rights to his islands in *America*, which he afterwards farmed, for 100,000 crowns yearly, to another company called the Company of Farmers of the Western department. On this *Ogeron* set out for *France*, to propose to the court the plan, before mentioned, of reducing, with his own forces, what the *Spaniards* still retained in the island of *St Domingo*, provided his majesty would assist him with a squadron strong enough to block up the capital; and another plan for rendering the colony much more flourishing. By this last he proposed to maintain three garrisons, pay the salaries of the governors, and remit annually 40,000 livres clear to the royal exchequer. But he died soon after his arrival, without obtaining audience of the king or minister. Though this wife governor had so many fair and honest opportunities of amassing immense sums, he died very poor, if you except some considerable sums due to him from the *West India* company, but of which we are assured his heirs never received a farthing.

*Ogeron*, on setting out from his government, had entrusted *Tortuga* and the Northern coast to the care of *M. de Cappy*, and the Western coast to *M. de Ponancy* his nephew. And not long after a *Dutch* squadron, of one ship of the line and some frigates, gave these officers an opportunity of exerting themselves. These ships first appeared on the Northern coast, and then sailed for *Petit Guave*, where they first met with a very warm reception from some small vessels that lay there. But bearing off at a distance sufficient to avail themselves of the superiority of their metal, they at length struck such a panic into the *French* Adventurers, that they were suffered to warp up very close

to the shore, burn them, and then return to the *Dutch* false information.

*Ponancy*: all the quality, as his therefore recall they had *Spaniards* the *Spaniards* hunting, the all to the sw

This year *French* square their ships for out effect, a return a *Dutch* off a number. They could which would deal very animosity to often as the

In the month of *Cuba*, wandered a taking it for take was for to attempt for their de both sides,

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all that fell very high, felled trees the Negroes

The governor in an expedition, imagined, getting to slaves, and cancers had and imple out direct terrified

to the shore some ships that had been sunk, for fear of falling into their hands, and burn them with all the other ships in the harbour without the least opposition. Another Dutch squadron appeared on the coast of St Domingo the next year, but, on false informations given it by a Swedish captain in the French interest, attempted nothing.

1673  
Dutch burn French ships at Petit Guavoe.

Ponancy about this time was nominated to succeed his uncle, whom he resembled in all the qualities of a good governor. But instead of endeavouring to extend his colony, as his uncle had done, he confined all his views to the strengthening of it, and therefore recalled the Adventurers of Samana. But, these people asking leave to stay till they had consumed their provisions, thought fit, in the mean time, to plunder a little Spanish town called Cotrey, about ten leagues to the West of Samana, which so incensed the Spaniards, that, on information by a deserter that most of the men were out on hunting, they fell unexpectedly upon those who remained in the boucan, and put them all to the sword, except a few who escaped in a canoe.

Colony of Samana destroyed.

This year Ponancy embarked with a good number of his Adventurers on board a French squadron commanded by M. d'Etrees, who intended to attack Curacoa. But their ships striking in the night on the Island of Aves, he was obliged to return without effect, after losing many of his men by this unhappy accident. And soon after his return a Dutch squadron appeared on the coasts of his government, where they carried off a number of vessels laden with tobacco, but bought much more of the inhabitants. They could not forbear expressing a desire to consider St Domingo as a neutral colony, which would have been very agreeable to the inhabitants, as the Dutch had always dealt very fairly and honestly with them, and were, for this reason, in spite of the animosity between the two nations, and the express orders of the French court, as often as they came to trade in a peaceable manner, received with open arms.

1678  
Expedition against Curacoa unsuccessful.

Illicit trade of the Dutch with the colony.

In the mean time Ponancy sent eight hundred Freebooters against St Jago, the capital of Cuba, who, having lost their way at the foot of a mountain that lay in the road, wandered about it so long, that at last the vanguard came up with the rearguard, and taking it for a body of Spaniards, immediately attacked it. And, though the mistake was soon enough discovered to prevent much mischief, it was thought improper to attempt the place, as the Spaniards could in a few hours assemble four thousand men for their defence, and must have been sufficiently alarmed by the discharges made on both sides, while the confusion lasted.

Expedition to St Jago mis-carried.

The peace of Nimguen suspended all hostilities, and the Spaniards of St Domingo finding that the French had at last got too great a footing on the island to be dispossessed by force, thought fit to visit their settlements in a friendly manner, and were visited in their turn. But, tho' this good understanding was attended with great advantages to both sides, the Spanish governor never approved it, at least openly, and it lasted but a very short time.

Peace of Nimguen suspends hostilities.

Some time after the peace had been declared in the island, a Black, who had been a slave among the Spaniards, and, after killing his master, had taken refuge among the French, who gave him his liberty, and even assigned him a piece of land to clear and cultivate, seduced some French Negroes, most of whom had been taken from the Spaniards, and longed to return to their former master. He intended, after cutting the throats of all the French in the neighbourhood, to throw himself again into the hands of the Spaniards, from whom, by this second crime, he expected to obtain pardon for the first. The first day he assembled twenty five, at the head of whom he murdered all that fell into his hands for several leagues along the coast. After this he retired to a very high, and almost inaccessible mountain, where he made a good intrenchment with felled trees, from whence he made daily excursions, seducing or carrying off by force all the Negroes he met with, and massacring without mercy all the French.

1679  
Insurrection of the Negroes.

The governor was at a loss how to deal with them, few persons caring to engage in an expedition, which, besides being extremely dangerous, could not, as they falsely imagined, be attended with honour or advantage. In the mean time, the evil was getting to a very alarming height, not a day passing without desertion or carrying off slaves, and the murder of some inhabitants. At last a company of about twenty Buccaneers happening to pass that way, the governor acquainted them with his uneasiness, and implored their assistance, which those brave fellows immediately granted, and set out directly for the mountain. They began to climb it with such resolution, that the terrified slaves made but a faint resistance. However, seven or eight of them were

Suppressed by a few brave Buccaneers

and among them their chief the rest escaping to the *Spanish* settlements, where they were well received.

1680

Comotions  
of the colony.

The insurrection of the slaves was scarce suppressed, when another broke out among the inhabitants. In consequence of some regulations made by the *French* court in the tobacco trade, the principal support of this infant colony, the inhabitants were often necessitated to sell it, at a low price, to those who had an exclusive right to deal in that commodity, and gave what they pleased. Hence many, to avoid so grievous a hardship, began to think of retiring to the *English* and *Dutch* settlements. And the discontent was greatly increased by an order of the *French* court to restrain the Freebooters in their hostilities against the *Spaniards*: A step which, tho' tending in the main to the peace and prosperity of the colony, was no way wished by the members of it, who thought of nothing but temporary advantages.

Prudent mea-  
sures of the  
governor for  
pacifying  
them.

The governor found means at first of pacifying the people by circulating a letter from the intendant of the *French* islands, importing, that as soon as the lease of the farmers was expired, tobacco would be no longer farmed, but subject only to a duty payable on its importation into *France*. But this calm was of short continuance; for, on the arrival of some ships with Negroes, on account of the *Senegal* company, a report was spread that this company intended to engross the island. This so exasperated the inhabitants, that they assembled in arms to the number of seven or eight hundred. The governor, however, by convincing them, as he imagined, of their mistake, made them promise to disperse. But he was soon after informed that, instead of separating, they had resolved to burn their huts, and retire to the woods. The governor wisely foreseeing that if they once took this step, they would afterwards stick at nothing, set out to agree the point with them a second time, and did it so effectually, that they threw down their arms, only desiring that what was past might be buried in oblivion. To this the governor replied, that it was not in his power to grant their request, and that he could by no means omit informing the court of their behaviour. "If this be the case," they said, there is no safety here for any of us." This was as much as to say that they might as well right themselves effectually, as be punished for barely attempting it. The governor, foreseeing the danger of driving them to such extremities, very prudently replied, that, tho' he could not pardon them, he would not prosecute any one till he had the king's direction; but, on the contrary, would write to the ministry in such terms that he could almost assure them of the king's mercy.

Peace and in-  
crease of the  
colony.

This engaged them to disperse; and the governor, according to his promise, faithfully laid open their grievances, in the strongest terms, representing besides his inability to manage them, if they were driven to extremities, or to want their assistance if any foreign power should make an attack upon his government\*. The first of these representations must have had great weight, since it appeared, by a survey made the year before this, that the colony, in spite of all the losses, commotions, and distresses, abovementioned, contained seven thousand souls, one half of them fit for the most difficult enterprises; and, in two years more, the number was increased to about eight thousand, half of them able to bear arms.

French mani-  
fest pretensi-  
ons to St Do-  
mingo.

About this time the *French* court thought fit to take off the mask as to its pretensions upon *Hispaniola*, by declaring to the president of *San Domingo*, that it would consider any hostilities committed against the *French* on that island, as infractions of the treaty of *Nimeguen*. The president answered, that the court of *Spain* did not conceive that the *French* had any right to a single foot of land on the island itself, tho', as to *Ter-tuga*, he would take care that the governor of it as such should have no reason to complain of the *Spaniards*, provided he took care not to suffer any of his countrymen to pass over to *St Domingo*, either to trade or settle there. *Ponancy* regarded this declaration of the president as a mere formality, and therefore dexterously improved his peaceable dispositions to increase and strengthen the settlements of that part of his government.

1682

French colo-  
ny under de-  
cay.

It is no easy matter to account for the great increase of the *French* colony of *St Domingo*, as to the number of inhabitants, considering what they suffered from the clerks of the tobacco farmers, who, in spite of *Ponancy's* representations, were permitted to exhaust the people to such a degree, that at the time of his death, which happened at

\* One of the greatest difficulties in suppressing this insurrection, arose from the refusal of the male-contents to appoint any of their body to discover their grievances, lest they should be selected as chief promoters of the disturbances, and punished for an example to the rest.

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the latter end of 1682, the colony was not only in a most deplorable condition, but the government of it extremely weak and feeble.

The most antient class of the Adventurers, the Buccaneers, were dwindled to nothing; the two others, in consequence of their united interests, were still formidable. But this strength at the same time made them so ungovernable in their distress, that the officers thought they did a great deal in preventing an open rebellion. The Freebooters in particular did the colony very little service, tho' at the same time they were spreading terror and desolation throughout the *Spanish Indies*. On the contrary, they obstructed its trade, and procured it enemies, against whom they were seldom in the way to give it any assistance. And, though they acknowledged the governor of *Tortuga* for their superior, they made light of his orders when they any way clashed with their own private interests. For these reasons the *French* court, after tolerating them a long time, as a necessary evil, came at last to consider them as both unnecessary and intolerable, or at least a decayed limb of the body politic, from which there was more mischief to be feared than gain to be expected. And, in fact, the *Spaniards*, besides not allowing the *French* any right to settle at *St Domingo*, were entitled, from their entertainment and protection of the Freebooters, to consider the whole settlement rather as a nest of pirates, than a colony of honest people, and therefore renewed their hostilities with more than ordinary animosity. Nor were the *English* less alarmed at seeing the body of *French* Adventurers gradually assuming the form of a regular and policed society, which might in time become a powerful rival, by cultivating indigo, sugar, cotton, and other commodities, which *St Domingo* is capable of producing.

Freebooters obnoxious to *French*, *Spanish*, and *English*.

*Charlevoix* tells us, that a letter was found on board a *Spanish* vessel, importing, that the governor of *Jamaica* had proposed to the governor of the *Havanna*, to unite their forces for the reduction or extirpation of those who gave them so much uneasiness. However, next year an *English* frigate of thirty guns was observed cruising in the channel between *Tortuga* and the great island, and the captain being summoned by the *French* commander to manifest his intentions, made answer, that the sea being free and open, no person had a right to call him to an account. The *Frenchman*, on this occasion, not considering his dealer, sent out an armed boat, with only thirty Freebooters in her to take the obstinate *Englishman*. But these Adventurers met with so warm a reception, that they were obliged to sheer off in great confusion. On this the governor requested Capt. *Grammont*, a *French* Freebooter, who happened to be at the Cape with a fifty gun ship, to vindicate the honour of his country. *Grammont* readily accepted the commission, and joined by three hundred Freebooters more, made directly for the *English* vessel, which waited for him with great resolution. But the *French* immediately grappled, and boarding the vessel put every man to the sword, except the captain. This rough treatment put an end to the good understanding which had hitherto subsisted between the *English* of *Jamaica* and the *French* of *St Domingo*, which had been already considerably weakened by the letter abovementioned, in consequence of which the *French* Freebooters had refused to admit the *English* to join them in an expedition, and had even confiscated their share of the plunder made in another enterprise. However, all this pretended zeal for the honour and interest of their country could not save many of them from being declared pirates by *M. de Franquesnay*, who acted as governor till the *French* court had named a successor to *Ponancy*, and treated as such, if they had not taken care to retire to other places, leaving the rest so much dissatisfied, that there was great reason to fear that their discontent would break out into open rebellion.

Discord between the *French* and *English* Freebooters.

*English* frigate taken.

Freebooters declared pirates.

Such was the state of the colony when *Cassidy* arrived there as governor in 1684; but he soon found means to quiet the inhabitants without proceeding himself, or driving them to extremities. However, it was not long before *Grammont*, and other Freebooters, applied to him for commissions to cruise against the *Spaniards*, which, at last, he thought fit to grant, as the best method of uniting these irregulars for an expedition in which the *French* court wanted to employ them, and cause *Grammont*, who had a great influence over the Freebooters, to bring back to *St Domingo*, by a certain day, all those whom *Franquesnay* had obliged to retire by declaring them pirates.

Commissioned to cruise against the *Spaniards*.

All this time subsisted a truce between the *French* and *Spanish* courts, so that this step of the *French* governor must give a very strange opinion of him, as though it was consistent with justice to encourage such vermin in their unlawful practices, to secure their assistance in such as was lawful, for fear of driving them to despair, or making them

1684

Court of  
France dis-  
proves indul-  
gence to the  
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them desert to the *English* or *Dutch* colonies. But the *French* ministry considering the injury their depredations did to the trade carried on by the *French* merchants, in the names of *Spain*, with the *Spanish* *Netherlands*, highly disapproved those indulgencies, as they did others shewed them in the time of war, where they were suffered to pay no regard to the laws made in *France* for the regulation of privateers, though it was impossible to comply with some of them; such, for example, as taking in their stores, or careening their vessels in countries subject to the crown of *France*, whereas it often happened that no country subject to that crown, except *France* itself, could supply them with what they wanted on these occasions. And perhaps the ministry was more to blame upon the whole than the governor.

Most of the Freebooters had by this time acquired a Plantation, or an interest in one, so that if they deserted the island, it would be rather because the restraints laid on the tobacco trade had rendered their labours ashore useless, than because they could not prey at sea upon the *Spaniards*. By this restraint, that article which used to pass as money in this colony was become such a drug, that persons who had nothing else to exchange for the necessaries of life, were in danger of starving. This distress moved the inhabitants to represent to the king, that if the tobacco farm was suppressed, and they had liberty to sell it by wholesale or retail, within or without his dominions, free of all duties, they were willing to give him, free of all charges, the fourth part of all they landed in any port of *France*, which would be worth more than the forty sols per hundred weight paid by the farmers, besides encouraging them to raise cotton, indigo, sugar, and other commodities, which would bring him considerable sums.

Colony re-  
monstrates a-  
gainst the to-  
bacco farm.

But this remonstrance, it seems, had no speedy effect, so that the colony was more than once on the point of dissolution, till at last indigo began to flourish, and brought much money into the country, and enabled the inhabitants to erect sugarworks. Rocou and cocoa also began to be raised in great quantities, and cocoa is said to have chiefly contributed to make the colony populous. As for cotton, the inhabitants neglected it, as an article that did not quit cost. Many of the inhabitants, however, even after these improvements were brought to some height, would have withdrawn themselves, were it not for the profits arising from the prizes made by the Freebooters.

Cultivates in-  
digo, sugar,  
rocou and co-  
coa to advan-  
tage.

Neither *Ogeron* nor *Ponancy* would ever tolerate an attorney or lawyer in the country, for fear of encouraging a litigious spirit, which must be highly detrimental to an infant colony. And indeed there could be no occasion for them, when the judges understood little more than the parties. For ever since the Adventurers began to think of justice, it used to be administered by councils formed of the officers of militia in the several districts under the authority of the governor. But the colony was now grown too civilized and populous to remain in the hands of such illiterate justices. Wherefore a superior council was the year following established for the whole colony, and inferior courts for the four principal districts, namely *Leogane* and *Petit Guave*, for the Western, and *Port de Paix* and *Cape François* for the Northern coast, and upon these the adjoining districts of lesser note were made dependent. The council first sat at *Petit Guave*, but afterwards retired to *Leogane*; the four inferior courts were placed in the four towns, from whence the principal districts for which they were established took their names.

Council and  
courts of jus-  
tice establi-  
ed.

The settlement at *Tortuga*, so flourishing at the beginning, was considerably decayed when *Ponancy* was named governor, and all his endeavours to restore it proved ineffectual. The settlement formed by the Buccaneers at *Bayaba* might possibly have contributed to this decrease, but the chief cause must have been the detrition or wearing away of the land. This at last determined *Cuffy* to abandon the fortrels, and erect one at *Port de Paix* for the same purpose of commanding the channel between it and that island.

Fort at *Tor-  
tuga* abandon-  
ed.

Though *Cuffy* did his utmost to reform the Freebooters, they continued still in many places to lead most shocking lives, especially at *Petit Guave*, the principal resort of them and the pirates. He prosecuted his design with such resolution, as convinced the Freebooters, that, if they were unwilling to do their duty, they must oppose him by force, or retire to some place out of his reach. The last seeming most eligible, they immediately resolved, to the number of above two thousand, on an expedition to the *Scuth Sea*. About the same time, the like resolution was taken by a large gang of *English* Freebooters, and several smaller gangs of both nations. We shall not follow these pirates in their excursions, which lasted to 1688, and, from which the picture we have already given of their manner of making war was chiefly taken. Those belonging

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to St Domingo alone went out to the number of 3000, of whom scarce 500 returned, and those with hardly enough to pay the cost of their equipment, to the great disappointment of the planters, who had advanced very considerable sums to fit them out.

It could not be expected that the Spaniards, molested by these pirates in the most cruel manner on both shores of their possessions in America, should consider as friends a colony that had produced them in such numbers, and many of whose inhabitants, they must know, or have just cause to suspect, were concerned in their enterprizes. Wherefore they renewed their hostilities on the coast of St Domingo, and in 1637, with only eighty five men in a brigantine and pirogue, surpris'd *Petite Guave*, which, from the great number of Freebooters it had furnished out for the South Sea expedition, and the severity of *Cussy* to the remainder, had scarce a man left to defend it. But those in the neighbourhood had soon assembled, and cutting off the retreat of the Spaniards to the sea, obliged them to shut themselves up in the fort, which was soon forced. On this occasion twenty-five of the Spaniards escaped by flight, the rest were put to the sword, except the officers, who were reserved for a more ignominious death, and hanged, in reprisal for some murders committed on their landing, and some treatment of the same kind lately given, though perhaps with great justice, to some Freebooters fallen into their hands.

1687.

*Petite Guave* surpris'd by the Spaniards

This year *Laurence de Graff*, a famous Freebooter, was created major of the colony. This man had first signalis'd himself among the Spaniards, till he fell into the hands of some Freebooters, whom, on invitation, he joined as brave men, and consequently better company, to make war upon his former employers. And he spread so much terror and desolation among them, that one of their public petitions was to be delivered from the fury of *Laurencille*, the name they had given him when he lived among them. He was not in fact so bad as represented, but the Freebooters had so often us'd his name to secure success to their cruel enterprizes, that they brought an odium on it greater than it deserv'd. The chief views of the French ministry in promoting this man, were to engage the Freebooters, over whom he had great influence, to abandon their evil courses, and to employ him in scouring the adjacent seas from pirates, for which purpose they appointed him governor of *Ile Avacbe*, and he executed his commission to the satisfaction of French, English, and Spaniards.

*Dr. Graff* created major of the colony.

But all these measures were but palliative with regard to the disease that preyed upon the vitals of the colony. From the restraints upon trade in general, and the tobacco trade in particular, the planters as had not stock enough to plant indigo were ready to starve, and the difficulties of cultivating indigo were considerably increased by the want of Negroes as well as contract servants; so that many of the Freebooters, who were dispos'd to become planters, and had funds for that purpose, could do nothing for want of hands. This evil arose from the exclusive commerce of Negroes reserved by the *West India* company; for at first they pour'd so many slaves into the colony, that others were deterred from sending contract servants, and on their meeting with some disappointment, through their own mistake in glutting the market, they stopp'd their hands all at once. These reasons of complaint received new weight from a permission granted to another company, that of *St Malo*, to trade with the Spaniards in all these parts, by which means three or four hundred of the inhabitants, who heretofore lived comfortably by that commerce, were all at once reduced to the greatest distress.

1639.

Colony distressed for want of trade.

The inhabitants first complain'd of their grievances, but finding no redress, all those of the district of *Cape François* took up arms, headed by one *Chevalier*, and talk'd of naming a successor to *Cussy*, whom they accus'd of trading with the Spaniards on his own account, though in the name of the *St Malo* company. *Chevalier* first seiz'd a ship trading with the Spaniards in a neighbouring port, then pass'd through the coasts sowing the seeds of rebellion, and at last took post on a hill that now makes part of the town of *Cape François*, plant'd cannon on it, and intrenched himself so as to make it difficult to force him. But soon after seeing an intrenchment thrown up opposite to his own, he sent word to the officer who commanded in it, that he had taken up arms only to hinder the correspondence of the governor with the enemies of France, to the great detriment of the colony, and that he was willing to lay them down on putting a stop to so scandalous a disorder. The officer, after deliberating whether he should hang the messenger, thought it better to send him back with an answer, importing, that he would not fail to inform the court of the causes of his complaint, not doubting that the king would pay due regard to them if well grounded. But in the mean time he

Rites in arms.

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## A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

advised him and his followers to disperse, as the best way to avoid increasing their guilt, on which he would venture to assure them that what was past should be buried in oblivion. This answer had the desired effect: The male-contents were so weary of their confinement in their trenches, that they immediately cried out, *nothing could be fairer*, and immediately retired. Whether the leader did not comply till his followers had deserted him, or renewed his caballing, the officer thought fit to arrest him, in presence of the inhabitants of the same district, who never offered to interpose in his favour, so that the unhappy man was immediately put on board a ship for *Port de Paix*, where he was tried, sentenced, and hanged; two more of his accomplices were treated in the same manner. This insurrection was scarce appeased, when the governor received a letter from the *French* ministry about establishing a poll tax, and an excise in the colony, but he so well represented the consequences of such a step, that he heard no more of it.

1689.

Disperse.

Their leader executed.

In June 1689, a gang of 240 Freebooters, who had brought some *English* prizes into the *Cal de Sac*, having applied to *Cuffy* for commissions to go upon a new cruise, he proposed an attack upon *St Yago de los Caballeros*, as more honourable and advantageous to themselves, and more beneficial to their country, than any they could undertake by sea, and promised to lead them himself, and to take with him all the inhabitants of the Cape and its neighbourhood fit to bear arms. They approved his advice, and he embarked with them for *Port de Paix*, where he mustered his little army, consisting of four hundred horse, and four hundred and fifty foot, besides a hundred and fifty Negroes, to take care of the horses and baggage. *Cuffy* imagined he could easily reduce all the *Spanish* settlements, on account of great discontent, which, as he was falsely informed, prevailed among the *Spaniards* in general, and particularly in the garrison of *San Domingo*. On this presumption, he sent a message to the governor of *St Yago*, that he was come to decide by arms, with the president of *San Domingo*, the sole possession of the island, and would wait his arrival if he accepted the challenge. The governor of *St Yago* gallantly answered, that he needed not trouble the president, since he wanted not courage nor force to answer it himself. According to his word, *Cuffy* was a day or two after attacked in passing a defile formed by a torrent, but he repulsed the *Spaniards* with great loss, which struck them with such a terror, that he found the town quite empty. But the inhabitants had carried off every thing moveable except provisions, which *Cuffy* gave orders not to touch. Some, however, unable to resist the temptation, gratified their appetites, and as they soon found themselves sick, concluded they were poisoned; which so enraged the army, that *Cuffy* was obliged to permit them to burn the town, sparing only the churches and chapels.

St Yago de los Caballeros burnt by the trench.

1690.

The year following the colony of *St Domingo* was reinforced by a number of the most considerable families of *St Christophers*, which the *English* had taken from the *French*. And soon after their arrival, *Cuffy* had advice that the fleet which had dislodged them, was sailed for *Portorico*, to join the *Spaniards*, whom his late expedition to *St Yago* must have highly exasperated. But the *Spaniards*, it seems, needed not assistance to execute their revenge; for two days after the governor had intelligence that they appeared both by sea and land, and in five days more their fleet, consisting of six large ships and a frigate, carrying 2600 men, landed 1200 at *Bayaba*, and 500 more near *Jaqueri*; and neither these forces, nor 1200 more, which crossed the island from the capital, met with the least resistance. This inaction of the *French* proceeded from a difference in opinion, between the governor and his lieutenant; the former advising ambuscades, and the other proposing to meet them in an open plain, called *Savane de Limonade*, through which they must pass in their way to the Cape. And, unfortunately for the *French*, this last proposal was so universally approved, that the governor was obliged to yield to it, and secured to the *Spaniards* their advantage of superiority in number. Wherefore, two days after they marched to the plain, which is a league square, and perfectly level. The day after their arrival the *Spaniards* entered the plain, and the *French*, on their first appearance, fell upon them with the same precipitation and confusion which had before presided at their counsels. However, the victory remained long dubious, owing to the extraordinary efforts of 300 Freebooters, whose fire had almost gained a superiority over that of the *Spanish* fusiliers. But a *Spanish* officer, observing the disparity, made a signal to 300 lancers, who had all this time lain flat on their faces, and they made so furious a charge on the *French*, that they immediately broke through their center. On this the two wings, finding themselves separated, took their flight, except a few of the most resolute, who stood by the governor

French routed by the Spaniards.

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and lieutenant, till they were overpowered, and all slain. The French lost on this occasion, besides those two general officers, between four and five hundred of their bravest men.

Had the Spaniards made proper use of their advantage, they might have driven the French out of St Domingo, or at least obliged them to submit to the Spanish crown; but they contented themselves with burning the town of the Cape, and killing all the Frenchmen they found, and then retired with a great number of women, children, and slaves. Some of the inhabitants, who had retired into the woods with their families, had saved part of their effects and slaves, who, on this occasion, and many others since, gave surprising proofs of their fidelity and attachment to their masters, when they might have recovered their liberty, without any risk, by deserting them. A plain demonstration that these poor despised people are susceptible of noble sentiments, and of gratitude in particular, since the only reason that can be given for their behaviour on these occasions, is the extraordinary mildness with which the French planters generally treat them, and their great care to make them good Christians. But though the Spaniards did not make the most of their victory, they recovered by it that superiority over the French, the loss of which had been so detrimental to them, and of which the French have never since been able to deprive them. Soon after their defeat, arrived 300 more of the late inhabitants of St Christophers, who had been refused entertainment by the people of Santa Cruz, but were more heartily welcome to St Domingo, where, besides filling the vacant plantations, they greatly contributed, with those already arrived from the same place, to introduce sentiments of religion, virtue, and politeness, with which, it seems, the inhabitants of St Domingo were not as yet too well acquainted.

Spaniards make not the best use of their victory.

The English, who were not early enough to assist the Spaniards in the attack of the French colony of St Domingo, thought fit to take the advantage of the consternation and weakness in which the Spaniards had left it. Wherefore, about three weeks after the retreat of the Spaniards, they appeared off the coast, with a fleet, consisting of four ships of 40 and 50 guns, eight smaller vessels, and some thallops. After some time cannonading to no purpose a place called *la Petite Riviere* on the Western coast, they attempted to land; but M. Dumas, who commanded in chief, till the court had appointed a successor to Cuffy, had thrown up such good intrenchments there and at every other place, where there was reason to apprehend any attempt of that kind, that the English were obliged to desist. They then sent some smaller craft, full of men, to take a Freebooters ship, which had been stranded within 100 paces of an intrenchment at a place called *l'Etterre*, within two leagues of the former; but M. des Landes, who commanded in the absence of Dumas, having guessed their intentions, immediately dispatched his best mounted troopers, who got thither time enough to defeat their design. The next day the fleet weighed anchor, except two large ships, and one smaller, left to amuse the troops of the *Petite Riviere*; but *des Landes* had left there 150 men, who behaved so well that the English, for want of being covered by the cannon of their ships, which lay at too great a distance, could effect nothing.

English attempt in vain.

The ships left at *la Petite Riviere* were no sooner returned, than they all drew in nearer to the land, and the English commander sent two officers, and an old Freebooter on shore to propose a conference, and to serve as hostages, if the French commander thought fit to send deputies to treat with him. The French commander accepted the invitation, and sent two officers on board the commodore, but with express orders not to conclude any thing. The proposal made to the officers imported that the French of St Domingo should put themselves under the protection of his Britannic majesty, who would not abandon them as their king had done, but would take care to supply all their wants. The French officers answered, that this was not a proposal to be made to loyal subjects, that they wanted nothing, and expected in a short time to return their compliment at Jamaica.

Their proposal rejected by the French.

The English commander finding by this resolute answer, that the French were as willing as he had reason to guess they were able to defend themselves, weighed anchor and put to sea again; but after taking in water and fresh provisions on the opposite side of the Bay of *Cul de Sac*, called *les Vages*, and at *Mont Bouy*, he appeared again before *la Petite Riviere*, where *des Landes*, who followed their fleet from place to place, got advice that his intention was to surprise, plunder, and burn *Petite Guave*. Wherefore he sent notice to the commanding officer of that place to be upon his guard, and that he would soon be with him. In fact, the fleet immediately made for *Petite Guave*, and *des Landes* followed by land, after putting some men in boats to follow

Landmen, but are repulsed.

## A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

follow it by water. But the fleet, instead of stopping at *Petite Guave*, proceeded to *Nippes*, on which were but 50 men, and landed 500, who in less than two hours were attacked by the *French* commander, and not being strong enough to maintain their ground on shore, after a slight skirmish, retired on board their ships, which immediately disappeared.

*Ducasse*, the new governor, finds the colony in great decay.

Soon after this event, M. *Ducasse*, who had been nominated successor to *Cuffy*, arrived to take possession of his government. This gentleman, who had long resided in the colony, both as an inhabitant, and as an agent to the *West India* company, was greatly surpris'd to find it weaker by 400 men than it had been a few years before, when he left it, and without fortifications and military stores, the Freebooters, who had been its chief support, all dead, or in the hands of the *English*, and the coasts so ill guarded, that all the merchant ships which came this year from *Europe*, had fallen into the enemy's hands and, moreover, the settlement of the *Cul de Sac* threaten'd with a visit from a most powerful *Spanish* armament. But as this colony may justly be said to have something very uncommon and singular in its birth and growth, and to have wanted nothing but its *Romulus* and *Numa* to become a *Rome* to the New World, the reader, we imagine, will not be displeas'd to see a particular survey of it taken about this time by M. *Donon de Gulifet*, the king's lieutenant at *Santa Cruz*, and his method for retrieving it.

Particular survey of its territory. *Cape Francois*.

*Cape Francois*, says *Gulifet*, enjoys the best air of any place in the whole island, has a port excellent in itself, and very commodious for ships coming from *Europe*. Its lands are very good, and well watered, and sufficient to maintain 6000 planters, though at present there are but 1600, and not a single person of any consequence among them.

*Port de Paix*.

*Port de Paix* lies six leagues East of *Cape Francois*, and contains 80 planters, and its district will admit no more. It has no port, properly speaking, but only a road not very good; the air besides is unwholesome, and the soil barren. Here are, however, a multitude of Rangers, an indolent set of people, who subsist by hunting, and live in huts in the country. Including these hunters, this post may consist of 500 persons. The fort here is built on a rock of the hardest kind of freestone, which terminates at top in a flat of 450 fathoms in circumference, and well supplied with springs at two or three feet under the surface. The side facing the sea, which walls 190 fathoms of it, forms an amphitheatre, but the side towards the land is very steep to the height of between 45 and 50 feet. This advantage, however, is almost lost by the neighbourhood of some hills, which command it on every side by land, from 160 to 300 fathom distance, and against which it is impossible to screen it but by very strong and extensive epaulments. It would be proper besides to reduce the curtains nearer to the center by cutting away the rock, so as to give it a still greater declivity.

*Tortuga*.

*Tortuga* lies opposite to *Port de Paix*; has but 100 inhabitants, and is but a wretched habitation, and therefore serves for nothing but to disperse the colony's forces.

*Cul de Sac*.

In the district of the *Cul de Sac*, 50 leagues South of *Port de Paix*, are 50 planters, and it may admit of twice as many more; but the air is unwholesome, water scarce, and even what is obtained by digging brackish.

*Leogane*.

The district of *Leogane* is six leagues further to the East. It is a plain four leagues long, and a league and half broad, bordered on one side by the sea, and by a ridge of mountains on the other. It has no ports to receive shipping, but only roads, which are all open. The soil, however, is excellent; and hence the planters, who may be about 200, are in the best circumstances of any in the whole colony.

*La grande Guave* and *la petite Guave*.

*La Grande Guave* lies four leagues more to the West, and has but 30 planters, nor can it maintain a greater number. *La Petite Guave* lies two leagues from the other, and has too many planters, though but 60. The air of this quarter is unwholesome, and the soil good for nothing; but the town or village belonging to it is well built, and has an excellent port.

*Nippes*.

The district of *Nippes* lies six leagues West of *Petite Guave*, is of no greater extent, and contains the same number of planters, besides about 100 disciplined men, of whom all these Western districts may furnish 700. The communication between them by land is very indifferent.

District and the *Avache*.

To conclude, the district which contains, and takes its name from the isle *Avache*, in the Southern side of the island near its Western point has no planters; but on the

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great island, where the country is level, and intersected by a multitude of rivers, the soil is wonderfully fruitful, and capable of very well maintaining 10,000 planters; at present it contains but twenty, besides eighty of the militia.

Now, M. de Galifet proposed the reduction of the whole colony to this last quarter, and that of the Cape; since, besides the goodness and conveniency of their harbours, they were the only districts capable of maintaining inhabitants enough to make head against an enemy, who, for the same reason, he said, could not acquire any solid footing in the deserted quarters.

But Ducaffe, it seems, was of another opinion; for having received certain intelligence, that the Spaniards were preparing to give the colony another blow, he took the properest measures to defend every post. And the report of those measures, joined to de Graff's reputation for bravery, saved the colony from destruction. For the Spaniards, who were coming by sea, hearing of the governor's preparations to receive them, drew back when within thirty leagues of Cape François; and, of 2000 and upwards, who were marching by land, under the command of the governor of St Jago, so many deserted, when it was known that the terrible De Graff waited for them, in an advantageous post, at the head of the militia of the Cape, that the governor was obliged to march back, for fear of being entirely abandoned.

While the storm hung over the colony, Ducaffe had, tho' with much difficulty, prevailed on the Freebooters to remain in the posts where he judged their assistance most necessary; but it was no sooner blown over, than he found it impossible to restrain them, and five or six of their vessels immediately put to sea. The discipline, however moderate, to which the late governor had held them, had so exasperated them, that they were never known to be more wicked and untractable. And, what was worst of all, their examples were so contagious, that most of the young fellows of the colony, from a spirit of libertinism, took such a liking to the same profession, that the best formed plantations were deserted, and the country stript at once of men, arms, and ammunition.

The new governor, however, did not conclude from hence, like many others, that it was absolutely necessary to extirpate this restless and ungovernable body, but rather considered them as a necessary evil. They had lately taken a good number of ships from the Spaniards, and hindered both them and the English from undertaking any thing against the colony, without considerable succours from Europe, which they rarely received. Upon the whole he concluded, that it was best to oblige some measures with a body of men, which his colony could not spare, tho' it had so much to suffer and fear from them.

But the governor had another cause of uneasiness. All the inhabitants of the colony who fell into the hands of the English or Spaniards were generally lost to it for ever. The Spaniards treated them so cruelly, that most of them perished with famine, fatigue, or despair, considering them, no doubt, as little better than pirates. And though the French governor threatened to retaliate this usage, by giving no quarter, the Spanish governors still persisted in their behaviour to the French prisoners. As to the English, the French writers only charge them with sending the prisoners to England as fast as they took them, till Ducaffe bethought himself of a cartel, which he concluded with the governor of Jamaica, who, as the French do him the justice to acknowledge, religiously observed it.

Tho' the English and Spaniards carried off many French merchant ships from the coast of St Domingo, the Freebooters made the colony some amends by their frequent descents upon Jamaica, from whence they daily brought so many Negroes, that this island was no longer known at St Domingo, by any other name than that of Little Guinea.

But the English having intercepted some letters containing an enumeration of the French on the western coasts of St Domingo, agreeable to that of Galifet above related, resolved to bear no longer a thorn so easy to be extracted. With this view therefore, they fitted out two men of war, a Spanish barcolongo of 24 guns, and seven or eight merchantmen, on board of which they embarked 3000 land forces. But when just on the point of sailing, they received advice that a descent had been made on their own coast, which demanded their first attention, as the most pressing evil. Wherefore they hastily dispatched two sail of their own armament and the barcolongo, in quest of the vessel which had landed the men, and a frigate with two boats to watch the motions of the Freebooters, who might be athore. But though the first of these measures succeeded, the vessel that had made the descent blowing up in the engagement with those sent against her, and the last proved unnecessary, the men, who had landed, being disconcerted by the memorable earthquake

## A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

of *Jamaica*, yet they delayed the undertaking against *St Domingo* so long, that the same earthquake intervened to render it inexpedient, and perhaps impossible.

1693.

It was some time, before *Ducasse* had advice of the great damage done by the earthquake at *Jamaica*, the *English* purposely detaining the Freebooters, who had landed in the expedition abovementioned, and surrendered upon condition of being sent back to *St Domingo*. Nor, when the news of it reached his ears, did he think his colony quite out of danger, since the expedition cost it two hundred Freebooters, and the *English* and *Spaniards* were continually receiving reinforcements from *Europe*, which he had little reason to expect he should be able to resist. And his apprehensions were not groundless, for in *April*, 1693, a large *English* squadron appeared several times on the coasts of his government, but made no attempt. *Ducasse*, having made the best preparations he could to receive them, sent out the man of war, which had brought him over, to get intelligence of their motions. But the captain could meet with nothing; which made the governor conclude, that though the *English* at *Jamaica* might have retrieved their affairs by the succours, which the fleet, that had alarmed him so much, had brought them from *England*, they were not as yet in a condition to give him any disturbance.

An *English* fleet hovers on the coast.

*Ducasse*, about this time, intercepted letters from the Archbishop of *San Domingo* to the president of the council of the *Indies*, importing, that the *Spaniards* of that colony were in the utmost distress, and particularly in such want of clothes, that the women were obliged to go to church before daylight, and that the whole island must soon fall into the hands of the *French*, if the king did not grant a settlement to the *Flemings*, of whom, he said, it was unreasonable to be apprehensive that they would carry on a contraband trade along the coasts of *America*, as if the *English* and *Dutch* did not constantly carry on the same trade, and defraud the king of his duties, whereas the *Flemings* offered, both going and coming, to register their effects, and pay the duties at any port his majesty should order. These conjectures and discoveries made *Ducasse* press his court more than ever for succours, to enable him to attack both the *English* of *Jamaica*, and the *Spaniards* of his own island, especially the latter, justly imagining, that they would be glad to change masters, if only to obtain the necessaries of life. But had not the *English* miscarried in their attempt on *Martinico*, and been thus disabled from fulfilling their agreement, and joining the *Spaniards*, who on their side also lost three ships in the *Bahama* channel, with all their crews, and a great sum of money designed to defray the charges of the expedition, *Ducasse*, instead of proposing new conquests, would have thought himself very happy in keeping his own possessions.

Design of the *English* and *Spaniards* against the colony abortive.

However, while this storm hung over his head, he sent a ship with all his Freebooters, now reduced to one hundred and fifty, to make a descent on *Jamaica*, and they were so fortunate as to bring back three hundred and fifty Negroes. But the *French* would probably have paid very dear for this visit, had not the governor of *Jamaica* taken too many precautions in the measures he took to return it. For having got intelligence by intercepted letters, that *Petite Guave* was without troops, he fitted out some vessels to burn it, and ravage the coast. But, fearing his little squadron was not sufficient, he sent to engage the assistance of five *Dutch* ships trading on the coast of *Cuba*; but, as the captains insisted that the governor should purchase their cargoes, and allow them very advantageous conditions in regard to the distribution of the plunder, so much time was lost in the negotiation, that the governor thought fit to defer the undertaking to another opportunity.

Governor of *Jamaica* too cautious.

All these hostilities did not prevent *Ducasse* from attending to the improvement of his colony, by the cultivation of sugar, indigo, and the many other commodities it is capable of producing. Of these indigo was got to the greatest head, since the planters had not only enough to supply their neighbours, who frequented those parts of the island, not thinking it inferior to that of *Guatimala*, but flattered themselves, that they should be able to furnish *France* itself with all it wanted. The governor promised the ministry to raise silk also, provided they would send some of the useless hands that crowded the hospitals of *France*, and above all, a good number of children from twelve to fifteen years of age, whom, he said, he could set all at work the minute they landed. As to cotton and tobacco, the inhabitants alledged that neither of them would quit cost. If so, the decay of the latter must have been owing to the restraints put on the commerce of it, or else the planters spoke comparatively in regard to the profitable cultivation of indigo. *Ducasse* concludes the letter, from whence this account is taken, with asserting, that if the whole island belonged to the *French*, as they could then make settlements in the inland parts, and would be no longer under apprehensions of losing their slaves, who were always well received

1694. Colony in a thriving state.

received by of *France* a

*Ducasse*, *Spain*, resolved small vessels with one hundred, meeting some to go therefore could for the matter took the *English* been absent *Beauregard*, and for this including the

This arm landed 800 as far as *Port* and some *English* some deserters *Morant*, *Orr* And indeed cannon milled which time burst the rest four bodies.

*Ducasse* sent with provisions him, and about 1200 could never been landed all the *French* colours flying But this was *de Graff* (tho' 17 leagues *de Graff* let out at three in on his advance on fire, and ships at anchor 1000 men, break, because landed than 13 or 1400, regard led with the men as soon as they and then at and a half wounded, and The *French* ven drums, horse sent of skarmish of sent out a detachment to destroy the and sent out that tactic

received by the Spaniards, it might be made to maintain as many souls as the kingdom of France actually contained.

Ducasse, no longer apprehensive of a visit from the forces sent from England and Old Spain, resolved upon another descent on Jamaica. For this purpose he sent out six small vessels with four hundred Freebooters, and followed them himself a few days after, with one hundred and fifty more on board a man of war. But the Freebooters sent before, meeting an English man of war that guarded the coast of Jamaica, retreated, some to go on another course, and the rest to return to St Domingo. As nothing therefore could be done, till this obstacle was removed, Ducasse returned to his island and took the English ship. This success, with the arrival of 200 Freebooters, who had been absent about a year, out of a multitude of those who had lately deserted from Beaugard, put Ducasse on striking a greater blow than that which had miscarried, and for this purpose he assembled about 1400 men of the coast, and 21 sail of ships, including the two French men of war and their prize.

This armament arrived in Cow Bay, 5 leagues from Port Royal, June 27, 1694, and landed 800 men under Beaugard without opposition. They marched 14 or 15 leagues as far as Port Morant, burning and plundering all before them, and took 1000 negroes, and some English prisoners, who informed them that the inhabitants, forewarned by some deserters of the French preparations, had abandoned all their posts except Port Morant, Ovatiron in Cow Bay, and Port Royal, where they were strongly intrenched. And indeed Beaugard found the two forts of Port Morant evacuated, and 18 pieces of cannon nailed, but great plenty of provisions. Here he remained four weeks, in which time he finished the demolition of the forts, shipped off one eighteen pounder, burst the rest of the cannon, and sent to Port Mary a detachment of 200 men in four bodies, which ravaged all the northern coast.

Ducasse stayed at Cow Bay till about July 6, when, after taking some ships laden with provisions, he sailed for Port Morant, with all the troops that remained with him, and all the ships, except the English prize, which he sent to St Domingo with about 1200 taken, or deserted slaves, and a man of war, that had driven, and could never afterwards rejoin the fleet. Here he took aboard all the troops, which had been landed under Beaugard, and returned with them on the 20th to Cow Bay, where all the Freebooters and men of the coast were put ashore, and marched directly, with colours flying, to Port Royal, before which they remained three hours in order of battle. But this was done merely to give a false alarm, and it was afterwards resolved that Major de Graff should march with all the Freebooters and men of the coast to attack Ovatiron, 17 leagues east of Cow Bay, where the principal force of the English was posted. De Graff set out that very evening after nightfall in 14 boats, and anchored the next day at three in the afternoon at Ovatiron. Here he found a slave-ship of 30 guns; but on his advancing to board her, the captain, who had already landed his negroes, set her on fire, and escaped ashore. In the mean time, the cannon of the place played on the ships at anchor, but without doing them any damage. The troops, to the amount of 1000 men, began to land at two the next morning, but were not all ashore till day-break, because the boats could carry but 50 at a time. However, they were no sooner landed than they marched up to the English, who were strongly posted, to the number 13 or 1400, behind three intrenchments mounted with 12 pieces of cannon. Beaugard led the vanguard composed of the Freebooters, and was seconded by de Graff with the men of the coast. After receiving the fire of the cannon and small arms, as soon as they got within musket-shot of the trenches, they poured their fire into them, and then attacked them sword in hand, and after an obstinate resistance of an hour and a half they forced them; the English, on this occasion, had 360 men killed and wounded, among the former two colonels, two lieutenant colonels, and six captains. The French had but 22 men killed and wounded, and took nine pair of colours, seven drums, and 150 horses bridled and saddled. De Graff afterwards repulsed 200 horse sent from Spanish Town to reinforce those in the intrenchments, after a smart skirmish of two hours, and this was the last resistance he met. The next day de Graff sent out a detachment of 500 men to bring in cattle, make prisoners, and plunder and destroy the plantations and sugar works. Ducasse arrived the 5th with the men of war, and sent out other detachments for the same purpose. But we find by some memoirs that these detachments were very far from meeting the success they expected, because many

Ducasse prepared to invade Jamaica

Makes a descent on that island.

Forces the English intrenchment.

and ravages the island.

many of the inhabitants, in the neighbourhood of *Ovatiron*, had built each a fort in his plantation, and shut himself up in it with his family, slaves, and all his most precious moveables; and the walls being too high to scale, and the bringing cannon to batter them being judged impracticable, the *French* could get nothing by attacking them; they even tell us, that the first of these little garrisons, which the *French* endeavoured to force, cost them a captain and 50 men. However the troops, after ruining the intrenchments, burbling the cannon, and setting fire to the town, embarked the 3d of *August* for *St Domingo*, where they arrived the 14th. The plunder consisted of about 3000 negroes, a good quantity of indigo and other valuable goods, with a great number of pans and other utensils belonging to the sugarworks. Great part of the booty, some say, was destroyed by fire, whether accidentally or on purpose is not mentioned. However there remained enough to procure *Ducasse*, by the manner in which he distributed it, the ill will of his Freebooters, who accused him, though in every respect like *Ogeron* the father of the colony, of taking the best share to himself; but it is more credible, that he gave it to the officers and crews of the men of war employed in this expedition. At this time there were upwards of 7000 Negroes in the mountains of *Jamaica*, all desirous of living with the *French*; and for this purpose they sent deputies to them while they lay in *Cow Bay*, though not timely enough to deliver their proposals, as the report of the march of a great body of troops from *Port Royal* obliged them to hasten their retreat.

It was not doubted that the *English* would take the first opportunity of returning *Ducasse* the compliment he had paid them; wherefore, immediately on his return, he set about putting all his posts in the best condition of defence. And though he did not expect to be attacked before they had received succours from *England*, yet in less than six weeks three *English* men of war, a fireship, and two barks, anchored in the road of *Leogane*, opposite to *Esterre*, which they battered nine hours, and in the mean time attacked two little vessels, one of which they set on fire. After this they weighed anchor, and instead of attacking *Petite Guave*, as the *French* expected, just stopped a league above it, to land some prisoners, and proceeded to *Isle Acuche*, where the inhabitants just gave them time to burn two or three houses.

This attempt could scarce be considered in any other light than a bravado. But *Ducasse* soon after received certain notice that a considerable armament was preparing against him in *England*, and speedily expected at *Jamaica*. This intelligence gave him great uneasiness, as all his Freebooters were gone upon a cruise. Besides, the *English* had two frigates cruising between *Port de Paix* and *Petite Guave*, which entirely ruined the trade of his colony; and to complete his misfortune, the first of *May* a *Danish* vessel, dispatched from the island of *St Thomas*, arrived at *Leogane* with advice, that five large *Spanish* ships, full of people, were arrived at their island; that two others had sailed by in sight of it without stopping; and that six men of war, 15 merchant ships, and two bomb ketches had been seen to put to sea from *St Christopher's*.

So powerful a confederacy was not however the thing that gave *Ducasse* the most uneasiness. He was at a loss to know, if the forces would join to act together, or if the two nations would attack him separately; and in case they united, where the cloud would break. In this uncertainty, he at last resolved to remain at the *Cal de Sac*, and though he had but 500 men to defend an extent of 20 leagues, he detached 100 under the command of *Bernanos* to reinforce the garrison of *Port de Paix*, of which this officer was Major, and sent orders by him to *de Graff* and *de la Boulaye*, the first, governor of *Cape François*, and the other, of *Port de Paix*, that if *Cape François* should be attacked, *Bernanos* should repair to it with his detachment; and if the *Spaniards* appeared by sea and land at once, Captain *Girardin* should march out to oppose their landing, while his Lieutenant, the Chevalier *du Lion*, remained in the fort to command the batteries; and that *de Graff* should oppose them by land, prepare ambuscades every where to receive them, dispute the ground inch by inch, by means of good intrenchments, and thus make a fighting retreat to the town, where it was thought he could not be forced; that in case however this misfortune happened, he should nail up or burst his cannon, set fire to his powder, and repair with as many men as he could to *Port de Paix*. The orders given to *Boulaye* were to the same purpose; and as these two officers had under them most of the forces of the colony, *Ducasse*, whom the *English* kept in constant awe on the side of the *Cal de Sac*, flattered himself, that these two important posts would make a vigorous resistance, from the situation of the roads, the inundations of the adjacent rivers, and the resoluteness of the inhabitants, who came

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very ready and well prepared to defend the intrenchments and batteries to the last extremity.

At length, on the fifteenth of July, the allied fleet, composed of twenty two sail, eight of them Spanish men of war, with 4000 land forces on board, entered the bay of *Manzanillo*, and were joined by 2000 men, sent by the president of *St Domingo*. *De Graff* gave immediate notice of their appearance to *Boulaye*, who dispatched *Bernanos* to him with 130 men, which detachment set out the 18th and arrived the 21st. Some parties had also taken the field to observe the enemy's motions, and on the 27th one of these parties came to inform *De Graff*, that they had made their appearance in the Savannah of *Limonade*. On this, he immediately detached four troopers to reconnoitre them, who finding them encamped on the same spot, where *De Cussy* had been so lately defeated, stayed a full half hour to observe them. The enemy's advanced guard perceiving the troopers, gave notice to the main body, now within cannon shot of the first intrenchment, which *De Graff* had thrown up in a place called *le Fossé de Limonade*, and probably intended to take time enough to reconnoitre it thoroughly.

Allied fleet arrives with land forces.

But *de Graff*, who had already lost eight days in the most unaccountable inaction, tho' he knew the enemy were so near an intrenchment, in the attack of which the greatest part of them might have been killed, idly spent the remainder of the day in deliberating on choice of measures, as if he could do any thing better than wait for their coming; and at last, hearing that two large bodies of *Spaniards* lay hid in the woods, in order to cut off those who might be sent out a second time to gain intelligence, he resolved to withdraw his troops from this first intrenchment, and accordingly marched them that very evening into another intrenchment, that he had thrown up at the source of the river, called *du haut du Cap*, which defended the only road, by which the enemy could advance.

All conduct of de Graff.

The enemy's fleet had approached the point of the Cape, at the same time that the land forces appeared in the plain, and kept a constant firing all the afternoon of the 27th. But the cannon of the place being better served than those of the ships put a stop to their proceedings; and, as soon as night set in, the fleet weighed and came to anchor again without the harbour. *De Graff* repaired very early, in the morning of the 28th, to the intrenchment, just now mentioned, with all the men he could assemble, being at most 300, and set about fortifying himself there, and for that purpose sent to the Cape for four one and two pounders.

Fleet cannonade Cape Francois.

The *Spaniards*, in the mean time, took possession of the post he had abandoned, and were quite astonished to find themselves so easily masters of it. *De Graffe*, by his unaccountable indolence and want of spirit, on this important occasion, lost the confidence of his troops, so that he was no longer obeyed, and nothing could be observed but a predominant and universal terror. The enemy no longer meeting with opposition in the plain, set fire to the nearest plantations, and then advancing to the sea side, burnt a parcel of huts they had observed there. The flames serving for a signal pre-concerted with the commanders of the fleet, eighteen long boats approached the spot, where the huts had stood, while two others made their appearance in the port, where they took soundings, and landed some men in spite of the batteries.

Spaniards possess an abandoned intrenchment.

Fleet lands men.

The Cape was garrisoned by 250 militia, a company of infantry, and one of Negroes. Captain *Girardin*, who commanded there, had disposed his intrenchments along the shore judiciously enough to obstruct the enemy's landing, and *de Graff* had for that purpose detached a company of militia to support him. As for himself, he considered his security in his intrenchment at the source of the river *du haut du Cap*, so much the greater, as the enemy was under a necessity of forcing two other intrenchments, before they could approach him. But the troops in these intrenchments did not give the enemy the trouble of attacking them, but abandoned them without orders, and marched to reinforce *de Graff's*, where they did less good, by increasing the number of his forces, than mischief by their bad example, and the panick they brought with them; their retreat besides laid open to the enemy all the *Morin* quarter.

Two other intrenchments quitted.

The afternoon of the same day, their long boats joined the ships already under sail, and the whole fleet came to an anchor at the *Bande du Nord*, on the shelves of the *Petite passe du Port*, from whence it detached four vessels to cannonade the battery, but the *Chevalier du Lion* soon obliged them to retire, and two of them were greatly damaged in the undertaking. Next morning, the rising sun discovered six long boats running along shore, in order to make a descent. *Girardin* upon this sent out twenty men

Proceedings of the fleet.



to oppose their landing, in which they succeeded the more easily, as the place, where it was attempted, was full of rocks.

*Dr Graff's* measures for opposing the land forces.

The land forces were all this time marching forward, and had already reached the *Petite Anse*, on which *de Graff*, who no longer doubted of the conjunction of the forces, which the fleet had put ashore, with those that came by land, with a design to attack him, resolved to unite his own likewise in a body to receive them. With this view, on *Saturday* the 28th, about ten in the evening, he sent an express to *Girardin*, with orders in writing for him and the *Chevalier du Lion*, to abandon the town and batteries, leave the cannon under the care of the officer who commanded the Negroes, and repair immediately to his quarters, with the whole force under their command. *Girardin* immediately obeyed, but *du Lion* answered, that the king's batteries were not to be deserted in that manner. *De Graff* replied, that he approved his reason, and ordered him to defend the passes to the utmost, and if he found himself under a necessity of retreating, to nail up the cannon, and blow up every thing. Thus *du Lion* remained with thirty three men, firmly resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity, though without hopes of being able to make a long resistance, after the retreat of *Girardin*, and the evacuation of the town.

Bravery of an officer.

*Sunday* the 29th, about ten in the forenoon, the enemy's fleet approached the batteries, in order to cannonade them, and about four in the afternoon, taking the advantage of a great storm, detached their long boats to make a descent at the same place, where the evening before they had attempted it in vain. There was now nothing to oppose them, and they put on shore 300 men, who took their march by the hills to seize upon the batteries. *Du Lion*, discovering their motions, sent out six men to meet them, and fire upon them from behind the trees. But all he intended by this, was to amuse them a while, and to gain time to burst his cannon, and set fire to his powder. He then made his men file off, and remained alone in the batteries, where he had made proper dispositions, by trains of powder, to blow up every thing the moment the enemy should appear, on his side of the hills. But unhappily a small rain intervened, which threatened to break all his measures; however, as soon as he discovered the hostile troops within musket shot, he set fire to his trains. The powder magazine and the cannon blew up, but no more than three pieces were burst; the rest were only dismounted and buried in the earth, where he nailed them up. He then set fire to the magazine in the town, and about ten in the evening set out to join *de Graff*. Though pursued in his march, he arrived at the intrenchment without losing a single man. *De Graff* then told him, that he had held a council, before he left orders for abandoning the fort and batteries, and that the loss was only of 20 cannon.

Fleet lands men.

*French* etc after blowing up and abandoning the forts and batteries.

*Sunday* morning, two hours before daybreak, advice being received that the *English*, who had landed at the Cape, were advancing with a view of putting the *French* between two fires, a resolution was taken to abandon also the intrenchment at the source of the river *du haut du Cap*, though very strong, and, in consequence of the junction of different bodies, actually defended by 900 men, well provided with every thing for making a vigorous resistance. The commander's intention was to march and post himself at the *Morne rouge*, but most of his forces having deserted him, he retreated with the rest to the *Salt river*, about a league and half distant from the *Morne rouge*; and immediately gave orders to *Girardin* and *du Lion*, to repair with their company to *Port de Paix*, where Major *Bernanos* was already arrived.

Intrenchment at the source of the river abandoned.

*Saturday*, *June 4*, *Girardin* and *du Lion* arrived at *Port de Paix* in a canoe which they had found at *Port Margot*, and the enemy's fleet, reinforced by a ship and two barks, anchored in *St Louis's* quarter, three leagues and a half to the west of *Port de Paix*, in a road which had hitherto been looked upon as impracticable, and to this their boldness, *Ducasse* in some measure ascribed the success of all their future attempts. About two, all the ships began to fire to facilitate the descent, and about four, eight long boats, carrying 500 men, struck off a small cannon shot higher to land them. *Bernanos*, who commanded in this quarter, had posted an officer with six or seven men at the place where the descent was expected; and this officer with his little detachment behaved so well, that all the attempts made by the boats, during the space of 24 hours, proved ineffectual, till at last he happened to receive a wound, which so disheartened his men, that he was obliged to retreat. *Bernanos*, who had set out to support him, was likewise deserted by all his men, and therefore obliged to make the best of his way to a height in order to rally them; but in the mean time the 500 men landed without any further opposition.

A descent made with 500 men.

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The 18th, two *English* and one *Spanish* ship got under sail, with two barks, and ran along the creeks, to find some spot proper to make another descent, and put *Bernanos* between two fires; but *Paty*, lieutenant of the *Niceville* company, though he had but 30 Negroes under his command, used his small arms to such good purpose till the 20th, that the enemy, after firing upwards of 1200 cannon shot, were obliged to return to *St Louis* without their errand. In the mean time, the 500 men, who had landed near *St Louis*, made themselves masters of the town, and then dispersed themselves over the neighbouring country to pillage the plantations. After this they marched in quest of *Bernanos*, who had rallied some of his men, and taken post by a little river within half a league of *St Louis*; but he defended himself so well, that they were at last obliged to retire with loss.

The *Spaniards*, who were come by land from *San Domingo*, and the *English*, who had landed at the Cape, did not meet with the least resistance in that quarter. *De Graff* disappeared, as soon as the intrenchment at the head of the Cape had been deserted, nor did a single man oppose the enemy in a country, where, at every step, ambuscades might have been thrown in their way, so that now they had it in their power to ravage and plunder every where at discretion. The Cape and all the neighbouring plantations were reduced to ashes; some of the inhabitants, who happened to be surpris'd, were put to the sword; and a few Negroes, and some women, were made captives. Among the latter was a *French* lady, whom *de Graff*, then a widower, had married some time after he left the *Freebooters*; and he had two children by her, who fell into the enemy's hands with their mother. Her name was *Anne Dieu le-vent*, and she was one of those heroines, whom the colony of *St Domingo*, in its infancy, used, as I said, to produce in great numbers. One day, pretending to have received an affront from *de Graff*, she came up to him with a loaded pistol to bring him to an account for it; and this action had so much merit in his eyes, that he thought the amazon worthy of him, and immediately married her.

The enemy seeing no more of this officer, whose name alone had for a long time been a bulwark to *Cape François*, resolv'd to push their conquests as far as possible, and set out for *Port de Paix*, where their fleet was already arriv'd. There are two roads from *Cape François* to *Port de Paix*, one about 20 leagues, and the other 27, and both very bad, but the longest is the easier. In both are many situations, where it was very easy to destroy an army of ten thousand men. The enemy divided themselves into two bodies, thinking by such a separation to facilitate their march. The *English*, it seems, march'd along the sea coast, which was the shortest road, and plunder'd *Port Margot*, which lay in their way. The *Spaniards* took to the inland road, called the road of *Plaisance*, from a steep mountain of that name, over which it pass'd. Both armies had no obstacles to contend with, but such as nature threw in their way, though even these were much greater than they had foreseen, and multitudes died of mere fatigue, especially of the *English*, who were not so well us'd to marches of this kind. 'Tis even pretended, that many of them peris'd by the malice of the *Spaniards*, who had contracted a mortal aversion to them.

The enemy's fleet had been six or seven days before *St Louis*, when the *Spaniards*, who march'd by *Plaisance*, were discovered at seven or eight leagues distance from *Port du Paix*. The news of their approach was immediately brought to the fort, where *Boulaye* was no longer to be found. Hence the command in chief devolv'd upon Captain *de Niceville*, who immediately held a council to deliberate, if it was not proper to send *Dantze*, judge of the place, who now acted in the capacity of Aid Major, to take possession of an intrenchment thrown up at a place, called *the three Rivers*, three leagues from the fort, where the enemy must be oblig'd to pass. In the mean time *Boulaye* arriv'd from his plantation, where he had been at more pains to put every thing in proper order, than at his fort. This gentleman was a mere novice in the art of war, and had conceiv'd, that the woods were the best fortifications against the enemy; wherefore it was much against his inclination he shut himself up in his fort, which he accordingly deserted the very first opportunity. He approv'd however of *Niceville's* opinion, upon which *Dantze* set out with 50 or 60 pick'd men. *De Paty* was detach'd at the same time with an equal number of whites and blacks, to defend another intrenchment, which lay in the way of the *English*. These orders were given the 20th.

The next day however, before daybreak, the allies land'd a body of men without the

*St Louis taken*

Land forces burn and plunder at discretion.

A French heroine.

Forces march for Port de Paix.

All conduct of Boulaye.

Allies Land troops.

the least resistance. These troops immediately set out by land, while the long boats continued their route along the coast, both with a view of forcing the intrenchment defended by *de Paty*. But the cannon of the fort having obliged them to fall back, they contented themselves with committing some ravages, and afterwards encamped almost within ordinary cannon shot of the intrenchment. *Boulaye*, on notice of this, immediately sent to recal *Dantze*; and this odd step was resolved and taken without deliberating on its expediency. *Paty*, on his side, still continued to make a good show of defending himself, and even detached four brave fellows to attack the enemy's advanced guard, which they forced, though it consisted of 20 men. Major *Bernanos* having joined him after this, with as many of his men as he could rally, these two officers began to flatter themselves with preventing the junction of the *English* and *Spaniards*, when, on *Thursday* the 24th, they had also the mortification of being recalled by *Boulaye*, whose incomprehensible behaviour was a bad omen of preserving the place; and accordingly, three fourths of the inhabitants, who had taken shelter there, immediately retired. The very next day, the enemies effected their junction, the *Spaniards* having, immediately after *Dantze's* retreat, passed the intrenchment, which they never could have forced, because the river had overflowed its banks, and the scarcity of provisions they had suffered five days together, would not have permitted them to stay till it had abated. But the same insatiation, which had induced *de Graff* to abandon the Cape, the batteries, and the intrenchments, had at this time taken possession of *Boulaye*; whence, had these two commanders conspired to deliver to the enemies the posts committed to their care, they could not have done it in any other manner.

Losses thro'  
*Boulaye's*, ill  
management.

Allies arrive  
before *Port de*  
*Paix*.

The 23d, the combined fleet anchored at *la Caye Vinaigre*, two leagues from the fort, and the long boats having attempted to land some forces at a place called *L'Anse des Peres*, where an intrenchment had been thrown up, were obliged to draw off without effect. *Dantze* had been detached at the head of 100 men to defend this post, which was of great importance. But the night following, almost all his men having deserted him, he was under a necessity of abandoning it to the enemy, who immediately took possession of it, and retired to the fort. The 25th, the *Chevalier du Lion* received orders to burn the town, which he executed, and the 26th, at ten in the morning, two drums, an *English* and a *Spanish*, came to summon the commander to deliver up the fort, threatening, if he refused, immediately to surround it with batteries, and give no quarter, if he waited to be forced. The commander answered the summons as became him, and the messengers withdrew. In the evening an *English* carpenter deserted to the fort, and reported that the enemy was resolved to remain there six months rather than renounce their designs against it. It is however probable, that they would have miscarried in spite of all their resolution, had they to deal with a brave and experienced officer. We have already given a description of this place. It was now garrison'd with 500 men, and well supplied with every thing necessary to make a vigorous defence; but the King's authority was unluckily fallen into hands without either skill or courage sufficient to make the proper use of these advantages, on so important an occasion.

*Ducasse* pre-  
vented from  
marching to  
the relief of  
*Port de Paix*.

*Ducasse* received the disagreeable news of these transactions at the *Cul de Sac*, where he was himself under continual apprehensions of being attacked by all the forces of *Jamaica*, for it was reported that a powerful reinforcement was already arrived there from *England* for that very purpose. He thought proper, however, to express a desire of setting out immediately with 20 men, in order to throw himself into *Port de Paix*, or endeavour to rally such of the inhabitants, as had retired to places, which they believed inaccessible. But having assembled a council of war to acquaint them with his intentions, there was not a single man in it that did not oppose them. They made him sensible, that in all appearance he never would be able to succeed in either of his designs; that it would be an easy matter for the enemies to cut off his retreat, in which case he must infallibly perish or surrender, considering how small his force was; and that, though he escaped death or captivity, he would at least run the hazard of seeing all his quarters attacked at once, without power to assist any of them with his presence. And, in the last place, that in the present state of affairs, *Leogane*, which might be regarded as the most important quarter of the colony, was his proper station. He had himself foreseen all these inconveniencies before he made the said proposal, but he thought it his duty, by making it, to prevent or silence the clamours of the ignorant; and deprive such, as would have been glad of a handle to accuse him, of every pretext

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for saving that he had abandoned any part of his colony. He had lately been joined by 200 Freebooters, and had besides 1000 Frenchmen with him, and 100 Negroes, who all promised to defend themselves to the last extremity. All the posts were secured by good intrenchments; but as he had no experienced officers left to second him, except *Deslan'es* and *Beauregard*, the first of whom he sent to the *Petite Riviere*, and the second to *Petit Guave*; after he had divided his forces with them, he remained himself between both with a detachment of 100 horse.

In the mean time, the enemy, not meeting at *Port de Paix* with any obstacle to their approaches, seized upon all the rising grounds, that commanded the fort. The 29th they erected a battery of three eight pounders on the *Pointe des Pierres*. The 3d of *July*, another of three six pounders on the *Morne de St Ouen*. The 4th, another of three eighteen and twenty-four pounders on the *Morne de St Bernard*. The 6th, another of six eight and twelve pounders, on the *Morne de St Ouen*, nearer to the fort than the first, by 200 paces. The 6th, one of three eighteen and twenty-four pounders, on the point of the same *Morne*, and still nearer to the fort by 300 paces. The 8th they erected a battery of three mortars for throwing grenadoes; and the 9th, began to play three bomb mortars, which they had placed in a bottom behind the town. As they were constantly employed in cutting down wood for their batteries, and the noise of their axes was heard distinctly enough by the besieged, to let them know where they worked, the garrison at first fired some pieces towards the place, till *Boulaye* made them desist, with a view of saving the powder, which, he said, would be more useful another way. But unluckily the besiegers had no thoughts of saving gunpowder, for they never ceased firing from the minute their first battery was erected; yet, after all, they had not, at the end of fifteen days, made so much as a single breach, by which they could mount to the assault. They had indeed ruined a work, against which they had chiefly directed their fire; but the besiegers had time enough to repair every night, with earth and wood, the damage done to it in the day time, so as to prevent the besiegers from taking any advantage of it.

The fleet had passed before the fort the 30th of *June*, and had anchored above the *Riviere Sal'e*, in a place which had been before founded by the long boats. Some *French* writers pretend, that the ships of the allies never dared to enter the port, and that having once advanced within point-blank of the fort, they were so roughly handled by the batteries of the besieged, that they were obliged to desist and retire. The same writers add, that the *French* made no use of their artillery, but on this occasion, and give two reasons for it, both which appear false to other writers. The first is, that powder was very scarce; the second, that it would have been to no purpose to expend it, the enemy's camp lying under cover of the very eminences, upon which their batteries were erected. But surely the destruction of these batteries was an object well worth the attention of the besieged. One thing, though equally unaccountable, appears certain, which is, that the besieged made no sallies, and, by this inaction, left the besiegers at liberty to send out parties which ravaged the country. The *Spaniards*, especially, better accustomed than the *English* to this kind of warfare, used to find out the most hidden retreats, and seldom returned to the camp without slaves or prisoners.

We are also told, that, after an uninterrupted firing for many days, the commanders of the combined forces besieging the place, concluding that the fort must be reduced to a very ruinous condition, sent, each of them, not only without joint consultation, but even knowledge, a herald to *Boulaye*, with offers of very advantageous terms, if he would consent to deliver up the fort to them; and that his answer was, that, rather than occasion any jealousy between the two monarchs, their masters, he would keep the place for the king of *France*, to whom it belonged. This resolution, they say, greatly perplexed the besiegers, who did not think proper to venture upon an assault, though they were every day losing great numbers by the excessive heats which then prevailed; that, in short, the misunderstanding between the two nations increased to such a degree, that the *Spaniards* began to treat the *English* with great haughtiness, and offered them a thousand insults and affronts; that the *English*, after having for some time endured this injurious behaviour, with an intemperance seldom discovered by them on such occasions, lost at last all manner of patience, and sought favourable opportunities of revenging themselves; that the two nations were even one day on the point of engaging each other, and were already drawn up in order of battle for

1091

Siege of Port de Paix.

Singular circumstances relating to the besieged.

Governor's refusal to surrender.

Quarrel between the two nations of the besiegers.

1695  
Resolution to  
abandon the  
fort.

that purpose, when the most sensible men of both parties at last opened their eyes in regard to the fatal consequences of a quarrel, that would put them all in the power of their common enemy, but found it a difficult matter to inspire the rest with the same sentiments, and suspend for a time their mutual animosity; that, in spite of all their care, this natural and invincible antipathy continued to show itself very visibly, and proved, in the end, the safety of the colony; that the *English* treated the *Spaniards* as a parcel of poltrons, whom they had always beat in the *Indies*; that the *Spaniards* abated nothing of that haughtiness which always sticks to them; that the diversity of religions, added to the little esteem they entertained one for the other, contributed to make the breach irreconcilable; that the *English* could not endure the hypocrisy of the *Spaniards*, whose religion they charged with all the odium of it; and that the *Spaniards*, on their side, considered as a duty of religion, and as something very meritorious, their aversion for persons, whom they never called by any other name, than that of heretical dogs.

Inhabitants  
petition for  
leave to re-  
tire.

But this great animosity, upon which *Ducasse* had always depended, and perhaps a little more than he ought to have done, did not save the fort, in which there was still less good understanding than in the enemy's camp. So early as the 8th of *July*, all the inhabitants, in number 150, being so little used to be cooped up in a fort, and there exposed to a continual discharge of bombs and bullets, presented a petition to *Boulaye*, signed by every man of them, except their officers, for leave to retire; adding that, if leave was refused, they would quit the place in the night, without any farther ceremony. The commander's opinion of such a measure was well known; he did not scruple to declare publicly, that it was the colony's interest, that the forts and intrenchments should be abandoned, and every one left at liberty to provide for his own safety. We have already seen, that he was still at his plantation after the enemy had made themselves masters of *St Louis*, and were got within a day's march of the fort; and had not *M. de Paty*, though but a lieutenant, taken upon him to have an eye to every thing, no preparations had been made to receive the allies, when they appeared before it; ever since *Boulaye* had returned to the fort, he had scarce manifested his presence, but by the orders he had preposterously given; and every thing there must have been in the greatest confusion, had not *Bernanos* and *Niceville* taken the command into their own hands.

Renew their  
instances.

Soldiers want  
to capitulate.

Inhabitants  
more clamor-  
ous and mu-  
tinuous.

The inhabitants were all persuaded, that these two officers would never suffer the fort to be abandoned, and *Niceville* in particular had declared his resolution in the strongest terms. *Boulaye*, however, answered them in a manner, that left no room to doubt of his readiness to grant them their request; but as he did not explain himself clearly enough to be understood by them, their reply was, that they insisted upon retiring, and would retire that very evening. Upon this declaration, the commander caused all those who were of a different way of thinking to be put under arms, to favour the retreat of the others; but they immediately altered their resolution. The 11th they resumed it, as hastily as they had quitted it the day before, and the soldiers on their side desired to capitulate, threatening to do it without their officers, as the garrison of *St Christopher's* had done. To all this the commander said not a single word, and his silence served greatly to increase the insolence of both. *Niceville* was not so patient, but spoke in very high terms; however, it is said, he made no impression upon them, and that some of the mutineers had even resolved to assassinate him the day following; but a cannon ball, which carried off his thigh that very day, and of which he died in 48 hours, saved them the trouble of committing that crime. The 13th, several of the inhabitants happened to be killed, upon which all the rest, with their officers at their head, renewed their complaints, declaring, that the governor had formed a design to make them all perish in a fort commanded on every side, and where they could get no rest day or night; and that while they were thus cooped up in a place, where they could be of no service, the enemy was carrying off their wives and children; in short, that if the governor persisted in a resolution to detain them, they would all of them desert, one by one in the best manner they could. So much confusion, indeed had, perhaps, never appeared in any garrison, nor a more striking instance of the disorder to which want of spirit and capacity in a commander exposes his troops, when once they have perceived it.

Upon this the council was assembled on the 14th, where it was unanimously determined, that, since neither soldiers, or inhabitants, listened any longer to the command of their officers, it was proper to abandon the fort that very evening, sword in hand, after

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nauling up the cannon, and taking proper measures for blowing up the magazines, where the powder and stores were lodged, and the fort itself, soon after their departure. In consequence of this resolution, every thing was given up to plunder, and *Boulaye* ordered the liquors to be spilt. Such a resolution as this, would have greatly mortified any other commander, for, as yet, he had but seven men of his garrison killed and eleven wounded. He had 530 left, including 150 armed Negroes, 8000 weight of powder, more than a proportionable quantity of musket balls and cannon shot, and provisions for three weeks.

In the mean time, *Paty* assembled the company, late *Niceville's*, and *Lion* that of *Girardin*; and as these two officers had, in concert with *Bernanos*, resolved to attack the enemy's batteries, in order to besiege in their turn those, who should enter the fort, they immediately prepared to distribute provisions and ammunition to their soldiers. But these troops refused to accept of any, saying they did not want to abandon the fort in that manner, but only to capitulate. *Paty* provoked to the last degree by this mutiny, and seeing his serjeant at the head of the mutineers, immediately shot him through the head; *Lion*, at the same time, with his sabre, cut to pieces one of his soldiers, who had spoken insolently to him; and perceiving that his serjeant, at the head of the guard, had taken to a canoe, in order to pass over to *Tortuga*, he commanded to fire at him, and the serjeant was killed. The rest returned to their duty; but one of them, who had hid himself by the sea side, found an opportunity of deserting to the enemy, whom he informed of what was doing in the fort.

Mutiny of the garrison quelled with blood.

The besiegers had too much sense not to take advantage of this intelligence; and as they were besides informed, by what roads the besieged intended to attempt their escape, they speedily dispatched some forces to form ambuscades, and cast up intrenchments in the properst places to oppose their passage. These troops amounted to 500 men, who, to avoid weakening the camp, were replaced by all the soldiers who had remained on board the fleet. These measures were all taken with the greatest diligence, and without the least suspicion of the *French*, since it was not known in the fort, that any of the soldiers had deserted. Hence no alterations were made in the plan already concerted, except that of wetting the powder instead of setting fire to it, on account of the wounded, whom it was not thought proper to remove.

Besiegers lay ambuscaded.

At eight in the evening the governor began to let out the garrison, without giving the word, naming any place of rendezvous, or even so much as marking out the road they were to take. By one the next morning they had intirely evacuated the fort, and the governor placed himself at their head, and began his march in the most irregular manner. The enemy had all this time directed their bomb batteries to the place at which the garrison was to issue, but without doing any other mischief, than wounding one soldier.

The fort abandoned.

The *French* had scarce advanced a few paces, when they heard the enemy hard at work on an intrenchment. Upon this they put themselves in order; *Boulaye*, *Bernanos*, and *Girardin*, placed themselves at the head of the garrison, with *Girardin's* company. Next followed 100 negroes, carrying the baggage. *Paty*, *Lion*, and *Dantze*, with the *Niceville* company, closed the march; and 25 negroes, of those called *Mines*, were sent forward as a vanguard. After they had marched in this order about 300 paces, those at the head were fired upon by the *English*, and by that means had light enough to discover the lances of the *Spaniards*. At the same time a great many voices were heard, crying out, "Face about, let us gain the scarp of the fort." In vain did the officers represent, that the powder had been spoiled, the cannon nailed up, and that they were halting to certain destruction; too many of them returned to the fort. *Boulaye* and *Girardin* immediately vanished, and the day following, the former, who had slipped through a narrow road in the corner of a wood leading to the mountain, was safe in his plantation with all his slaves. *Bernanos*, left alone at the head of those that remained together, did nothing but run to and fro, encouraging his men, to do their duty, crying aloud, "They are but a mob, we shall easily tread them under foot." Then, finding the officers, who commanded in the rear, firmly resolved to continue the march at all events, and having agreed on a rendezvous in case of separation, he returned to the front, where he performed prodigies of valour. The negroes, called *Mines*, fought likewise with great bravery, and the intrenchment was forced without any considerable loss. A little after this, the *French* found themselves surrounded on every side with lances and muskets; but the lancemen mixing with the *French*, could no longer make use

Garrison harassed in their retreat.

1695.  
Struggle thro  
an ambuscade.  
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bucade.

*Bernanos*, a  
brave officer,  
killed.

Fine retreat  
of the *French*.

*Archambault's* pass.  
*La Crete des*  
*Ramiers*  
mountain.

Alarm and  
skirmish to  
the disadvan-  
tage of the  
*French*.

*Paty* is  
wounded and  
puts himself  
into the hands  
of the *Spaniards*.

Distress and  
death of *Lion*.

Reflections on  
this event.

use of their arms, or, rather, did not think proper to make use of them for fear of wounding each other in the dark, so that the engagement ended in a general struggle between man and man, and of course few suffered but some negroes, who, discovering themselves by their cries, were run through with lances. The *French* were but a quarter of an hour in getting clear of this ambuscade, but their escape cost them very dear, for some of the officers of the rear, finding the front had halted, and hastening to know the reason of it, found *Bernanos* run through the body with three lances. As soon as he perceived them, he gave his hand to *Paty*, saying, "I am a dead man," and immediately expired. He was the bravest man the colony could boast, of and would alone have preserved the Cape and *Port de Paix*, had he been entrusted with the chief command.

After this sad event, *Paty*, *Lion*, and *Dantzé*, commanded by turns, and renewed the march in the most admirable order. Every man was armed with a good musket, and provided with powder for forty discharges, and many had besides a pair of pistols, and a bayonet. They marched four abreast, presenting their arms to the right and to the left, and making a continual fire. In this manner they passed through a third ambuscade, and at last reached the banks of a river, where a detachment of the allies, to the number of 700, some armed with muskets, and others with lances, and all concealed among the reeds, intended to make their utmost efforts to cut off their retreat. But, probably, they discovered themselves too soon, since the *French*, to avoid them, filed off, and took their march along the strand; on this occasion they had for a guide one *Archambault*, who, at some distance, showed them a ford, where the water was but navel deep. The front first waded over under favour of a smart fire made by the rear, and in its turn covered the passage of the rest; and the loss upon this occasion was very insignificant. This ford preserves to this day the name of *Passé d'Archambault*, or *Archambault's pass*. Their conductor afterwards led them to the top of a mountain, called *la Crete des Ramiers*, or the crest of wood pigeons, where the rendezvous had been appointed, after they had passed the first ambuscade.

They arrived here before daybreak, and a moment after their arrival, hearing something like a skirmish on the banks of the river, they imagined it to proceed from *Beaulaye* and *Girardin*; but it proved to be the voices of some negroes, who were crying out, as loud as they could scream, *lancemen, lancemen*. These cries spread such a terror among the *French*, that they all immediately took to their heels; even the wounded, who were actually under the hands of the surgeons, collected strength enough to use their legs, and were followed by the surgeons themselves. *Dantzé*, who was one of the number, fled with the rest. But *Paty* and *Lion* after rallying about 50 men, *French* and negroes, marched up to the place whence the noise came, and routed the detachment, which, after all, lost but 8 men, whereas the *French* had 12 killed, and 3 wounded, and among the latter the brave *Paty*. What made the allies quit their hold so readily, was the baggage they had found upon the negroes, and which they had no mind to lose. As soon as they were retired, *Lion* ordered *Paty* to be removed to the post at *la Crete des Ramiers*. This officer had been shot through the body, and bled greatly at the mouth. *Lion* tore his shirt to pieces, and dressed him as well as he could, after which, at his own request, he had him removed to a little eminence near the *Spanish* camp, that had been discovered before daylight, where he left a man to take care of him. *Paty* immediately dispatched this man with a note to the *Spanish* general, to beg he would send, without delay, proper persons to bring him to his camp. The *Spanish* general no sooner received the note, than he dispatched his major to *Paty's* assistance. This officer, however, did not remain long in the hands of the *Spaniards*, but was six months a prisoner at *Jamaica*.

*Lion*, on his side, found himself almost entirely deserted, and in the most perplexing circumstances; and thus he wandered about a long time, without well knowing whither he went. At last he arrived, August 1, at *Leogane*, in a canoe, attended by no more than four soldiers and four negroes, with whom for many days he had subsisted upon nothing but roots. He died soon after, captain of the company lately commanded by *Girardin*, whom his infirmities had obliged to return to *France*. The death of so brave an officer must have been a real loss to the colony.

Such was, with respect to the besieged, the issue of this evacuation, which, however shameful in itself and in its motives, was attended with happy consequences to the colony. For, in the first place, had the castle been forced, the *French* and

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and negroes, who might have fallen to the lot of the *Spaniards*, would have been entirely lost to the colony, whereas many of them were preserved to it by flight. Secondly, the allies lost a great many men by this step. And, lastly, it advanced the reputation of the *French*, by one of the finest retreats that could possibly be made, 200 *French*, (for there remained no more after the first ambuscade), having cut their way through 1500 *English* and *Spaniards*, intrenched behind rivers, which of course it was absolutely necessary to pass, and that, without losing more than twenty men.

To return to those who retired back to the fort, they were soon made prisoners in it by the *English*, who, the minute they had received notice of the garrison's intentions, concerted measures among themselves to take possession of the place, to the exclusion of the *Spaniards*. To conceal their design, they prepared to attack the *French* with joint forces; but, after the first discharge, on hearing a gun fired as a signal from one of the batteries, they detached themselves, and marched up to the fort with all possible diligence, and took possession of it without resistance. They then threw off the mask, and the *Spaniards* presenting themselves at the gates, were refused admittance. It could not be expected that, after so signal a breach of faith, the two nations should act in concert, or think of making new conquests. They agreed, however, well enough to lay waste all the neighbouring districts, where nothing escaped them. Neither was there any dispute in regard to the prisoners; the men were all delivered up to the *English*; the *Spaniards* were contented with the women and children, part of whom they sent to the *Havanna*, and afterwards to *San Domingo*. Among these last were *du Grasse's* lady and her children, who served to grace the triumphant entry of the conquerors into this capital, of which her husband had been so long the terror. She continued there many years, in spite of an agreement made at the peace for the release of prisoners on both sides; and it was only in consequence of reiterated applications, in the name of the court of *France*, that she at last obtained her liberty.

1675.

*English* take possession of the fort, to the exclusion of the *Spaniards*.

The 7th of *July* the allies separated, to return each to their own settlements, to the great surprise of the *French*, who knew little or nothing, it seems, of the misunderstanding between them, and were otherwise persuaded, that they were not people likely to stop in so fine a career. But time has since discovered two reasons more for their not turning their victorious arms against *Leogane*, and the neighbouring posts: The first was, that all the prisoners had assured them, that a powerful squadron was every day expected there, under the command of *d'Amblimont*; secondly, they apprehended the Freebooters were returned, and that *Ducasse* was well intrenched, and in a condition to oppose them with 3000 men, whereas they had scarce 3500 left themselves, and of this number 1500 were *English*, who, besides being extremely harassed, as less accustomed to the inclemency of the weather, and the fatigue of marches than the *Spaniards*, were greatly disgusted at the pride and haughtiness of their allies, who, on their side, could no longer endure the *English*. Hence, had the *French* been able to assemble but a body of a thousand or twelve hundred men to oppose them, in these circumstances, in the Northern settlements, they might have easily taken, on the spot, their revenge for all the mischief their colony had suffered.

The allies retire; causes of their retreat.

It was not known, at the *Cul de Sac*, what became of *Boulaye*, till the 20th of *August*; and nothing was heard of *Paty*, till a long time after. *Ducasse*, in a letter he wrote to court, the 30th of the same month, to inform the ministry of the transactions of this unhappy campaign, greatly extols this officer's behaviour, and protests, that he would with pleasure undergo three years labour, and even spill the last drop of his blood, to recover him. He fought like a hero, he says, and the good condition of the fort, when the enemies sat down before it, was entirely owing to his care and attention. It is hard to decide, whether these sentiments, and this testimony, do more honour to *Ducasse* or to *Paty*.

*Ducasse's* enthusiasm of *Paty*.

One would be apt at first to imagine, that the *French* colony of *St Domingo* must have required many years to get the better of so rude a shock, whereas, if we may believe *Charlevoix*, the whole damage sustained, on this occasion, amounted to little more than the burning a parcel of huts, or two towns, whose houses were scarce better, the killing of some cattle and poultry, and the loss of about six hundred slaves of both sexes, whom the *English* and *Spaniards* carried off with them; for the *French* had but 200 men, in all, killed or wounded. This irruption, therefore, is compared, by the same writer, to those black clouds, which, breaking with a dreadful noise against the tops of mountains, form torrents, which, with all their foaming and impetuosity, leave things

Loss of the *French* extenuated by their writers.



1795.  
Ducasse pro-  
jects the con-  
quest of the  
whole island.

things much in the same condition they found them. Nay *Ducasse*, was so far from being either disabled or disheartened by this stroke, that he immediately proposed to the *French* ministry a scheme for driving the *Spaniards* out of the island, or, at least, totally subduing them, if they would send him but ten ships. And he spoke of this attempt, with as much assurance of success, as he could have done, when he brought home his victorious troops, laden with spoils, from the *Jamaica* expedition. "The principal strength of the *Spaniards* of *St Domingo*, he says, in one of his letters on this occasion, consists in our fugitive negroes, who, after they have been trained up by us to the use of arms, and become acquainted with all the secret recesses of the island, fly over to our enemies on the least discontent. Of this we had a proof at the siege of *Port de Paix*, where four hundred of them appeared in arms against us. Now the only method of putting a stop to this great evil, is, to take *San Domingo*, and this I engage to do with ten ships only, as the inhabitants of the colony are willing to risk their lives, and half what they are worth, to forward the enterprise."

*English* medi-  
tate an other  
enterprise.

But while *Ducasse* was thus forming the project of a conquest, which, perhaps, appeared easy to him, merely because he judged it necessary, the *English* of *Jamaica* were meditating another blow against his colony. The inhabitants of that island, it seems, were greatly dissatisfied with the commander of the *English* troops on board the combined fleet, for not consenting, that the *Spaniards* should attack the Northern settlements, and likewise for not repairing to *Leogane*, where his allies proposed to join him with 1200 men; and they wanted to repair these mistakes.

*Ducasse* or-  
dered to re-  
move the co-  
lony of *Santa*  
*Cruz* to *St*  
*Domingo*.

*Ducasse* gave himself so little uneasiness about their designs, which, in fact, were never put in execution, that he very calmly proceeded to obey some orders he soon after received from court, concerning the removal of all the inhabitants of *Santa Cruz*, to *St Domingo*, with a view of strengthening the colony of the latter. This, no doubt, had been a very good scheme, were the colony of *Santa Cruz* in a condition to subsist by itself, whereas nothing could be more wretched; and how was it possible for one ruinous colony to receive another equally ruinous? However, the king's orders were so positive, that the governors had nothing left to their discretion, but the means of executing them. Nay, the *French* king had so much at heart the total degradation of *Santa Cruz*, that the commander of the squadron, sent from *France* for that purpose, had orders to burn all the houses in town and country, ruin the harbour, and carry off, by force, such of the inhabitants, as would not come away by fair means.

State of the  
colony of  
*Santa Cruz*;  
and effects of  
its removal to  
*St Domingo*.

This colony consisted of 147 men, with women and children in proportion, and 623 negroes. As they had little to remove with them, and the quarters to which they were to be transported had been lately laid waste by the *English* and *Spaniards*, they suffered not a little for some time after their arrival, in spite of *Ducasse's* early orders to the old inhabitants, to prepare as much provisions as they could of every kind, against their coming. And they had scarce mended their condition by the most assiduous labour, when such of them, as had been settled at *Port de Paix*, were obliged to abandon their new plantations, and to remove to the *Plaine du Cap Francois*, which, by this union, however, was, in process of time, restored to a very flourishing condition.

*French* settle-  
ments in *St*  
*Domingo* re-  
duced.

This second transmigration was, in consequence of the king's giving *Ducasse* leave to put in execution, a scheme he had presented his majesty, as we have already seen, for uniting all the inhabitants of the *French* colony of *St Domingo*, in the *Plaine du Cap Francois*, and the *Ile Arache*. But as *Port du Paix*, on account of the neighbourhood of *Tortuga*, or *Tortoise Island*, lay so convenient to shelter the pirates, who then infested these seas, it was thought proper to leave a garrison there, sufficient to hinder them from making any use of it.

Fate of *De*  
*Graff* and  
*Boulaye*.

The reader may be curious to know, what became of *De Graff* and *Boulaye*, who behaved so shamefully during the last enterprise of the *English* and *Spaniards*; of the former especially, whose reputation alone had often proved one of the best belwarks for the *French* colony of *St Domingo*. It was not, it seems, in *Ducasse's* power to displace them, so that they still continued to fill the posts, of which they had rendered themselves so unworthy. However, he sent to court an account of their behaviour, to which he added the suspicions the inhabitants entertained, of their having sold the colony to the enemy; which, however, he said, he did not believe, but rather imputed all their misbehaviour to their cowardice, though this alone, he

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thought, deserved the severest punishment. But the French court, it seems, was of another opinion; for *Boulaye* was only deprived of his places; and *de Graff's* command by land, a service for which he was in the main but little qualified, exchanged for one at sea, which he perfectly understood. *Boulaye's* misbehaviour was thought to proceed as much from ignorance as cowardice, and *de Graff's* to be the result of absolute madness; and no wonder he should lose his senses, considering what he had to expect from the *Spaniards*, had he fallen into their hands.

The English of *Jamaica* still threatened the French colony of *St Domingo* with a new attack, and *Ducasse* received orders to be, if possible, before hand with them. But he had some time before so weakened himself, by the assistance he had given in men, and otherwise, to a squadron sent from France to distress them, though not in the way he proposed, that it was impossible for him to attempt any thing; and, what was still worse, few of the men he parted with on this occasion ever returned, on account of the havoc made by sickness on board the squadron, which, after all, miscarried in the attempt upon which it was sent.

Few people, I believe, would imagine, that, amidst the flames of so furious and obstinate a war, as raged at this time between the French and *Spaniards*, the former should think of establishing a trade with the other in *America*. Yet the French ministry had resolved upon a plan for that purpose, and *Ducasse* had orders not to neglect any thing in his power to secure the success of it. The ministry, at the same time, desired *Ducasse's* opinion in forming a settlement upon some of the islands near the continent, where the French might carry on the same trade the Dutch did at *Caracca*. The governor's answer was, that, after having maturely considered the best methods of introducing the commodities of France among the *Spaniards*, he could think of no place better for that purpose, than the Isle *Avache*, which had an excellent port, very good roads for shipping, coasts well stored with fish, a fertile soil, good pasturage, and an extent of country capable of maintaining a numerous colony; but that, after all, it would not be so easy a matter to accomplish what was desired, considering the want of practice in the French, and the great aversion the *Spaniards* had conceived against them.

*Ducasse* was the more persuaded, that this last obstacle could never be surmounted, as he had received intelligence, that a design, which had been for a long time in agitation against the *Spaniards*, was soon to be put in execution, and, when effected, could not fail of making them implacable. This was the celebrated *Pointi's* armament against *Cartagena*, of which we think it not our business to say any more in this place, than that it was reinforced by *Ducasse* at the head of 1200 men of his colony, part Freebooters, and part inhabitants and negroes, who being cheated (according to *Charlevoix's*) of their part of the great booty made on this occasion, returned to the city to do themselves justice on the wretched inhabitants, though after all they behaved much better to them, considering what they were, than *Pointi* had done. No good could be expected from acquisitions of this kind, but rather a great deal of mischief. And accordingly the French colony of *St Domingo* paid very dear, in the end, for the success of this armament; for besides what Freebooters, inhabitants, and Negroes were killed, or otherwise perished in the expedition, by sickness and famine, a great number were taken at their return by a combined squadron of English and Dutch, and never lived to return to *St Domingo*.

While *Ducasse* was out on this expedition, *M. du Boissy Rayné*, who was, by his absence, become supreme commander of the colony, having received advice that 300 Negroes were assembled at the *Quartier Marin de la petite anse*, he immediately set out with his major, at the head of only six troopers and two foot soldiers, and surprized the Negroes, 30 of whom, men and women, were secured. These wretches informed him, that the chief of this rebellion was a fellow, who four months before had murdered his master, and had now persuaded them to make a bold push, in order to rid themselves once for all of the French. The number of the guilty was too great to punish them all, which, besides, would have ruined several of the inhabitants. *Boissy* therefore thought proper to retrieve all his indignation for the chief, whom the rest promised to give up; but when they came to look for him, he was not to be found, having taken shelter among the *Spaniards*.

The English, having separated from the Dutch, after their joint attack of the Freebooters, returning from the spoil of *Cartagena*, made what sail they could after the runaways; and, since they could not come up with them, resolved

1696.

French colony weakened.

French ministry project a trade with the Spaniards.

The Avache fit for that purpose.

1697.

Pointi's famous expedition against Cartagena.

Revolt of the Negroes at Cap. Francois.

English &amp; Dutch privateers.

to

1697

to make themselves some amends by plundering *Petite Guave*, and had the fortune to surprize it July 8. They entered the town half an hour before daybreak; and *Ducasse*, who was in bed asleep, being soon awakened by the firing of a small guard, immediately ran to the fore windows of his apartment, and seeing the streets full of *English*, who were firing furiously against the doors and windows, he threw himself out of a back window, and by favour of some hedges gained a mountain a quarter of a mile distant; from thence he repaired to a house, that had been always appointed for a place of rendezvous on such occasions. Here he was soon joined by about 60 men, with whom, after they had armed themselves with what came first to hand, he marched down to the foot of the mountain, in order to unite his forces with those under *Beauregard*, who, on his side, had the good fortune of assembling more than one hundred, and had reconnoitred the enemy with 25 of them. The account he gave *Ducasse* was, that they were already intrenched; upon which it was resolved to attack them directly in their intrenchment. These two gentlemen, therefore, having put themselves at the head of near two hundred men, marched unobserved by favour of some hedges to the church, near which the intrenchment had been made. The forces landed by the *English* amounted to 950 men, but part of them only defended the intrenchment, which was soon carried. *Ducasse* forced the centre, while *Beauregard* was busy in attacking the head, which alone made any resistance. After this success, they both penetrated into the town, where their men were so terrified at the numbers of the enemy, that they soon deserted them. *Beauregard*, however, extricated himself with great bravery, and *Ducasse*, to avoid being taken, retreated with six or seven men, who stood by him, to a garden, and from thence back to the church; but soon sallied out again, in order to attack the other head of the intrenchment, and there post himself, if possible, till the arrival of the reinforcement he had sent for to *Leogane*. On his arrival at the intrenchment, instead of meeting any resistance, he discovered a great number of the *English* running towards the sea-side, with captain *Godefroi*, who had likewise saved himself in his shirt, but at their heels, with about 25 Freebooters. Upon this, *Ducasse* gave his men orders to fire upon the *English*, but to very little purpose, for they made such haste to their boats that they all escaped, except about 50, who, not having been so expeditious as the rest, found themselves between two fires, and were therefore all killed, or obliged to surrender.

Retreat with precipitation.

This precipitate retreat of the *English*, was owing chiefly to the misinformation of some *French* prisoners, their guides, who assured them they would not find forty men to oppose them at *Petite Guave*, whereas, when they saw themselves attacked on every side, and with so much resolution, they took it into their heads, that, if they remained ashore a little longer, they should have the whole colony upon their hands. And this suspicion was confirmed by the alarm-gun of *Leogane*, which was fired just at the moment they began to re-embark. The loss of the *English*, on this occasion, amounted, according to the *French* writers, to 49 men killed, 8 wounded, and 17 or 18 made prisoners; and the *French*, by the same accounts, had but 5 men killed, and 3 wounded; but the *English* burned in the town 42 houses, and carried off about 120000 livres in gold and silver. Of four ships, that happened to be in the port at the same time, they had not time to take one. Nay one of these ships sent *Ducasse* a reinforcement of 30 men, very well armed, and besides fired on the *English*, who, however, returned the compliment from the shore, and would have infallibly sunk her, had they been allowed a longer stay there. The *English* were scarce got half a league from *Petite Guave*, when *Page* arrived there from *Leogane*, at the head of 50 or 60 men, having, in less than three hours, marched six or seven very long leagues, through a difficult road, over hills and mountains; and, besides, the Freebooters dispersed all over the neighbouring plantations, were up in arms in order to repair to *Ducasse's* assistance. But considering the weak condition by which the colony had been reduced by draining it of the 1200 fighting men, inhabitants and Negroes, besides regular forces, for the expedition to *Carthage-na*, none of whom were as yet returned, *Ducasse* would have found it very difficult to defend himself, had the *English* attacked him with more conduct and prudence.

Loss and damage on both sides.

1693  
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The *Spaniards*, on their side, continued their hostilities against the *French*, and treated all those who fell into their hands, with a severity and rigour unknown, as *Ducasse* in one of his letters complains, to the greatest barbarians. They parted him-

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bands from wives, parents from children, and carried things to such extremities, that most of the *French* inhabitants of *St Domingo*, began to think seriously of retiring elsewhere. But, to examine things coolly, the *French* had no such reason to complain of the *Spaniards*, on this occasion, considering the treatment the latter received from the former at *Carthagena*. The *French* king, indeed, as soon as he heard of the misbehaviour of his subjects, dispatched one of his ships to *Carthagena*, with the spoils of the churches they had plundered there. But this restitution was not made, till some time after the complaints abovementioned; and, had it been made before, these complaints would still have been quite groundless, considering that none of the private effects taken from the inhabitants of that unfortunate town, contrary to the capitulation, and rules of war observed amongst all christian states, were ever restored to them, nor any of the authors of the shocking enormities committed there punished at all, at least in the manner they deserved.

While the *Spaniards* were thus harassing the colony by sea, the *English* thought proper to make another attempt against it ashore. For this purpose, they equipped four ships of sixty guns each at *Jamaica*, with orders to complete the demolition of *Port de Paix*; but, as the ships were preparing to land some forces for that purpose, a sudden gust of wind obliged them to desist. Three of them, however, got aboard of the town, or village, called *de la petite riviere*, and sent six long boats with orders to nail up the cannon in the intrenchment there, and carry off what vessels they might find in the road. But though the *English* had chosen the night for landing, two troopers, who were on duty, happened to discover them, when they were got within pistol shot of the shore, and, after firing twice at them, galloped as fast as they could to give the governor notice of their approach. Upon this the alarm-gun was fired, and the *English*, finding the place was not to be surpris'd, thought fit to retire without their errand.

Early the next morning, *Ducasse*, having received advice, that a peace had been signed at *Ryswick*, wrote to the governor of *Sant Jago*, to give him an account of so important an event. And perhaps no letter was ever more seasonable, as five hundred and fifty *Spaniards* were already marched, by the mountains, into the plain of the Cape, and were just on the point of committing ravages, which the *French* colony was little able to prevent, when they were recalled in consequence of this letter. A month after this, some *English* and *Dutch* came to the governor of *St Domingo* with heavy complaints against the Freebooters, who, in spite of the peace, still continued to cruise upon them; and *Ducasse* thought fit to grant the sufferers the indemnification they required.

About this time, proper measures were taken by the *French* ministry, to make a solid establishment on the *Ile Avache*, not only because they regarded it as a place fittest in itself for that purpose of any belonging to the whole island, but because they flattered themselves, that the people settled there might be able to carry on a trade with the *Spaniards* of the continent, as did the *English* of *Jamaica*, and the *Dutch* of *Curacca*. For the aversion of the *Spaniards*, to every thing which came from *St Domingo*, was greatly abated by the *French* king's sending back to *Carthagena*, as we have already mentioned, the spoils of the churches which had been plundered there; and the *French* hoped they should be able to efface entirely all that remained, by forcing the Freebooters, if persuasion failed, to turn their thoughts to merchandise or planting, and thereby putting a stop to their depredations. At the same time, an edict made to hinder the sending of indented servants to the *French* colonies was repealed, as tending to deprive them of inhabitants, without which it was impossible they should flourish. Another step taken to settle the *Ile Avache*, was the establishment of a company, called the company of *St Lewis*, or of *Ile Avache*, which undertook to clear and people that island, in consideration of their being allowed an exclusive trade to it for thirty years. This company fulfilled its engagements perfectly well, made grants of land, and advanced all the sums necessary on such occasions, by which, and especially by building a fort on a little island called *la Caye St Louis*, that perfectly secures its harbour, which is extremely commodious in other respects, this district became, in process of time, one of the most flourishing of the whole colony, though without any advantage to the company; on the contrary, this useful body found itself, at the end of twenty years of labour and expence, so far behind hand, that it thought proper to remit all its rights to the king,

1698.

The English attempt in vain another descent on St Domingo.

Peace of Ryswick puts an end to hostilities.

French settle on the Ile Avache formed by a company.



they should let it fall into the same difrepute with the *Martinico* fugar. But all this was but empty words, whereas the meafures propofed by *Ducasse* were evidently to the purpose. As to the fortifications, the commiffaries had orders to confine themfelves to three places, and neglect, or rather demolish all the rest. These three places were, *Cape François*, the most expofed of any post in the island to insults from the *Spaniards*, on account of the neighbourhood of *Sant Jago*; *Leogane*, which included *Petite Guave*, fubject to constant alarms from the *Engliſh*; and the *Ile Avache*, which the king, as we have ſeen, had granted to a company. A ſmall gariſon indeed was to be left at *Port de Paix*, to hinder pirates from taking ſhelter there; but, in proceſs of time, new inhabitants reſorted thither in ſuch numbers, in ſpite of the king's former orders to the contrary, that it is now as populous in proportion, as any other quarter of the island.

About this time, the *Scotch* made their famous attempt to ſettle at *Darien*, to the no ſmall uneaſineſs of the *French*, whoſe commerce and power in *America* it could not but greatly affect. Hence *Ducasse* beſtirred himſelf with more than ordinary diligence, to prevent their getting any footing there. Among other things he wrote letters, and ſent preſents to the *Indians* inhabiting that iſthmus, with many aſſurances of friendſhip and protection againſt the *Spaniards*, if they would uſe their endeavours to defeat the deſigns of the *Scotch*. He alſo wrote to the *Spaniſh* governors, that they might depend on his aſſiſtance to diſtreſs the new ſettlers, and make them ſick of their undertaking. The *Spaniards* expreſſed great ſhynefs at theſe offers, being probably as jealous of the *French*, as of any other power; but the *Indians* readily took the bait, as it may very well be called, ſince the *French* court, on the acceſſion of *Philip V.* to the crown of *Spain*, left them to the diſcretion of the *Spaniards*, with only ſome promiſes to engage his Catholic Maſteſty to order, that they ſhould be kindly treated. When war was afterwards declared between the crowns of *France* and *Spain*, and that of *Great Britain*, ſeveral of the *French* Freebooters, who formerly belonged to *St Domingo*, but had been ſettled at *Jamaica*, rather than be expofed to the neceſſity of carrying arms againſt their country, as they could not return to it, retired amongſt theſe *Indians*, and are ſince become one people with them.

The *French* and *Spaniards* were now joined againſt the *Engliſh*, in conſequence of the ſettlement of a grandſon to *Lewis XIV.* on the throne of *Spain*, as we juſt now mentioned, and the *Engliſh* attempting to place on it a branch of the *Auſtrian* family. The *French* pretend on this occaſion, that, if the *Spaniards* had aſſiſted them, as they ought to have done, all the *Engliſh* ſettlements in *America*, muſt have fallen a prey to their united forces. But the *Spaniards*, it ſeems, had not as yet loſt all their averſion to the *French*, and imagined beſides, that their new allies might in time become as formidable neighbours as their old friends the *Engliſh*; whereas the *French*, being perſuaded that they ſhould always have much leſs to fear from the *Spaniards* than from the *Engliſh*, never omitted any opportunity of aſſiſting the former againſt the other. This year a ſuperior council, or court of juſtice, was erected at *Cape François*.

Before the inhabitants of *Jamaica* received any account of the declaration of war, Admiral *Benbow* was ſailed from *England* with a fleet to ravage the coaſts of *St Domingo*, or rather attack *Ducasse*, who was lately arrived here with a ſquadron from *France* in his way to *Cartagena*. The *Engliſh* fleet came in ſight of the island July 14, but did not attack any place till *Auguſt 7.* following, and by this delay, gave the *French* an opportunity of making preparations to receive them. Hence, as the admiral for want of land forces could attempt nothing aſhore, but by way of ſurprize, and the early notice the *French* had of his arrival, rendered a ſurprize impracticable, he thought proper to retire, after exchanging a few ſhot with their batteries at *Leogane*, and burning a man of war, and ſome merchant ſhips he found there.

Admiral *Benbow* had reaſon to expect better ſucceſs in attacking *Ducasse's* ſquadron, and therefore made it his buſineſs to find him out. He accordingly came up with him 12 leagues from *Santa Marta*, but was not fortunate enough to do him any great miſchief; at laſt both fleets ſeparated at the end of five days, without the loſs of any ſhip on either ſide. Admiral *Benbow* ſteered for *Jamaica*, where he died ſoon after his arrival, in conſequence of his having loſt a leg during the engagement, and *Ducasse* made the beſt of his way to *Cartagena*.

In *December* following, the *Engliſh* ſquadron, now commanded by Vice-Admiral *Whetſtone*,

1699

*French alarmed at the attempt of the Scotch to ſettle at Darien*

1702. *French and Spaniards united againſt the Engliſh;*

Admiral *Benbow* deſtroys *French* ſhips at *Laogane*.

Engages *Ducasse*, and dies of a wound

1702. *Whetstone*, made its appearance a second time on the coast of *St Domingo*, and, after plying backwards and forwards for some days in small divisions, the better to amuse and surprize the *French*, on finding that all these motions answered no purpose, at last formed itself into two grand divisions, one of which, consisting of six ships, sent some long boats in the night to cut out or destroy a few vessels, that lay under the batteries of *Petite Guave*. But the *French*, having discovered them, when within a little way of their booty, plied their cannon and small arms so furiously upon them, that they had but just time enough to carry off one of the ships, and set fire to another. The other division, consisting of eight sail, had little better success; for having entered the canal of *St Mark*, it found nothing worth its while but three *Freebooters*, which were just come out of the *Artibonite* quarter; one of these vessels it took, and drove the others ashore, where the crews saved themselves. After this the two divisions joined, but came no more within sight or hearing.

A new governor of *St Domingo*.

This year the *French* king, having appointed *Ducasse* commodore, gave the command of the colony of *St Domingo* to *M. Auger*, who had merited promotion by the noble defence he had lately made against the *English* at *Guadalupe*, where *M. de Galifet*, who had commanded at *St Domingo* during *Ducasse*'s absence, was named to succeed him, with liberty, however, to retain his present post, if his concerns at *St Domingo* should render his stay there more agreeable. The ministry at the same time intimated to this gentleman, that the government of *St Domingo* had been intended for him, as a recompence for the services he had done the colony there, while he commanded it in chief; but that his majesty thought proper to alter his resolution on that head, on account of the many complaints he had received of his behaviour to the inhabitants, which he ascribed to his great love of regularity and order, that hindered him from reflecting on the indulgence proper to be shewn to young settlers, who were to be taught their duty, before they could reasonably be punished for failing in it.

Indulgence due to young settlers.

*Auger* was perfectly qualified for the trust reposed in him. He was born in *America*, and had lived there long enough to know what behaviour was fittest for an *American* governor. Nature had, besides, bestowed upon him the happiest talents for so important a trust, and he had early improved them by a pretty long slavery among the *Saltines*. In this school he learned meekness, humanity, compassion, and a constant readiness to serve those who stood in need of his assistance.

Qualifications of the new governor.

The colony, however, was now become of such consequence, that the *French* ministry did not think proper to leave any longer all power, both civil and military, in the hands of any one particular person, and therefore named *Dishandes* chief justice, and, at the same time invested him with the power of intendant. This gentleman was as well qualified for this new place, as *Auger* was for that of governor; and, besides, they both agreed so well, that, though they died not many months after their arrival, they left the colony in a most flourishing condition.

A chief justice and intendant appointed.

*French* of *St Christopher*'s again expelled from *St Domingo*.

Some time before these gentlemen arrived at *St Domingo*, the colony had been considerably reinforced by the *French*, that had been drove a second time out of *St Christopher*'s. These new comers were not only, for the most part, born in *America*, and therefore inured to the climate, but very sober and regular in their conduct, so that their example contributed, to polish this colony, more perhaps than even the prudence and activity of its new superiors; and this was one of the points which the *French* court had most at heart. *Auger*, however, after his arrival, recalled all the *French* *Freebooters* that were dispersed in other places, and received orders from court to engage, if possible, the inhabitants of *St Domingo* to imitate the *English* of *Jamaica*, who, for some time past, made only use of barks in their armaments. But probably the *Freebooters*, who were most of them settled among the *Indians* of the *Sambres* and *Becater*, as above mentioned, were, by living so long ashore, come to a sober way of thinking. And as to the armaments the *French* court seemed to encourage, they were intended to employ usefully, in keeping the enemy at a distance from the coasts, the vagabonds, and young people, whose laziness or levity might make it very difficult to employ them ashore to as good purpose.

*Auger*'s conduct and orders.

Ecclesiastic regulations.

About this time too happened some alterations in the spiritual government of the *French* settlements on this island. In the beginning, as soon as a parish was formed, the first approved priest, whether regular or secular, that presented himself, was put into possession of it. But, in process of time, most of the parishes of the northern districts fell into the hands of the *Capuchins*, and those of the western districts into the

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In 1706 *maica*, though purpose, and his projects, by confining island could *Auger*, no the project court, the ing approve received the publish an a meaning, it The like w most of wh of the plun was now wa some frigate good treatm was soon at some *English* could be tak gathered for greater adva

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the hands of the Dominicans. The Capuchins at last, finding that the climate did not suit their way of life, and that they buried a great number of their brethren, applied to the king for leave to retire; and his majesty having granted their request, the Jesuits were put in their places. The company of *St Lewis* had obtained leave to name curates to the parishes within their concessions; but, since that body thought proper to resign its rights into the king's hands, the Dominicans have taken possession of all the parishes on the south side of the island.

In 1706 *M. d'Iberville* arrived at *St Domingo*, and, having formed a design upon *Jamaica*, thought proper to enquire, what assistance the colony could give him for that purpose, and found 1500 men, capable of any land service. But death put an end to his projects, and gave the *English* an opportunity of ruining the trade of the *French*, by confining themselves to the capture of their ships, against which the land forces of the island could be of no service. For this reason, the Count *de Choiseul*, who succeeded *Auger*, no sooner arrived at *St Domingo*, than he began to think seriously of pursuing the project formed by his predecessor, to revive Freebooting, and represented it to the court, as the only means of retrieving the commerce of the island. The ministry having approved his views, sent him proper powers to execute them; and he no sooner received these powers, than he dispatched a gentleman to *Cartagena*, with orders to publish an amnesty for such of the Freebooters, as had retired to the *Spanish* territories; meaning, it is probable, those who still remained at the *Sambres*, and at *Bocator*. The like was done in regard to those, who had taken shelter among the *English*, most of whom returned home, and as many as did, were punctually paid their share of the plunder of *Cartagena*, and reinstated in all their privileges. Hence, nothing was now wanting to the *French* of *St Domingo*, to take revenge of the *English*, but some frigates to protect their own coasts, while the Freebooters, animated by their good treatment, ravaged the coasts of *Jamaica*. But the death of their governor, who was soon after mortally wounded in his passage to *France*, in an engagement with some *English* vessels, rendered all their expectations abortive; and, before any measures could be taken to put his views in execution, most of the Freebooters, who had been gathered from all quarters, commenced inhabitants, and thereby proved of infinitely greater advantage to the colony, than what was at first expected from their return.

Peace seemed to be the only thing now wanting, to the *French* of *St Domingo*, to become, in a short time, a rich and flourishing people; and this blessing they soon enjoyed, in consequence of the treaty signed at *Utrecht* in 1714; but their joy was soon greatly allayed by a terrible misfortune. The year following, all their coco-trees, whose fruit formed one of the richest branches of their commerce, died away, except a few, which only survived one year longer; so that now there are no trees of that species to be seen, but such as are cultivated with great care in private gardens, where they are shewn as a great curiosity. These trees were first planted here in the year 1666, and were thought to yield as good fruit, as any that grew on the continent; besides, they multiplied so fast, that coco used to be sold, at the time this disaster happened, at 5 sols a pound. One inhabitant alone had 20000 trees, and his plantation was one of the first that perished. Not only this island agreed well with the coco-tree, but several tracts of land in the possession of the *French*, the mountains especially, are fit for little else. This amazing event has occasioned much speculation, but the cause of it seems to be as little known now as ever. There are many persons, whom it would be very difficult to persuade, that it did not happen in consequence of some incantations of the inhabitants of *Martinico*, who, not having stock enough to make sugar, nor land fit for indigo, bethought themselves of this, as the only method to put an effectual stop to the too powerful rivalship of the *St Domingo* plantations.

The *French* in *Europe*, having declared war against the *Spaniards*, the governor of *St Domingo* thought himself the properest person to declare it in his island. For this purpose, he advanced halfway into the river, called *Du Massacre*, which was considered as the boundary of the *French* possessions on that side, and discharged a pistol. This new, or at least antiquated, kind of ceremony, served only to put the *Spaniards* upon their guard, for, as yet, they had heard nothing from *Europe* of the event that had given occasion to it, and desired nothing more than to live in peace with their neighbours. Some of them, in hopes of inspiring the *French* with more peaceable sentiments, had even brought back the negroes, whom the governor's denunciation of war had prompted to desert, in hopes of a kind reception, and who had fallen into their hands; but their example was

1706.

Measures taken to prevent Freebooting.

1711.

Freebooters commence inhabitants.

1714. Sudden decay of all the coco trees on the island of *St Domingo*.

1715.

1715.

*French* gross delinquents.



1713. not followed; and, at last, the president of the royal audience of *San Domingo* issued out his orders, for bringing in all the unrestored negroes, as confiscated to his Catholic Majesty, in consequence of the declaration of war made by the *French* governor. Many of these poor wretches he sent to the *Terra Firma*, others he kept in prison till they perished, and to the rest he granted their freedom. Some time after this, on the conclusion of a peace between the crowns of *France* and *Spain*, he received orders to restore all the *French* slaves that were to be found in the *Spanish* territories; in pursuance of which, he assembled a great number; but as they were shipping them, the populace rose, and set them at liberty. These negroes are, since that time, become very numerous; whence, if a war should ever break out between the *French* and *Spaniards* of *St Domingo*, they must prove dangerous enemies to the former, to whom, in the mean time, their establishment is prejudicial, as it is a strong incentive to their slaves to desert, and affords them a sure asylum when they have deserted. A long time before the war, of which we have been just speaking, broke out, the *Spaniards* had agreed with the *French*, to bring them back all the run-away negroes, for a reward of 25 piastres per head; but they observed this convention so ill, that the *French* had resolved, if the war continued, to use their utmost efforts to drive them out of the island.

1722. From the conclusion of this peace, nothing happened worth notice till the year 1722, when the *French* inhabitants of *St Domingo*, at all times enemies to any restraints upon their trade, saw themselves, in a great measure, at the mercy of the *French India* company. This body had obtained an exclusive privilege of furnishing the colony with slaves, which obliged them no farther than to a yearly supply of 2000, whereas the planters, about *Cape Francois* alone, required 3 or 4000 every year; so that many of the planters, had this privilege taken place, might soon have been obliged to desert their plantations for want of hands to cultivate them. Besides, as the inhabitants were not, as yet, acquainted with the nature of this new company, they had just room to apprehend, from their experience of most of the former companies, that, should it fail in its engagements, unequal as they were to the demands of the colony, it would be impossible for the sufferers to obtain an action for damages against it, on any of its members.

Another injurious privilege granted the same company. About the same time, this company obtained another privilege, not less detrimental to the colony, than that just now mentioned. This was, a licence for exporting from the island all the goods it thought proper, free from duty: A privilege, which, at first sight, may appear to have been for the interest of the colony in general, by enabling the company to afford the inhabitants a better price for their commodities than they used to get heretofore, and even sell them the commodities of *Europe* at an easier rate than they used to give. But, as these duties were applied to defray the expences of the island, the inhabitants had all the reason to fear they should be saddled with some, more disagreeable taxes, to answer the same purpose. Besides, when the company had once ruined the importers and exporters of goods, or beat them out of trade, by overbuying them on the one hand, and underselling them on the other, and thus freed themselves from rivals, they would have it in their power to buy and sell at what prices they thought proper. And who could warrant, that they would not abuse so tempting a power, and so odious withal, let it be ever so moderately exercised?

Intolerable insolence of the company's officers. These general and well-grounded apprehensions were greatly strengthened by the insolent behaviour of the persons deputed and sent by the *India* company to manage its commerce. They not only spoke of the inhabitants as subjects, or rather slaves to the company, but even failed in the respect due to the King's officers: A circumstance, which probably conduced not a little to their expulsion, since it can scarce be expected, that those in power should act vigorously in favour of other persons, invested with the sovereign's authority, who had not respected it properly in themselves.

The company charged with two other ruinous events. Besides the above-said real causes of complaint, against the *India* company and its servants, the *French* of *St Domingo* had imagined to themselves two others. A good number of the oldest inhabitants of the colony had lately, it seems, been in *France* with vast quantities of goods, from which they promised themselves, not only to pay their debts, but also to enjoy a state of ease and quietness for the remainder of their days. But they had the misfortune to sell their effects for bank notes, and the sudden diminution of that imaginary treasure, impoverished them to such a degree, that most of them, after toiling 20 or 30 years in a scorching climate, instead of enjoying the fruits of their honest labours, found themselves, at the age of 60, under the sad necessity

cessity of being sold as slaves to the *India* company, or to some other trader, who would order them to be sold; and when they were sold, they were sent to the Indies, or to some other distant place, where they were to be sold as slaves. This was a very cruel and oppressive trade, and the company's officers were very much concerned to prevent it. They were obliged to send out a great number of soldiers, to be sent by a military company, to the place where they were to be sold.

Things which were longed to be attended upon, in more than they could perform, and

On such occasions, without any having their duties, and as for private, that is those of the receiving an annual, rather tedious see, it were, two gentlemen were not to grant themselves worth deserved.

and respect redress such suffered the which they justice. U four persons ther two, v then proceed jectious to ducing and and mollified inhabitants. hand, and to fall upon arular man colony.

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cessity of becoming overseers and stewards to others. And this event was charged on the *India* company, which was supposed to have been the main spring of the iniquitous transactions that gave occasion to it. The other event was, the publication of an order received from *France*, some time before, to reduce the *Spanish* coins, and weigh them; which could not be done without loss to multitudes, and occasioning, for the present at least, some extraordinary confusion in trade; wherefore, the governor, intendant, and council of the island, very wisely deferred publishing it on its arrival, for fear of its occasioning a shock, which the colony was not deem'd strong enough to bear. But a new intendant, who arrived much about the same time with the *India* company's directors and clerks, happening to be of another way of thinking, brought over the governor to his opinion, and, unluckily, one of the letters to some of the subaltern officers of the island, enjoining them to proclaim the king's will, was written by a man, who was not only well known to be zealously attached to the *India* company, but, by having a post elsewhere, might be supposed to have gone to the place where the letter was wrote, merely with a view of soliciting it.

Things however remained quiet for some time, till the arrival of a Negro ship belonging to the *India* company, which, with others that followed it, occasioned such a ferment among the people, that the governor and intendant, after many violent commotions, in which the women had a principal share, and the sober inhabitants more than they cared to own, found themselves at last under a necessity of giving way to the storm, and granting the people all the concessions they required.

On such occasions, the inhabitants were generally called together by circular letters, without any names, but only the words *Liberty*, and sometimes *Colony*, under pain of having their houses burnt down about their ears. And these threats were so often executed, that none, who had assembled in consequence of them, could be deemed guilty; and as for the writers of the letters, and the incendiaries, they kept themselves so private, that it was impossible to discover them. These circumstances concurring with those of the *French* King's being declared of age about this time, and his receiving an account of these motions, made him resolve to put a stop to them, by merciful, rather than severe methods, but in such a manner, however, as to let the seditious see, it was not for want of power that fair means were employed. Wherefore, two gentlemen, commissioned to signify his majesty's intentions to the colony, were attended by a number of ships sufficient to reduce the rebels, and had orders not to grant any favours, till the people, by a perfect submission, had rendered themselves worthy of them. These prudent measures were crowned with the success they deserved. The people received the commissioners with the greatest testimonies of love and respect for their sovereign, and, knowing they were invested with a power to redress such grievances as should be complained of, in a decent manner, cheerfully suffered the edicts in favour of the *India* company, and concerning *Spanish* money, which they had heretofore so violently opposed, to be received as laws by the courts of justice. Upon this the commissioners published the King's pardon, out of which but four persons were exempted; two of whom were banished to *Old France*, and the other two, who had taken care to withdraw themselves, were hanged in effigy. They then proceeded to examine into the grievances of the colony, and finding their objections to the privileges granted to the *India* company, and to the edict for reducing and weighing *Spanish* coins, no ways exaggerated, very wisely abolished some, and mollified the rest, in such a manner, as could not but be very agreeable to the inhabitants. Of the persons banished, one was a lady, who, with sword and pistol in hand, and at the head of a number of Amazons armed in like manner, was the first to fall upon the company's servants, who were reported to have reflected, in a particular manner, on what they called insolence and pride, in the female part of the colony.

Since these commotions, no attacks have been made on the *French* of *St Domingo* by any other nation but the *English*; and as to what may have passed among themselves, neither their own authors, nor the travellers of other countries, furnish us with any thing worth the reader's attention. We shall therefore put an end to the account of this famous colony, by a survey taken of it in the year 1726, (being the latest we can find.)

The inhabitants, at this time, consisted of thirty thousand free persons, and one hundred thousand black, or mulatto, slaves. Of the first, there might be ten thousand capable

1722.

Insurrection pacified by concession.

Manner in which the seditious proceeded, together with the prudent measures taken to suppress them

1726.

1726.  
Number and  
condition of  
the inhabi-  
tants.

capable of bearing arms; and of the latter, twenty thousand could be brought into the field, without any great prejudice to their plantations or commerce. Some people pretend, that few persons in *St Domingo*, of those born in *France*, are ever free from an internal fever, which insensibly undermines their strength, and shows itself, less by any disorder in the pulse, than by a lividness of complexion, which they all acquire by degrees, some more and some less, according to the strength of their several constitutions, and their moderation in work and in their pleasures. In the beginning, none of those born in *France* lived to any great age, and these are very few very old men to be found among them, even at present. But the *Crestians*, in proportion to the removes from their *European* origin, become more and more healthy, vigorous, and long-lived. This proves, that the air is not, absolutely speaking, bad in itself, and that, to find it wholesome, nothing more is requisite than to be inured to it.

Character of  
the *French*  
*Creolians*.

The minds of the *French Creolians* begin to lose all marks of that mixture of provinces, which produced the first colony. It is even expected, that in a few years more there will remain no traces of the peculiar dispositions of those old adventurers, from whom most of the present inhabitants are descended. These are, in general, of a pretty good stature, and an easy temper, but somewhat airy and inconstant; open, haughty, proud, haughty, daring, and intrepid. They are said to be very dull of apprehension, and very indolent in affairs of religion; but it has been observed, that all their natural defects readily give way to a good education, which meets in them a very fertile and promising soil to exercise itself. The quality they inherit most entire from their fore-fathers, is hospitality. One would imagine, that this great virtue is to be acquired merely by breathing the air of *St Domingo*. We have already seen to what height it was carried by the *Indians*. Their conquerors, who were no way disposed to make patterns of them, immediately excelled in the practice of it. And it would be as absurd to think, that the *French* borrowed it from the *Spaniards*, since these were settled in the island, a long time before the *French* had any communication with them; besides, their mutual antipathy was too strong to suffer either to copy after the other. In short, the *St Domingo* Negroes themselves are remarkable for carrying this virtue to a degree, that is quite amazing in slaves, who are scarce allowed wherewithal to keep soul and body together. To say no more, hospitality prevails throughout all ranks of people in the *French* colony, in a surprising manner. A man may make the tour of it, without spending a farthing; he is not only very well received every where, but has money given him, if he wants it, to continue his journey. A man of any family is no sooner known to be in any distress, than you see a struggle between the inhabitants for the pleasure of entertaining him. They wait not for his taking these steps, that are so irksome to a man of any birth. As soon as they hear of his being upon the road, they set out to meet him; he needs not be under any apprehensions of growing troublesome, the longer he stays in a house, the more his company is liked by all the family. From the moment he has reached the first plantation on his road, he may make himself easy about every thing; Negroes, horses, carriages, all are at his service, and he is not permitted to set out again, till he has promised to return, if his affairs will permit him. The charity of the *Creolians* of *St Domingo*, for poor children who have no parents to take care of them, is no less worthy of praise and admiration. They are never left to the care of the publick; it is deemed a privilege, instead of a burthen, to provide for them. Their nearest relations claim the preference, and next their godfathers and godmothers; if all these fail, then the first family that can lay hold of the poor children, take them home, and behave to them, in every respect, as if they had been their own.

Their charity  
to orphans.

Great de-  
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at *St Domingo*.  
Surgeons here  
readily make  
fortunes.

Money here is very plentiful, *Spanish* especially, for which reason most people keep their accounts in pieces of eight and rials. All sorts of handicraft or mechanic works are here held up at a vast price. Surgeons grow rich here sooner than any other sort of people; they are paid at a very extravagant rate, and set what price they please on their drugs; yet they are, for the most part, extremely ignorant. One of them having killed a lady whom it was thought expedient to purge, to prove his skill, and acquit himself of an intention to poison her, for of such he was accused, begged to be permitted to take the remainder of the medicine himself; the request was quickly granted, and the surgeon took his leave of this world in a few hours. This was a proof of his innocence, and perhaps a happy accident for the inhabitants, who are much troubled with putrid fevers,

fevers, wherers enjoy maladies stagnant po works, and temperance.

This colony as the suffer great children. ed and cul at last vani as, if the p would be c parents con could spre continent a ner, coloni try. But t to clear in comerce c the same co

Of all th which the *Spaniards*, *Gu* flourishing to the exte *Vega Real*, *Spaniards*. Pe the five pa *Ante*, *l'Alca* or *Maffacr* *Margot*, to ed than the not be mor has to the These mou eight, form lets, that r selves any bitable, and

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fevers, which, if not fatal, end in dropsies or dysenteries scarcely curable. The hunters enjoy the best health, because of their exercise, and change of air. The many maladies generated here are owing to several causes; as, the heat of the climate, the stagnant pools, the running streams corrupted with the waters let off from the indigo works, and the indolence and luxury of the people, who give themselves up to intemperance.

This colony, should the inhabitants of it continue to multiply in the same proportion as they have done for some time past, especially for the last thirty years, may suffer greatly by the custom, that now obtains there, of dividing estates equally among children. In consequence of this practice, when all the lands have been once cleared and cultivated, the plantations will be so divided and subdivided, that they must at last vanish to nothing, and all the inhabitants become poor and miserable; whereas, if the plantations were to remain entire in the hands of the eldest sons, the younger would be obliged to take new ones; a thing they might easily do with the stock their parents could give them; and when no more waste land remained at *St Domingo*, they could spread themselves over the neighbouring islands, and even such parts of the continent as belong to *France*, or are at present free to the first occupier. In this manner, colonies would start up of themselves, without any expence to the mother country. But the *French* have more land at *Domingo*, than they can expect to be able to clear in a hundred years; and, in order to be more successful, care might be taken to vary the commerce of it in such a manner, as to prevent its suffering by too great a plenty of the same commodities.

Imprudent custom of dividing estates.

Mischief to be apprehended from such a custom.

Of all the places possessed by the *French* in the island of *St Domingo*, *Cape François*, which the *French* most commonly call barely *the Cape*, by way of excellence, and the *Spaniards*, *Guarico*, is, without any manner of doubt, that where trade has always been most flourishing and extensive. And this advantage it owes, as much to its happy situation, as to the extent and fertility of its plain. This plain lies at the western extremity of the *Vega Real*, of which three fourths now remain uncultivated in the hands of the *Spaniards*. People are not agreed as to the boundaries of this plain; some confine it to the five parishes nearest to the town, called *Limonade*, *le Quartier Morin*, *la Petite Anse*, *l'Anse*, and *le Morne rouge*; others give it for boundaries *la riviere du Massacre*, or *Massacre river*, to the east, and *la riviere Salée*, or *Salt river*, a little above *Port Margot*, to the west. According to this opinion, which seems to be better grounded than the first, it must be about 20 leagues long; and, as to its breadth, it cannot be more than four leagues, being the distance between the sea, the only limits it has to the north, and a chain of mountains, with which it is bounded, to the south. These mountains, which are no where less than four leagues over, and in some places eight, form the most beautiful vallies in the world, watered by a thousand little rivulets, that render them equally fertile and delightful. Nor are the mountains themselves any way dreadful or disagreeable; few of them are very high, most very habitable, and capable withal of being cultivated to the very top.

Description of Cape François

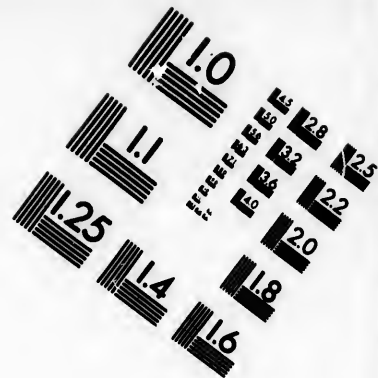
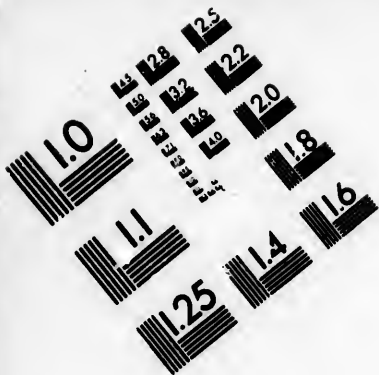
The town of *Cape François* stands almost in the middle of the shore, that borders the plain, and its port has been, for many years, the most frequented of any in the whole island, as well on account of its safety, as its advantageous situation to receive ships coming from *France*. It is open to no wind but a north-east, from which, however, ships can receive no damage, its entrance being covered by rocks, which break the fury of the waves, and between which a ship must wear with great caution, not to strike upon them.

Port of Cape François.

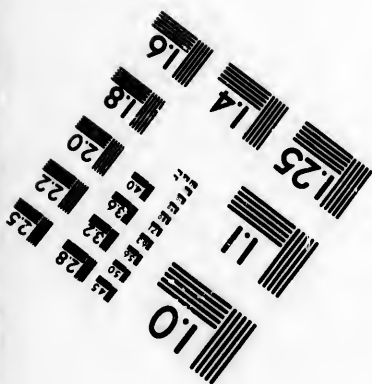
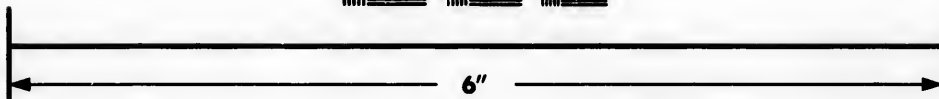
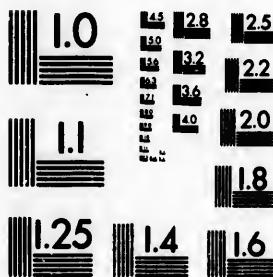
The town of *Cape François* was twice burned by the *Spaniards* and *English*, but quickly rebuilt, the houses being little more than stakes drove into the ground, thatched with palm leaves, and palisadoed, amounting to about 300, divided into seven or eight streets, if they may deserve the name, being neither paved nor kept in any order, so that they are always knee-deep either in dust or dirt. Nor is the parish church kept in much better decorum; the people, in general, seeming to know little or nothing, but the name, of religion. The town has neither walls nor palisadoes, nor, from its situation, is it worth fortifying, being commanded by eminences on the west and south. The town and the harbour are each defended by a battery, badly placed, and worse kept. However, here is generally maintained a small garrison, on which the inhabitants place but little reliance, being mostly of themselves stout fellows, inured to blows. Here are two hospitals, and a house built

Description of the town of Cape François





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1726. by the Cordeliers, well situated, and commanding a delicious prospect. The country about is extremely pleasant, and abounds with plantations of indigo and sugar.
- Road from Cape François to Léogane. There is a road lately opened from the Cape to *Léogane*, but few people chuse to travel through it, being very incommodious, and exposed to the insults of the *Spaniards*, on whose possessions, in some places, it touches. The safest passage is by sea.
- Bayala Port. Nine leagues to the east of *Cape François*, lies that of *Bayaba*, the largest in the whole island; it is eight leagues in circumference, and within it, opposite to its entrance, which is not above a pistol shot over, lies a little island, along side of which ships may ride close enough to touch it with their bowsprits. The *French* had already begun to fortify this port, and build a town convenient to it, and had placed a grand guard at it.
- Port Margot. *Port Margot*, so famous in the time of the Freebooters, has likewise a little town, though it is no more than a simple road, where ships may anchor in about 12 or 14 fathom water, between the main land and a little island a league in circumference. Between *Cape François* and *Port Margot*, at no more than a league from the last, is *Port François*, which, though very deep, is but little frequented, as it lies at the foot of a very high mountain, and the lands about it are very barren.
- Port François. This mountain extends along the coast for four leagues, and has, at its western extremity, a very capacious and very deep port, to which the *Spaniards* gave the name of *Zacon de Luyfa*, and the *French*, by corruption, *le Can de Louise*; but it is more generally called *Port de l'Acul*, from the name of a parish in its neighbourhood. Ships may anchor here in about three fathoms and half, and the mouth of it is bordered by ledges of rocks. This port, and *Port Margot*, were called after two *Spanish* ladies, who had settlements there.
- Port de Paix. From *Port Margot* it is but five leagues to *Tortuga*, opposite to which is *Port de Paix*, of which we have elsewhere given a plan, by which it appears, that this port forms a crescent, covered on the north, at about two leagues distance, by the island of *Tortuga*. The anchorage is good; but the west side of the bay is something dangerous in a north or north-west wind.
- The town was not rebuilt, when seen by the author, from whom we have taken this extract, there not being then above twenty houses standing; however, from the ruins it appeared to be considerable before the war. Here is a much more commodious church than that of the Cape; the fort, which yet lies in ruins, having been destroyed in 1688, was built on an eminence, that overlooked the town; it had been about 450 feet long, and perhaps near 200 broad; on the north, it was, from its situation, inaccessible, being washed by the sea; on the east, it had a view of the town, was covered by a bastion, a semi-bastion, a ditch, a covered way, and palisadoes; on the west and south-west, it had redoubts and platforms, and the angle joining these sides was defended by a bastion, which the enemy's cannon had demolished; the whole fort, as well as the governor's house, on the left of the entrance of the fort, appear, from the remains, to have been well built, the masonry being very strong, and the work of the famous *de Cussy*. The enemy was obliged to undermine it, but it might be easily repaired; the offices and magazines, some of which are in ruins, and a few still standing, shew its magnificence, extent, and consequence; between these and the house, there was a place of arms; neither the guard on each side, nor the draw-bridge, were destroyed. Our author tells us, that there was a garden on the west, which, though long neglected, was yet the best and most beautiful he had seen in *America*. Near these ruins is an extensive plain, capable of being finely settled, and admirably improved, the country being well watered, and the earth bountiful, especially in bearing sugar, which requires not an over rich soil.
- Port des Moustiques. The next port is *Port des Moustiques*, between two points, that streighten it greatly. Twelve ships may anchor here, in ten or twelve fathom water. A league farther is *Port de l'Écu*, or *Croixen Port*, nearly of the same depth and capacity. From hence it is but six or seven leagues to *Mole St Nicolas*, or *St Nicolas's Mole*, at one side of which there is a haven of the same name, where vessels of any burthen may every where safely anchor, in twelve fathom water; but the country about it is poor and dry, though said to contain some mines of gold and silver, which is not improbable, the surface covering these metals being seldom very rich. Here begins a very large bay, more than 40 leagues over, and 200 in circumference; in it are many
- The great bay of Cal de Sa.

desert island than that of habitable. it is intersp Between is the *Pue* strict called east of *Bay* fathom water leagues bey where ships niards had *French* of *Monte Criste* it is called and about t the sea, and point helps formed by a ten leagues i

This plain twelve paro two of the *Guanamite*, row, *le Tro* *Creek*, *le M* already, and *To Guanami* *Ozen*, whose *Terrier Rou* *Quartier M* *Pierre*; to a

Few coun single river, fect. They or *Great R* *monade* from *la Riviere* *Bayaba*; th of the top *l'Acul*; th and that w account of it contains *Rouge*, and least, there *monade*. I the source *Quartier A* bit grais a stately tree containing more adva ing of the gions quan

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desert islands, the largest of which is *Guanavas*, which has a good soil, better air than that of *St Domingo*, and, were it not for want of sweet water, is every way habitable. It is necessary for those who cruise hereabout, to know the road well, for it is interspersed with dangerous shoals.

Between *Cape François* and *Bayaba* is *la Baye de Caracol*, which, as we already said, is the *Puerto Real*, where *Columbus* settled his first colony. It belongs to the district called *de Limonade*, two or three leagues from the Cape. Three leagues to the east of *Bayaba*, is *Baye de Mancenille*, in which ships may anchor in four or five fathom water. *La Grange*, or the *Granary*, is three leagues further on, and three leagues beyond *la Grange* is *Monte Cristo*, at the other side of which there is a road, where ships may anchor in any depth of water from 7 to 30 fathoms; the *Spaniards* had once a town here of the same name. The ancient *Isabella*, which the *French* of *St Domingo* commonly call *Isabelique*, stood 12 leagues to the east of *Monte Cristo*; ships may anchor there in four fathom water. *Puerto de Plata*, or, as it is called in the *French* colony, *Portoplate*, is nine or ten leagues from *Isabelique*; and about thirteen or fourteen leagues farther is a point, which runs a great way into the sea, and to which *Columbus*, they say, gave the name of *Cabo Frances*. This point helps to form a bay, called *Baye de Cofsee*, in the center of which is a port, formed by a little island, where ships may ride in 14 fathom water. *Samana* lies ten leagues beyond this point. Let us now return to the plain of *Cape François*.

This plain, if we consider it according to the greatest extent allowed it, contains twelve parochial churches, one for every district, and all lying within a league or two of the sea, for the greater conveniency of the inhabitants. The districts are, *Guanaminte*, *Bayaba*, *le Grand Bassin*, or *Great Bassin*, *le Terrier Rouge*, or *Red Burrow*, *le Trou*, or the *Hole*, *Limonade*, *le Quartier Morin*, *la Petite Anse*, or *Little Creek*, *le Morne rouge*, *l'Acul*, *le Limbé*, and *le Port Margot*.<sup>\*</sup> Some of them have already, and the rest will soon have, parochial churches in the adjoining mountains. To *Guanaminte* answers the new parish of *Jeannante*; to *le Grand Bassin*, *le Four*, or the *Oven*, whose church is to be built near *la Grande Riviere*, or *Great River*; to *le Terrier Rouge*, *les Perches*; to *le Trou*, *Sainte Suzanne*; to *Limonade*, *Buon*; to *Quartier Morin*, *Sainte Rose*; to *la Petite Anse*, *le Dondon*; to *le Morne Rouge*, *Jean Pierre*; to *l'Acul*, *la Marmelade*; to *Limbé*, *Plaisance*; and *Pilate* to *Port Margot*.

Few countries on the whole globe are better watered than this, yet it has not a single river, where midling boats may go up a league, or the tide rises above three feet. They are all fordable, not excepting even the river called *la Grande Riviere*, or *Great River*, which is 15 or 16 leagues long, and separates the *Quartier de Limonade* from the *Quartier Morin*. The most considerable rivers, next to this, are *la Riviere Marion*, which waters the district called *du Grand Bassin*, and that of *Bayaba*; the river *Jaguazi*, which runs through the quarter called *le Trou*; that of the top of the Cape, which divides the districts called *du Morne Rouge*, and *l'Acul*; that which runs through the district of *Limbé*, whose name it likewise bears; and that which empties itself into *Port Margot*. But this plain is more valuable on account of its fertility, than any other advantage, though some people pretend that it contains several kinds of minerals. We have already taken notice of *le Morne Rouge*, and mentioned the reasons for believing, that it contains a copper mine; at least, there is one of that metal at *Sainte Rose*, and another of loadstones at *Limonade*. It is likewise thought, that there is a gold mine at the *Grand Bassin*, near the source of the river *Marion*. To conclude, there are some little hills at the *Quartier Morin*, called *les Mornes Pelés*, or *Bald Hills*, because they produce nothing but grass and shrubs, though all the lands in the neighbourhood are covered with stately trees, and this baldness of theirs is looked upon as an infallible sign of their containing mines of iron. But the cultivation of sugar and indigo is attended with more advantages to private persons, and perhaps to the state itself, than the working of the richest mines of gold and silver. This plain, no doubt, yields a prodigious quantity of these two valuable commodities.

There are 200 sugar mills on this plain, and they are building more every day. Every mill makes 400 hogheads, or 200,000 pounds of sugar a year, for every hoghead contains 500 pounds nett. This sugar sells on the spot for 13 livres the

<sup>\*</sup> They lie in the order, in which we have given their names, beginning with the most easterly.

1726. hundred weight, on an average; so that every mill must produce a revenue of 26,000 livres, exclusive of molasses and rum, which cannot amount to less than a thousand crowns more. Now 26,000 livres, multiplied by 200, the number of mills on the plain, make 5,200,000, and consequently the sugar annually produced by this district alone, must amount to above 5,000,000 of livres, and in a little time it will amount to one third more. The indigo may be valued at 3,000,000. There are two sorts of it; one sort, which grows wild in many parts of the island, is called bastard indigo. This kind was neglected for a long time, as good for nothing; but about twenty years ago, one of the planters took it into his head to try it; it succeeded so well that he enriched himself by it, and his success induced others to follow his example. At present, this indigo is as much valued as the other sort, which was originally brought from the *East Indies*, and, before the discovery we have mentioned, used to be cultivated. It must be owned, however, that the exotic indigo has a much finer gloss than that which is natural to the island; but this last makes amends for what it wants in colour, by thriving in several soils which agree not with the first. Attempts have also been made to cultivate several sorts of indigo brought from *Guinea*, but without success. When we say, that the ancient indigo was originally brought from the *East Indies*, we follow the opinion of the greatest number of authors, who have wrote on this subject; for some pretend it came from the continent of *America*, and the province of *Guatimala* in particular.

Of coco, coffee, and tobacco.

Many of the inhabitants are, as yet, cautious of cultivating any thing but indigo in the mountains, where some, however, begin to replant coco trees, which, if they succeed, will soon render the mountainous districts the most populous of the whole island. Tobacco alone would have the same effect, if that of *St Domingo* had admittance into all the ports of *France*, instead of being confined to the port of *Dunkirk*. The *French* flatter themselves, that coffee may soon prove another source of wealth to this island; the tree which produces it, already grows as fast, and looks as well, as if it were natural to the island. It flowers in eighteen months, and its stem is strong and vigorous; but it must be longer accustomed to the soil, to yield perfect fruit. Some are of opinion, that cinnamon, cloves, nutmegs, and pepper, would thrive very well in *St Domingo*; it would, in all appearance, be an easy matter to try them; but these trials require patience and constancy, with which the *French* are not overstocked. Cotton, ginger, silk, and castia, were formerly the chief riches of the *Spanish* colony of *St Domingo*. What should hinder their proving of equal advantage to the *French*?

Number of inhabitants of the plain of Cape François

The parishes of the plain of *Cape François* consist, one with another, of 3000 souls at least; but, for one free person, there are ten slaves. It is not so with the town, where there are 4000 souls, and almost as many whites as blacks. In the mountains, there are at most but three slaves for every free person. If coco and coffee succeed, or the tobacco of this island comes into favour again, all these quarters will soon have three times the number of inhabitants they have at present,

Difference in the soils of the lands belonging to the *French* in *St Domingo*.

and the whites will multiply, in proportion, more than the blacks. After all, the plain of the Cape, even including its mountains, is scarce more than the tenth part of the lands the *French* possess in this island. And those of *Leogane*, *Artibonite*, and the *Fond de l'Isle Avache*, are little inferior to those of the plain of *Cape François*. The first and last of these districts are very famous for the number of their sugar works, and the second for the great quantity of indigo it produces. But in all these places, as well indeed as throughout the whole island, there is so great a variety of soils, that one can hardly travel a league without getting, as it were, into a new country. The soil of the plain of the Cape is, however, somewhat more uniform, though there be variety enough to amuse those who are but lately arrived from *France*. For instance, the eastern districts, *Guanamite*, *Bayaba*, *le Grand Bassin*, *le Terrier Rouge*, and *le Trou*, though of a much greater extent than the rest, are inferior to them in produce. They have here and there natural *Savanna's*, not unlike some heaths in *France*, and which can scarce be brought to yield any thing. On the contrary, there is not in the whole districts of *Limonade*, *le Quartier Morin*, *la Petite Anse*, *le Morne rouge*, and *l'Acul*, an inch of ordinary ground, the *Savanna* of *Limonade* only excepted.

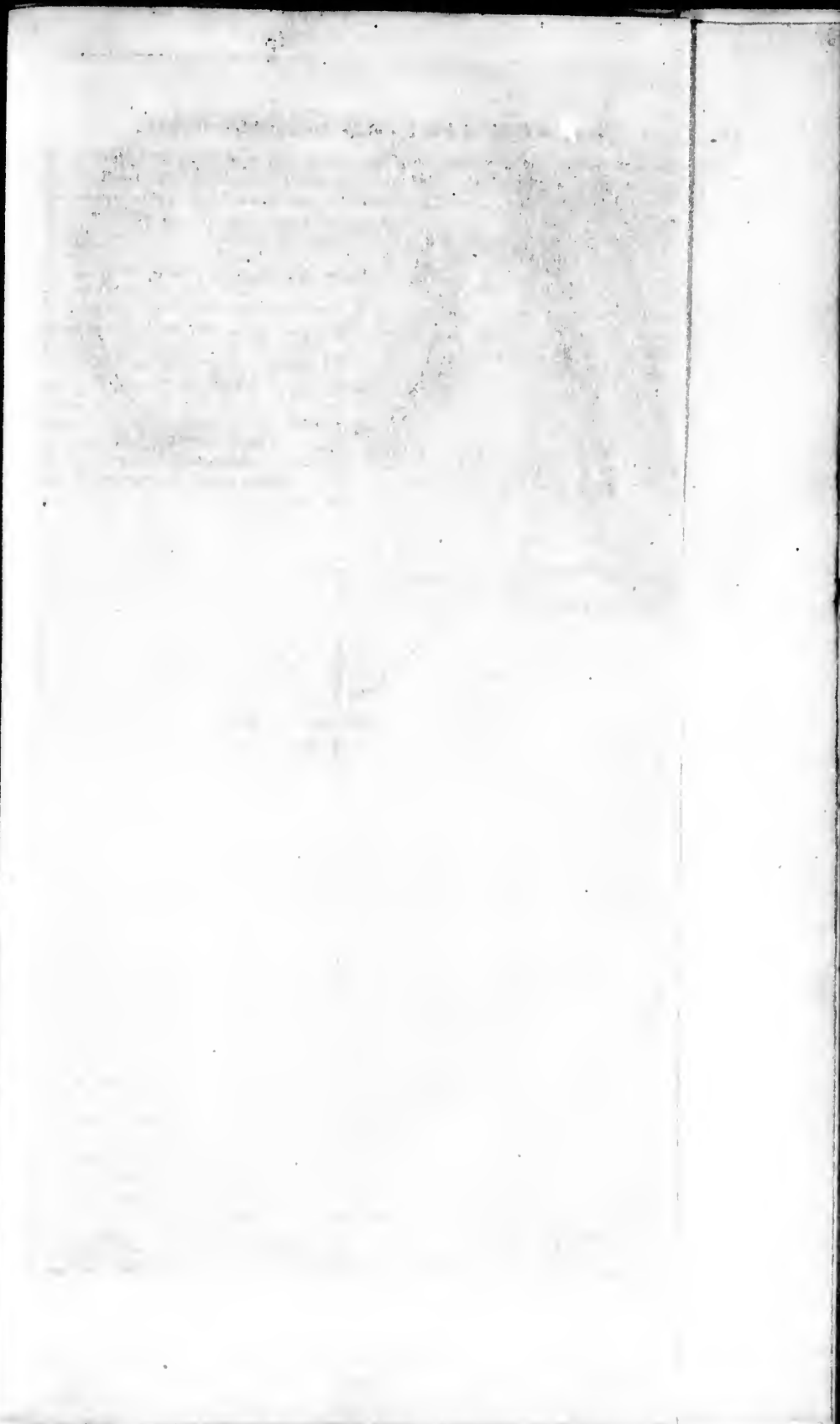
Roads of the plain of the Cape.

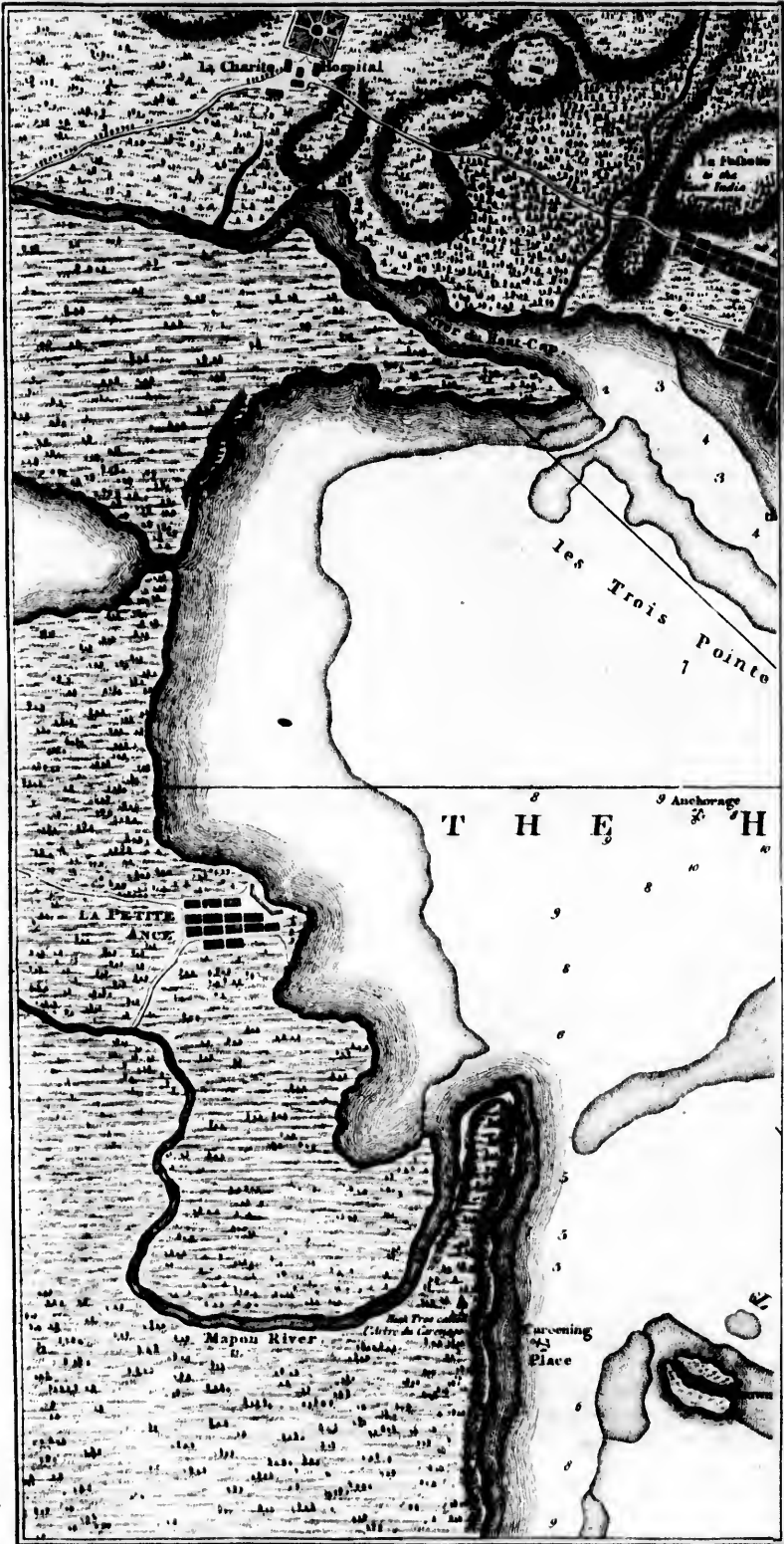
All the plain of the Cape is intersected by direct and cross roads, laid out by the line, and commonly bordered by hedges of lemon trees, which are thick enough to serve

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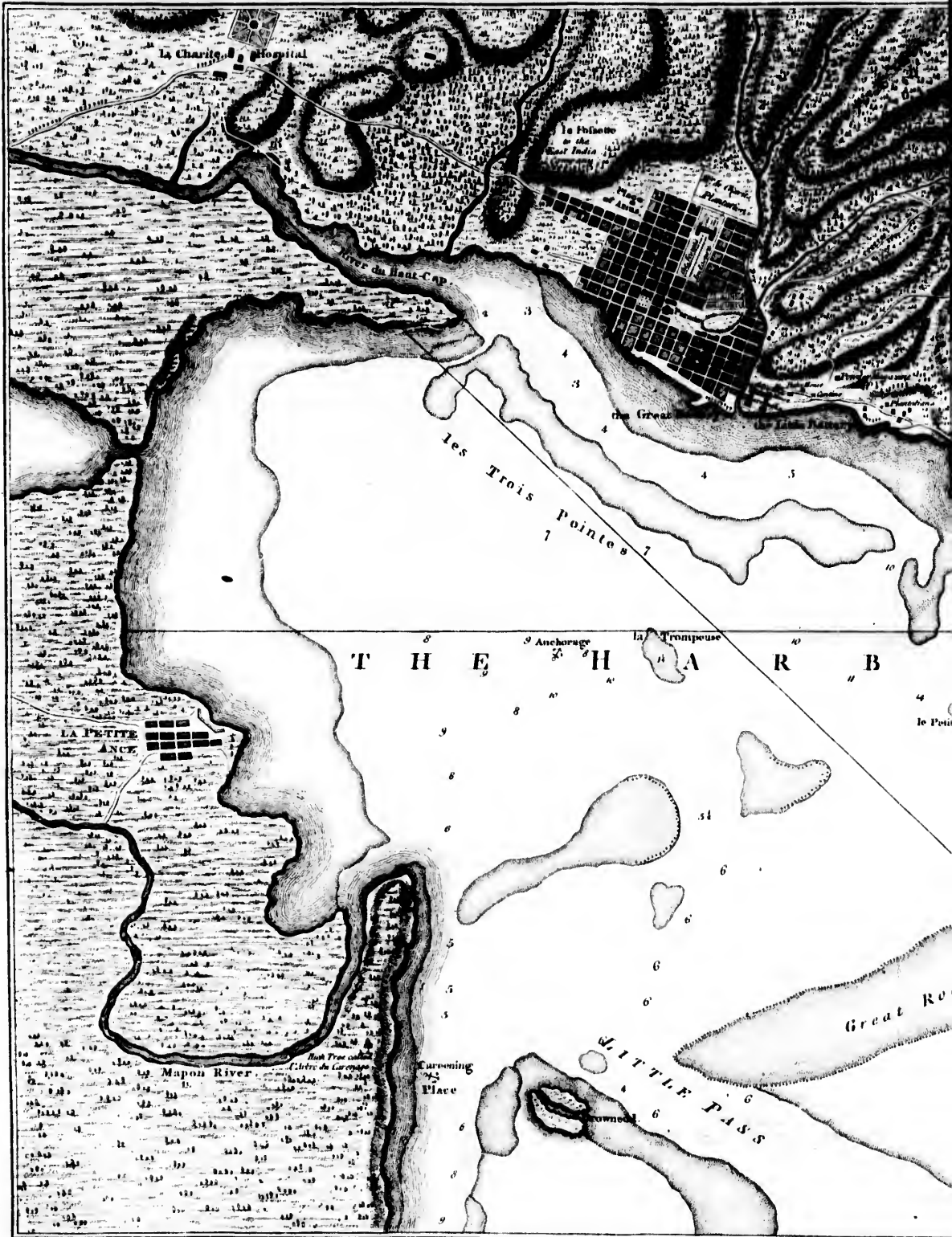
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serve as fences for cattle, and, at the same time, are carefully trimmed for the sake of ornament. Numbers of planters have also long vistas of full and stately trees, leading to their houses, and it is to be wished, that such trees were made use of to support the hedges, as they would besides, yield a shade to travellers, and in time, prevent a scarcity of timber, which is already felt in a very sensible manner. Trees grow much faster here than in *France*, yet much too slow for people who think of nothing but the present; a failing, whose origin is of the same date with the discovery of the new world, where it too much prevails. *Oviedo* used to reproach the *Spaniards* of his own time, those of *St Domingo* especially, with this narrowness of spirit, and selfish views, to which alone, in a manner, he ascribes the declension of their affairs in those parts.

Such was the state of *Cape François* and its neighbourhood in the year 1726; but Don *George Juan*, who put in there in the year 1745, describes it thus: The town is, says he, about one third of a league in length, and contains between thirteen and fifteen hundred inhabitants, who are a mixture of *Europeans*, white *Creoles*, *Negroes*, *Mulattoes*, and *Casts*, which last derive their origin from a coalition of the others, and are most numerous. Some few years since all the houses were of wood, but most of them being consumed by fire, have been rebuilt of stone; they have only a ground-floor, except here and there one with a story. The parochial church is a handsome building, and an ornament to the square in which it stands. The college of *Jesuits*, though not large, is a most elegant structure. There is also a nunnery of *Ursulines* of greater extent, but, by the King's order, no young women are allowed to take the veil, that the increase of the town may not be obstructed, so that it can only be considered as a place of regular and genteel education for girls till they are of age to enter on another state. Besides these, you observe also a convent of religious of *St Jean de Dieu*, and about three quarters of a league from the town, a spacious and beautiful hospital, which receives all patients applying for admittance. The town has no other defence than a single rampart, two batteries on the sea side, and a small fort on *Paukt Point* for defending the entrance of the harbour at about two thirds of a league from the town. The regular garrison of the fort and town consists of *French* and *Swiss*, besides the militia formed of all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms, who are disciplined, and on the same footing with the regulars. The port, though exposed to the East and North winds, is very secure, being inclosed by a ridge of rocks, which breaks the violence of the waves. The chief inconvenience is, that when the breeze blows strong it is extremely difficult for boats to approach the shore, for these winds, especially at E.N.E. sweep along the whole harbour. The lands in the neighbourhood are extremely well cultivated, and produce sugar, indigo, tobacco, and coffee in such vast quantities that 30,000 tons are yearly exported to *France*, whereby we may judge how immense the product would be were all the country which the *French* possess in this island cultivated.

The vast commerce carried on by *France* through the channel of this colony appears from the number of ships which annually come to its different ports, no less than 160 from 150 to 4 or 500 tons, resorting only to *Cape François*, besides those bound to *Leogane*, *Petite Gouve*, and other ports of less note. All these ships come loaded with goods and provisions, and every one returns with at least 30 or 40,000 dollars in silver or gold. Those only which go to *Cape François* carry to *France* yearly half a million of dollars, and the same computation, which is not in the least improbable, being made for each of the other two chief ports, and as much for all the other smaller ones, the total will be two millions of dollars every year. Not a quarter of the cargoes of so many ships can be consumed in the colony and its dependencies, and therefore must find vent among the *Spanish* settlements of the *Havanna*, *Curacao*, *Santa Martha*, *Carthagena*, *Terra Firma*, *Nicaragua*, and the *Honduras*. Hence *Spanish* barks put into the little bays and creeks near *Cape François*, and carry on this clandestine commerce, when by register they are authorized to go to none but ports expressly permitted.

The climate of *Cape François*, from the mountainous situation of the country, and its nearness to the line, is extremely hot, whence strangers, from the least excess in diet and other circumstances, seldom escape a distemper which carry them off in three or four days; particularly the crews of ships are swept off in great numbers after violent pains, the continual labour they are obliged to undergo in unloading and loading



An Authentic PLAN  
 OF THE  
 TOWN AND HARBOUR  
 OF  
 CAP-FRANCOIS  
 in the Isle of  
 ST. DOMINGO.

By Thomas Jefferys  
 Geographer to His Royal Highness the  
 PRINCE OF WALES.



## A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

the ship, taking in water, and other necessary services, exposing them to the sudden and rude attacks of those disorders. The customs, genius and manners of the people are as different, my *Spanish* author says, from the *European French*, as those of the *Spanish Creoles* in this part of *America* from the natives of *Old Spain*. There are people of very great fortune acquired by cultivation and improvement of their lands, and all live in peace and happiness. Besides, the people settled here are of themselves laborious, frugal, inventive, and forever making new improvements, and capable, which I wish, says our author, of raising an emulation in the *Spaniards* their neighbours, of that labour and industry which have raised them to such a degree of wealth and prosperity.

We find recorded no other material event relating to this island till near the end of the late war, under the conduct of Adm. Knowles, which was the last act of hostility during that period, and related thus :

1748

Port Louis  
taken by the  
English.

In 1748, Feb. 13, O. S. Rear-Admiral Knowles, accompanied by governor Trclawney, sailed from *Port Royal* in *Jamaica*, with eight ships of the line, strengthened with a detachment of 240 men from the governor's regiment, in order to attack *St Jago de Cuba*. But the winds proving contrary, it was agreed to make an attempt on *Port Louis* on the side of *Hispaniola*. The attack began March 8, about one o'clock, with almost pistol shot of the walls, and after a brisk cannonade of about three hours, by which the *French* were drove from their guns and silenced, the governor, after making some propositions which were rejected, agreed to surrender on condition, that the garrison should march out with their arms, colours flying, and drums beating, but without cannon or ammunition, and not to serve against his *Britannick* majesty or his allies for a year and a day next ensuing. The admiral found 78 guns mounted in the fort, mostly 42, 36, and 28 pounders, and 5 mortars, with great quantities of all kinds of ammunition and stores, most of the guns and carriages new, and many of the guns weighing from 6000 to 8400 weight; he took possession also of three ships, a snow, and three privateer sloops in the harbour. This service was performed with the loss of Captain *Bentink*, of the *Stafford*, and Captain *Cut*, a volunteer, and 17 others killed, and 60 wounded; but the besieged had 160 killed and wounded, among them five captains killed. The fort was all of stone, the merlons seven feet thick on their top, and stood on an island about a mile from the town of *St Louis*, and though a good harbour, had no fresh water, and therefore was not worth the trouble of keeping, for which reason the admiral, after shipping off the guns and stores, blew it up, and sailed away for *St Jago de Cuba*, which by this time he found too well fortified to attempt.

In 1756, after manifold and repeated acts of hostility for above a year, in the capture of two *French* men of war, the defeat of General *Bradlock*, and especially the invasion of *Minorca*, war was declared afresh between *France* and *England*, which produced the next year an action off this island, thus related :

Engagement  
between an  
English and  
French fleet.

On the 21st of *October* the *Dreadnought*, at day-break, made a signal of discovering the enemy off the *Cape*; when standing towards them, he discovered them to be nine sail, the, with her consorts, immediately formed a line of battle a-head, and waited the enemy's coming up, under an easy sail, who had likewise formed themselves in an extensive line, and came up very fast; but we thinking they did not approach fast enough, shorten'd sail, having now secured the wind.

A consultation being called, Capt. *Forrest* observed, "That the squadron in view certainly came out from the *Cape* on purpose to give battle," Capt. *Suckling*, as next senior officer, returned for answer, "It was a pity they should be disappointed," on which they immediately repaired each on board his own ship, and bore down on the Enemy.

Some time after the fire became general on all sides, and the *Dreadnought* getting on the *Intrepid's* bow, kept the helm a-starboard to rake her, or, if she proceeded, to fall on board in the most advantageous situation possible; but she chose to bear up, and continued doing so till she fell disabled a-stern.

By this bearing upon her own ship, those a-stern were thrown into fresh disorder, which they never thoroughly recovered; and when the *Intre, id* dropt (relieved by the *Opiniatre*) the *Greenwich*, still in confusion, got on board her, while the *Sceptre* prelling on these, the whole heap were furiously pelted by the *Augusta* and *Edinburgh*, especially the *Intrepid*, having then abroad a signal for relief, lying muzzled in a shattered condi-

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† *Augusta*  
‡ *Edinburgh*

\* Capt. *For*  
† Capt. *Suc*  
‡ Capt. *La*

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tion. The *Outarde* before this had got into the action, and played very briskly upon the *Edinburgh* both upper and lower deckers.

Capt. *Forest* finding that the enemy retreated, satisfied with the damage they had suffered, and perceiving it impossible for our ships, in the shattered condition they were, to take any of the enemy's, and that if ours followed, and should lose a lower mast, we might lay ourselves at the mercy of the frigates; and the *Greenwich* appearing less damaged than the rest, Capt. *Forest* thought fit to collect our force, and leave off the pursuit. This took up some time, as two of our ships were then warmly engaged; so that glorious action ended with the day.

ENGLISH Line of Battle.

FRENCH Line of Battle.

	Wt. of Metal.			Men.		Weight of Metal.			Men.
	Guns.	upper.	lower.			Guns.	upper.	lower.	
* Dreadnought	60	9	24	375	Sauvage	30	10	00	200
† Augusta	60	9	24	390	Intrepid	74	22	56	900
‡ Edinburgh	64	18	52	467	Greenwich	30	12	24	400
					L'Unicorn	30	10	00	200
	184			1232	Sceptre	74	22	{ 22 } { 32 }	750
					L'Outarde	44	12	18	350
					Opiniatre	64	18	32	640
						366			3440

\* Capt. *Forest*.  
 † Capt. *Sacking*.  
 ‡ Capt. *Langton*.

But to return to the survey taken of this colony in the year 1726, the heat would be intolerable in this, as in most other plains of the island, for six months of the year, were it not for the breezes which temper the air; the nights, in general, are pretty cool. But it may be affirmed, with great truth, of the vallies formed by the adjacent mountains, that they enjoy a perpetual spring. Here, more than any where else, the earth is constantly loaded with fruits, and clothed with flowers, thus uniting the riches and charms of the most agreeable seasons of the year. The rivulets, that are to be met with at every step, either creeping in silent meanders through the fields, or falling with gentle murmurs from the rocks, contain waters of a most reviving freshness. The air of these happy places is, at all times, most refreshing, and the eyes cannot turn any where, without being charmed with a variety of new and agreeable objects. In short, the nights here are rather cold than warm, for a good part of the year, and at this season, it is necessary to wear as many clothes here, as in *France*. Hence the inhabitants of the plain find in the air and waters of these mountains, the best remedy against those languors, or faintnesses, which the excessive heat often brings upon them.

Temperature of the air.

These waters are very wholesome, and are more particularly esteemed for their opening and detervative qualities. One thing is certain, that among those who drink them, there is no complaint of stone, gravel, or stoppage of urine. Water is the common drink of the Negroes and poor inhabitants, but they may easily change it into lemonade, since citrons and lemons are to be found every where on the high roads, sugar to be had for three sols a pound, and molasses for a great deal less. As to water, such as cannot always conveniently take it up at the spring, may keep it cool for a very long time in certain *Spanish* vessels, called *Canaris*, which constantly sweat, and afford the air a passage through their pores: The calabashes of this country have the same effect, and some of them are large enough to hold nine gallons. The poor have another great resource in rum, which is both wholesomer and cheaper than brandy; nor would it be a difficult matter to free it from the disagreeable taste of the sugar canes, since *Barbadoes* water, which is made of it, is quite free from any such flavour. The *English* make a kind of lemonade of it, which they call punch, and it may be varied a thousand ways, by adding such ingredients as are either most wholesome, or most agreeable to the palate.

Water, and art. medicinal drinks.

Persons in tolerable circumstances have yards, well stocked with poultry, gardens with fruit, and every thing that can make life easy and agreeable. The fruits most cultivated are the mamey, or *St Domingo* apricot, avocat, sapote, sapotille, caimita, a kind of papaye, called *mamey*, jeaque, grenadille, cherry, coco-nut, *African* dates, ananas,

Domestic fruits and animals.

## A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

ananas, or pine-apple, and banane, which is thought to be the same with the *musa* of the ancients. Of all the fruit trees of *Europe* scarce any have succeeded here, except the vine, pomegranate, and orange-tree; and, among the smaller plants, the strawberry, and every species of melons. Wheat would thrive very well in most places, but the rich inhabitants find it more to their interest to buy *French* or *Canadian* flour, and the poor make use of potatoes, and other garden stuff, of which I have elsewhere made mention. The fowls bred in their poultry yards, are turkeys, pintadas, peacocks, and pigeons; it is a wonder they should neglect to have pheasants. Many have breeds of horses, mules, black cattle, and hogs, feeding them in great herds at very little expence in their *lavanas*, where they live upon the grass they find there, and on the tops of canes thrown to them. Horses are numerous in the woods, and appear to have been originally of a *Spanyb* breed; as the hunters never meddle with them, you may get them very cheap. They are less than the common *Europæan* horses, but strong, well made, brisk, and never tire. Some that there in all these good qualities, and yet are no bigger than asses, are found near that part of the island called *Nippes*. The colts are easily taken and tamed, and you may buy the handsomest in the market for five or six pieces of eight; but it will cost you double that price to have them properly broke. It is very hard to break them of being frightened in the water, which they splash about, and disturb with their feet; perhaps nature teaches them thus to discover and drive away the crocodiles.

Horses.

Dogs.

Even dogs have the same instinct, for they will bark with all their might when they come to the banks of a river, and if they see the least thing stir, they run away; and there is no making them go forward, unless their masters carry them. The dogs run wild in the woods, where they do a great deal of mischief, running down and devouring the young cattle; they are small and slender, with long flat heads, sharp snouts, and a wild look; they are very swift, and excellent for the chase. To conclude, all things multiply here in an extraordinary manner, since every season must be favourable to growth and increase, under so warm and fruitful a climate.

Description  
of the western  
and southern  
coasts.  
Plain of *Le  
zane*.

The districts on the western coast have not the same extent or advantages with those on the northern; but yet they have some benefits of nature, which the latter want. The delicious plain, called *Lezane*, is more even, and consequently more favourable to the carriage of goods from one place to another, than that of the Cape. It begins at the mountains of *Grand Geavis*, and extends from east to west about twelve or thirteen leagues; from north to south the breadth is between three and four. The whole is plentifully watered, and the soil, which is rich and deep, very fit for sugar, coco, indigo, rice, tobacco, and other commodities; also for variety of fruits, grain, greens, roots, peas, millet, potatoes, &c. sugar canes here grow to great perfection, being equally sweet, high, and thick; and the plants at the end of thirty years, yield as good a crop of sugar as at first. The sugar is so strong at first, occasioned by the fatness of the soil, that it is very hard to whiten; however, in time it arrives to a state of more perfection; and the refiners in *Europe* have been known to value *St Domingo* sugar from *Lezane* three or four per cent. above any other.

Here are vast quantities of fine coco trees, as well as lemon, citron, and the service tree; the place also abounds with hard white stones, of which good lime may be made. The indigo of *St Domingo*, rightly prepared, yields to no other, not even to that of *Guatimala*. The tobacco also is excellent, but the people rather chuse to cultivate sugar, as yielding larger profit. Potatoes, figs, and bananas, are here larger, better tasted, and more substantial and nourishing, than those of the windward islands. This may be ascribed, partly to the soil, and partly to the heat, which is greater here than at *Martinico* or *Guanaboupe*, though in a colder latitude. The reason is obvious; for this plain is on the west side of a very large island, and shaded by high mountains from the north-east winds, which continually refresh the other islands before named. Hence the solar heat is so very powerful, that the kitchen gardens would be quite scorched, if care was not taken to cover young shoots, and vegetables just transplanted, or tender, with bushes, so as to keep it off.

Project of  
*Ducasse*.

*Ducasse* was seriously bent upon rebuilding an ancient *Indian* town, called *Yugua-na*, that formerly stood here, upon its own ruins, and in the year 1710 had even concerted proper measures for that purpose with an engineer; but his recall to *France* put an end to the project.

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Before we speak of the town, now called *Leogane*, we shall make an end of the description of the coast, beginning from *Port St Nicolas*, where we left off. At the distance of seven or eight leagues from *Port St Nicolas* lies *Port Piment*, where we meet with the salt pits of *Caridon*. Somewhat less than three leagues farther the *Guayves* form a great bay, in which there is from three to one hundred fathom water; and about two leagues beyond the bay runs the *Artibonite* river.

17.6.

*Piment Port*  
*Caridon salt*  
*pits.*  
*Guayves*  
*Artibonite*  
*river.*

It is advanced by some people, that all that space of ground, extending from the river *Artibonite* to the plain of *Jaquemel* on the south, was erected into a principality under the name of *Leogane*, in favour of a natural daughter of King *Philip III.* of *Spain*, who here ended her days in a castle, the ruins of which still remain, and shew it to have been very considerable. It lies in a meadow, extremely pleasant and commodious, not far from the river, the water of which was conveyed to it through a grand aqueduct, and the ruins are still visible. The workmanship appears to have been very strong, but the inhabitants daily waste it more and more, to employ the bricks and other materials in their respective buildings.

About two leagues from *Artibonite* lies *St Marc*, which is a bay that all merchantmen may anchor in with safety. From *St Marc* to *Leogane* they reckon twenty five leagues, and in this interval of coast are *les Vases*, a very bad road, opposite to which, within land, are situated the districts of *Mirbalais*, *Mont Raul*, *l'Arcabaix*, *le Port du Prince*, *le Cal de Sac*, *le Trou Bordet*, and *la Petite Riviere*. The districts of *Guayves*, *Artibonite*, *Mirbalais*, and *St Marc*, are of late grown very considerable, and have some very rich inhabitants. *Le Cal de Sac* runs the deepest into the land of all the bays on the western coast, which is in itself a kind of *Cal de Sac* between *Mole St Nicolas* and *Cape Tiboron*.

*St Marc bay.*

*Les Vases*  
*road.*

You cannot see the town of *la Petite Riviere* from the road, on account of the trees which hide it; whence the natives imagine themselves, in a good measure, secured from the rovers. But this advantage is certainly overbalanced by the inconveniencies they occasion, contributing from their cloisels to stagnate the air, preventing the effects of the freshes conveyed by the rolling of the ocean, at the same time that they breed vermin, and procreate diseases. The town consists of about 60 houses, such as we have before described, some of them two stories high, and covered with boards instead of leaves, some inhabited, and others serving for magazines to contain sugar and such other sorts of merchandize as are here vendid. The church lies about two hundred paces from the town, in a wood, through which you must grub your way to reach it. It is built of the same materials as the houses, but has neither doors nor windows, and is miserably neglected.

*Petite Riviere*  
*town.*

From hence you may pass to *L'Esperre*, distant three leagues by land, through a flat country, and fine roads planted with citrons three or four feet thick, and comfortable habitations on each side, before which are pleasant avenues lined with oaks and elms. *L'Esperre* was much more considerable and wealthy than the town of *la Petite Riviere*, till it was demolished to oblige the inhabitants to remove to *Leogane*; the houses were better built, mostly two stories high, and covered with planks; and here the governor lived, and held his councils. The parish church was better than any of those before described, being eighty feet long and thirty broad, well built, and palisadoed, with a great altar, a pulpit, and a vestry. Adjoining to it, there was a house for the priest, two stories high, each story containing two rooms, besides a separate kitchen, a dove-house, and a small lodge for the domesticks, a negro and his wife, each about 45 years old, with two children; and behind the house was a pleasant and convenient garden, which, with the house and its appurtenances, were all contained in a savannah inclosed by citrons. Justice was here administered, as at the Cape, *Port Paix*, and *Petite Guayve*, by a judge royal; here was also a sovereign council, which determined appeals from these judges, and most of the counsellors lived in the neighbourhood.

*L'Esperre*  
*town.*

Next to *L'Esperre* is *le Grand Guayve*, at about four leagues distance, and a league farther lies *le Petit Guayve*. A little village called *L'Azul* stands but half a league from *Petite Guayve*, which is the best port on all this coast. That of *Nippes* is four leagues from it, and four leagues farther is a great bay called the *Baraderes*, in which are a great number of little islands. *Les Caymites* come next at three leagues distance. This port cannot receive any ships above 100 or 150 tons burthen. Three leagues more bring us to the *Grande Anse*, which is neither fit for ships or boats. *Cape Dame Marie* lies seven leagues farther. Vessels may ride under this Cape in water

*Le Grand*  
*Guayve.*  
*le Petit*  
*Guayve.*  
*L'Azul's*  
*large*  
*Nippes port.*  
*Baraderes*  
*bay.*  
*Grande Anse*  
*port.*  
*Dame Marie*  
*Cape*

## A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

from six to thirty fathoms. From hence to *Cape Tiberon* it is seven leagues. This Cape is round and high, and cleft near the top; it appears black, and communicates the same tinge to the sea, which is hereabouts very deep. There are two pretty rivers at this Cape, with seven or eight fathom water at their mouths.

Here, to pursue our survey, we must turn to the south. The *Ile Avache* lies twelve leagues from *Cape Tiberon*: This island is four leagues long, one broad, and eight or nine in circumference.

It was formerly a famous rendezvous for pirates of all nations, who came hither to divide their booty. It had for a time some inhabitants, but they were removed to *St Domingo*, so that at present it is quite desert, and serves only to feed some hogs and other beasts, set ashore to multiply for the use of the company's ships. There is a rapid current, and often a high wind, off the western point of this island, which are dangerous to navigation, and particularly to vessels bound to *Jamaica*.

The *Ile* or *Cave of St Louis* is separated from *St Domingo* by a channel about 800 paces broad. The anchorage is good, and small vessels may moor quite close with the land, so as to form a communication by a plank. The elevation is not a great deal above the water, the length of not above 500 paces, and the breadth 16c. The ground is a white chalky rock, and it lies at the bottom of a large bay, the entrance to which is covered with three or four little islands. Nothing can be more convenient for fortification than this place, at which now (in 1726) an engineer and a number of workmen, were about to erect a fort, though the ground is bad, yielding no fresh water, and the air close, sultry, and unwholesome.

The houses of the governor, and director, were of stakes driven into the ground, and covered with palm leaves. The magazine and the director's lodge formed one side of an oblong, in the rest of which the officers of the customs and of the company were quartered; the governor's house and some other buildings were scattered up and down. The number of customhouse and other officers here is astonishing; they eat at the director's table, which is plentifully served, hunters and dogs, with a train of fishermen, being kept for that purpose. The air, after sun-set, is full of musketoes and other troublesome flies, that sting intolerably. In the day time they hide themselves under cover of the rocks, and crannies, and roofs of the houses, which are only of palm leaves; but on the opposite shore of *St Domingo* they swarm all day long, as having some shelter, so that were not the arms and legs of the slaves covered, they must be eaten up alive, or else neglect their day's work, to drive away these insects. Their bite is as sharp as the prick of a lancet, and they even get at one's flesh through the strongest linen; this pest is almost remediless.

Opposite the *Ile of St Lewis*, on the land of *St Domingo*, is a large plain, called the backside of *Cow-Island*, (*le fond de l'Isle Avache*) the borders of which, to the sea, form a harbour in the shape of a crescent; but the anchoring is bad, and the landing difficult.

The *French*, as they dig the ground hereabout, often throw up *Spanish* horse-shoes, and many *Indian* kettles, drinking vessels and other utensils, some of them inscribed curiously with the figures of idols. In the mountains are said to be many deep caverns, filled with human bones, repositories perhaps of their dead, and of their wealth, for such was the custom of all nations; but the latter, very probably, the vigilant *Spaniards* have carefully removed.

North of *Ile Avache* is the bay called *Baye de Mesle*, which will admit of no ships of more than 150 tons burthen. The bay, called *la Baye de Cornuel*, is a league further off; this bay is no better than *Baye de Mesle*. Next comes what the *French* call *les Cayes d'Aquin*, which contributes to form a bay that will admit ships of two or three hundred tons. The *Spaniards* formerly called it *Yaquims*, or the port of *Brazil*. The bay called *la Baye de Jaquemel* is ten or twelve leagues from this last. It is, next to that of *St Louis*, the best settlement the *French* have on this southern coast, and there has been an ordinary court of justice settled here for some years past.

To return to the town of *Leogane*, it is pretty obvious that it is not very advantageously situated. It stands but two leagues from the ancient *Yaguama*, between *l'Eslerre* and *la Petite Riviere*, which are, in a manner, its two suburbs. This town is half a league from the sea, the land about it very marshy, and consequently its air not very wholesome; besides, it lies very inconvenient for the landing and shipping of goods, has no port but a simple road, and that none of the best. The choice of a spot so very unfit, one would imagine, for a town that was to be the ordinary

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residence of the governor general and superior council, is yet the result of many fe-  
 rious deliberations, and the work of two of the wisest heads that ever governed the  
 colony. It cannot indeed be denied but that all the disadvantages of it plainly ap-  
 peared from the very beginning; and the commotions that happened in 1722 furn-  
 ished a new reason for changing this situation, to which the other governor failed  
 not to give all the weight that such an event suggested; for in a letter he then wrote  
 to the ministry, in concert with the intendant, he says, "We have received the dis-  
 patches of the court of November 18, 1722, and the objections to our plan of June 13.  
 To answer them, it would be sufficient to put you in mind of what has lately  
 happened in the colony, whose rebellion will, no doubt, determine the council to pre-  
 fer the settlement of *Petite Guave* to that of *Leogane*, in order to provide the better  
 for the safety of the governor and the intendant, and give them a residence where they  
 may better command both sea and land, and be less exposed to the insults of a fed-  
 itious populace. It is true that the soil of *Petite Guave* is not good for sugar or in-  
 digo, but it is very fit to produce the necessaries of life, and refreshments for vessels,  
 and a very good place for an habitation of people in moderate circumstances, for  
 which reason many chose to live here before the generals had fixed their residence  
 at *Leogane*. The lands about it consist of little vallies, full of springs of the finest water."

Letter of Du-  
June 13.

But as those, who had most openly declared themselves for *Leogane*, however a-  
 greed, that it was proper to fortify *Petite Guave*, as a proper station for the King's  
 ships, the governor and intendant added, that the *French* might learn, by the example  
 of other nations, that it was not prudent to increase the number of towns in new  
 formed colonies; since forces dispersed in distant bodies cannot, however numerous,  
 compare with a large company that may be immediately opposed to an enemy; and in  
 a town grown large by not restraining commerce, factors will never be wanting,  
 whose diligence will give ships an extraordinary dispatch. The consequence of these  
 representations is unknown; at least, nothing has been since done in the affair.  
 One thing however is certain, which is, that *Leogane* does not grow populous, tho'  
 made the seat of a sovereign council, and the ordinary residence of the governor  
 and intendant, which before was *l'Esperre*, and the town of *l'Esperre* itself was de-  
 molished to remove the inhabitants hither; so that, upon the whole, this capital of  
 the *French* colony of *St Domingo* is still in a very unpromising condition. There are  
 however a multitude of coaches and equipages here, which are easily kept; the coach-  
 man and attendants are Negroes, useful at other times in different sorts of work, and  
 the horses find feeding in the meadows, or about the house.

A maxim for  
founders of  
colonies.

To conclude, we may sum up the character of this island in these few words. *St  
 Domingo* has good harbours for trade, the soil is fertile, producing various rich com-  
 modities, as well as plenty of cattle, grain, fruits, and vegetables fit for human sub-  
 sistence. The sea and the mouths of the rivers abound with delicious fish; the shores  
 are covered with the most curious shells; the air is none of the best, and the inhab-  
 itants have great wealth, but little religion.

A Description of the Island of St MARTIN.

THE Island of *St Martin*, which takes its name from a man so called, who first  
 discovered it, lies in 18 deg. N. lat. and 45 deg. 10 min. of W. long. from  
*Ferro*, and is said to be 15 or 16 leagues in circuit, has neither ports nor ri-  
 vers; there are, indeed, some small springs nourished by the rain; but these  
 are quickly drained in the dry warm seasons; so that the people must be satisfied with  
 cistern water, or with what is yielded by the standing lakes; and both are very bad.

Latitude

Circumfer-  
ence.

Our author judges the soil to be but poor; he speaks however of the spot only on  
 which he made his observations, not having surveyed the whole island. The planters  
 cultivate tobacco and indigo; they raise manioc, and a little rocou; and they get salt  
 from the pits formed by nature's hand, without expence or labour; but the want of  
 water renders their work the more toilsome. There is good anchoring in a road to  
 the W.S.W. but ships are however not sufficiently covered from the weather.

So1

Productions

Here are some remains of a fortress which had been erected by the *Spaniards*,  
 who had formerly a colony on this island. To maintain it put them to very consider-  
 able

*Spaniards* built  
planters.

able

able expence, and it was of little or no use, except that it hindered other nations from profiting by the salt-pits, or inhabiting the *Virgin Islands*. Nor could the advantages drawn from the salt amount to a hundredth part of the expences they were at in keeping the place, since salt is also naturally produced in all the other islands both windward and leeward. It is certain that for a long time they prevented any other European nation from settling either here or in *St Bartholomew, Anguilla, Spanish Town, St Thomas, St Croix, the Isle of Crabs*, and other adjacent places; but as they in vain endeavoured to hinder the *French* and *English* from making powerful establishments on *St Christopher's, Antigua, Guadalupe, Martinico*, &c. they determined to abandon *St Martin's* in the beginning of 1648. After taking this resolution they got together all the necessary labourers, with whose aid they broke down and destroyed the cisterns, burned the habitations, and blew up the fortifications; and thus, having done all possible damage to the place, they entirely evacuated it, and drew off to *Porto Rico*.

Abandon the island.

There happened, by some odd chance, to be amongst them four *French*, five *Dutchmen*, and a *Mulattoe*. These ten men stole away from their company, during the time of embarkation, and hid themselves in the woods; and afterwards, when they ventured to quit their respective coverts, it was their good fortune to meet by the sea side, where the *French* and *Dutch* agreed to remain upon the island, and make a partition of it between their two nations, like that of *St Christopher's* between the *French* and *English*. Tho' better to carry their design into execution, the five *Hollanders*, having patched up a slight canoe, were dispatched to *St Eustatia* to advertise their governor on that island of what had happened at *St Martin's*, and of the agreement between themselves and the *Frenchmen*, of which they also promised to give notice to the *Bailly du Poincy*, the *French* governor of *St Christopher's*. But, as they acted from a true principle of *Dutch* perfidy, they forgot the latter part of their errand. The governor of *St Eustatia* mulctured as many loose hands as he could collect, and sent them to take absolute and total possession of the island, under the direction of an officer named *Martin Thomas*, pretending by this act to revive some former claims they had upon the place.

French and Dutch remain divide it.

Dutch faith.

Dutch possess the island.

To make this point more clear, it is necessary to recur to 1637, when the *French* had a colony, and a governor at *St Martin's*. The *Dutch*, it seems, were introduced among them by stratagem, and finding themselves the stronger, built a fort, and maintained themselves in it for some time, until the governor of *Porto Rico* fitted out a considerable armament, which, laying siege to the place, carried it at the end of six weeks. The victors not only carried off the *Dutch*, but made all the *French* they could find prisoners, and transported them to *Porto Rico*, and elsewhere. As this success had rendered them masters of the whole island, they increased the colony, augmented the garrison, and strengthened the fortification, in which they kept their ground till 1648, when they abandoned it, as was said above, on account of the vast expence, and small profit arising from the tenure.

French and Dutch expelled by the Spaniards in 1637.

Dutch right ill founded.

By this true retrospect of the case, it is evident, that the right which the *Dutch* asserted, had little foundation in equity, and that governor *Thomas's* seizing the place in the name of his masters the *States General*, was but a fresh proof of the little regard they pay to any treaty whatever, when they find it their interest to break through it. The four *Frenchmen*, in the mean time, hearing nothing from *St Christopher's*, began to suspect the true state of the case; but wisely dissembled their mistrust, not being in a condition to help themselves. However, they contrived to acquaint *Poincy* of all that had passed, and of their present situation, in which at length they succeeded.

That officer soon after sent thither *M. de la Tour*, with thirty men, to examine into the conduct and pretensions of the new settlers; but the *Dutch* immediately betook themselves to arms, and prevented him and his people from landing, declaring they were sole masters of the island, as having first taken possession of it when abandoned by the *Spaniards*. *De la Tour*, unable to support his master's right by dint of arms, found himself obliged to return to *St Christopher's* no better than he left it. But soon after *Poincy* appointed his nephew, *M. de Louvilliers*, for this expedition, at the head of 300 men, and ordered him to take possession of such parts of the island as the *French* had possessed before the *Spaniards* drove them thence, investing him with the title and authority of governor, and advising him by all means to endeavour to establish himself without coming to a rupture with the *Dutch*, which he was however left at liberty to do, if he had no other way of succeeding. *Louvilliers* arrived with all his people in safety at *St Martin's*, where he landed without opposition from the *Dutch*, who

who were in draw off, with *French*, and reason by population. He painted other eluded. The the coast which belong to the better, but all five alliance, 23, 1648, on *Martin's* and

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who were much inferior to him in strength. He first sent a summons to *Thomas* to draw off, with his people, from such part of the island as belonged by right to the *French*, and of which he now stood possessed, threatening otherwise to bring him to reason by force of arms, and chastise the little regard his nation paid to any stipulation. In answer to this message *Thomas* sent deputies to treat, *Lezviliers* appointed others on his part to meet them; and the negotiation was soon happily concluded. The tenor of it was, that the *French* should remain masters of that part of the coast which faced *Anguilla*; and that the territory on which the fort stood should belong to the *Dutch*. By this partition the *French* became possessed not only of the better, but also of the larger part of the island. The two nations entered into a defensive alliance, mutually promising to assist each other. The treaty was signed *March 23, 1648*, on a mountain that separated their different possessions, since called the *Mountain of Concord*.

From that time, till the year 1666, the two nations lived in good harmony; but the *English* being then driven out from *St Christopher's* by the *French*, the inhabitants of that nation on *St Martin's* and *St Bartholomew's* were called off to increase the more valuable colonies of *St Christopher's*, and to occupy the lands of which the *English* had been dispossessed. The latter, however, gaining the upper hand, returned with a strong force to *St Christopher's*, drove out the *French* in their turn, and totally destroyed their very flourishing colony, the consequence of which was the ruin also of *St Martin's* and *St Bartholomew's*.

Many of the inhabitants of these islands perished during the broils, most of the rest were dispersed into other parts, and a small number of them returned to *St Martin's* after the peace of *Ryswick* in 1698. They were under the conduct of a lieutenant in the army, and lived quietly enough till 1702, when the war breaking out afresh, they were again called away, and ordered to mix among the other *American* colonies belonging to *France*. They refused to obey this mandate of their superiors, pleading, in justification of their disobedience, the losses they had sustained, and the hardships which they had endured in their former removal. For the firmer security of the footing which they now determined to keep at *St Martin's*, they entered into new treaties with the *Dutch*, by which they bound themselves by oath to mutual assistance and protection, according to former contract; and not only continued to live upon the most amicable terms; but even obliged the *Corfairs* of their respective nations, who touched here for provisions, to behave in conformity to this agreement.

They had no legal governor among them when our author was upon the island, but had chosen from among themselves, for their chief magistrate, a surgeon, who had been long an inhabitant, and with whose conduct they seemed well satisfied. It was supposed that the commandant *De Quitant*, when lieutenant general of the islands, had given him a commission. This surgeon also supplied the place of an ecclesiastic; for a reverend capuchin, who had been their spiritual father, having been massacred by the savages in 1699, none of the religious on the neighbouring islands chose to venture their lives by residing here. The clergy settled at *St Christopher's* used indeed, at certain seasons, to send over one of their brethren to assist the people; but he seldom was disposed to make any long stay, and this visiting entirely ceased when the *English* took possession of that island.

The commandant surgeon, who was a mild and prudent person, knew well the importance of keeping the fire of religion alive in their hearts, and impressing upon them a proper notion of a divine being; for which reason he constantly assembled them on *Sundays* and holidays, read prayers and a proper exhortation in the church, gave them notice of the feasts and fasts, and admonished such as were froward or refractory in a kind brotherly manner. He also filled the office of judge, and his decisions, in all contents and matters that fell out under his jurisdiction, were absolute. He also assisted the schoolmaster in teaching the youth; the latter acted likewise as an inferior judge and attorney, and he appointed his brother to be register. It is not without regret that we miss his name, which it seems our author forgot; the memory of a man, who, like the priests of the old law, united in his own person the government ecclesiastical, civil, and military, certainly deserved to have his name transmitted to posterity, and the more so, as these engagements never interfered with his exercising the practice of physic. The reverend father, to whom we owe the best part of this narration, had been formerly acquainted with him in a voyage from *Martinico* to *Guadaloupe*. They re-

## A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

collected one another when the father landed, whom the commandant complimented with offers of his best services.

The town.

The town of *St Martin* then consisted of about eighteen or nineteen houses, of which his was the most remarkable: about a hundred paces off stood the church; a dwelling for the priest, and the schoolmaster's house. Notice was immediately given, by the schoolmaster, that a priest was come ashore, that the people might prepare for their duty. But as it was four in the afternoon, and the good father had dined, he refused to celebrate mass till the ensuing morning, tho' earnestly pressed by the commandant, who, with repeated importunities, reminded him, that such a step, though otherwise against the canon law, ought not to be scrupled *in caso necessitas*. This specimen of the honest surgeon's *Latin* will give the reader but a low opinion of his scholarship, and it was a subject on which the honest Friar made himself very merry.

Visit to the Dutch commandant.

The next day mass was celebrated, a sermon preached, and the sacrament administered to the people. After divine service the father, attended by some of the principal inhabitants of *St Martin's*, went to pay a visit to the Dutch commandant, who received them with great affability. But as he was neither physician nor surgeon, and had with him also a minister of the reformed church to do ecclesiastical duty, he did not seem to have near so much influence over the people as the *Frenchman*. His reception of his visitors was civil and courteous; some compliments passed between them, through the channel of an interpreter; but the father and he soon came to talk without such assistance, as he spoke tolerable *Latin*. He did not indeed seem to have any great turn for conversation, preferring the bumper, which he often filled, and regaling plentifully with *Madeira* wine, punch, beer, and spice-bread.

Consummation anticipated out of necessity.

This friendly conference ended, our author returned to the town-house of the surgeon commandant, who had also one a little way up the country. During the father's stay on the island, he baptized many young children, and united several couple in the bands of matrimony, who had consummated beforehand, for want of a parson to perform the ceremony. And it is remarkable, that though several of them had lived together many years, none of them seemed tired of each other, but all contentedly wore the yoke. They made the priest very advantageous offers, provided he chose to remain among them, being in number about two hundred souls; but he was forced to decline the acceptance, being appointed to the mission at *Martinico*, where he was superior and apostolical vicar. He promised, however, to speak to the Governor general to oblige the Capuchins to send one of their order upon this mission, or else to recede from their pretensions to it, in favour of some other society, more ready to expose themselves for the service of God.

Author takes leave.

Our author's stay here was only while the captain took in some vegetables and fresh provisions; and before he re-embarked, the surgeon-commandant gave him a handsome entertainment, to which were invited the Dutch governor, his chaplain, together with the captain and lieutenant of an *English* privateer bark that lay in the road, and would, in any other quarter, have been troublesome, but which here strictly observed the neutrality of the place, the captain behaving very politely, and saluting the *Frenchman* with a broad side on his departure, which compliment was returned.

## A Description of the Island of St BARTHOLOMEW.

Bartholomew island, when discovered.

Lat. &amp; long.

Soil and products.

Harbour.

THE Island of *St Bartholomew* was discovered, on the day sacred to the Saint from whom it takes its name, by *Columbus*, when he first carried the *Spanish* arms into the *American* world. It lies in 17 deg. N. lat. 62 deg. 5 min. W. long. six leagues from *St Christopher's*, four leagues S.W. of *St Martin's*, and is much smaller than the last, being not more than seven or eight leagues in circumference. The middle of the island is high and mountainous, the soil poor and barren; but it grows more fertile as you approach to the sea, near which are some good plantations of tobacco and indigo, with manioc, and other sorts of grain. It is more especially esteemed for the excellency of its harbour, where vessels of any depth and burthen may find good ground for anchorage, and be securely sheltered from the winds. The coast is, however, dangerous, without an experienced pilot, on account



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account of the shoals and breakers. The sea affords plenty of fish, particularly <sup>Provisions.</sup> shark, turtle, and the pilot-fish, on which account ships sometimes find it worth while to touch here, as the inhabitants also breed poultry, and have good stocks of cattle. The climate, as in all the other islands, is very hot, and the gnats and musketoes must be kept off by musketto-drawers, otherwise they bite intolerably. <sup>Climate.</sup>

The *Spaniards* settled upon it about the same time in which they possessed themselves of *St Martin's*, and evacuated both islands together, the expence of keeping <sup>Spaniards settle and evacuate it.</sup> them, as we before observed, infinitely outweighing the profits which they yielded, the cause of which might perhaps be ascribed to the sluggish disposition of the *Spaniards*, their want of œconomy, and little turn to commerce; or perhaps, as in many other cases, to their pride and tyrannical spirit.

No sooner had they quitted it, than *Monf. Du Poincy*, whose name we have often mentioned, conceived a design of settling a *French* colony on each of these islands. This gentleman, who to a strong passion for glory joined an ardent desire of increasing the *French* settlements, and aggrandizing the power of his master in *America*, having first settled *St Martin's*, as has been premised, applied himself to the making an establishment on *St Bartholomew*, because it was in many respects, besides its harbour, superior to *St Martin's*; and besides, if it were in other hands, it might, from its vicinity, prove an eye-sore to the contiguous islands belonging to the *French* crown. For these reasons he sent hither forty or fifty people, under the conduct of *Jacques Gente*, who erected some plantations, and made a shift to live, though but poorly, under the influence of some of the principal people of *St Christopher's*. And as the profits were very small, the colony was kept on foot rather to gratify *Poincy* than from any advantages it yielded. Its weakness encouraged the Savages in 1656 to invade the island, where they made a dreadful carnage among the planters; and the few, who had the good fortune to survive, found themselves obliged to seek shelter elsewhere. <sup>Destroyed by the Savages.</sup> However, in 1659, peace being concluded between the *French* and Savages, *Poincy* sent thither thirty new people, who, in six or seven years, increased to above a hundred. Most of these, having approved themselves good subjects to the crown of <sup>New settlers withdrawn.</sup> *France*, were drawn off in the year 1666, to supply the vacancies caused at *St Christopher's*, by the expulsion of the *English* and *Irish* from that island. Among the *Irish* were near 700, who, being *Roman Catholics*, were not upon the best terms with the *English*, and therefore were set ashore, by their own choice, upon the island of <sup>A colony of Irish Papists.</sup> *St Bartholomew*, where they chose a *Frenchman* for their commandant, declared themselves subject to the *French* crown, and some Friars of their own nation were appointed to attend them as ecclesiastics.

Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, with an *English* Squadron, thought it worth while to make a descent here in 1689, and took possession of it in the name of the king of *England*; but it was restored to the *French* by the treaty of *Ryswick* in 1698, and has ever since remained to that crown. It has at present a few inhabitants, who carry on a confined trade with some of the nearest islands. <sup>Its present state.</sup>

### A Description of the Island of GUADALOUPE.

**G**UADALOUPE is, by some authors, supposed to take its name from the mountains of our Lady of *Guadaloupe* in *Old Spain*, to which its hills bear a near resemblance. Others derive it from *L'Agua de Lopez*, on account of its excellent water, *agua* signifying water in *Spanish*, and the *Spaniards* usually joining the name of *Lopez*, one of their most famous writers, to any thing that they particularly prefer beyond others of the like kind. Thus by *Terra de Lopez* they mean *the best land*, and express *the best water* by *Agua de Lopez*, which may be easily corrupted to *Guadaloupe*. It is certain that none of the islands are so well watered, or abound with more wholesome streams; it was called by the *Indians* *Karukera*. <sup>Origin of the name.</sup>

The utmost length of this island, reckoning from the *N.* point in *Grande Terre* to the *S.* point, or *Old Fort* on *Basse Terre*, is about 55 *English* miles; and its greatest breadth, from *Castle Point*, the most eastern part of *Grande Terre*, to the *Grosse Morne*, <sup>Extent and situation.</sup>

or





*British & French Leagues as to a Degree*  
*British Miles*  
 1 2 3 4 5

A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

or *Great Highlands*, the Western extremity of *Grande Terre*, is much the same distance, whence it appears to be nearly as broad as it is long. It is said to be one of the largest of the *Caribbees*, and lies in 16 deg. 30 sec. N. lat. 61 deg. W. long. in the vast *Atlantic* ocean, *Martinico* bearing Southward of it about fourscore miles, *Antigua* Northward about seventy, and *Moutserrat* much closer on the West.

Properly two islands.

La Riviere Sable.

Division into Parishes.

Properly considered, we find it rather two islands, one of which is called *Grande Terre*, the other *Guadalupe proper*; it being intersected by an arm of the sea, which has perhaps broke down the communication, and formed this channel for itself. This arm, or freight, is called *The Salt River*, *La Riviere Sable*, diminishing in width from 50 to 15 fathom; its soundings, which are very unequal, being in some places deep enough for a ship of 500 tons, in others having scarce water enough for a bark of 50. Its length is about two leagues, and nothing can be more pleasant than the passage; the waters being clear and still, and the banks on each side lined with mangroves and palmettoes, which afford excellent refreshment, and a choice shelter from the heat.

*Guadalupe proper* is divided into *Bessiterre* and *Cabillerre*; the latter name derived from *Caput Terre*, the head of the land, facing the wind, which always blows here from the East; the other part, which consequently lies under the wind, is rather more mountainous, tho' called *Basse Terre*. The whole is divided into 22 parishes, beginning at the most Southern point of *Guadalupe proper*, and so going round the island.

GUADALOUPE PROPER.

GRANDE TERRE.

Parishes.

8. Hayes.

15. Le Gosier.

1. Old Fort.

9. Grand Cul de Sac.

16. L'Abymes.

2. Basse-terre.

10. River Mabel.

17. Manjémi.

3. St Francis.

11. Petit Cul de Sac.

18. Port Louis.

4. Le Bailiff.

12. Goyave.

19. Bertrand Bay.

5. Les Habitans.

13. La Cabesierre.

20. Le Moule.

6. Bouillante.

14. Les Trois Rivières.

21. St. Francis.

7. Pointe Noire.

22. St Anne.

It is not to be supposed, that each of these parishes is so remarkable, as to give us room to expatiate upon it; let it suffice, that we describe such as are most frequented for commerce, or distinguished for building, fortifications, or natural productions.

Climate.

The climate is in general very warm, and therefore at first inconvenient to strangers, natives of the North of *Europe*. This island abounds in great quantities of mangroves and palmettoes, by which the free course of the air being interrupted, it corrupts, and, besides giving birth to musketoes, various other troublesome flies, and many sorts of noxious vermin, generates tedious and often fatal disorders, and the only relief which the inhabitants receive is from the continual refreshes from the trade winds. This may serve more effectually to convince us, that there is no good mixed with evil. It is certain that, were the ground properly cleared, the air would be much more wholesome, and that the inconveniencies arising to the people from the number of trees would be removed by a constant supply of fresh air.

Through the middle of *Guadalupe proper* runs a ridge of mountains, for the most part covered with trees, and well watered, pouring down upon the plains many delightful streams, equally useful and refreshing, and rolling down, in other places, impetuous torrents, which, while they please, provoke our admiration.

Soil.

The soil of the plantations, which slopes from the feet of the mountains to the sea-side, is extremely fertile, and very deep, abounding with sugar, cotton, ginger, indigo, yams, potatoes, and various sorts of grain. The inhabitants breed all sorts of poultry, which thrive very well; and there are large herds of black cattle in the savannahs, which were first brought hither, and left to multiply by the *Spaniards*, who generally touched here with the galleons bound to the continent, to water and refresh. The soil of *Grande Terre* is rather more sandy, and not in all places so fertile. However, sugar thrives well in that quarter, and there are large plantations, even close to the sea-side, that do not derive thence any remarkable injury, such as communicating a saline flavour, or worse colour to the commodity, which might perhaps be expected.

Produce.

As *Guadalupe* abounds with rivulets, streams, and rivers, so *Grande Terre* is intirely parched and dry, affording no water but what the inhabitants take care to catch when

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it ruins; this is a terrible inconveniency, and bears with it many fatal consequences. We have not heard that the mountains produce any sorts of metals; if there be mines, they remain as yet undiscovered.

After giving as true a general picture as was possible of this island, we shall hasten to a survey of more minute objects, such as towns, trade, strength and situation; and, to make this account still more useful, we shall never lose sight of the sea coast, but delineate it, as we proceed, with all possible exactness.

*Basse-Terre* was the first part of the island cultivated by the *Europeans*, and had formerly two considerable towns; one on the *Father's River*, or *Riviere St Louis*, and the other on each side of the *Riviere Bailiff*. The first of these was twice carried away by the overflowing of the river in a hurricane, which bore down all before it, leaving nothing but the bare rock, on which it was impossible to build again without great expence. Besides, the inhabitants, unwilling to risk another danger of a like nature, removed with their effects to the fort, where they began a town, now the chief upon the island, and called *Basse-Terre*. Nor was the fate of the town upon the *Bailiff* more fortunate; for in 1691 it was burned by the *English*, and afterwards, when just rebuilt, destroyed by an inundation. This misfortune was occasioned by the breaking down of part of the beach, which was overcharged with trees, in a place where was erected a fort of mole, that in a great measure streightened the course of the river, which being set at liberty spread rapidly over the town, sweeping away the houses, and part of the inhabitants. However it rose with fresh lustre, and was again destroyed in 1703 by the *English*, who in their first descent had razed to the ground a convent of *Dominicans* beautifully situated on an eminence, which commanded a fine prospect, and had a good effect at a distance, but in itself was inconvenient; for being built on a narrow neck of land, there was a necessity of enlarging it with terraces supported by very strong walls. The building itself was 72 feet long and 42 broad, flanked by four pavillions, each 36 feet long and 30 broad: One of them served for the domestic chapel; the second for the kitchen and other offices; the third for an infirmary; the fourth for a refectory, and there were good cellars underneath.

The fort stands higher than the town of *Basse-Terre* upon a steep bank, washed on the S. E. by the river *Gallion*; on the S. W. it overlooks the sea, from which it is distant about 100 paces, and there is a road of communication between them; the town and the mountains lie on the N. W. This fort was at first only a storehouse, erected by the proprietor of the island for his security against incursions of the savages, with whom he was at war. He afterwards strengthened each face with a saillant angle, so that it became a fortified octagon. Walls were then added parallel to the town and river, and a door and staircase were made in a small flank. In 1674 this house, called the *Donjon*, was inclosed by a parapet of earth and fascines, at the bottom of which a ditch was dug in the rock, or at least in a soil not less hard. By means of some angles, the ditch and parapet were lengthened out to an eminence, 200 paces from the *Donjon*, which it commanded; and on this eminence was built a stone battery with eight embrasures, mounted with two pieces of brass cannon, 18 pounders, and six iron, of different bores; these, with three pieces on the platform facing the *Donjon*, were all the artillery in the fort. The inside had nothing remarkable; the first story consisted of an indifferent hall, two chambers, and a closet; the second was divided into four chambers; and the highest was used for a place of arms; the kitchen and out offices were on the other side of the *Donjon*; under the building were a cistern and two powder magazines, one of which being empty served for a prison. The barracks for officers and soldiers took up all the space from the platform to the battery. The garrison commonly consists of a select company of between 50 or 60 marines and 3 officers. Poor as this fortress may appear to be, in 1691 it sustained a siege from the *English* of 35 days; which was then raised with precipitation, on the arrival of the *Marquis de Ragny*, governor general of the islands, who brought with him some troops from *Martinico* for the relief of the place; and the besiegers left behind them some of their cannon, a mortar, a good deal of ammunition, with all their sick and wounded.

The town of *Basse-Terre*, which they destroyed at the same time, was soon rebuilt at the foot of the eminence whereon the fort is erected. It is a long street, reaching to a little stream called *Billau*, and unequally intersected at about two thirds of its length by the river *Herbes*. The most considerable section lying between the fort and the river,

retains the name of the town of *Basse-Terre*; the lesser, extending from the river *Herbes* to *Billau*, is called *St Francis*, from a church and convent here built by the Friars of that order. Both these towns are crossed by five or six little streets with four churches.

Jesuits church

That of the Jesuits is of stone, the inside adorned with pilasters of hewn stone, and a cornish poorly designed. The altar is a handsome piece of wood-work, well finished, in good taste, and prettily gilded, as is also the pulpit. Their college was some time since rather inconvenient, being at least 300 paces distant from their church; but, to make up for this disadvantage, it was situated in a fine air, upon an eminence presenting a most beautiful as well as an unbounded view. There was not much to be seen in the place itself; it contained only two or three wooden chambers, a stone hall, in which they received visitors, a small domestic chapel, and an outhouse, containing a kitchen, a pantry, and refectory. Beyond this, in a walled court, they keep their sheep, saddle-horses, and other things of that kind; here is also a large dove-house, and under it a prison for the Negroes. They had formerly their sugar-works, with a water-mill, beyond the town of *St Francis*; but this plantation being destroyed, together with the house, in 1703, by the *English*, who however spared the church, the good fathers bought an estate, and erected works, which succeed admirably on the other side of the River *Gallion*. The Capuchins have a neat small church, built of stone, and finely shaded with trees, on the other side of the river *Herbes*, and behind it, on an eminence, stands their convent, to which you mount by three high terrasses, each 150 feet long, and 30 broad, communicating by ascents of large steps. On the highest terrass, which is even with the convent, just before the door, there is a water-spout in a large basin of stone. The building, which is the pleasantest in the island, is very convenient, and 108 feet long; behind it you ascend to a fourth terrass, that engrosses the rest of this little height, and commands a most extensive view of the country, the town, and the island. General *Coddington*, who commanded the *English* that invaded *Guadaloupe* in 1691, chose this place for his head quarters, for which reason he spared it when he retired. It was also chosen for the same service by his son, who conducted a descent in 1703, but burnt by him on his drawing off from the island. These two towns contain about 260 houses, most of them of wood, and very neat. This whole quarter, beginning at the stream of *Billau*, and reaching to the battery, behind which the *Carmelites* had formerly their convent, is defended from the depredations of the sea by a stone parapet, fascines, and banks of earth strongly supported by posts.

Church of the Capuchins.

Spared by Gen. Coddington. Burnt by his son.

Passing from hence through a narrow, steep pass, difficult to climb, and 8 or 900 paces from the sea, you come to a piece of land that leads, by an almost imperceptible ascent, to the mountains which rise in the center of the island. Here and there lie some tracts of plain country, where the rain water, having gathered, is preserved in a sort of natural reservoir. And on two particular spots it forms lakes, of great use in many cases as well as in slackening the thirst of cattle; for water is scarce in this quarter, called *Marigot* parish, the large river, called the *White River*, that runs on one side of it, on account of its rapid course, and high banks, from which one cannot look down without dizziness, being of no use to the inhabitants.

Lakes of rain water.

White River.

From *Basse-Terre* to *Geyave*, which lies 5 leagues N.N.W. & by N. of the river *Bailiff*, the road is for the most part very indifferent, leading over steep, sharp ascents, and encumbered and obstructed with large stones, trees, and brambles, so that a horseman must look carefully about him, and is often obliged to dismount. It is not indeed much frequented, the inhabitants communicating rather by water. At the foot of a steep precipice, on the other side of the river *Bailiff*, are heaps of ruins, being the remains of the buildings, which the *English* first, and the overflowing of the river afterwards, destroyed. On the summit are the remains of the fort *Magdalene*; it was a square building, covered on the N. E. and N. W. by small bastions, about four fathoms in flank, and nine in face. The angle towards the river had no bastion, being covered by a steep rock that ran quite to the sea; beneath this angle was a battery of two pieces of cannon. The ditches surrounding these works are five fathoms broad, and three deep; three fathom from the counter-scarp is a wall of six feet high, with several angles, which serves for a covered way; between this building and the sea-side were some good cisterns. This might be made a very useful post if it were rebuilt, and a mount that commands it at about the distance of a musket-shot removed, which might be easily done; and, as it covers effectually all the environs, it is happily situated to stop the progress of an enemy.

Ruins.

Fort Magdalene.

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All the tract between the rivers *Bailiff* and *du Plessis* is called *Mont St Robert*.<sup>Mont St Robert.</sup> The descent of the river *Plessis*, though often broke into zigzags, is difficult and steep. Near the middle of it is a station for fifteen or twenty men, facing to the mouth of the river, but neither safe nor commodious, it being easy for an enemy to see the garrison, even down to the feet, from the opposite shore; and a safe retreat in that case is absolutely impossible. The river *du Plessis* is steep, and full of water, and the passing of it dangerous, though only six fathom wide, as it runs through a bed of stone and rocks; its waters are supposed to be the lightest and most wholesome in the island. They divide the parish of *Bailiff* from that of *les Habitans*, the church of the latter being at least a league distant, and the ground for about half the way pretty level; after which you enter upon a valley that widens as you approach the sea-side, where it forms a bay, or creek, called *Vadelorge*, and marked in the map as a river.

*Vadelorge*  
bay.

About 500 paces before you arrive at the church you approach by an easy descent to a plain twelve or fifteen paces wide, called *le fond des Habitans*, almost equally intersected by a river of the same name, which, before it gains the sea, forms a considerable lake, and fills it with fish, whenever it chances to overflow, or to break over its banks by an extraordinary tide. And tho' it abounds with many different species, it is so overrun with mangroves and other trees, among the roots and branches of which they find a safe shelter, that it is scarcely possible to catch them. The church, a house for the priest, and a neat garden, are not far from the river. There are about a score of other houses in the neighbourhood, inhabited by tradesmen, publicans, &c. The soil of this quarter is for the most part worn out and dry; however it is usefully employed in manufacturing cotton and hides, and produces manioc, maiz, and potatoes. In the time of the first company that peopled this island, such of the settlers as had worked out their three years of servitude, which term expired gave them a right to plant, retired hither, that they might not be confounded with the company's servants, and by way of precedence or distinction called themselves *les Habitans*, "the inhabitants," whence the quarter also has its denomination. The soil was formerly much better, and the country appeared as beautiful as any other part of the *Basse-Terre*; but it has been spoiled by the sand, wherewith it has been overspread by the frequent inundations, occasioned by cutting away the trees that consolidated the banks, which being thus weakened, the waters soon broke them, and overwhelmed the country.

*Les Habitans*  
parish, plain,  
and river.

Reason of  
the name.

The mouth of the river *Beaugendre* is not farther than 5 or 600 paces from that of *les Habitans*, and it runs at the foot of a high rock, that terminates the plain of *les Habitans* on the West. The soil all the way from hence to *Goyave* is dry, poor, and stoney, producing nothing but a tree as hard as flint, by which name it is distinguished. There is not in the whole island a more disagreeable, uneasy road.

*Beaugendre*  
river.

About half a league from the river *Beaugendre* you descend into a narrow, deep valley, through which runs a small brook, which falls into the sea at the bottom of *Boat's Creek*. The mouth of this creek is about 400 paces broad, in the middle it widens to 600, and the bottom of it is an oval. You may conclude it to be very deep from the high craggy lands that surround it, from the top of which to its bottom measures not less than a quarter of a league. Shipping will find in this creek a safe covering from all points but W. S. W. which blows full into its mouth; the bottom is open, free from rocks, and the ground a black sand. Here the Corsairs often find refuge in bad weather; and it is a good place to careen and take in water; the stream, which we have just now mentioned, running but slowly, and easily approached.

*Boat's Creek*.

It was the bottom of this bay which the *English* chose for their landing-place in 1691, nor could any choice be more injudicious, it being near three leagues from the fort, through a bad road, on which were several defiles and passes easy to be defended. The Governor, M. *Hincelin*, being ill of a dropsy, was therefore unable to act with that vigour against them, which he might otherwise perhaps have done. As their designs were against the fortress and the town of *Basse-Terre*, he very justly imagined this descent was but a feint, and that they would employ their strength nearer to him. With this conjecture he dispatched M. *de Bourdenaise*, his aid-major, with 25 men, to watch their motions, supported at a distance by Major *du Cler*, with 100 men, while he himself remained at *Fort Magdalen* with the rest of his troops, having particularly ordered M. *de la Malmaison*, King's Lieutenant, by no means to leave the fort wherein he commanded. The aid-major having taken a view of the enemy's proceedings, and being convinced of the truth of their intentions, dispatched

*English* land  
at this creek.

an account thereof to the governor, soliciting an immediate reinforcement. In the mean time, to prevent them, if possible, from gaining the first eminence, he divided his little company, now increased by seven or eight Negroes, into two parties: One of these were ordered to defend a narrow pass, which the foe must necessarily attempt; and with the other he fired upon them from among the trees, some of which he cut down to embarrass them in their progress as much as possible, while they, not knowing what force they had to contend with, did not dare to advance. At the end of three hours no succour arriving, and his ammunition beginning to fail, he determined to draw off behind the wood which he had felled, but was killed with four of his men, before he could complete his purpose. The rest of his followers, discouraged with the loss, retired in some confusion, but made a stand behind the trees which they had cut down, till they were joined by their comrades, to whom they had sent notice of their retreat, which they afterwards made good, to the astonishment of the *English*, more especially when they saw the small number that had held them so long at bay, and killed and wounded them twenty four men; *Bordenave* was killed by one *George Roche*, an inhabitant of *Antigua*. It is certain that if Major *le Cler* had done his duty, and properly sustained this little detachment, the enemy could not have penetrated further on this side, but must have been obliged to attempt a descent on another quarter. But he not only neglected to advance, under various frivolous pretences, but even prevented 300 men, who had been detached to support him by the governor, from marching forward. The remains of *Bordenave's* people, who had lost five men, and left a Negro behind them much wounded, having joined *le Cler*, after passing the river *Beaugendre*, and *les Habitans*, took post behind some stone walls that commanded the river, where they fired so smartly upon the enemy, as to stop their progress for the rest of the day. But fearing that they might reembark some of their troops in the night, and by landing at *Vadlerge* creek, or some nearer place, take them in flank, they thought it best to retreat before morning, after which they entrenched themselves to great advantage on the banks of the *Phéiss*, where they were attacked about ten the next day, and sustained the onset with so much spirit, that the enemy lost above 300 men without gaining an inch of ground; upon which the admiral gave a signal for reembarking. At this juncture a malicious report propagated among the men, that the *English* had forced the river both above and below, struck them with such a panic, that it was impossible to keep them to their duty, so that the officers were obliged to retire with them to the town of *Bailiff*; an unpardonable oversight, as they might easily have kept possession of the *Magdelene*. The *English* perceiving their confusion, pursued them with an incessant fire, and having driven them out of the last post, on which they seized, compelled them to pass the river *St Louis* to the town of *Basse-Terre*, where they quartered for that night. This post they abandoned in the morning, and passed the river *Gallien* at the *Madam*, about three miles off. The enemy took possession of the place, and having erected batteries, laid siege to the fort, which in 35 days was relieved, as we before observed, by the Marquis *de Ragny*, Governor of the *French* islands.

From *Boat's Creek* to *Goyave* the road is bad, stoney, uneven, and crossed in many places by brooks and running streams. Here are but few inhabitants, some indifferent houses only being scattered up and down.

At *Goyave* there is, besides a few houses, a good stone church, 70 feet by 24. It lies about 300 paces from the sea, fronted by reeds, mangroves, and palmettoes, which harbour an infinite number of troublesome insects, but prevent it from being seen and plundered by the rovers. At the back of the altar is a steep high rock, which you ascend by many windings to the house belonging to the priest, about three fourths of the ascent, substantially built of stone, with good conveniencies, and a handsome garden, which lies rather too much upon a slope. The air here is very wholesome, and the situation delightful; you have a most extensive prospect towards the sea, and a distant view of the bay of *Goyave*, which is about half a league over; and about half a league off to the West is a little island bearing the same name.

By an island  
of *Goyave*  
*Hermitage*  
see.

To the East there is a great rock, or small island, called the *Hermitage*, as having a number of small caverns in it. The anchorage here is not very safe, the bottom being a coarse black sand, intermixed with sharp rocks, which cut the cables; the place is full of fish, which are easily caught in baskets. Near a little river that falls into the bay the land is a craggy rock, in other parts covered with a white sand, and affords

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for is a pleasant walk. About 300 paces East of the church, the water boils naturally; it is hot enough to boil an egg, and the hand can by no means endure it. The surface of its bottom has not this quality, but when you dig a little way down, you find it is now warmer by degrees, until at length you reach a stratum which is quite hot, and sends forth a smoke favouring strongly of brimstone. Not far from this spot is a pond, the waters of which are muddy as if the bottom was disturbed, and it is almost always bubbling. This water is really hot, and well tasted, but a little sulphurous when laid by to cool, it forms a little stream, for about 200 paces, when it falls into the sea, having before lost much of its heat and mineral taste.

Near this pond is a marsh, covered in a few places with very little water, and the ground is a sort of dry sand, coloured like brimstone, and so dangerous that a man may be easily swallowed up in endeavouring to cross. Here grow some herbs of a whitish colour, generally covered with a powder like sulphur. Those who chance to fall here in passing over, leave at least some of their skin behind, for this sand is rather hotter than the neighbouring pond. It is supposed that these waters have some medicinal qualities, and might be useful in many diseases: It has been proved efficacious in drop-sies, agues, and contractions of the nerves.

After doubling the western point of the bay of *Goyave*, the coast appears steep, sharp, and rocky, frequently broken through by descending rivers, or torrents rushing downward with vast impetuosity. The soil, though black and stony, is very fertile; sugars thrive in it apace, being fine and well grained, and the cattle large and in good order. The land hereabouts is well peopled, and cultivated to great advantage. The people feed mostly on the *Cassava* root, instead of bread, and it is extremely good.

About six leagues from *Goyave* you meet with a fine creek, covered by a high point of land on the N. W. called *Ferri* creek; here is a river about 17 or 18 feet broad, and not more than three in depth. To the left of this creek, on a little eminence, is a house for divine worship, which is kept very neat, though constructed only of stakes drove into the ground, palisaded with reeds, and covered with palm-leaves. They cultivate here, yams, maize, potatoes, cotton and tobacco, but no sugars. In the meadows are fine herds of horned cattle, and various sorts of poultry, which the inhabitants dispose of, with their other commodities, to the ships that touch here for that purpose from *Martinico* and elsewhere, with whom they drive a profitable trade. There is good game in this part of the island, for it abounds with blackbirds, doves, thrushes, ortolans, and several of the parrot kind, with variety of water-fowls, besides plenty of swine; and not far off, among the islands of *the Great Cal-de-Sac*, turtle, sharks, and pilot-fish are found in abundance.

In coasting from *Ferri* Creek to *the Great Cal-de-Sac*, you pass by a head of land, called *the Great High Land*, or *Grasse Morn*; here is good shelter for shipping, and were the place not to open to the descents of rovers, it would bear good cases.

When you have doubled this point, you find a delicious country, well watered, covered with variety of trees, and rising with an almost imperceptible declivity to the mountains, which begin sensibly to heighten at about 3 leagues from the sea side. The reason why this part of the island is but poorly inhabited arise from some dispute about private property, its openness to the descents of the *English* from *Martinico* and *Antigua*, and its great distance from *Basle Terre* and *Little Cal-de-Sac*, which are the chief resorts of the shipping that touch upon this island. From *the Great High Land Point* to *Little Point* upon *Grand Terre* is a space of about six leagues, forming a fine bay for shipping, in some places three leagues broad, and affording sufficient depth for any vessel to vessels of any burthen. Here you see very pleasant isles, which might be very profitable; they abound with turtle, and oysters thick plentifully to the leaves of the mangrove, that here grow every where; but the swarms of ants, market-veas, and other insects, destroy all the pleasures of the place, and are quite intolerable.

There is a large tract of land between *the Great and Little Cal-de-Sac*, formerly called *St Germain*, but in the year 1757 erected into a municipality, bearing the title of *the barony*, in honour of a gentleman of the name of *H...*, to whom it belongs. It is bounded by two very sweet little streams, one called *de Belle-Beche*, "the fair hotch," to which is a path cut through the mangroves, and the bank of two great trees that stand near it is covered with houses, frequented by the various people who have here found refreshment.

*Grande-Terre.* Leaving the *Salt River* you go ashore upon *Grande-Terre* at fort *St Louis*, where is a garrison, seldom consisting of more than a company of marines commanded by a captain. This fort, in the time of our author, was a parallelogram of 15 fathom by 10 or 12, and wretchedly contrived, as consisting of a double row of palisadoes, distant from each other about six feet, to support the earth and fascines of which the parapet is composed. On some salient angles are raised wooden platforms for cannon; for the parapet not being quite eight feet high, had embrasures been made in it, they would rather have served as inlets to the enemy, than have been useful in defence. The only stone or brick-work about it are the jambs of the door, a small powder magazine, a kitchen, and one or two bakehouses; but, to crown the whole, an eminence at a pistol shot distance fully commands it. It is moreover, from its situation, too high to cover the shipping that moor in the road, for which reason a strong stone redoubt has been built lower down, mounted with six pieces of cannon; but this being also overlooked from behind, must be easily taken by land. Upon the whole, it is surprising that people should think of erecting a fort, which can have no one advantage but a good air, and an extensive delightful prospect; for from it you can see plainly both the *Cul-de-Sacs* full of islets, and even the mountains of *Dominica* in clear weather.

*Les Alymes.* *Les Alymes*, or several deep gulfs, or encroachments which the sea hereabouts has made upon the land, are worth visiting. In these gulls ships are not only safely sheltered from storms and enemies, but moored as it were in a forest. They are generally fastened to some of the palmettoes, with which these places are covered; for it would be useless to cast anchor where there is either a hazard of losing it, or of rooting up a forest to free it. This road is covered by a little island, where, in our author's time, there was some intention of erecting a battery, that would, from its situation, answer many good ends.

*General character of Grande-Terre.* *La Grande-Terre* is very pleasing to the eye, the soil is a white sand, and sugar-canes thrive in it extremely well, being planted all the way down to the sea side. Here is plenty of game both for the gun and the net, so that life may be supported at a very small expence. The multitude of white crabs that you meet every where among the plantations, savannahs, woods, and even in the roads, is astonishing, and so very fierce, that if you put them aside with your foot they will snap at it; they are of great service to the negroes and other inhabitants. But all the advantages of *Grande-Terre* are but light, compared to the inconvenience for want of water, it being totally destitute of any that is good. There are indeed some few lakes, the waters of which are corrupted and spoiled by the crabs, or else they are distastefully brackish, so that care is taken to save the rain in cisterns and jars. To this want of water may not unjustly be ascribed the livid complexion of the inhabitants, and their disposition to droppies, inveterate fevers, and other disorders, which, though seldom mortal, are however long and difficult to be cured. At *Guadalupe*, on the other hand, water is so plenty, that it supplies many of the neighbouring islands. The want of water upon the *Grande-Terre* is ascribed to its general situation on a sand, and to the light, porous, and spongy quality of the soil, which imbibes the rain as soon as it falls; and, it in some places the earth resists, and collects it, yet, as there are few declivities, rarely any channel is formed to carry it off and refine it, whence it putrefies, and communicates the infection to the air.

*Le Gesier.* *Le Gesier* is a small village, close to the sea, about three miles from *St Louis*, that gives name to a parish, and to a small rocky island lying opposite to it. Fifteen miles farther to the N. E. is *St Anne's* parish, which takes its denomination from the town of *St Anne*, the situation of which is very agreeable. It consists of about 100 houses, including storehouses and magazines; the chief trade is fishing, in which the Negroes are constantly employed, and the shrimps here are the best between the tropics. The port is only for small craft, covered on the South, but otherwise open to the sea-breeze, which here blows from the East; and about two miles farther, reckoning N. E. in *Citron Bay*, is sufficient depth for ships of burthen, which may here ride secure in all weathers.

*Arnicville.* Opposite to fort *St Louis*, on the land of *Guadalupe proper*, is *Arnicville*, an estate belonging to the heirs of M. *Baudouin*, who, in 1645, was principal commissary to the company. It is about two miles broad, and six long, every where pleasant and fruitful. The ground is a little reddish in some places, like clinders; but the canes thrive well, and the cattle seem in good condition. It is crossed by two small rivers, one

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of which augments the river *du Coin*, the other falls into the river *St Paul*. From hence to a stream called *Briqueterie*, where begins the marquisate of *St Mary*, the soil is well cultivated, and the lands populous. The planters, besides their sugars, raise tobacco, ginger, maize and rice, and deal also in cattle and poultry. The extent, which may be about four leagues, is every where well watered, since we find no less than 8 rivers, besides smaller channels, from the *du Coin* to the *Briqueterie*. This marquisate extends about a league along the sea side, and runs inland about three leagues, where it joins the mountains that separate the *Cabasserre* from the *Basse-Terre*.

It should have been before observed, that the best part of the division, which flanks *Grande-Terre*, is called *Cabasserre*; and that *Gnadaluse proper* may be considered as divided into two provinces, the *Basse-Terre* and the *Cabasserre*. Here we see the ruins of a magnificent building, which the first proprietor probably intended to have made his residence; but it was never finished. The place is finely shaded with pear-trees; it was formerly laid out in plantations of tobacco, sugar, and manioc; and the walls of a sugar-work, and a water-mill are still standing. The trees, though called pear-trees, bear no fruit, but the leaves much resemble those of the pear-trees in *Europe*, though rather larger; they produce a small violet-colour blossom, consisting of five leaves, expanding as they shoot into the form of a cup. The tree grows to a good size, and has lofty branches; the bark is white and chapped; the grain of the wood is gray, and easily admits of a polish; it is used for planks, axletrees, and various other kinds of wood-work.

Opposite to these ruins, at the mouth of the river, is very safe riding for shipping, the violence of the waves being broken by two rocks, called *L'Homme* and *la Femme*, "husband and wife," which lie above the edge of the water. And a good port might be easily formed here, were this part of the *Cabasserre* fortified, which might be done at a trifling expence, there being sufficiency of stone, earth very fit for bricks, and *Basse-Terre* abounding in a good red mortar, supposed the same with the *Pozzolana* found in *Naples* and other parts of *Italy*. You see one rock higher than the rest, about half a mile from shore, which is never overflowed but during the vast floods of the equinox; and this rock, if a little raised, might admit of a fort of seven or eight feet diameter, which, with a few pieces of cannon, would effectually command the harbour, and prove greatly to the advantage of the whole *Cabasserre*.

From *St Mary* to the *Great River* is a good road, planted with pear-trees, broad enough for five coaches to go abreast, and crossed by two or three small rivulets. This may be justly stiled the *Great River*, for it is the largest in all *Cabasserre*; the water, which is very clear, reaching up to the horse's belly, when free from all increase of flood. In some places it is 30 fathom wide; but the passage is not very safe without a guide, the bottom being rocky and uneven.

Leaving the *Great River*, in the road to the *Three Rivers*, lies *Marigot*, a small town of about thirty houses, including warehouses, and inhabited by three or four merchants, a few workmen, and publicans. About 300 paces from the town is the parish church, 100 feet by 30, built of stone, and covered with slate, having two wings, or small chapels, that give it the form of a cross. From the church to the house of the priest, which was once a convent of friars, you pass through a valley of trees, which yield a comfortable shade for about the length of 250 feet. The house is badly contrived, and the garden large, but laid out with no taste.

In proceeding to the *Three Rivers* you cross a large stream, called the *Grand Carbet*; and another half league brings you to the borders of *Grand Banniers*, which terminates the *Cabasserre*. This division is the pleasantest of the whole island, extending about 20 leagues, mostly along the sea side, with a gentle declivity, to the mountains, distant, in some places, but a league, in others four leagues, reckoning from the *Grand Banniers* to the *Great Highland Head*, and keeping the *Basse-Terre* to the East. This extent of land, as we have shewn, is every where finely watered.

In this quarter (*Grand Banniers*) among the mountains, is a volcano, called *Sulfuree*, to which there is a winding ascent. After three or four hours climbing you find some burning stones, and white cinders, that smell strongly of sulphur, lying half a foot deep; and these increase as you advance. The top of the hill is pretty extensive, and rendered very unequal by the different heaps of calcined stones of all sizes vomited forth at different times. From the highest of these heaps, or mounts, called the point of the volcano, you can perceive its mouth, the widest diameter of which appears not to

be much more than 100 feet, and you see it from time to time throw out thick, black, sulphurous clouds of smoke, with sparks of fire. It has another smaller mouth, which looks like an old chimney, and also frequently discharges smoke and flame, that likewise issue from the cracks and little crevices every where to be seen. The ground all about sounds hollow, and, though the days are here very hot, the gale is pretty fresh, nay, we venture to say piercing.

Mineral  
ponds.

As you descend you pass by three ponds of warm water, about 200 paces one from another. The water of the first is brown, and tastes as if iron had been quenched in it; the second is white, tasting of allum; and the third blue, with the taste of vitriol; and some pieces of vitriol, it is said, have been taken out of it. You see several other streams as you descend, which thunder rapidly down the hill, and one of them, called the *White River*, from the cinders, and sulphur that discolour it, falls into the river *St Louis*, and by its slench renders it incapable of fish. About the middle of the hill the prospect changes, very agreeably, from dreary, barren wilds, and inhospitable rocks, to the most agreeable verdure. You see the land every where well watered, agreeably cultivated, and stocked with an industrious people; and the enjoyment is the greater from the fuddleness of the contrast. There you are to take notice also of two convents, one belonging to the Cordeliers, the other to the Carmelites.

White River.

Three Rivers  
quarter.

The quarter of the *Trois Rivières*, or *Three Rivers*, is about four miles in extent, very pleasant, and stocked with plenty of canes in great perfection, with several sugar-works, and water-mills. They make up most of their sugars brown, finding it more profitable than spending time to refine them, in which they find some difficulty. This quarter, from its fertility and situation, affords fine moorage for ships, and may be easily fortified. And whoever possesses the island should pay great respect to its importance, because the man who is master of it may effectually cut off all communication between *Basse-Terre* and *Cabesterre*; and if once he can get the neighbouring eminences and desiles into his hands, the island must fall of course. In some of these passes twenty men of spirit may baffle all the attempts of the most numerous army.

Des d'Asne  
redoubt.

In this neighbourhood, at some distance from the old fort of *Gua'aboupe*, is a strong redoubt, called *Des d'Asne*, which is a secure retreat for women, children, and old men, being almost inaccessible, as was experienced when the *English* landed here in 1702. There is a road cut through a rock to it, from the *Trois Rivières*, and from the fort, which is narrow, rugged, and fatiguing, and requires on this side a very small defence. The air is good, though its course be obstructed by the surrounding woods.

Galleons river

After passing several eminences, most of which were fortified in 1702, you descend to the banks of the *Galleons*, the whole way being intricate, steep, and difficult. You cross this river at a ford, though there was formerly a bridge of wood, which was carried off by an inundation. And, indeed, something of that nature is extremely necessary here, it being the only passage from *Basse-Terre* to *Cabesterre*, and consequently in bad weather the communication between these places entirely interrupted. The river takes its name from the *Spanish* galleons, which were wont to touch here for water in their voyage to *Terra Firma*, before the *French* settled on the island. Good water is here in plenty, there is also a safe bay; but ships will find it more advantageous to drop anchor lower down, either in the rivers *St Louis*, or the *Bailliff*, where there is good bottom and sufficient depth, with much better water, being entirely free from the flavour of sulphur and vitriol, which cannot be said of the water of the *Galleons*, for which reason the soldiers of the fort are forbidden to use it, as being apt to give the gripes and dysentery to people not accustomed to it.

Coal inaccessi-  
ble.

Point of the  
old fort.

Leaving this river you find upon the coast a high craggy road, which leads to the glacis of the fort. And it is certain that from the little harbour of the *Three Rivers* to the point of the old fort, the landing of an enemy will be to us very difficult, nay next to impossible, the coast being steep and craggy, and often broken by round precipices, from any of which ten men might check the progress of 1000 by barely rolling upon them, from above, stones, of which the coast abounds plentifully. The point of the old fort is an eminence, which lies the S. E. and seems to have been formed of rocks, washed down by the rains from the neighbouring mountain, and covered with earth by time. It is flat and even, about 200 feet high, and 150 fathoms more in height: At the foot of it the Carmelites have a small church. In some hollows of the mountain, and on the hills in the neighbourhood, are 7 or 8 plantations, where they cultivate cotton, mancee, maiz, and feed poultry. On this fort are two iron

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cannon, which, when fired, give notice to the fort at *Basse terre* of what appears at sea. This part of the island seems, from its situation, secure from insult; besides, an enemy would find but little plunder, and it is hardly possible, supposing them possessed of the coast, to carry into execution any designs that may be useful to them, because of the thick woods, and inaccessible fastnesses, whence the inhabitants could eternally annoy them, without being dislodged. There is no touching any where, in coasting from the old fort, for a league and half westward, till you reach *Ance de la Croix*, a small creek, about nine or ten fathom deep, and near thirty fathom wide, formed by two points of land that jutt into the sea, and a perpendicular beach about 30 feet high, over which a small rivulet falls in a sheet; the land above is pleasant and good, running in several places farther within the mountain than one would expect. Here was a plantation, the master of which used a ladder to get down to the sea, and would have cut a small road, had he not been prevented for good reasons; since the consequence might have been very bad, as there is a path leading through the windings of the mountain to some considerable plantations, of which an enemy might thus get possession in the night, and then take the island forces on the *Gallion* in flank and rear.

The creek, or harbour, of *Gallion* begins half a league forward at a high point of land, called *Raby head*, the coast being steep, craggy, and full of rocks, on which the sea breaks with a loud reverberating noise. The creek of *Gallion* is not more than 5 or 600 feet broad, reckoning from *Raby head* to the river *Sence*, which falls into the sea at the foot of a point of land somewhat lower, on the top of which is a redoubt constructed of earth and stone. M. *Anger* erected some other redoubts, which command the creek, and were executed at small expence, the beach being covered with large flint stones; his intention was in time to build a regular fortification, as the lands hereabouts produce greater quantities of white sugar than any others on the island.

The land between the rivers *Gallion* and *St Louis* is intersected in the middle by the river *Herbes*, that on the side of the *Gallion* being called *Montagne de beau soleil*, that on the side of the river *St Louis*, *Montagne de belle vue*. The banks of the river *St Louis*, sometimes called the *Father's River*, are rough and craggy, and a man would find it difficult to pass here on horseback. The Jacobins have a settlement at the mouth of this river, which is well fortified by a parapet seven feet high, composed of a double row of paliades, made of flint wood, filled up with earth and fascines, with a small glacis, and covered with saillant angles. The coast almost all the way to the plain of *Les habitans*, particularly from *Vadelorge* road, is steep, craggy, and unequal, running from four to 7 or 8 fathoms in height, and in itself sufficiently strong; where it is not, care has been taken to supply the defect with fortifications, laid out, for the most part, to advantage.

Those who will please to compare this account of the island of *Guadeloupe* with the map will find that we have made a regular survey of the whole, and left no remarkable part of either the sea coast or inland country undescribed. We shall now proceed to say something of the vegetables, and of some other things natural to the place. For though we shall take care to insert a natural history of the *Antilles* in general by itself, yet we could not avoid giving here several particulars on that head relating immediately to an island, in the interest of which *Great Britain* is very lately become so largely and happily concerned.

Our author found the copau tree, so celebrated for the medicinal qualities of its balm, only in one place on this island, and searched for it in vain at *Martinico*, *Dominica*, *St Christopher's*, &c. It grows to the height of one or two and twenty feet, and is very beautiful with a leaf like that of an orange tree, but rather longer, and more pointed, of a fine green, sweet taste, and aromatic smell, as is the bark of it when rubbed in the hand; the wood is soft and white. *March* is here the best time to draw off the balm, which is done by making a perpendicular incision of 6 or 7 inches long, near the bottom of the tree. When in its most perfect state, it is thick and yellow, yielding a delicious perfume, and one drop of it, thrown into a glass of cold water, sinks directly to the bottom; if it either swims or divides, you may be certain that it is adulterated. It neither dries nor hardens like the *Peruvian* balsam when kept, only grows more glutinous, and acquires a deeper colour. It is good for all sorts of bruises and wounds, except gunshot wounds, for all disorders of the chest, and hæmorrhages,

rhages; our author affirms it to be efficacious in violent fevers. It may be administered either mixed up with an egg, or in a little broth. It is applied externally, heated as hot as the patient can bear it, and spread upon cotton. Its operation is by a gentle transpiration, for it neither excites sweat, nor any extraordinary emotion.

**Milk-shrub.** The milk-shrub, so called from its yielding a thick white liquor when pressed or broken, is said, by our author, to have almost as many virtues as the copau. Its leaf is shaped like laurel, but larger, thicker, and more soft; it bears a white blossom something like jessamin, each containing 5 or 6 flowers, and two small black grains are found in the middle, which are the seeds of the shrub; it will also grow from slips. The outside of the bark is pale-green, the inside whitish, and its pith resembles that of elder. The pedicle of the leaf is about an inch long, with a knot where it touches the bark. The milk which it yields, when bottled, turns to powder, and seems rather to acquire than lose force from the transmutation. A glass of wine in which the root of the milk-shrub has been about two minutes steeped is excellent against the colic; but a stronger infusion would excite a fever.

**Flintwood.** The flintwood, so named from its hardness, grows in dry rocky ground; it has but few branches and leaves, and at distance appears red and scorched; its leaves are of an oval figure. This tree grows to a good height, but the diameter of its trunk seldom exceeds fourteen inches; the bark is whitish, very thin and notched, and peels off it spontaneously when the tree is felled, at which time it has a reddish grain, which soon turns grey; the sap is white and thick, but the heart, or pith, will keep to admiration either upon land or water. The fibres are so cohesive, that they cannot be divided without breaking or cutting them.

**Bitterwood.** The Bitterwood is a pretty large tree, sometimes more than two feet in diameter. The bark is round, thick, and ragged; the leaf thick, long, pointed, and in colour a pale-green. The wood is first of a bright yellow, which, as it dries, becomes white; it is light and stringy. The muskettoes, and all those troublesome flies which pester the island, avoid this wood, as they do the Acajou, both of them being very bitter, which quality they communicate to meat dressed upon a fire made of their faggots.

**Cotton tree.** The cotton tree, with the produce of which they drive a great trade, never grows to any remarkable height, because they often lop it, which, they say, makes it yield better cotton, and more in quantity, than if it were suffered to run up to any height. In seven or eight months after cutting it bears fruit. The bark of it is thin and grey; the wood white, tender, and spongy; its branches are almost straight, and the leaves, of which it is pretty full, are divided into three parts, like those of the vine, but thinner, smaller, and not so tough; when the tree is young they are of a lively green, but the colour changes as the tree grows. It blossoms twice a year; the flower is yellow, streaked with purple, and its pistil changes into an oval pod, which grows as large as a pigeon's egg, and is at first green, then brown, and, lastly, black, dry, and brittle; when it is ripe it bursts with some noise, and the cotton would soon be lost, as it falls out, were it not carefully gathered. It requires to be planted in a light dry soil, and if it be first cut in wet weather requires no rain to bring it forward. It has two sorts of pods, black and green, of which the latter is the more beautiful, and the planters find their advantage in mixing them. An oil is distilled from the skin of the pod, not disagreeable in smell or taste.

**Siam cotton.** They also cultivate here, though but in few places, the cotton of *Siam*, whence it was first brought hither. It is softer and better than silk, and stockings made of it are finer and more esteemed than those of silk, being valued at 10 and 15 crowns a pair.

**Fromager cotton.** The Fromager cotton grows to the height of 25 or 30 feet, and the shade of it being very comfortable the inhabitants generally plant it before their doors. It bears a pod as big as an egg, from which, when ripe, the cotton bursts out, with some noise. It is of a shining pearl colour, and used in hosiery.

**Mahot cotton.** The Mahot cotton is a very large tree, with sometimes a diameter of four feet. The leaf is of a dark-green, round, and ends in a small point. Its flowers are large and yellow, and the cotton is used in stuffing pillows.

**Mahot tree with large leaves.** They also apply the cotton of the mahot with large leaves, improperly called the cotton-tree, to the use of stuffing pillows; the colour is grey, and it is very fine. The bark at first is green, and becomes yellow when the fruit is ripe. The leaves are very large, the upper part of a fine green, the lower whitish, covered with an almost imperceptible down, inclining to the colour of reddish gold. The flower is seldom less than

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than 5 or 6 inches high, and 4 inches broad; it is at first green, but as it ripens grows yellow. The wood is white, and so very light, that it is used as a buoy to mark any thing particular under water, on the surface of which it swims.

The *Pois a gratter* is a shrub, which, like ivy, winds round the first tree, or prop, that it can seize. Its wood is grey, supple, and sappy; the bark thin; the leaf about three inches high, ending in a point, and unequally divided by its principal fibre. The flowers, which are small and blueish, are succeeded by pods of between six and eight inches long; the skin of this pod is covered by a fine, short, thick down, which, falling on any part of the human skin, causes a very uneasy itching, which may be removed by oil or warm water.

Ginger is the root of a tufted plant, that seldom grows higher than two feet; the leaf of it is long, narrow, and soft, resembling that of a rose, but every way less. They are green when young, assume a yellowish hue when they ripen, and dry up entirely when the root arrives at a state of maturity, in which it appears about the bigness of a man's hand, and an inch thick; it has a thin skin, which changes from flesh-colour to grey; it is every where full of fibres, replete with a sharper juice than the rest of the root contains. It requires a good soil, somewhat dry, and therefore flourishes best between the *Grand Cul de Sac*, and the *Grande Riviere*, and they eat it green in large quantities; it is also reckoned a good conserve. In the latter case they gather it green, and having stripped off its skin, and sliced it, avoiding as much as possible to cut the larger fibres, they steep it three or four days in sea water, and then seven or eight days in fresh water, shifting it in each case twice in twenty four hours; having then boiled it an hour, and afterwards soaked it in fresh water a whole day, they afterwards boil it in three different syrups, and then lay it by, first well clarified, for use.

A bit of this conserve, taken in a morning fasting, promotes digestion, dissolves phlegm, cleanses the passages of the stomach, provokes appetite, helps urine, and makes the breath sweet. As it is in its nature extremely hot, it must be used with great moderation. The best of it is yellowish, easy to be chewed, though not soft, and the syrup in which it is preserved should be transparent.

There are some sorts of trees peculiar to *Grande Terre*, and not found in *Guadaloupe*. Among these the most remarkable are the Marble-wood, and the Violet-wood. The first of these never grows to any large size, its largest diameter seldom exceeding one foot. The wood is hard, heavy, and firm; its grain small, and its fibres slender. The sap is of a dirty white, the heart of it grey, sometimes brown, veined with other different colours; it is hard to be worked, and being almost naturally well polished, is used for tables, frames of chairs, and other sorts of cabinet-work. Of the violet-wood there are two sorts, one smelling like a violet, when a little warmed, the other having no smell but a beautiful violet colour, handsomely veined.

Here we also find a bastard cinnamon with a strong smell of cinnamon and cloves intermixed. Upon the tongue it is especially strong, favouring of pepper, cinnamon, and cloves.

Maiz, millet, pease, and various other sorts of grain thrive well in this soil, together with potatoes of different sorts, and a species of beet called the *Igname*, which grows to a good size according to the goodness of the ground in which it is planted. The skin is hard and thick, of a deep violet colour, the meat whitish, inclining to red, and clammy before it is dress'd. It may be either boiled in water, or broiled upon the coals, and eaten with meat instead of bread, being light, nourishing, and easy of digestion.

Our author takes notice of a large ant, which swarms about the woods, and covers the branches of trees in myriads, which nothing can destroy; he tells us they entrench themselves in regular buildings just below the surface, which they endeavour to repair incessantly if overthrown, instead of being frightened away. The poultry, he says, find them good food, and eat of them greedily. By all that he has said in his description, they appear to differ very little from those common among us.

It is remarkable that the woods of *Martinico* abound with venomous serpents, but that in *Guadaloupe* there are none. In the former there are no bees, in the latter they have a species of bee, which is round, black, not above half so big as those in *Europe*, and without stings. They lay their honey in hollow trees, not disposed in combs, but in lumps of wax as big as a pigeon's egg, though more pointed; the wax is black; the honey liquid, of the colour of amber, and thickness of oil of olives; it is very sweet and palatable, more cleansing than that of *Europe*, and, if exposed to the sun, assumes a

very white crust, grained like sugar, but much sweeter. Great profit might be made of this honey, were the bees collected into hives.

*Father du Tertre* says he endeavoured to effect this assemblage to no purpose; yet, it seems, it has been done by others since his time; but the inhabitants neglect it, as an employment too trifling, and not sufficiently profitable. The wax being too soft for candles, they use it only in sealing the corks of bottles. Applied to the corns of the feet, by way of plaister, it roots them out, and removes pimples from the face and hands.

The wasps in this island are larger than those of *France*, and their sting much more hurtful. Care must be taken to extract it immediately, and to apply to the part affected three different sorts of herbs pounded, which give ease in a couple of hours. Our author looked upon this remedy as something superstitious, but was forced through necessity to have recourse to it, and found it efficacious. These wasps are most troublesome in the hottest weather. They make combs like the bees of *Europe*, of a whitish, thin, fragil wax, in which they lay their young, for they have no honey.

Here are two sorts of lanthorn-flies, or fire-flies, which are of a very extraordinary nature: The lesser lanthorn-fly is longer, but not thicker than the common fly: Its body, from the wings to the tail, is of a transparent green, and preserves the light imbibed either from the day, or from the motion which the heat of the sun has excited in those parts. In the night they appear like so many sparks of fire among the trees, but disappear in three or four hours, either having expended their stock of light, or retired to rest. That they are not luminous in the day time has been proved by keeping them till morning in a vial, when they have nothing diaphanous about them, though set in ever so dark a corner.

The larger of these sort of flies is near an inch and half long, and as thick in the body as a may-bug; his eyes are large and flat, from whence, and from the hinder part of his body, issues, in the night, a greenish light, almost as strong as that of a candle, and by it a man may easily see to read. Nor do these flies lose this diaphanous quality in the day time, but it is rather fainter, and more restrained to the eyes. When confined they lose a little of their light in seven or eight days time, perhaps grieving for confinement, or not properly fed. They have a very quick motion, particularly in the hinder part of their bodies, and retain their luminous quality whether in a state of inaction or motion.

A sort of necessary spider.  
Cock-roche  
infect.

There is here a very large insect, without horns or poison, which *Dampier* calls a spider, in which our author insists that he is mistaken; however it forms cobwebs, in which it catches and destroys, by sucking the blood, the cock-roche, a nasty stinking insect, which eats paper, books, &c. and defiles every thing it comes near. On this useful account the life of this large insect, or spider, is sacred.

Silk-wood fly

In the silk-wood is found a fly, measuring two inches and half from the neck to the end of the body, without reckoning the neck, head, and horns, three inches in circumference round the thickest part of the belly, and the body covered with three pair of wings, one over the other; the external pair brown, spotted with black, and as strong as parchment; they fly very heavily, and the back under the wing, as also the belly, is thick, hard, and dry, but covered with a fine down. They have three legs on each side, at least three inches long, and jointed in three places, so that they have thighs, legs, and feet, with small talons, with which they stick fast to any thing they seize, and they run pretty quick. The head and neck are of one hard piece, like horn, black and shining as jet, and moved only by means of the cartilages that join it to the body. From its head issue two long crooked horns, one covering the other, the upper about three inches long; under the inferior one is the mouth, and a set of small teeth, by which it acquires its nourishment.

Agouti.

Upon this island are several other sorts of insects, flies, trees, shrubs, &c. which to anatomist would hardly gratify our curiosity. Wherefore we shall hasten to conclude with a review of the few quadrupeds found in the woods, among which the first that presents itself is the Agouti, a species of hare, in general as large as a pig of two months old; the head and body something like those of the hog, but the snout more pointed; it pricks up its ears, which are short, thin, and round, and runs like a hare, then stops as it were to listen; for it is quick of hearing, as well as very fearful. It has four nails on the fore feet, and six on the hinder, which also are the longer, so that running down a hill, or in making its way through the reeds, it is apt to tumble, which hinders its progress.

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gress. It yields, however, good sport upon a Savannah, and is easily taken. The skin is white, as also the flesh, which is fat and delicate.

The wild hogs, or boars, with which the woods abound, are not natives of the place, but were brought hither from *Spain*, and set ashore in order to multiply, that ships touching here might be sure of fresh meat. Thence also were brought the first asses, horses, and oxen. By the indifferention of the sailors the number of them is of late much decreased, for they ought every where to spare the females for breed; but they neglect the distinction.

There are two sorts of swine that run wild in the woods; one came first from *Spain*, which fight hard before they are taken; the other such as have escaped from the *French* plantations; and these two sorts are remarkable for entertaining against each other a most violent antipathy. As their feeding is quite clean and wholesome, their flesh is extremely good, as on the same account are pigeons, and all sorts of poultry.

It would be an unpardonable omission in this place not to speak something of the devil-bird, and the manner of hunting it, as being very curious. The devil-bird is as large as a pullet, with black feathers, spacious, strong wings, web-footed, and armed with stout claws; its beak, which is hard, strong, and pointed, is about an inch and half long; it cannot see well in the day time, when, if disturbed, it flies full butt at the first object that presents itself, till it falls; however, in the night their sight is strong, for their eyes are very large. This is the time in which they catch the fish, on which they feed, and the taste affects their flesh, which is however good and nourishing; more especially the young ones, eaten roasted, are delicate food, though a little too fat. In their flight to the holes in the mountains, in which they hide themselves all day, you would imagine, by their different cries, that they held a dialogue, and understood a language peculiar to themselves. They begin to appear about the end of *September*, and remain till the end of *November*; they then disappear till *January*; and in *March* the females only, with two young ones, are found in every hole, very fat, and covered with a fine yellow down. In *May* these fly off, and are not seen again till the end of *September*. Dogs, trained to the sport, accompany the Negroes, who make a trade of catching them; and these dogs, when they come to a hole in which the birds are hid, bark loudly, proclaiming the discovery, and would tear up the ground did not their masters check them, because in that case, perhaps, the bird would not return the ensuing year to the haunt. The huntsman then thrusts in a stick, about an inch thick, and seven or eight feet long, on which the devil-bird perhaps may seize with his beak, and is thus drawn out; if it should decline the challenge, which is sometimes the case, he winds his stick round and round, till he entangles it in the wing of the bird, which he then forces out, and if he is not ready to secure it, the light not only blinds, but makes it exert all its strength to get back to its den.

Having made a survey of this island, sufficiently clear to give a knowledge of its productions, strength, and importance, before we dismiss the article, some account of the first settling the place will be naturally expected, from the beginning of its being inhabited by the *French*, to the time of its being subdued by the arms of *Great Britain*.

*An Account of the first Settlement of GUADALOUPE, the Progress of its Improvements, its Revolutions, &c.*

IN the year 1626 Cardinal *Richelieu* set himself at the head of a company in *Paris*, which undertook, upon particular conditions, to be at the expence of peopling certain of the *Caribbee* islands, or *Antilles*. This company having sent a colony to *St Christopher's*, which, after various misfortunes, and much bad management, grew extremely populous, *M. de Enambuc*, the *French* lieutenant general, or governor there, sent out one of his subalterns, named *d'Olive*, to search out the best and most commodious of the neighbouring islands, for the seat of a new settlement. He could not have entrusted a more able deputy; this gentleman after a careful survey of the three islands, *Dominica*, *Martinico*, and *Guadaloupe*, easily, and indeed judiciously, determined in favour of the last.

## A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

In consequence of his report he was immediately dispatched to *France*, to concert measures for promoting the project with the company, and arrived at *Dieppe* about the end of 1634. Here he found *de Pleffis*, a gentleman who had been at *St Christopher's* in 1629, whither he was about to return with men and stores in order to settle, but soon changed his destination on hearing the account which *d'Olive* gave of the beauty and fertility of *Guadaloupe*, and resolved to embark in the same expedition. Having mutually agreed to share their fortunes, they laid their designs, together with an account of the advantages which might be reaped from settling upon *Guadaloupe*, before the company abovementioned, who gave them all possible encouragement.

Encourages a design on *Guadaloupe*. Enters into articles with the undertakers.

In *February* 1635 they received a commission empowering them to command, equally and jointly, on whatever island they should fix, or separately if they found it convenient; and this command was to subsist at least ten years. The company also undertook to supply them with arms, to a good value, and a larger sum in ready money, and granted them a tith of whatever the *French* inhabitants should raise, and a third of the mines, if an should be discovered. The adventurers, in return, promised to transport to the islands, in three months time, at least 200 men; in the first year to erect a fort, in the second magazines and another fort, to maintain all officers and servants of the new plantations without expence, and to hold no commerce with foreigners.

Fails to execute them.

The company however either were not able to advance the money they had agreed to furnish, or neglected to do it, and the undertaking appearing greater and greater the nearer the time of its execution approached, they were obliged to take four or five merchants into their association, who were also to bear part of the expence. At the same time the Dominicans made interest with the Cardinal to have four of their order appointed chaplains to this expedition, for which purpose a brief was obtained from *Rome*.

Commandants disagree.

Had not the two commanders been men of very different dispositions things would certainly have turned out better; but they soon disagreed, and hence arose all the disorders and misfortunes that attended this embarkation, which consisted of near 500 men. *Du Pleffis* was mild, judicious, and learned; and had *d'Olive*, who was weak, followed his own inclinations, and not turned his ear to slanderers, and evil counsellors, they had never quarrelled.

They set sail from *Dieppe*, *May* 25, 1635, and, *June* 25, came to an anchor off the island of *Martinico*, then inhabited only by Savages, most of whom were at war upon the continent. Here they landed, and erected a cross, to which they affixed the royal arms of *France*, and one of the fathers sung *Te Deum*, under a general discharge of their cannon, being watched at a distance by some of the natives, headed by an old man, called *Anacan*, with whom *Du Pleffis* was acquainted. These savages mimicked exactly all the ceremonies which they saw performed, as kneeling, kissing the ground, and crossing themselves, just like so many monkeys.

Arrive at *Guadaloupe*.

Finding the ground here very unequal, and the country quite mountainous, they re-embarked all their people, and put them ashore the 28th of the same month, which was the eve of the feast of *St Peter and Paul*, at *Guadaloupe*, in the parish of *St Rofe*, which happened unluckily to be one of the worst situations in the whole island; for the ground is dry and red, rather fit for bricks than cultivation, besides the mountains are very near. However, here they unladed their two ships, and divided, their men, stores, ammunition, and provisions, not without much bickerings and dispute.

Two settlements.

Little Fort River.

*D'Olive* took up his quarters where now stands a village called *St Rofe*, and built *St Peter's* fort. *Du Pleffis* seated himself lower down, more to the N. W. and they were divided by a small stream, now called *Little Fort River*. When they had cleared the ships, they found the best part of their provisions, both fish and flesh, quite corrupted and unfit for use, and so much the worse as many of the people were extremely ill, and some had died of the dry gripes, contracted from mixing sea water with their cyder, which began to fail them before they had finished their voyage. This was the first cause of the many evils under which they laboured, and it was augmented by their neglect to touch at *Barbadoes* for refreshment, though the company had ordered it.

All things contributed to make them wretched; at the end of two months they found their provisions nearly exhausted, they had neither potatoes, manioc, nor any kind of vegetable or grain; their bread was consumed, and they were necessitated to feed upon

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fresh tortoises, which threw them into dangerous fluxes, and other disorders. The famine at length became so intense, altho' their numbers were daily lessened by death, that a piece of a rat was counted a delicacy; a man cut off the arm of his deceased companion for food, and several chose rather to leap into the sea, than to endure so miserable a life.

Colony distressed by famine.

On September 30, 1635, they were rejoiced with the sight of a ship in the road, but their joy was of a short duration; the captain had brought over from *Dieppe* twenty-seven people to settle, but could scarce afford them a month's provision, as he would then have scarce enough left to subsist his crew in their voyage home. The neglect with which the company and the merchants of *Dieppe* treated these unhappy people was very astonishing, for, during the five years that the famine lasted, they sent them not the least relief. The poorer sort were nevertheless kept to work, with blows and ill usage, till they were not able to stand, and many of them perished under the hands of their cruel task-masters, who seemed to acquire increase of inhumanity from the surrounding horrors. None among them, invested with the least superiority, forbore to exert it without mercy; and a man, who had been a slave among the *Moors*, declared that he had found better treatment among the savage enemies of the Christian religion. A distemper also, which was generally mortal, reigned among them. The spirits sunk under excessive latitude; the body became languid, inactive, and sore, as if severely beaten; the breath came with difficulty, attended with violent head-achs, and a quick and strong pulsation in the temporal arteries.

Tyranny of the masters.

It appears, by the accounts which we have read of these calamities, that they had all this while a communication open with *St Christopher's*, that the two commandants jointly made a voyage thither, and returned without bringing thence any relief, tho' we find no mention made of any scarcity there; a circumstance which to us appears very extraordinary.

*D'Olive*, finding no abatement of affliction, seeing his colony wasting to nothing, and that he had no hopes of assistance, resolved to try what subsistence he could get by making war upon the insular Savages, who had never given him or his people the least cause of offence, but cherished with care and respect some *Frenchmen*, who had fled to them from famine and disorder. This proceeding was not only unjust in itself, but absolutely against the will of the gentlemen from whom he held his power, and clashed immediately with the publick interest.

D'Olive makes a war upon the savages.

All these reasons, not without additional resentment, occurred to *du Pleffis* the moment the project was laid before him; and, after he had totally rejected it, the other embarked for *St Christopher's*, where he opened himself to *d'Enambac*, whom all his persuasion could not induce in the least to countenance so villainous a design; on the contrary, that officer threatened, in case he persisted, to forward a complaint of his conduct to the *French* court. *D'Olive*, on his return to *Guadaloupe*, found *du Pleffis* dead of grief, by which the whole authority devolved upon him, and none durst oppose his will.

Du Pleffis dies.

He therefore lost no time, but forming the minds of the few people that remained to his purpose, he began to make war upon the Savages, January 26, 1636, by ordering some of them, who appeared in a canoe making for the fort, to be cut to pieces the moment they landed; but they providentially steered another course. Some of these poor wretches, destined for slaughter, having carried off some cotton from the *Cul-de-Sac*, to which perhaps they had been enticed by some of *d'Olive's* wicked emissaries, tho' they had left in the room of it a hog and some fruit, really more in value, it was thought a sufficient motive for commencing hostilities. By precaution, however, one *Fontaine* was dispatched with fifteen stout soldiers, to make a tour round the island, and bring off by fair means a few *French*, who had for two or three months past sojourned among the Savages. These poor people, suspecting nothing, received *Fontaine* and his men with great satisfaction, regaled them in the best manner they could, restored their countrymen to them, and warned them that a small *English* vessel had landed some men upon the island, who had visited them, and proposed an alliance against the *French*; that they had openly rejected their overtures, and that the *English* were now gone up the country in search of game. *Fontaine* made to good use of this intelligence, that he took the *English* vessel, and brought her to *Fort St Peter*.

D'Olive falls upon the savages.

Takes an English ship.

Three days after this action *d'Olive*, with some desperadoes inured to villainy, embarked to visit the habitations of the Savages in that part of the island, where now stands *Fort Royal*, reporting that they were going in search of a more convenient spot than that which they at present occupied. The Savages, having by some means or other been

A habitant and captain of the island.

been advertised of their cruel intention, had abandoned the place, carried off their provisions, and set fire to their huts; so that when *d'Olive* landed, he found only an old man, aged 66, named *Nance*, with two of his sons, and two other young men, who had not time to make their escape. These people, when they saw the *French* approach, made all possible signs of submission, crying out, *France, no angry with us*, and, being assured no hurt was designed them, they surrendered at discretion. *D'Olive* now changed both his looks and discourse, and, with a stern countenance, called the old man *villain and traitor*; accusing him of conspiring with other natives against the colony, and agreeing to cut all the throats of the *French*. The poor man denied the charge with all that openness and honest assurance that always accompanies truth; declaring, at the same time, that he and all his countrymen were so strongly attached to the *French*, that they would leave nothing undone to serve them. But *d'Olive*, taking a watch out of his pocket, shewed it to him, telling him it was the Devil of *France*, and that he had been assured by him of what he now affirmed. The *Indian*, astonished at the noise and motion of this little machine, which he really supposed a spirit, and the author of the calumny, exclaimed against it with strong invectives and resentment, declaring it to be an impostor and a liar, and swearing solemnly, that neither he nor any of his countrymen had conceived the least design of injuring the *French*. To confirm the truth of his asseveration, they commanded him to order the women, who were in sight, to come in and surrender, to which he readily consented, giving a commission for that purpose to one of his sons; but the young man, instead of returning, took his flight with the women. This so enraged *d'Olive*, that dragging *Nance* and his other son into the hallop, they killed the young man with their pointards, in sight of the unhappy father, whom they afterwards stabbed in several parts of the body, and then flung him into the sea, where, being of a robust constitution, he kept himself up for some time by swimming, intreating them with tears, and the most piteous cries, to save his life; but in vain, for these merciless villains knocked him on the head with their oars. The two other young men they preserved alive only till they should guide them to the retreat of the women, in the way to which one of them took an opportunity of leaping from a precipice, and tho' he was much bruised, made a shift to travel five leagues to the women and his comrades, whom he informed of the approach and insatiate cruelty of the *French*. On this they hastily retired farther up the country, having first grubbed up all the manioc, and other provisions in the ground, in such a manner, that when these bloody villains arrived here, they trod upon the relief which they sought, without knowing it so near. The other Savage, whom they had preserved alive to be their guide, having found an opportunity of escaping in the night, they were forced to return without their errand.

Colony suffers by famine and wars with the Savages.

Hence they justly suffered more dreadfully from famine than before; for they no longer received any succour from the Savages, who before used sometimes to bring them supplies of fish, bananas, potatoes, fruits, and hogs, which they could no longer expect, since most of the natives now drew off to *Dominica*, where they fixed, and declared open war against the *French*; and the distance between the islands not exceeding seven or eight leagues, they often crossed over and surprized them, killing 50 or 60 at a time, besides making prisoners, and seldom retreating without gaining some advantage. The conflicts were generally sharp and bloody, the Savages fighting gallantly, and always taking care to carry off their dead and wounded. Among them was killed a *French* renegade, who had plundered the altar, and when he fell was about to set fire to the church, having a lighted torch in his hand for that purpose.

Other disasters.

In the mean time, as if heaven meant to punish their excess of pride and cruelty, a ship laden with provisions by the company in *France*, for the use of the colony lost her reckoning, and was beating about the seas, looking for *Guadalupe*, till all the stores were consumed by her people. A ship, sent on the same errand from *St Christopher's*, was obliged to turn back, when almost upon the island, otherwise she had fallen in with the *Spanish* flota. And some of *d'Olive's* best people, whom he had intrusted in a bark to fetch some relief, paid a more immediate attention to their own safety, and thought it best never to return.

Aubert deposed governor.

Things continued in this unsettled state of misery until 1640, when *Aubert* returned from *Europe*, with a commission from the company, empowering him to act as governor of *Guadalupe* during the incapacity or absence of *d'Olive*. This gentleman had practised surgery at *St Christopher's*, and obtained a lieutenantancy, when through the mediation

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diation of *d'Enambuc*, he married the widow of *du Pleffis*, who lived at *St Christopher's*. On the death of *d'Enambuc*, *Poincy* succeeded to the government of the island, to whom *Aubert* so well recommended himself by his courage and abilities, that he sent him upon special business to *France*, where he made himself so acceptable to the company, that whatever he requested was granted. In his voyage from *Europe*, chancing to touch at *Martinico*, he met with a very kind reception from *M. du Parquet*, the governor of the island, who above all things advised him as soon as possible to make peace with the Sa-  
Resolves on a peace with the Savages.

vages, promising to be himself the mediator. This counsel concurring with his own private opinion, he determined religiously to adhere to it; and in his passage to *Guadaloupe*, falling in with some of these people off *Dominica*, he received them on board with strong demonstrations of friendship, and, after treating them with plenty of liquor, and some presents, told them he was going governor to *Guadaloupe*, where he hoped for nothing so much as to make a lasting peace with them, of which their good friend *Parquet* should be the guarantee.

As soon as he landed at *Guadaloupe*, he declared his intentions; but was astonished to find himself opposed by some incendiaries, who found their private interest in pursuing the war, though so very contrary to the public good. As he found it hardly possible singly to stem this tide of contradiction, he told the malecontents that he would take advice of *Poincy*. With this intention he paid him a visit at *St Christopher's*, where he met a kinder reception than he expected; for *Poincy*, who was lieutenant general of the islands, had before solicited the government of *Guadaloupe* for some other person.  
Supported by Poincy.

*Poincy* entirely approving of the projected peace, *Aubert* returned to *Guadaloupe*, and took every method possible to carry his point in spite of the opposition, which was very great. After he had made better dispositions than heretofore for the maintenance of the people, he took another voyage to *St Christopher's*, with some of the most considerable of his opponents. It happened that a sudden squall of wind in the night overfet their bark, by which accident 13 of the passengers went to the bottom of the sea; nor does the charitable father, to whom we owe this relation, scruple to say, that he believes they also went to the bottom of hell. Among these wretches were some who had been most troublesome to *Aubert*. He himself was saved with great difficulty, and got ashore at *St Joseph's point*, where he lodged with a poor woman who had no bread to give him.  
Narrowly escaped drowning. Charitable judgement of a liar.

*M. de Ramle*, who had loudly inveighed against his proceedings, commanding in the neighbourhood; and hearing of his disaster, forgot his enmity, and flew to his assistance and relief; which generous act laid the foundation of an inviolable friendship between the two parties. This misfortune happened in *February* 1641; and, soon after, the chiefs of the Savages, encouraged by *Parquet*, appeared off the island in a canoe, laden with ananas, tortoisés, and hogs; but were very cautious of coming ashore. However, at length, after repeated assurances that no evil was intended against them, they ventured to land. *Aubert* bid them welcome, gave them plenty of victuals and drink, particularly brandy, of which they are fond, and afterwards a solemn peace was concluded between them. From that time the Savages have continued to carry on a trade with the planters, in which they have made vast profit of the latter.  
Aubert concludes a peace with the Savages.

From this era, we may reckon, the island began to flourish; its trade and inhabitants daily increased; the land became well stocked; ships touched here from all parts, and the people abounded in wealth. Every thing here continued quiet, except that in the year 1642 nine villains, headed by one *Cane*, a very desperate fellow, having been discovered and prevented in a design they had formed of seizing on a bark, and turning pirates, betook themselves to the woods, whence, being well armed, they made daily excursions, murdering the inhabitants when they met with resistance, and carrying off every thing that was portable. The governor had in vain offered them their own terms to surrender, they were deaf to all his remonstrances, so that he was obliged to march against them in person with a few select fellows, who surpris'd them, and having killed and wounded part of the gang, the rest surrendered at discretion, and were sent to *St Christopher's* to be disposed of as *Poincy* should think proper.  
Guadaloupe begins to flourish. A gang of banditti's much mischief.

In this year *M. Houel*, one of the proprietors of the island, arrived here from *France*, being sent by the company to obtain a perfect knowledge of these new settlements, and make an impartial report. The planters had now under consideration the profits that might accrue from making sugar their principal trade, since they had hitherto been supported by tobacco, and they communicated the result of their conferences to *Houel*,  
Houel departed from the company.

who immediately saw into all its advantages, which contributed to fix him in the project he had formed of taking the island into his own hands, and supplanting *Aubert*, whose care and abilities, he ought to have remembered, had been the cause of its present flourishing state, and settled tranquillity. *Huel* returned to *France* laden with kindness, and so fortunate in his voyage that he came back the following year invellied with the government: An event unexpected, and not much resented by the people, who imagined a great wrong done to *Aubert*; and that officer, who could not be insensible of the injury, complained of it in very sharp terms.

*Huel* landed at *Fort Royal* in *September*, 1643, where he found the house just as *d'Olive* had left it, in a very ruinous condition, and the garden, which had been laid waste by the hurricane, quite desolate; which occasioned, in some measure, a scarcity among his retinue. His arrival and authority were soon proclaimed both in *Basse Terre*, and *Cahesferre*, he received the compliments of the people on the occasion, and, among others, of *Aubert*, with what sincerity the reader will easily judge. When he had settled every thing so as to secure his authority on a firm foundation, he paid a visit to *Poincy*, the king's lieutenant general of the *Caribbees* at *St Christopher's*, where, besides some small breaches of politeness, he refused to take the oaths usually administered by that officer to new governors, alleging that his rank and quality as a member of the company, as well as the king's edict in his favour, ought to exempt him from this ceremony. He afterwards, according to his own account, offered to comply, but *Poincy* refused him, imagining himself sufficiently powerful to force him to his duty. This trifling dispute occasioned many subsequent quarrels, and much confusion in the colony.

*Huel*, on his return to *Guadaloupe*, finding himself but ill stocked with necessaries and provisions, purchased *Aubert's* plantation and estate for 15000wt of tobacco; and it was remarked that, after this, he always behaved to that gentleman with a coldness differing very little from contempt. Full of smothered resentment, *Aubert* asked and obtained leave to retire to *St Christopher's*, under pretence of visiting his wife, who was there in a very bad state of health.

In about a month after his departure *Huel* told his officers that *Aubert*, as he was informed, had spread a report among the Savages, that *Huel* was come from *France* with a design to renew the war, to take from them *Dominica*, and cut all their throats. This intelligence he communicated to *Poincy* at *St Christopher's*, pressing him not to permit *Aubert* to return to *Guadaloupe*, since he should then be obliged to imprison him, which he would willingly avoid, as not yet ascertained of his infidelity. Some time after he pretended that the report was confirmed to him for a truth, and arrested a supposed accomplice named *au Rêve*, whom he kept above two months in a loathsome dungeon, hardly large enough to hold him at full length, ladden with chains; at the end of which time, the fellow, in hopes of liberty and life, desired to be examined, and declared before the council that all that had been alledged against *Aubert* was true to his knowledge.

This confession *Huel* immediately dispatched to *Poincy*, by the superior of the mission (who had also the care of conducting *Aubert's* son to *St Christopher's*) the *Seur Marquet*, and another gentleman. *Huel* desired the good father to assure the lieutenant general that all he desired was that *Aubert* should be ordered to dispose of every thing of which he stood possessed at *Guadaloupe*, and never to return thither; in which case he should take no more notice of this important affair, nor the contriver of it. The superior delivered his commission according to order; but how was he astonished to find *Marquet* charged with a letter to *Poincy* of a quite contrary nature! For *Huel* in that epistle loudly demanded justice against *Aubert*, and intimated that he had already given orders to *Rome* to seize on all his arms, ammunition, &c.

*Poincy* could not but see a cunning design of the most malicious nature couched under this double dealing; he therefore sent orders that *Rêve* should be sent over to him, that he might be confronted with *Aubert*. But *Huel*, rather than comply with these orders, chose to embark with him for *France*, where he had interest enough to procure the prisoner to be condemned to the galleys for life. *Poincy* did not fail to transmit an account of his affront, and disobedience to the company, with several other just complaints exhibited against him, and his remarks on them were far from being favourable. *Huel*, however, by superiority of birth, character, money, and relations,

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Refractory to  
*Poincy*.

*Aubert* retires  
to *St Christo-  
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a false post.

*Huel's* strat-  
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got the better of *Abert*, who could not boast much of his family, and also of *Poincy's* Carries his cause against *Abert*. remonstrances. *Poincy* at the same time took occasion to transmit also a request, desiring leave to resign his posts in *America* to his nephew, *M. de Louvilliers du Poincy*, and it was granted. As for *Abert*, he was condemned to lose his head for not attending the cause in court, from which he was intimidated by *Huel's* interest; however, he evaded the sentence by returning to *America*, where he soon after died who dies of grief. of grief.

*Poincy*, fearing that in the governor's absence *Guadaloupe* might either fall a prey to foreigners, or be torn in pieces by intestine divisions, the inferior officers looking with an evil eye upon *Marivet*, whom *Huel* had invested with authority, appointed *Leumont*, the company's intendant, to supersede him, and for that purpose sent him to *Guadaloupe*. But *Marivet* and most of the people not only refused to acknowledge Poincy's substitute rejected by the people of *Guadaloupe*. him, but also put him on board a ship by force, because he had stayed upon the island longer than they thought fit to allow, and sent him back to *St Christopher's*.

Not long after a conspiracy was formed against *Marivet*, occasioned by a dispute between two women, one of whom was displeas'd with his conduct; for one morning about six o'clock, having walked out in an undress, and not under the least apprehensions of danger, he was on a sudden surrounded by 150 men, one of whom, a lieutenant, threatened to shoot him if he resisted. No sooner was he seized than one *Marivet's* lieutenant, seized and imprisoned. *Mathurin*, a fellow whom *Huel* had advanced from a baker to be his treasurer, appeared with a naked sword in his hand, swearing like a madman; and he would certainly have killed him on the spot, had he not been prevented. This man had been appointed second in command, and was a favourite of one of the women offended; however, he gratified his fury in a great measure, and with his own hands loaded *Marivet* with irons, and lodged him in prison; nor did he fail to make some people, who remonstrated to him upon that head, feel the weight of his arm. A conduct so very violent would certainly have proved the absolute destruction of him and all his cabal, but that *Huel's* return was hourly expected on the island. *Marivet* lay eight months in prison, loaded with irons, and wasting away in misery and hunger, while *Mathurin* squandered the public money in regaling his favourite associates. The inhabitants and officers, on the other hand, dispatched complaints of their unhappy state to *France*, while in the mean time the raising of tobacco was at a stand, public business interrupted, and, in short, nothing but anarchy reigned in the island.

*M. Tissey* was about this time appointed lieutenant general of the islands, in the room of *Poincy*, who was on ill terms with many of his officers, whose dissatisfaction prompted them to transmit continual complaints against him to the company. When *Poincy* received the first news of his discharge, he thought it best to acquiesce, and dispatched a letter to the company signifying as much, dated on the very same day on which *Tissey*, in *France*, had refused the charge without some such instrument. However, he did not long adhere to this declaration, but, encouraged by several persons, who refused to surrender his charge. either interested or discontented, when the time of cession approached, he prepared to maintain himself in his post by force, alledging that he had been at considerable charges in repairing the castle, building forts, erecting large magazines, and on other accounts, and therefore he would by no means surrender the island till he was reimbursed. As and strengthens his interest. he was resolved rather to die than to submit, he strengthened his interest as much as possible; and, to this end he secured to himself entirely *M. Giraud*, a man of spirit, who exercised the office of judge, and first captain, or commanding officer, on the island, and was moreover richer both in friends and money than any other person at *St Christopher's*. This gentleman married the daughter of his nephew, *M. de Poincy*, governor of *Guadaloupe*. *Abert*, who was not as yet dead, was every way attached to him upon principles of gratitude, friendship and interest, and engaged to his party several officers, and some of the first inhabitants of the island, who solemnly leagu'd to defend *Poincy* at the expence of their lives. He also advanced several of his domestics to posts of considerable profit, after he was well assured that they would spill the last drop of their blood in his service.

In short, he might have thought himself perfectly secure, had he been joined by *M. de Sabailly*, major general of the islands, for then he would have been without opponents. But here he found it impossible to gain his point; for when *M. Giraud* waited on *Sabailly* with proposals from *Poincy*, his answer was, "that he was *Poincy* fails to engage *Sabailly*. the

"the King's servant, and disdained to do any thing that might appear to him inconsistent with his fidelity to his royal master." This open, honest declaration so provoked the lieutenant general, that he ordered him to quit the island in twenty four hours, as he regarded his life. *Sabouilly* coolly replied to the person who brought him this order, "that as long as he proved faithful to his sovereign, he thought himself in no more danger of his life than *Poincy*." However, this gentleman sometime after, finding that there was a scheme laid to take him off by assassination, prudently retired to *St Eustatia*, while the governor cleared *St Christopher's* of all others who openly opposed him, among whom the intendant and Messieurs *Maricet*, with the commissary general, withdrew to *Guadaloupe*.

In the mean time *Poincy* lived at a great rate, making grand entertainments for his partisans, who secretly caused it to be reported, that the destination of *Thoisly* was to increase the burthens of the people. Thus they did their best to prepare for him a most ungracious reception; so that when he arrived there, the inhabitants, in spite of the authority with which he was invested, would not permit him to land; nor would the *English*, who were in league with *Poincy*, allow him to come on shore on their quarter of the island, whence he was forced to retire to *Guadaloupe*. Soon after this affair, M. *Parquet*, governor of *Martinico*, at the head of a strong armament, made a descent upon *St Christopher's*, to secure it for the general. But he was defeated, and, after he had first secured two of *Poincy's* nephews, took refuge with some of his people in the woods, and from thence, finding means to withdraw to the *English* quarters, he put himself under the protection of their general, by whom he was surrendered prisoner to the malecontents.

New governor general rejected.

Governor of *Martinico* assists him in vain.

*Huel* arrives at *Guadaloupe*.

*Mathurin* insults *Maricet* in prison.

*Huel* sets *Maricet* at liberty.

His exhortation to conduct unacceptable.

Receives *Thoisly* with honour.

*Thoisly's* partisans abused.

Advertises of two captains.

Antecedent to these transactions M. *Huel* arrived in the road of *Guadaloupe*; and, before he came ashore, *Mathurin*, with a musket on his shoulder, two pistols stuck in his girdle, and a sword by his side, entered the prison in which he kept *Maricet* still confined; and though this unhappy man's condition was truly mournful, he plucked him by the beard, which was very long, and swore in very bitter blasphemous terms, that if he thought himself liable to censure on account of past affairs, he would that moment cut him to pieces. And he would have actually done it, had he not been prevented by some of the attendants.

*Huel*, now arrived at his house, ordered his lieutenant *Maricet* to be set at liberty; and, though he received him with great coldness, admitted him to his table, and allowed him to take place next himself in quality of judge. The next day he summoned together all his officers, and assured them that he was truly sorry for all the various disorders that had happened in his absence; but as these things had fallen out among themselves, and all were perhaps in some measure blameable, he exhorted them to forget what was past, and endeavour to live for the time to come more amicably. This speech was as unexpected as unwelcome, especially to an assembly which had seen many of its members abused in their persons, honours, and fortunes. Nor did they scruple to hint that such conduct looked as if the ill treatment they had suffered was consonant to some private instructions left with *Mathurin* and his partisans by *Huel*; and more especially, as it was publickly known that the *European* company had positively given him orders to punish the seditious, there was still greater room for suspicion.

*Thoisly*, who had been absolutely rejected at *St Christopher's*, was, as we before observed, now returned to *Guadaloupe*, where *Huel* received him with all the honours due to his rank, and even encouraged him to make another attempt at suppressing the insurrection of *Poincy*, furnishing him for that purpose with two stout ships, and 300 armed men. But the endeavours of the general were all in vain, he could not even procure the enlargement of the governor of *Martinico*, but came back to *Guadaloupe* with his followers without effecting any thing to the purpose. In the mean time all persons who were supposed to interest themselves in *Thoisly's* favour, were treated with most tyrannical insolence, from sharing in which not even the veneration due to the sacred habit could preserve the poor missionaries; and the reverend father, to whose industry we owe this account, tells us, that he was not only beaten, but even thrust out of doors, and spurned in the dirt, for endeavouring to preach up obedience to the royal authority, and to quell the seditious.

No case was perhaps harder than that of the captains *Fontaine* and *Camo*, two officers who had been remarkably zealous in the general's interest, and who, upon finding the cause irreparably lost, retired to the woods, where they were reduced to suffer the most

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cruel severing them water lay hid to disable slaves, cut flicted with *la Fontaine* the beach reached his purpose. honest *Fl* though 10 that of his *taine*, unless the unrea plunge into thus bent, helpless C board. N *St Eustatia* landed his with their sum of m divine pro hazarded t while thus remaining

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cruel severities of thirst and hunger. One of their negroes, who was tracked in carrying them victuals, was almost whipped to death to make him confess where his master lay hid; no artifice, persuasion, threat, or cruelty availing, they cut off all his toes to disable him from walking. These two unhappy soldiers, deprived of their faithful slaves, cut off from subsistence, and left without even hope, one of them moreover afflicted with a dropsy, determined to make to the seaside in the middle of the night, and *la Fontaine* undertook to swim to the first ship, and implore succour. They reached the beach in safety, and, a vessel lying at anchor within sight, *Fontaine* plunged, and soon reached her, and was hauled on board by means of a rope hung out to him for that purpose. But how was he agreeably surpris'd to find in the person of the captain an honest *Fleming*, who was his intimate friend, and who assured him of protection, though 10,000 wt of tobacco was bid by *Poincy* for his head, and as much more for that of his companion. This generous offer of the captain was nobly refused by *Fontaine*, unless his friend was also included. And the Captain beginning to expostulate on the unreasonableness of running this double danger, *Fontaine* resolutely prepared to plunge into the deep, and share the fate of his now forlorn companion. Seeing him thus bent, the honest skipper ordered out his boat, and rowing ashore took up the helpless *Camo*, whose disease augmented his other misfortunes, and brought him on board. Next day, going to the governor, he made some pretence of urgent business at *St Eustatia*, and in a few hours after weigh'd anchor for that island, where he safely landed his freight, who soon found their way to *France*, and were received, together with their complaints, at court, and gratified for the present each with a considerable sum of money. What crowns the whole, and still more signally marks the hand of divine providence in the conduct of this affair, is, that, though the *Fleming* by this step hazarded the losing considerable effects, which he had left behind him at *St Christopher's* while thus laudably employed, he found nothing diminished; the affair, very probably, remaining a secret to *Poincy*, who, in that case, would certainly not have spared him.

*Houel* now finding *Tobij's* affairs desperate, grew extremely uneasy at his residence, it being apparent that unless some steps were taken by way of prevention, and that speedily, he might, from his superior importance, as general of the islands, engross all authority and honours; and that not only the natives and planters, but aliens might be seduced by his affable temper, to regard himself merely as a cypher, and transfer their veneration to his guest. Wherefore he took so many steps to make him dissatisfied, without seeming to concern himself at it, that the general found himself under a necessity of embarking on board a ship, which he had purchased, to secure himself from a design actually set on foot by *Houel* to take him off by unfair means, and retiring to *Martinico*. Not agreeing with the people of this island, they seized upon his person, and delivered him up to *Poincy* in exchange for their governor *Parquet*, who was in great esteem among them; and after many hardships, and much inquietude, he was put on board a vessel, with orders to conduct him to *France*. It happened very remarkably on this occasion that, as soon as he had entered the ship, a large bird came flying about, and perched upon his extended hand. He was not superstitious, yet he looked upon this as a good omen, tho' at the same time his affairs had a most unpromising appearance, for his enemies had left him but two shirts, and a great cloak, to protect him from the cold in his passage, the fatigue and inconveniences of which were partly alleviated by the conversation of two officers, his old acquaintance, whom he found on board. He had also persuaded the master that his business to *France* was to procure the removal of *Houel*; in which he was supported by the interest of *Poincy*, with whom he was, in reality, upon very good terms, though the necessity of the times obliged them to seem outwardly at variance. After enduring a violent storm, which lasted two days, and an engagement with three *Spanish* ships, which were forced to their off by the general, who was complimented with the command of the action, they arriv'd safely at *St Maloes*.

As soon as he came ashore he commenced a suit against *Poincy* and his accomplices, which lasted six years, at the end of which time he recovered 90,000 livres from *Poincy*, who was afterwards his friendly correspondent, and making his peace at court, through the interest of the order of *St Maloes*, was left in quiet possession of a command, for which he had struggled hard. *Houel* was also shortly ordered by arbitration to pay to the general 61,715 wt of tobacco, to which decree he submitted.

Friendship  
worthy of  
antiquity.

A remarkable  
circumstance.

*Houel's* jealous  
of *Tobij's*.

*Tobij's*  
forced to quit  
the island.

He retires  
to *Martinico*.  
Is con-  
ducted to  
*France*.

A remarkable  
omen.

His arrival.  
Gets the bet-  
ter of his ad-  
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## A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

Avarice and ambition were *Houel's* predominant passions; stimulated by the first of these he omitted no opportunity of increasing his wealth by purchasing such plantations as lay near to his estate, and often forcing the owners to part with them upon very disadvantageous terms, not even sparing his own family, but harassing, on this account, his own sister's husband, so that the poor man died of grief. He aspired besides at entirely keeping the government of the island in his own hands, and whoever acquired the love of the people, or secured to themselves any interest more than common among them, were certain not only to incur his hatred, but to find him an adversary on all occasions.

Remarkable  
check to his  
injustice.

It would be tedious, and afford but little entertainment to the reader, to take up time with an account of his various litigations, and his voyages, by them occasioned, backward and forward to *France*. Let it suffice to observe that his brother, the chevalier *du Houel*, who was mild, prudent, valiant, and esteemed in the island, took the part of his nephew, on whose possessions the governor had unjustly seized, by pretending to sell them on his account by auction, and had proceeded so far as to banish both these gentlemen out of the island. But they returned at an unexpected time with a reinforcement, and making good their footing, *Boisferet*, the nephew, was, in spite of all opposition, reinstated by the chevalier in possession of his effects; and peace was at length restored to the family, and, we may say, to the island, which shared in their confusions, by a friendly arbitration; but this, however, the old man was but little disposed to observe. Nor were these disorders quite ended until the arrival of lieutenant general *Tracy*, who, with the appointment of governor general of the *French* possessions on both the continent and islands, brought also with him a force sufficient to support his authority, and render him respectable.

*Tracy* governor  
general.

Those intestine broils were not solely the growth of *Guadaloupe*, they reigned equally in *Martinico*, and in the other islands; and the king of *France* was thereby influenced to divest *Houel*, and all other private proprietors, of their possessions in *America*, rendering for them valuable considerations. And indeed there seemed to be no other way of establishing public peace in those parts, nor of preserving the regal authority. This expedient was proposed by the great *Colbert*, to whom *Louis XIV.* owed the most shining glories of his reign, and the commerce of *France* the many advantages that have enriched her. It was he that formed the *West India* company upon a very respectable footing, immediately under the royal eye; and from them *Tracy* received that commission by the assistance of which he restored peace to the *French* settlements in *America*, relieved them from petty tyranny, and private malice, and made their condition flourishing. Hence *Houel*, when he imagined himself most secure, possessed of immense wealth, and of power almost equal to that of a sovereign, found himself unexpectedly deplumed of all his hopes, reduced to the state of a private gentleman, not indeed without a considerable fortune, and obliged to return to *France*, where, instead of power to complain, or ability to appeal, he was glad to find no notice taken of the many charges that had been justly advanced against him, and for which, at another time, he would have suffered a most exemplary punishment with great justice.

The property of the  
island purchas-  
ed by the  
king.

*Houel* re-  
turns to  
*France*.

Having thus arrived at an era in which *Guadaloupe* sustained a total change in her government, it is necessary to observe that she was no longer liable to dissensions, stirred up by animosity, prejudice, or party, but subjected almost immediately to royal inspection; that she became rich in improvements, flourishing in commerce, and stocked with inhabitants. She makes too great a figure to escape an enemy in time of war; and as we have already related the attack made upon her, in the year 1691, by the *English* and its success, it remains for us to take particular notice of another invasion from the same quarter in 1703, the progress of which was very different.

Government  
of *Guadaloupe*  
changed for  
the better.

Designs of  
the *English*  
regard it.

On the 6th of *March*, advice being received at *Basse-Terre*, that a considerable number of shipping were assembled at *Marigalante*, two small vessels were immediately dispatched to reconnoitre, and they were brought word that it was a strong *English* fleet, in consequence of which the governor took the speediest measures of defence, in case of an invasion. The inhabitants were summoned to the *Basse-Terre*, and arms distributed to all who were able to bear them. They were also strengthened with a reinforcement of 60 men from *Los Santos*. The inhabitants of *Grande-Terre* at first murmured against obeying the governor's order for assembling at the *Basse-Terre*, urging, that perhaps the enemy might intend the visit for them: But when it was represented to them, that this could never be the case in their quarter, where was no water but what was collected in cisterns and ponds, and might be easily destroyed, and consequently an enemy's

enemy's arm  
tination.

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enemy's army might perish for thirst, they marched cheerfully to their place of destination.

The fort was provided with ammunition and provision sufficient to serve 300 men for six months; having besides about 20 bombs, and upwards of 300 hand-grenades, ready to hurl upon the enemy in case of an attack. And lest they should cut off the supply of water, or that it should be spoiled by any accident, a cistern was sunk in the deepest cellar, which, together with several casks well stopped, was filled with sweet water. A small secret passage was also made down to the river *Gallion*, which might serve for a retreat, in case the enemy should carry the fort, as well as to procure water in an extremity.

Measures of defence.

The governor of *Guadeloupe*, at this time, was *M. Auger*, son of an officer at *Guadeloupe*. His youth had been spent in the service of the order of *Malta*, and he had acquired reputation in their galleys against the *Turks*. Returning with his mother to the *Antilles*, he was taken by the *Sallee* rovers, but carefully concealing his rank and wealth, after some time obtained his liberty for 5 or 6000 crowns. He was now in his 58th year, of a warm, unruly, inexorable temper, but very sober, a warm friend, and an unforgiving foe.

*M. Auger* governor.

His character

*M. Mahnaïso*, his lieutenant, was brave, choleric, and liberal; he had served with honour in the *French* infantry, but had been forced to fly on account of a duel; and the officers that served under both had hitherto always proved themselves men of courage.

Character of his lieutenant.

March 18, the *English* fleet, consisting of eight sail of the line, viz. 1 of 90, 2 of 80, 1 of 76, 4 of 60, and a frigate of 24 guns, set sail from *Marigalante* before day; at eight in the morning they were abreast of *Los Santos*, and sent two shallops to land some men upon the *Terre de Bas*, but here they found such a warm reception as obliged them to steer off. Having doubled *Old Fort Point*, they made some feints at landing, while the fire from the different batteries killed many of their men. On the 20th they gave every indication possible of landing at *Boat's Creek*, their men being all in their boats, but finding the governor commanded the place from the eminence they desisted for that day. About three in the morning of the 20th they landed about 500 men in *Goyave* creek, and, finding no resistance, fell directly to pillage the houses that lay first in their way. This being seen by an officer and ten men, who occupied the height whereon stood the curate's house, he divided his men into five parties of two each, and, taking sure aim from behind trees, killed several of the enemy, who were about to climb the place. This did not, however, hinder them from reaching the house, to which they set fire, and then returned by the way they came, while the officer just now mentioned, with his men, took them in flank as they passed thro' an orange walk, killing four, and putting the rest in confusion. Thus he escaped an ambuscade of twenty men, which had been posted for him near the fire, in hopes he would have approached to put it out, seeing the enemy drawn off to all appearance. After having burned down the church, the guard, and all the houses which fell in their way, they re-embarked in the night. On the 21st, the frigate ran ashore, and she was not got off till next day, having lost her cables; which they were forced to cut, and 37 men by the fire from land. In the evening they attempted to fix a footing at *Habitants Creek*, but were briskly repulsed.

Enemy in sight.

Attempt *Los Santos* unsuccessful.

Land a body of men.

Hurried in their progress

The governor, about eight o'clock, was apprised by a *Negro*, who swam ashore from the *English* admiral's ship, that a descent would be infallibly made the ensuing day, at one and the same time, at *Ance des gros François*, *Ance de Vadelorge*, and *Ance des Habitans*. His warning was fulfilled; they landed in all the places he had pointed out, in spite of a furious resistance, and at length carried the *Ance du François*, where *Labat* falling in among them by mistake, was near being taken prisoner, and had a very narrow escape. This post was extremely difficult, and had it been well defended, every man of the assailants must have perished before they took it. But they charged with that boldness and impetuosity, for which *Briceux* have been always renown'd, that their colours were now planted upon *St Dominic's* battery, for they were in possession of the church, the convent, the sugarworks, &c. belonging to the order; and it was for fear of incurring their censure that *Labat* desisted from burning the latter, which he might have done, and rendered it thereby useless to the enemy; they however did not forget to do it for him before they quitted the island. Here three prisoners were taken plundering the convent, and one of them, a *French* refugee, was put in chains. The governor now determined to draw off his troops from the town of *St Francis*, and the river *St Louis*, to make a principal stand at the river *Gallion*,

*English* land all their forces in three different places.

Take a post of importance

an almost impregnable situation, until the arrival of succour from *Martinico*. He was confirmed in this procedure from his scarcity of officers, and the superiority of the *English*, which daily abated by the siam fever, and some other diseases which had crept in among the troops.

On the 24th the enemy advanced and took possession of the town in good order, expecting to have found resistance; but the *French* had retired before they came, and set fire to some sugar-canes above the *Billau*, which caused the enemy to halt some time, fearing a surprise, or an ambuscade. *April* the first, they were worsted in a smart engagement with *M. le Fevre*, in which they had thirty seven men killed, twenty wounded, and four made prisoners. *April* the third a reinforcement of 820 men arrived at *St Mary's* on the *Cabesierre*, from *Martinico*, 100 of which being left there to protect the shipping, the rest marched to join *M. Auger*, which they happily effected the same day. They were commanded by *M. de Gabaret*, lieutenant general of the isles, and governor of *Martinico*, an unwieldy, infirm man, upwards of 60, and not in the least fit for such a charge. Part of these succours were destined to reinforce the garrison in the fort; the rest were distributed among the entrenchments on the river *Gallion* in the neighbourhood. The old gentleman imagined that his name was equal to a legion, and that the *English* at hearing of it would take to their heels. But he was mistaken; for, tho' his arrival was notified to them by two trumpets, it was disregarded, and his parade of drums, fifes, and martial music in their sight, produced no other effect upon them, than seeming to give them fresh vigour, for their cannon were never better managed than on this day.

On the 5th an attack upon the *English* battery was agreed upon, but postponed thro' a mistake of the new lieutenant general; chance however brought on an engagement of some consequence the following day. *M. Le Fevre*, having made a folly for intelligence, fell in with a body of 500 of the enemy before he was aware; the match being very unequal, he having but two companies, *Le Fevre* retreated to the *Esperance*, where he had the river *Gallion* on his left, a difficult rivulet on his right, and a stone wall in his front; here he made a halt, and waited for succour, secure from being surrounded. He was soon joined by forces from several quarters, and returned to the charge with success, pushing the enemy in his turn, and they again forcing him to retreat when they were re-inforced. Victory remained sometime doubtful, but at length declared in favour of the *French*, who were left masters of the field, tho' the *English* rallied in sight.

Had *Gabaret* pursued this advantage, as he was advised, they had been dispossessed of their battery and totally routed; but he neglected it thro' obstinacy, disdain any advice but his own. *Le Fevre*, who was an officer of worth, fell in this action. On the 7th there was a battle of a more bloody and important nature, in which the *English* were repulsed with the loss of near 300 men. However this check did not deprive them of the smallest grain of spirit; they continued to fire upon the fort from different batteries, and carried on their approaches to such good purposes, that *Gabaret* thought it advisable to abandon the place. But all his arguments could not persuade any body that he was right, and this motion was carried against him unanimously, which put him into a violent passion. Yet he resumed the subject a few days after in a council of war, and defended his opinion with most ridiculous arguments. He was opposed by *Pere Labat*, who argued with firmness, reason, and knowledge; the superiority of which to his own talents raised both his blood and his envy. Nevertheless, on the 14th, he carried his point, by mere dint of authority, and the fort was evacuated, mines being laid under it ready for springing, but so injudiciously that one of them failed, and the other was far from doing the intended execution. If *M. Auger* did not oppose a proceeding, so contrary to common sense, with all his might, it was because he was grown cool about the interest of the island, being translated to the government of *St Domingo*, and he moreover enjoyed the absurdities of a man, whose abilities he held, not without cause, in utter contempt. *M. de Malmaison*, who commanded in the fort, with all his officers, protested against his conduct; but he was inflexible.

The troops retired to a pass between the rivers *Gallion* and *Sence*, which was naturally very strong, and was rendered by the labour of the soldiery still more defensible. But they were also ordered to abandon that post without any seeming reason, except that it was the lieutenant general's will, and all the houses round were by the same rule set on fire.

It was here that *M. de Bois-ferme*, governor of *Marigalante*, whom *Gabaret* had brought with him, signalised himself prodigiously. He scattered flames about like the

Succours arrive from *Martinico*.

A skirmish.

Ends in favour of the islanders.

Error of the new commander.

Death of *Le Fevre*.

A more bloody encounter.

*Gabaret* declares for abandoning the fort.

Opposed.

Fort abandoned.

Officers protest against his proceedings.

The troops retire from the fort.

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genius of destruction, so that heaps of manufactures removed hither to secure them, large quantities of corn, salt meat, powder, matches, ball, ammunition, and implements of war were quickly consumed. The *English* entered the fort soon after it was evacuated, and openly declared it was a measure that astonished them, for to such a condition were they reduced by sickness and the chance of war, that they intended to have dismounted their cannon, levelled their batteries, and reembarked the night before, had not two deserters apprised them that this extraordinary motion was on the tapis. The *French* troops were now posted at the head of the river *Gallion*, about the passage de *Madame*.

*English* take possession of the fort.

On the 27th the general was advised by some deserters that 1000 men had been dispatched in the night on board 25 shallops, and some armed barks convoyed by the, *Antigua* frigate, to attack the *Trois Rivières*, a pass of the last consequence, as it kept open a communication with *Martinico*, *Cabellerre*, and *Grande-terre*, from whence they now drew most of their subsistence. *M. de Malmaison* commanded here with only 26 men, but a strong body marched to reinforce him the moment the news arrived. The *English* soon appeared, but, the sea running high, and perceiving that the commander had drawn up his troops in regular order to receive them, they thought it best to retire, after having paraded it for some time out of musket shot. They landed however at the old fort, nailed up two pieces of cannon, burned a chapel, and two or three houses, and then fell into an ambuscade, by which they had several men killed and wounded, besides a company that perished by one of their vessels being dashed to pieces.

Fail to attack *Trois Rivières*.

In the mean time the lieutenant general, fearing that he should be cut off from a retreat by the loss of this important post, for despair was his constant guest, ordered all the forces he had brought with him to follow to *St Mary's*, which none, two companies of marines excepted, chose to do, judging that affairs were not yet so desperate as to be totally abandoned: Time convinced him of this truth, he returned to the camp, derided by every one, and scoffed at as he passed, even by the women.

Dissensions in an army are equal to double the force against it; those that reigned here would have occasioned the loss of the whole island, had the *English* acted with unanimity, but there was a difference between the sea and land officers, that barred all success. The former was commodore *Hovenden Walker*, the latter colonel *Codrington*; son to the general, who had before made an attempt on this island to no purpose. On the 3d an *Irish* deserter arrived at the camp, and assured the lieutenant general that colonel *Codrington* being himself very ill, a dysentery reigning among his troops, and provisions running short, had resolved to re-embark in a few days.

Compelled by dissensions and tickles to re-embark.

This seemed to be his intention on the 15th of *May*, when at night all the houses about the town and fort appeared in a blaze. It was now agreed to attack them in their embarkation, and the troops were marched for that purpose to advantageous posts in the night, where they waited till daybreak under arms, and then had the mortification to find that *M. Gabaret*, true to his former absurdities, had changed his design, and laid aside this proceeding for the present. The next day, being the 18th, the enemy was all embarked, and their fleet under sail before sun rise, after a stay of 56 days upon the island, during which they had lost a great number of men, as appeared from the attestation of an *Irish* serjeant who deserted.

Without any attack from the *French*.

The *French*, according to their own accounts, which carry with them all possible marks of apocrypha, had, in all that time, and their various encounters, only 27 men killed, and about 50 wounded. The serjeant, of whom we have just spoken, had waited in a grotto near the *Gallion*, together with his wife, two days, expecting the fleet to weigh anchor. The first that appeared of the two was the woman, who, having obtained an assurance of her husband's liberty, produced him. He said it was reported they had lost near 1000 men, among whom were three colonels, two captains of ships, a major, and 27 subalterns. The *English* left behind them 76 deserters, and 35 prisoners, with five pieces of iron cannon. They had burned and destroyed four parish churches, 20 sugarworks, several chapels of ease, and small habitations, the towns of *Habitans*, *Bailiff*, *St Francis*, and *Basse Terre*, the convents of Capuchins, Carmelites, Dominicans, Begging Friars, and the house of the Jesuits.

Loss on each side, according to the *French* accounts.

Some circumstances attended this expedition, on the part of the *English* which were extremely unlucky, and reflect not a little upon the conduct of those who were then at the helm. In the first place, when Sir *Hovenden Walker*, who commanded here by sea, arrived, he found the land forces without powder, which he

*English* land forces unprovided.

## A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

obliged to furnish from the fleet. They had neither mortars, bombs, pickaxes, spades, nor any thing proper to carry on a siege, nay, out of a thousand flints, not fifty were fit for muskets. This surely could never be the fault of the commanders of the sea nor land forces; but rather of those who sent them out. Their retreat was judicious on account of the *French* forces raised to oppose them; besides Colonel *Codrington* fell sick, as did also the next chief commander; one was carried to *Antigua*, the other to *Nevis*, and moreover there subsisted disputes between the land and sea officers, much to their discredit, and which will for ever destroy any enterprise.

Attack and  
conquest of  
the island in  
1759.

There were no farther attempts made upon this island till the present war, in which an entire conquest has been made of it by *England*, under the direction of the wisest administration that ever did honour to a nation. In *November*, 1758, a formidable fleet of men of war and transports, commanded by commodore *Moore*, with the generals *Hopson*, *Haldane* (governor of *Jamaica*), and major general *Parrrington* left *Portsmouth*, and, after stopping to refresh at *Madira* and *Barbadoes*, proceeded to *Martinico* in *January* 1759. On the 15th they arrived off *Port Royal* in that island, when, after a fruitless attempt upon the place, and delaying some time before *Port St Pierre*, a particular account of which is inserted in its proper place, they continued their rout, and appeared off *Guadaloupe* on the 22d. Though the town of *Basse-Terre*, which is the metropolis of the said island of *Guadaloupe*, was very formidably fortified to the sea, and the fort was thought by the chief engineer, on reconnoitring it, to be impregnable to the ships, yet, on the 23d, commodore *Moore* made a disposition to attack it with the ships under his command, which was prosecuted with the utmost vigour and resolution; and, after a most severe cannonading, which continued from between nine and ten in the morning till night, all the batteries and the fort were silenced by the ships. It was intended to land the troops the same evening; but it being dark before they were ready, they did not land till the next day, when commodore *Moore* put the land forces in possession of the said town and fort, without their being annoyed by even one of the enemy; the governor, principal inhabitants, and armed negroes, having retired into the mountains. The bombs, which had been ordered to play on the town, having set it on fire, occasioned, from the quantity of rum and fugar, which was in it, great destruction of houses, with goods and treasure to a very great value.

It would be doing injustice to the forces employed on this service, if we did not observe that to a man they behaved with the most undaunted bravery; and that the reduction of the town was in great measure owing to the perseverance and personal conduct of the sea officers in particular and the people under their command.

*List of the Ships, which attacked the Island of Guadaloupe, the 23d of Jan. 1759.*

	Guns	Captains		Guns	Captains
<i>Lyon</i>	of 60	<i>William Trelawney</i>		<i>Panther</i>	of 60 <i>Malineux Skulldam</i>
<i>Cambridge</i>	80	<i>Thomas Burnett</i>		<i>Burford</i>	70 <i>James Gambier</i>
<i>Norfolk</i>	74	<i>Robert Hughes</i>		<i>Berwick</i>	64 <i>William Harman</i>
<i>St George</i>	90	<i>Clark Gayton</i>		<i>Rippen</i>	60 <i>Edward Jekyll</i>
				<i>Bristol</i>	50 <i>Lacklin Leslie, came</i>

in from sea after the ships had been engaged some time, and went to the assistance of the *Rippen*, which was in distress.

*List of Officers and Men killed and wounded under the Command of Maj. Gen. Hopson.*

Maj. Gen. <i>Duroure's</i> Reg.	} Capt. <i>James Dalnaoy</i> , killed
	} Capt. <i>Colin Campbell</i> , wounded
Col. <i>Watson's</i>	Lieut. <i>James Hart</i> , ditto
Highlanders	Lieut. <i>George Leslie</i> , ditto
Artillery	Capt. <i>Peter Innis</i> , ditto
Total killed at <i>Guadaloupe</i>	17, wounded 30

One lucky shell from on board one of the ships blew up the *French* magazine, and a carcass properly directed, set the town in a flame, which continued all night. The day



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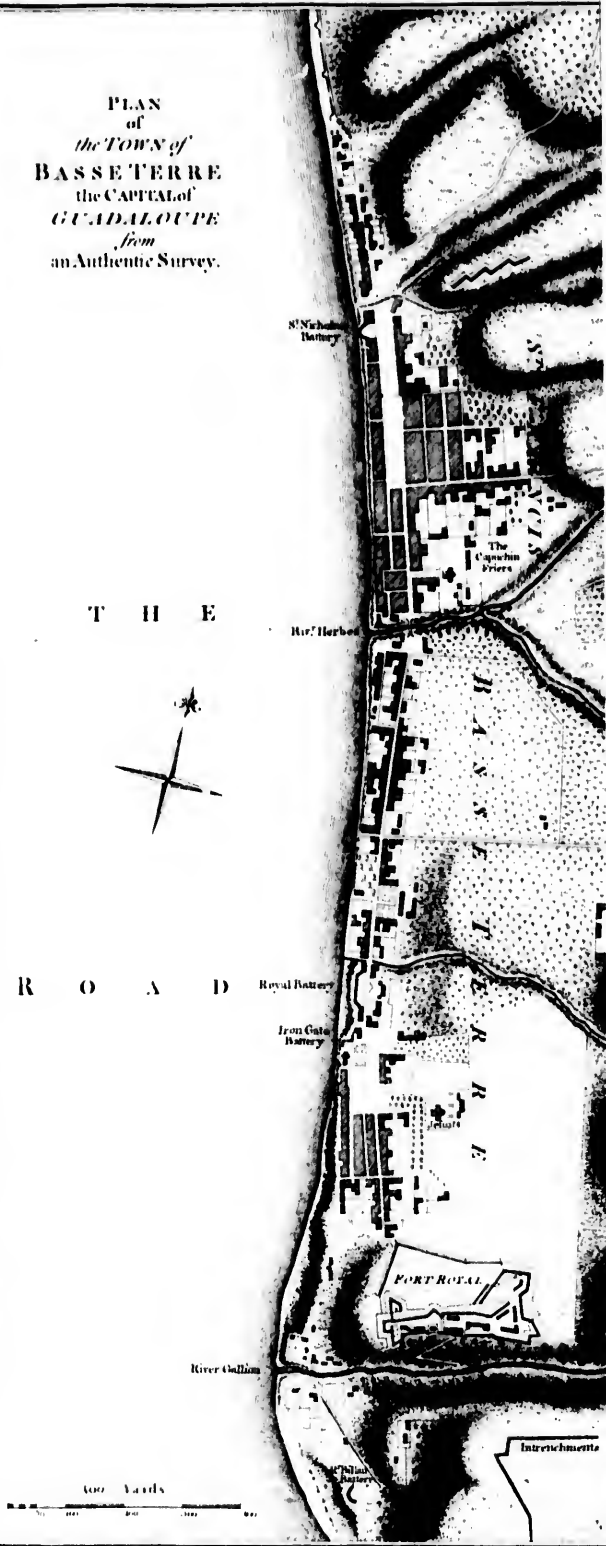
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**BASSE TERRE**  
the CAPITAL of  
**GUADALOUPE**  
*from*  
an Authentic Survey.

T H E



R O A D



Published by Tho: Cadogan, engraver to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, near Chancery Lane, London.

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day following the forces landed and took possession of the fort, which the *French* quitted after having made a gallant defence, and lost, besides several other officers, their fort major, and engineer general. The governor, with the remainder of the troops, then retired to the mountains, and intrenched himself at *Diendon*, a post very difficult of access, from whence he was driven after a very smart action by general *Haldane*, with the loss of twenty two men killed, and forty wounded. General *Hopson*, who was far advanced in years, and very infirm, dying about this time, the chief command of the land forces devolved upon the Honourable Gen. *Barrington*, a gentleman whose conduct had endeared him to the forces, and who approved himself in the sequel a good soldier, and detestive of the trust. Having made every day considerable advances upon the enemy, who, wherever they encountered the *English*, were put to the rout, he found there was a necessity of making an attack upon *Grande Terre*, before it was possible effectually to reduce *Grande Terre proper*. For this purpose, a body of troops being embarked, set sail the seventh of *March* for *Fort Louis*; but, from the great difficulty of turning to windward, were not able to reach it till the 11th at four in the afternoon, when all the ships of war, and twenty five of the transports came to an anchor; the rest were either driven much to leeward, or prevented by the winds and strong currents from weathering the point of *Les Saintes*. The same evening the general went on shore to view the fort and the works carrying on by the detachment that had already been sent thither from *Basse Terre*.

On the 12th, the two coasts of this bay, as well on the *Grande Terre* side, as that of *Carriacoupe*, were reconnoitred, to find a proper place for making a descent; but commodore *Moore* received certain intelligence of a *French* squadron of nine sail of the line, and two frigates, being seen to the Northward of *Barbadoes*, and that it was therefore necessary for him to go into *Prince Rupert's* bay, in the island of *St Dominica*, as a situation more advantageous for the protection of *Basse Terre*, as well as of the *English* islands; the general thought it advisable the next day to call together the general officers, to consider what was best to be done, and it was determined, notwithstanding the many difficulties which then appeared, that it would be most for his majesty's service, and the honour of his arms, to do the utmost to keep possession of the fort, and to wait some further intelligence of the motions of the enemy.

Commodore *Moore* sailed the next morning for *Prince Rupert's* bay, with all the ships of war, except the *Raback* of 40 guns, which he left as a sort of protection to the transports.

From this time to the 17th works were thrown up for the security of the camp; but the chief engineer, who was on board one of the transports that could not before get up, being arrived, and having made a report of the weakness of the fort, the general determined to hold it only till some future event should convince him what was best to be done for his majesty's service. He reflected on the state of the army under his command, and of the little probability there was of succeeding in any attempt of reducing the country, without the assistance of the ships of war to cover the troops in landing. But however he determined to make a descent on the coast of *Grande Terre*; and for that purpose ordered colonel *Cromp*, with a detachment, consisting of 600 men to go in some of the transports that carried most guns, and endeavour to land between the towns of *St Anne* and *St Francois*, and destroy the batteries and cannon; which was happily executed with very little loss. Imagining by this motion that the enemy would be obliged to detach some of their troops from the post of *Gesper*, the general made a disposition with the only 500 men he had left, for forcing it by two different attacks. This was executed the next morning at sunrise, with great resolution, by the troops; and, notwithstanding the fire of the enemy from their battery, both were soon carried with little loss, and the enemy driven into the woods. The troops immediately destroyed the cannon and battery, with the town.

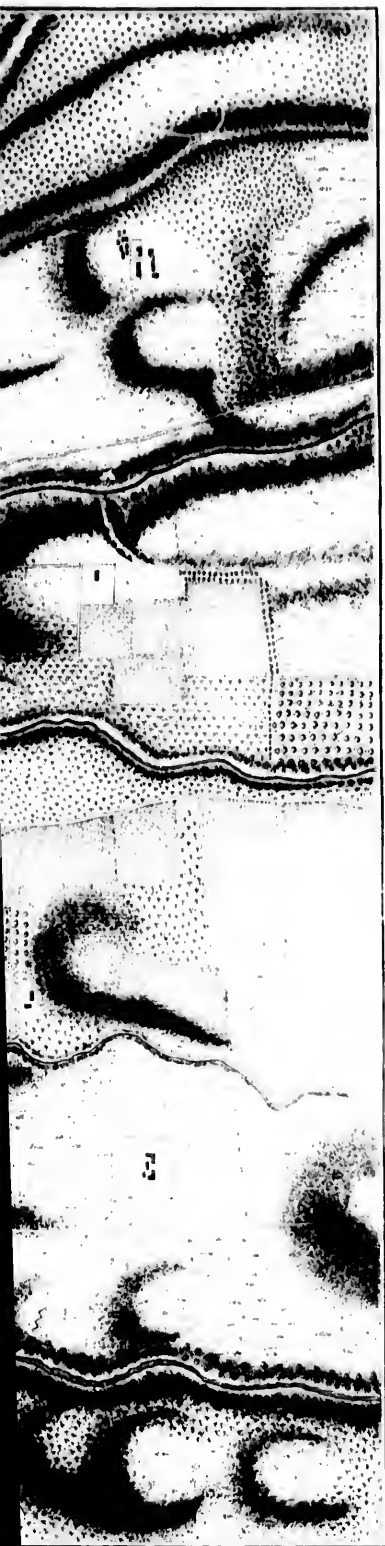
This being happily effected, the detachment was ordered to force its way to *Fort Louis*; and, at the same time, the garrison was to make two sallies, one to the right, in order to put the enemy between two fires, and the other to attack their lines. The first was made, but the latter, by some mistake, was not executed. The detachment from *Gesper* forced their passage with some loss, notwithstanding a very strong post that the enemy occupied, and took possession of a battery of three twenty four pounders, which would, the next day, have played on our camp.

PLAN  
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Published by Tho: Cadogan Engraver to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, near St. Dunstons Church, London.



## A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

Colonel *Desbrisay*, who had been left at *Fort Royal* in *Basse-Terre*, having been killed by the blowing up of some cartridges that took fire from the wadding of a 24 pounder that was discharged from the upper bastion of *Fort Royal*, at a body of the enemy, on the 23d of *March*, major *Melwill*, who commanded the detachment of the 38th regiment from the *Leeward Islands*, was made governor of the fort in his room. Major *Trollope*, a lieutenant of the 63d regiment, and two private men, were likewise killed by this accident; and a captain, another lieutenant, and three men, wounded: And the parapet of that bastion was levelled with the ground by the explosion.

At the same time when this accident happened the enemy had erected a bomb battery, and thrown several shells into the fort; and had, for some time past, been working, as the garrison suspected, upon another battery. By the general's order, governor *Melwill* caused a sally to be made with 300 men, under the command of captain *Bhmer*, on the first of *April*, who without much difficulty forced the enemy's intrenchments, and got into the work; which proved to be a battery of one 18 pounder, and one 12, nearly completed. Our people spiked the guns, and returned to the garrison with the loss of only six men killed, and six wounded.

As the fort, by this accident, might want the assistance of the chief engineer, the general sent him thither immediately, as well as the commanding officer of the artillery, that no time might be lost in putting it again in a proper state of defence. The remaining part of the transports, with the troops, being now arrived on the *Guadaloupe* side, a design was formed (upon the information of some Negroes, who promised to conduct the troops in flat-bottomed boats by night) of surprising *Petit Bourg*, *Guayave*, and *St Marie's*, posts of infinite consequence on the *Guadaloupe* side, at one and the same time. The first was to be effected by brigadier *Crump*, who, the moment he had made himself master of it, was to march to bay *Mabaut*, and destroy the batteries there, as well as a large magazine of provisions that the enemy had collected from the *Dutch*, and to hinder any more arriving: The latter, under brigadier *Clawering*, after he had surprised *St Marie's*, and *Guayave*, was to march into the *Cabeslerre*, and reduce that fine country. The success of this appeared not only to the general, but to the gentlemen who were to execute it, almost infallible: But the night proved so bad, and the Negro conductors were so frightened, that they ran several of the boats on the shoals, of which that coast is full; so that though brigadier *Clawering* did land with about 80 men, yet the place was so full of mangroves, and so deep in mud, that he was obliged to return, but not without the enemy's discovering our design.

The general being now laid up in a most severe fit of the gout, brigadiers *Clawering* and *Crump* were sent to reconnoitre the coast near *Arnewille*; and upon their report, 1300 regulars, and 150 of the *Antigua* volunteers, were ordered to land, under the protection of the *Woolwich* man of war, which they did on the 25th of *April*, without opposition, the enemy retiring, as the troops advanced, to very strong intrenchments behind the river *le Cornu*. This post was to them of the greatest importance, as it covered the whole country to the bay *Mabaut*, where their provisions and supplies of all sorts were landed from *St Eustatia*, and therefore they had very early taken possession of it, and had spared no pains to strengthen it, though the situation was such as required little or nothing from art. The river was only accessible at two narrow passes, and those places they had occupied with a redoubt and well palisaded intrenchments, defended with cannon, and all the militia of that part of the country. They could only be approached in a very contracted front, which was at last reduced to the breadth of the roads, intersected with deep and wide ditches. Our artillery, which consisted of four field pieces and two howitzers, were ordered to keep a constant fire on the top of the intrenchments, to cover the attack made by *Duroure's* regiment and the Highlanders, who, on this occasion, behaved with the greatest coolness and resolution, keeping up, as they advanced, a regular platoon firing. This behaviour so intimidated the enemy, that they abandoned the first intrenchment on the left, into which the Highlanders threw themselves, sword in hand, and pursued the enemy, with part of *Duroure's* regiment, into the redoubt.

The enemy still kept their ground at their intrenchments on the right, from whence they annoyed our people very much, both with musketry and cannon; and though those who had carried the first intrenchments had got into their rear, yet, till a bridge could be made to pass the river, they could not get round to attack this post. This

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took up near half an hour; but, however, near seventy of the enemy were taken prisoners, as they were endeavouring to make their escape, amongst whom were some of the most considerable inhabitants of the island. Our loss was one officer and thirteen men killed, and two officers and fifty two men wounded.

So soon as the ditches could be filled up for the passage of the artillery, the troops proceeded on their march towards *Petit Bourg*. A considerable number of the enemy had lined an intrenchment about half a mile on the left of the road, but when they perceived the endeavours of our troops to surround them, they abandoned it, keeping always about 200 yards in front, and setting fire to the sugar-canes, which obliged us more than once to leave the road, to avoid any accident to our powder.

The troops arrived late on the banks of the river *Lezard*, behind which, at the only ford, the enemy had thrown up very strong intrenchments, protected with four pieces of cannon on the hill behind them.

Having reconnoitred the side of the river, and finding it might cost us dear to force the passage at the ford, brigadier *Clavering* kept up their attention all the night by firing into their lines, during which time he got two canoes conveyed about a mile and a half down the river, where being launched, we ferried over, before break of day in the morning, a sufficient number of men to attack them in flank, whilst we should do the same in front: The enemy soon perceived their danger, and left their intrenchments with the greatest precipitation.

Thus we passed without the loss of a man, still pursuing them to *Petit Bourg*, which place they had fortified with lines, and a redoubt filled with cannon.

We found captain *Uvedale* there, in the *Granah* bomb, throwing shells into the fort. The enemy did not remain in it long when they saw our intention of occupying the heights round them, but left us masters of that, and the port, with all the cannon round the place. We halted here the 14th to get provisions for the troops.

On the 15th, at daybreak, brigadier *Crump* was detached with 700 men to the bay *Mabaut*, and at the same time captain *Stiel* with 100 to *Guoyave*, about seven miles in our front, to destroy a battery there. The panic of the enemy was such, that they only discharged their cannon, and abandoned a post that might have been defended against an army. He nailed up seven cannon, and returned the same evening to *Petit Bourg*; brigadier *Crump* returned likewise the next day with his detachment, having burnt an immense quantity of provisions, that had been landed there by the *Dutch*, and reduced the whole country as far as *Petit Bourg*.

The heavy rains on the succeeding days had so swelled the rivers, that it was impossible for the troops to advance; however, this delay gave an opportunity of strengthening the post at *Petit Bourg*.

On the 18th in the evening the *Antigua* volunteers took possession again of *Goyave*: They were supported early the next morning by a detachment commanded by lieutenant colonel *Barlow*, who had orders to repair the road for the passage of the cannon.

On the 20th, after leaving 250 men to guard *Petit Bourg*, the remaining part of the detachment, with the cannon, moved on to *Goyave*, in order to proceed afterwards to *St Marie's*, where we were informed the enemy were collecting their whole force to oppose us, and had likewise thrown up intrenchments, and made barricadoes on the road to prevent our approach. We were not long before we perceived them; but at the same time we found, as well by our own observation, as by the information of the guides, that it was not impossible to get into their rear by roads the enemy thought impracticable, and consequently had guarded with very little care.

A detachment was immediately formed under colonel *Barlow* for this service, and orders were sent to hasten the march of the artillery, which, from the badness of the roads, had not been able to get up. The first shot from the cannon, placed very near their intrenchment, with the alarm that was given by our detachment in the rear, made the enemy very soon sensible of the dangerous situation they were in, and indeed their precipitate flight only saved them from being all taken prisoners.

We pursued them as far as the heights of *St Marie's*, where we again formed our men for a fresh attack on the lines and batteries there.

Whilst the barricadoes were levelling for the artillery, we attempted a second time to pass the woods and precipices that covered the flanks of the enemy's lines; but, before we could get up our cannon, they perceived this movement, and began to quit their lines to oppose it, which made us resolve, without any further delay, to attack them

them immediately in front; and it was accordingly executed with the greatest vivacity, notwithstanding the constant firing both of their cannon and musquetry. They abandoned here all their artillery, and went off in so much confusion, that they never afterwards appeared before us.

We took up our quarters at *St Marie's* that night, and the next night entered the *Capeferre*, which is the richest and most beautiful part of this or any other country in the *West Indies*. One hundred and eighty seven Negroes, belonging to one man, surrendered this day.

Here Mess. *de Clairvilliers* and *Duqueruy*, deputed by the principal inhabitants of the island, met brigadier *Clavering* to know the terms the generals would grant them. They entered into a negotiation, and a capitulation was signed on both sides, when news was brought, that M. *Beaubarnois*, the general of the islands, had landed at *St Anne's*, on the windward part of the island, with a reinforcement from *Martinico*, of 600 regulars, 2000 Buccaneers, and 2000 stand of spare arms for the inhabitants, with artillery and mortars, under the convoy of M. *Bompert's* squadron. This support, had it arrived there an hour sooner, must have made the conquest of this island very difficult, if not impossible. As soon as he heard the capitulation was signed, he re-embarked.

If the military conduct of General *Barrington* in all his proceedings on this island merits praise, his prudence in reducing it expeditiously upon as good terms as possible, and his humanity to the inhabitants, which they themselves universally acknowledged, deserves no less our admiration: For by the articles of capitulation they were not only preserved in their rights, laws, and religion, but it was also stipulated that none but such inhabitants as were then actually residing upon the island should possess any lands or houses by purchase, grant, or otherwise, before a peace. They were also, in case of *Guadaloupe* being ceded to the *British* crown, to be at liberty either to remain upon the place as subjects of *Great Britain*, or to dispose of their effects at a fair market, and for that purpose the allowance of a proper time was promised. The governors and officers were permitted to march out of their posts with the honours of war, two field pieces, and four rounds of powder, and they together with their servants, baggage, and the soldiery, were to be transported immediately to *Martinico*. All the magazines, implements of war, and public papers, were delivered to an *English* commissary. The public offices were left to the management of those persons who were in them before the invasion, with this proviso, that vacancies were to be filled up by appointment of the king of *Great Britain*, and all public acts to be administered in his name. The inhabitants were assured they should not be obliged to take arms against the *French* king, but at the same time they bound themselves by an oath to observe strictly the capitulation, and to remain exactly neuter.

Thus was this island reduced by a perseverance and judgement that will be recorded in history much to the honour of the commander, who finding the first measures of war that had been carried into practise ineffectual, changed his plan, and fought his way by detachments, whereby he made himself master of *Guadaloupe* and *Grande Terre* in a much shorter time than could have been expected from the most sanguine hope, with so small a body of men as were under his direction.

That this island is undoubtedly one of the most fertile of the *Antilles*, is apparent from our topographical and geographical description of it. The products are all excellent, the country is well stocked with all the necessaries of life, watered with good rivers every mile or two; and has a port belonging to it, where all the navy of *England* may ride safe from hurricanes. Such has been the policy of the *French* for more than half a century, that they kept the real excellencies of the island entirely a secret from other nations.

It not only produces cotton, coffee, and sugar, besides other commodities common to the rest of the islands, but even these, and particularly the sugar, are reckoned to excel. These advantages were, however, entirely unknown to us, because nothing was thence exported immediately to *Europe*, but all the crops were forwarded by the way of *Martinico*, which, by that means, had all the honour, and consequently engaged much more of our attention. It has, for many years past, produced more sugar than any of the *British* islands, *Jamaica* excepted, and, if annexed to the crown of *Great Britain*, will prove one of its most valuable jewels.

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## A Description of the Island of DESIDERADA.

**T**HE Island of *Desiderada*, or, more briefly, of *Desada*, one of the smallest of the *Caribbees*, is situated in the *Atlantic* ocean, N. Lat.  $16^{\circ} 30''$ . W. Latitude and longitude. Long.  $61^{\circ} 5'$  from *London*. It lies at about three or four leagues distance to the N. E. of *Guadaloupe*, and seems as if designed by nature for one of the dependencies of that noble island.

This island was the first land which the great *Columbus* made on his second voyage to *America*, and he gave it the name of *la Desiderada*, or *the Desired Island*, because he had for a long time before beaten about this vast tract of waters without seeing any thing but sea and skies. Here he sent some of his people ashore to get wood and water; but they found the place entirely destitute of the latter, except in one or two spots, where the rains seemed to have gathered in pools of small depth, and entirely corrupted. They saw however several kinds of shrubs, and some trees of no great height, the species of which they did not pretend to determine. They also gathered some vegetables and fruits, which were very refreshing. Among the trees appeared great variety of birds, and the coast afforded turtle, sea-wolves, and the manatee, with other kinds of fish, which afforded them seasonable relief. Etymology. Discovered by Columbus. Produce.

The *Spaniards* never thought this spot of consequence enough to make any settlement upon it, though the soil is pretty good, except about the middle of the island, where it is craggy, mountainous, and barren. In time of war it served for a retreat to a gang of rovers, who, acting under no commission, but following their own villainous dictates, plundered the ships of all nations without distinction. But they were driven out by *M. du Poincy*, who sent thither the *Sieur de Calprande*, with twenty stout *Europeans*, five *Negroes*, and one *Mulatto*, well armed. They landed without opposition, drove off the pirates, who were at the same but a small number, and being surprised, made their escape, after a trifling resistance, in a shallop lying in the road, leaving behind them a good booty. Some of these men remained upon the island at the peace of *Ryswick* in 1691; after which treaty they retired to *Guadaloupe* with their substance, having first levelled their houses, and spoiled their plantations. Ever since that time it has remained without inhabitants, but is reckoned among the *French* dominions. A nest of pirates. Uninhabited.

This island was surrender'd to the *English* with *Guadaloupe* in 1759.

## A Description of the Island of MARIGALANTE.

**T**HE island of *Marigalante* lies in  $16^{\circ}$  N. Lat. and  $61^{\circ} 5'$  W. Long. from *London*, at a little distance from *Guadaloupe* to the South, and in soil, produce, and climate answers to the description we have given of the rest of the *Caribbees*. *Columbus* discovered it on his second *American* voyage in 1493, and called it by the name of his ship, *Maria Galante*, or *Gallant Mary*. It is said to be upwards of six leagues long, between three and four broad, and sixteen or seventeen in circumference. Viewed at some distance from on board a ship, it appears like a floating island, because, as it is for the most part flat, the trees seem to swim; but a nearer prospect shews it intersected by some rising grounds, which give a fine variety to the landscape. Latitude and longitude. Discovery, name, and extent.

This island was thought, on its first discovery, to want water; but a charming running stream has in time been discovered, no less convenient and refreshing than wholesome, on the banks of which are some wealthy inhabitants, and several sugar plantations. The whole island is capable of improvement, the soil being almost all equally good, and the land no where rising too high, so as to prevent any where a proper distribution of weather. There cannot be a stronger proof of the wholesomeness of *Marigalante* than the esteem in which it is held by the *Savages*, who have cotton gardens, and

and plantations upon it, which they valiantly defended against an *English* invasion, though they have no particular place of residence. The air of the lower lands, bordering on the sea, is particularly healthful. The coast affords many little bays, where shipping find good ground, sufficient depth, and excellent shelter.

With all these advantages, it is astonishing that no attempt was made to settle on this island till the year 1647, at which time *Messrs de la Fontaine* and *Camo*, of whose perillous adventures, and wonderful escape to *France* we have already spoken, laid, before the *West India* company at *Paris*, with hardships they and all those who had sided with *Tboissy* at *Guadaloupe*, &c. had sustained, by which many men of wealth, family and fortune, as well as people skilled in improving the manufactures of the *Antilles*, were ruined; representing that they had always demeaned themselves like faithful subjects, and if re-assembled could form a colony that would be of service to the crown and the nation; that *Marigalante*, being not yet planted, was a very proper place for their joint settlement; and for that end the company's concurrence. Their request was granted, and an instrument made out, by which *Messrs de la Fontaine* and *Camo* were appointed, by joint consent of king and company, together and separately governors of the island for four years, with a promise of farther continuance, and an exemption of them and their people from all taxes during that time; this exemption being restrained to such persons only as had suffered by the dissensions which had given rise to the settlement. The governors, on the other hand, undertook to fix upon the island sixty persons the first year, well attached to the Roman Catholic church, with two proper ecclesiasties; and each of the remaining years to add sixty more; to build a fort for their defence; to keep peace with the *Savages*; a measure extremely necessary to the flourishing of the island; to live upon amicable terms with the neighbouring *French* governors, and renouncing all claims and demands upon the company, if their scheme failed of success.

But the fine views they had from this grant were soon dissipated by the want of money. They found not one person willing to hazard a penny upon their project, and having, in the pursuit of it, expended the bounty they had received from the queen regent, through the interest of the family of *Tboissy*, as has been before remarked, *Camo* returned quite dispirited to *Martinico*, where he was received with open arms by *Parquet*, to whom his worth was well known. *Fontaine*, in conjunction with the baron *d'Ormeil*, twenty two men, and a capuchin friar, went up the banks of the great river *Oronoko* on an expedition, and was never more heard of, it being supposed that he and all his company either perished by the hands of the natives, or for want of sustenance.

The year following, *M. Houel*, who had long had an eye upon *Marigalante*, obtained a grant of it from the company, and entered upon it in theirs and the king's name on *November 8*; fixing there a colony of between forty and fifty men, under the command of *M. le Perz*, who had quitted *Martinico* on some occasion of discontent. This gentleman erected an indifferent fortress for present defence, and went about a large building for himself, which he abandoned at the end of eighteen months, and then retired with several of the people to *Martinico*. It was thought, from this proceeding, that he had first compounded matters with *Parquet*, who imagined him a useful man to promote his project of planting *Grenada*, and for that purpose had perhaps made him some considerable offers.

On *Marigalante* now remained not quite 30 men, whom *Houel* kept together to prevent the island from seizure by any other power. This small colony was visited in 1653 by a large body of the *Savages* from the *Cabellerre* of *Dominica*, who were returning home from a successful excursion to the island of *Antigua*, where they had pillaged and destroyed effects to a great value. The commanding officer permitted them to enter the fort, treated them with much hospitality and confidence, and they departed with great seeming satisfaction. But on their return home, finding their habitations ruined, their possessions plundered, and their women abused, by a vessel from *Martinico*, they resolved to revenge the perfidy upon the inhabitants of *Marigalante*, whose unguarded security, and inconsiderable number, they were well assured, would render them an easy prey to their vengeance.

With this sanguinary intention they came back to *Marigalante* without loss of time, and, under appearance of traffic, went from house to house, killing all they found, and then made such a fire of the fort, and all the habitations, that it was seen from

Colony destroyed by the *Savages*.

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*Guadaloupe*. *Houel* received the first account of this melancholy disaster from the Savages of the *Basse-Terre* of *Dominica*, who not only disclaimed any knowledge or concurrence in the iniquity of their countrymen, but offered to assist the *French* to call them to an account for their cruelty.

*Houel* determining not to abandon his project for peopling this island, sent thither his brother with 100 men and necessary stores, with orders to rebuild the houses, to erect a fortification stronger than what had been destroyed, to observe the strictest terms of amity with the Savages, but not to suffer one of them to sleep with a *Frenchman*. The bloody wretches, who were still upon the island, fled, with all speed, upon his landing; and his first care was to cause the mangled bodies, which lay above the sand corrupting the air, to be burned, together with their heads, which the Savages had severed, and stuck upon poles. The fidelity of a dog belonging to one of these unhappy persons deserves notice. He quitted not his master's body till he saw it interred; from that time flew upon every thing that had the appearance of a Savage with the utmost fury, and even bit the ground for spite if kept off; if he was shut at night into the fort, he made a fearful howling to get out, and patrolled all the night round the walls, prepared, as it were, to give the alarm in case of a second surprize.

The Chevalier *Houel*, having chosen a situation about two leagues distant from the former, immediately set about building a large and strong edifice of stone, very capacious, which he completed and fortified, as well as circumstances would admit, in three months, all which time he had constantly kept half his men under arms, by turns. When this was finished, he burned down all the huts which the Savages had erected, and then, leaving the command of the place to *M. Blany*, who was considered but as his deputy, he returned to *Guadaloupe*.

*Houel* now turned his thoughts upon carrying fire and sword among the Savages of the *Cabesterre* of *Dominica*, in revenge for their horrible proceedings at *Marigalante*; and for this purpose embarked Captain *Mé* with 100 armed men, for that part of the island, with about a dozen Savages of *Basse-Terre*, who were soon joined by their brethren, and all assisting the defeat of the villains, of whom only five or six fell, and about 20 were wounded; the rest took refuge in the woods, and escaped. None of *Houel's* men were killed, but four of them were wounded with envenomed arrows, which rendered their cure very tedious.

No sooner was *Mé* returned from this expedition, than notice was received at *Guadaloupe* that the enemy, having recruited at the *Cabesterre*, meditated a new descent upon *Marigalante*. On this advice the colony was immediately reinforced with 17 good soldiers, commanded by the *Sieur de Cerefiers*. On their arrival they were informed that the *Indians* were already landed on a distant part of the island, which put them directly upon their march towards them. They had now penetrated far into the woods, and almost reached the sea, when they fell into an ambuscade of 300 men, who, after reconnoitring their small number, flew upon them at once, with all the indignations of fury and contempt, promising themselves an easy prey of such a handful of men. But they soon found their mistake, being so warmly received, that eight of them fell dead at the first fire, and the rest fled in great confusion to the sea side, whither they were so closely pursued by *Cerefiers* and his soldiers, that several more of them were killed and wounded before they could reach their canoes. Meeting with this unexpected defeat here, and another upon the island of *Los Santos*, they thought it best to lay aside their warlike intentions; and having shewn, by their conduct for some time after, that they resolved to remain quiet, at least for a while, they began to venture as usual to *Guadaloupe*, and traffick with the inhabitants without any new treaty. *Houel*, who knew from experience the advantages arising from their visits, forbid the inhabitants by any means to retaliate past injuries, and ordered that they should be received and treated with on an amicable footing, as if no difference had ever happened between them. However, six years afterwards, the *Indians* of all the islands rose up in arms, and, being joined by some fugitive Negroes, carried fire and sword among the *French* settlements; but were at length compelled to sue for peace, which was granted.

Of these transactions we shall speak more at large in our account of *Martinica*. At present it may suffice to remark that fresh troubles were on the point of breaking out at *Marigalante*, by the following accident.

Story of Cap-  
tain Baron.

One Captain *Baron*, a Savage, who had great weight among his brethren, and had been long time known to be upon terms of strict friendship with *Houel*, arrived here with a good many of his people, and was received by the commander into the fort, and treated in a very courteous manner. The commander perhaps either imagined that his general orders not to permit this liberty to any of the Savages did not extend to *Baron*, or it may be found his advantage in thus treating with him for some tortoise and other things that composed his cargoe. They sat together, and having drank much more than prudence ought, in such circumstances, to have permitted, *Baron* in the night went out of the fort upon some pressing occasion. During his absence the guard was relieved, and the new centinel, not knowing him, attempted to stop him with a slap in the face. This accident occasioned a battle, which was ended by arresting the captain and putting him in irons. The commander in the morning could not avoid soberly reflecting on his conduct the preceding day, and condemning himself. However, as it was too late to retract, he dispatched an account of the affair to the Chevalier du *l*, who governed at *Guadaloupe*, in the absence of his brother then in *France*, and endeavoured to make it a matter of consequence by representing it as a conspiracy. The chevalier, quickly foreseeing the dangerous effects that might result from such an inconsiderate step, commanded that the *Indian* should not only be instantly set free, but also sent over to him in the first shallop, intending to heal this prelude to a breach by treating him as gently as possible. *Baron* was hardly landed at *Guadaloupe*, whither he was hastily dispatched, pursuant to the lieutenant general's order, before some of his children and countrymen, impatient of his stay, came to *Marigalante* to enquire after him. The commander, instead of giving them good words, and a satisfactory account of their chief, seized three of them, and ordered them to be shot dead, as an example to the rest. One of these unhappy victims proved to be *Marivet*, the youngest of *Baron's* children, and his greatest favourite. It soon came to his ears that one of his sons was killed at *Marigalante*, and it struck him with great grief. The chevalier did his best to comfort him, but it was impossible. When told that it was his dear *Marivet* who had been sacrificed, he tore his hair and flesh, threw himself on the ground, roared louder than an angry bull, shewed an hundred marks of distraction, and, had he not been prevented, would have escaped, and endeavoured to have excited the other *Indians* to assist his vengeance. However he was in some measure calmed by the governor's promising to summon the commander before him, and give him satisfaction by an exemplary piece of justice. In pursuance of his promise the officer was taken into custody at *Marigalante*, brought over to *Guadaloupe*, and in presence of *Baron* put in irons, who, however, insisted on a capital punishment. The chevalier consented, but delayed to fulfil his promise from time to time, regarding the loss of such a man as an affair of great importance, and resolving to leave the determination to his brother. Yet, at the same time, he proceeded with such caution, that *Baron* returned home to *Dominica*, fully persuaded that he should have blood for blood. When he was departed, the chevalier, who was of a mild and humane temper, caused the delinquent to be released from his irons, and confined him to his own house, there to remain until governor *Houel* should return from *France*. Business bringing *Baron* back to *Guadaloupe*, where he saw, as he thought, the murderer at liberty, it threw him into his former frenzy, he loudly complained of the chevalier's injustice, and took such pains among the Savages of *Dominica*, that he would certainly have excited them to fresh commotions, had not the prudence, policy, and humanity of the chevalier countermined all his efforts.

*Rose* appointed  
governor.

From this time we find no disturbances or alterations at *Marigalante* till 1664, when the *Sieur de Rose* entered the fort as governor of the island, under the king and company, with a garrison to support him, and three pieces of cannon. This officer was appointed by *M. Tracy*, who, as we have before observed, was made captain general of the *Antilles*, when the crown had bought out the proprietors.

Succeeded by  
*Themeriqueur*.

The year following he was obliged to resign to *M. de Themeriqueur*, a man of learning, and of a most amiable character. He was the son of a lady to whom *Marigalante* and near one half of *Guadaloupe* had belonged, when in the hands of the proprietors; and it is not unlikely that through her interest he was raised to this government, the company having recommended him to the king for that purpose. He entered his administration in *June*, with no more than ten soldiers in garrison, and 500 inhabitants on the island, of whom only about 150 were fit to bear arms. One of the

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the first things he afterwards did, was to make the tour of the whole island, accompanied by his brother, M. de Malassis, and a few friends, with four strong Negroes to carry their provisions, and clear the road for them, there being no paths except near the inhabited coasts. In their course they discovered several good springs of water, of which they had thought the island destitute; one of which particularly rose in a grotto, where it fed a subterranean stream that abounded with crawfish. After this they discovered several other running streams and ponds of fresh water, well stocked with fish, besides variety of beautiful grottoes, whether considered for height, length, breadth, or position; and in several spots, where they climbed the trees to take a view of such parts of the country as they could not easily penetrate, they had room to indulge the warmest hopes from the beauty of the prospect.

In 1666, when England and France were engaged in a war, which it was more than probable would soon extend itself to the West Indies, we are surprised to find Marigalante without a single grain of powder, nay, destitute of all other ammunition, and this under the presidency of a man, of whom we have so ample a character given us by the missionaries. It is true, when he had received succour from the neighbouring colonies, he prepared for a gallant defence in case of an attack, which however was not made.

Marigalante has been since twice plundered by the Dutch, and afterwards taken by the English, in 1692, who, according to Pere Labat, were guilty of great barbarities; among others of that kind, they hung 23 of the miserable inhabitants, who were either on the point of surrendering, or were before received as prisoners of war, at the door of the church. And they were just ready to exercise the same cruelty upon a gallant major of the place, when the wind luckily brought up general Codrington time enough to save him from the hands of the brutal subaltern, who commanded here in his absence. Codrington then summoned the governor, who had hitherto held out very gallantly, and now surrendered, upon permission to retire to Martinico with his garrison of not more than seventy men, carrying with them their arms, ammunition, and provision, of which but little was left; for had the brave governor been well stocked with them, it is very probable he had held out much longer. The enemy had burned the town on their landing, and general Codrington, having demolished the fort, drew off his forces to Antigua. We find no descent made upon this island in the subsequent disputes between the two crowns, so that the inhabitants have remained for the most part pretty quiet, if we except in some few quarters, where privateers or pirates have landed by surprise, and plundered, without daring to make any stay. At present the colony, which is but small, is in a very flourishing condition.

This island also submitted to the English soon after the reduction of Guadalupe, and was allowed the same capitulation.

### A Description of the Islands of LOS SANTOS, or THE SAINTS.

THE Islands of *Los Santos* lie in 15° 50' North Lat. and near 61° 25' West Long. from London, situated between *Guadalupe* and *Dominica*. They are the smallest of the *Caribbees* that have upon them any French inhabitants, and so happily arranged, that in the midst of them there is as fine a road for shipping as any in the neighbourhood. Being discovered by the Spaniards upon the day named *All Saints*, they were distinguished by that appellation.

The two principal of them are *Terre de Bas*, which is no other than *Basse Terre*, and stands to the leeward, and *Terre de Haut*, or the *High Land*, which is more to the windward. The former of these has a small neat structure of wood for divine service, and adjoining to it a house for the clergyman, consisting of two little rooms, a kitchen, and an outhouse. Labat supposes it to be about three leagues in circumference, and the *Terre de Haut* to be considerably larger, as it is also higher, and more rocky. The third island, which lies between these two, is the smallest of the three, and serves to form a port, in which ships may find good shelter, and deep water.

These

Produce.	These three islands, though rugged and craggy, are covered with woods, which abound with goats. Poultry thrive here pretty well, but as pasture is scarce, and but indifferent, there are but few herds of cattle; swine are however in plenty. The woods, at certain seasons, are filled with parrots, parrots, wood pigeons, turtles, thrushes, and variety of other birds, particularly such as are common to the sea coast. The seas abound with fine fish; among the rocks are excellent crawfish, lobsters, &c. The planters raise cotton, tobacco, manioc, <i>Indian</i> grain of different kinds, and good potatoes.
Air.	As the <i>Los Santos</i> are open on every side to the sea breezes, the air is wholesome, and constantly refreshed. This, however, does not prevent the musketoes from sharply nipping. But the want of water is a terrible inconveniency, under which the inhabitants labour; they have indeed two or three small springs, which supply them with enough to drink, provided the weather be not excessive in heat, for in that case they soon become dry; but they preserve what falls from the sky in jars, and other vessels, and often in pits dug in the earth, in which it soon corrupts; for as yet they have not been industrious enough to build cisterns, though easy to be done, as they have plenty of chalk, sand, and stones. The harbour has a good quay, or landing place, which might be fortified to advantage with little or no expence, it being pretty strong by nature. When <i>Labat</i> was on these islands they were governed by a captain of militia, appointed by the governor of <i>Guadaloupe</i> , and his subjects were about ninety men fit to bear arms, with which they were well supplied; in this enumeration are included young and old, black and white. Though not rich, they live much at their ease, and get money.
Water.	We do not find that the <i>Spaniards</i> at any time, or any other nation sojourned here, till 1648, when <i>M. Houel</i> sent one <i>M. du Mé</i> , with thirty men, to make a settlement; and a reverend Dominican, who attended them, erected a cross with this inscription: <i>R. P. Mathias du Puy, dictus a S. Jobanne, crucem redemptionis nostræ in insula Guadalupæ adjacentæ, quæ Les Saintes vocatur, fixit in comitatu Domini du Mé, qui ejusdem insulæ fuerat gubernator electus et delegatus.</i>
Quay.	This company, however, did not long continue upon the island, but were forced to abandon it for want of water, having first destroyed their habitations. Four years after one <i>Buiffon le Hazier</i> planted a colony here, which went on very prosperously.
Inhabitants.	Three or four months after the massacre at <i>Marigalante</i> , which we have already mentioned, intelligence was received at <i>Guadaloupe</i> , that the same Savages intended to repeat the tragedy at <i>Los Santos</i> , which was therefore speedily reinforced with lieutenant <i>de l'Etoile</i> , and twenty soldiers. This small company had waited for the attack for several days in vain, and were now on the point of returning home, when notice was given them that the enemy were landing in great numbers. On this they speedily betook themselves to arms, and marching directly down upon them, attacked and routed them, so that they reimbarcked in great confusion, leaving three of their number dead behind them, and several others of them were supposed to be dead or wounded, whom however they made a shift to carry off. It was remarkable of one of them, that he made his escape and reached the beach, where he jumped into the sea, tho' deeply wounded in the shoulder by a cutlass. As he was an excellent swimmer, he fairly got off, though pursued by a boat, from whence a constant firing was made at him, by keeping under water, and only rising to breathe in the intervals of the discharges, by which means he reached an island in the neighbourhood, where he found a sure
Settlement.	atylum in the woods, and his pursuers were obliged to give over the chase.
Abandoned.	In the beginning of <i>August</i> , 1666, <i>France</i> and <i>England</i> being then at war, lord <i>Willoughby of Parham</i> , who commanded an <i>English</i> fleet upon the coast, dispatched three frigates and some lighter craft, to bring off two ships lying in the harbour of <i>Los Santos</i> ; one of them was taken after a stout resistance, but captain <i>Barrow</i> , who commanded the other, prudently foreseeing that the force was too great for two such ships as theirs to resist, set fire to his own, and retired with the crew to a fortified redoubt, while one of the frigates, endeavouring ineffectually to extinguish the flames, was herself set on fire, and in great danger of being burnt. The <i>English</i> then landed, burned the houses, and ruined such plantations as lay in their way: After which they attacked the redoubt, and carried it with the loss of eight men killed, and many more wound-
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ed. *Baron* however with his company secured his retreat among the hills, in a place where luckily there was a spring of fresh water, a necessary which he had wanted below; and here he bravely defended himself in a sort of fortification contrived by nature, so very strong, that the enemy endeavoured to force it in vain.

In a day or two after happened one of the most dreadful tempests that ever was known in this quarter of the world, by which the *English* fleet was totally dispersed, Lord *Willoughby* himself lost, and the frigates belonging to the *English* at *Los Santos* were driven ashore and wrecked. The day after this dreadful disaster two sailors, belonging to *Baron*, ventured over to *Guadalupe* in a canoe, carrying with them a letter from the besieged, in which they craved present relief, declaring that they must otherwise surrender to the *English*, who had already summoned them, offering good terms, and giving them two days to consider. The same canoe was quickly sent back with ten soldiers, a supply of provisions and ammunition, and promise of farther and speedy assistance. In a few hours after 200 *Indians* from *Dominica*, in the *French* interest, landed upon the island, whither the news of the present transaction, and the hopes of plunder from the shipwreck, had hastened them. The *English* were by no means pleased with the sight of such a number of Savages, with whom they stood not upon very good terms. However, when the two days were expired, they made a vigorous attack upon the *French*, but were beaten off with loss. This repulse, with the impracticability of cutting off *Baron's* communication with the sea, or getting off their own ships, discomposed them not a little. They now saw, too late, that they must become defendants in their turn, having no prospect of retreat, and therefore laboured hard at strengthening the redoubt.

*English* fleet dispersed.

*English* attack a fort in vain.

The *French* daily gained succours, and at length the governor arrived here on the 14th of *August*, with a good body of men, and was joined by fifty men and two pieces of cannon from *Marigalante*. When he had marked out the ground for encampment, he proceeded to reconnoitre the enemy, whom he found strongly fortified, and defended by twelve pieces of cannon. He crested against them a small battery, with which and his small arms he kept the besieged in motion all the night, the moon shining brightly, and ceased in the day. The night following his fire was renewed with equal vigour, and finding that the garrison slackened in their defence, he continued the attack so briskly all the morning, that they at last ran from their posts, and the officers hung out a white flag, and beat the chamade for a parley, which was granted. Two officers were sent out to confer with the governor about terms, but he absolutely insisted on their surrendering at discretion, to which they were obliged at last to submit. The names of the officers were, *William Hill*, *John Stapleton*, *John Gardiner*, *J. Dixfield*, *Richard Pierrepont*, *Florence O Sullivan*, and *Edward Barry*, who, together with their men, were transported to *Guadalupe*, and there detained till exchanged upon cartel. The soldiers and sailors had buried their tents and colours before they surrendered, but their baggage and ammunition, &c. afforded good pillage.

Besieged in the redoubt.

Surrendered at discretion.

This appears to us the last memorable transaction that has happened in these islands, which at present serve rather for a retreat to the looser sort of people; and the governments both of *Martinico* and *Guadalupe* banish hither vagrants, idlers, and others guilty of misdemeanours.

Present state

This island is also now in the possession of the *English*.

## Description and History of MARTINICO.

**T**HE Island of *Martinico*, called by the Savages *Madanina*, and one of the *Caribbees*, lies in  $14^{\circ}$  some odd minutes N. Lat. and  $61^{\circ}$  W. Long. 80 miles S. of *Guadaloupe*, and 120 N. W. of *Barbadoes*, being as well, if not better, peopled. Its length is little more than 60 miles at best, its breadth extremely unequal, and scarcely any where more than 20 miles. As the island is pretty high, it appears from the sea like three distant mountains, and, if you include the promontories, which project in many places two or three leagues beyond the rest of the island, its circumference will include above 160 miles. Though not the largest, it is at present the chief of all the *Caribbees* possessed by the *French*, and the residence of the governor general of this part of the world. It is in most places so well fortified, as to have bid defiance, for many years past, to all invasions. Here are the finest harbours in the *Antilles*, every way exceeding any to be found at *Guadaloupe*, though at first that island had so much the preference. The country is for the most part uneven, though roads may be cut through it without any great labour.

Antient name of *Martinico*.  
Latitude and longitude.  
Length, breadth, &c.

Circumference.  
Strength.

Harbours.

Soil.

*Martinico* may be considered under three divisions, general, political, and subordinate.

Divisions.

- I. The general division, like that of the rest of the *Antilles*, includes,
  1. *Cabeslerre*, or that part of the island which lies most to the windward.
  2. *Basse Terre*, or the part to the leeward.
- II. The political, or peculiar division, contains three quarters,
  1. *Dominican*.
  2. *Jesuits*.
  3. *Capuchin*.
- III. The subordinate division, which distributes it into parishes,

In the *DOMINICAN Quarter* are 10 *Parishes*.

1. *Mouillage*.
2. *St Anne du Macouba*.
3. *St John Baptist de la Basse Pointe*.
4. *St Hiacinth de la Grande Ance*.
5. *St Paul au Marigot*.
6. *St Mary of St Mary Bay*.
7. *Trinity*, belonging to the port and town of the same name.
8. *St Robert's*.
9. *French harbour*.
10. *Vauclain*.

The *JESUIT'S Quarter* contains 4 *Parish*.

1. The Preacher.
2. *Fort St Peter*.
3. *Le Carbet*.
4. *La Case Pilete*.

The *CAPUCHIN Quarter* comprehends 7 *Parishes*.

1. *Vache-Harbour*, formerly belonging to the *Jesuits*.
2. *Le Trou au chat*.
3. *Arlet*, Great Cove.
4. *Diamond*, Little Cove.
5. *Cul-de-Sac Marin*.
6. *St Anne's Chapel*.
7. *Fort Royal*.

Hand described.

Among the harbours and bays of the *Cabeslerre* there are several promontories, or peninsulas, of different dimensions, some branching out above a league into the water, and perhaps half a league across, others less, which, if properly inclosed, might be of excellent service for feeding cattle. The *Basse Terre* is frequently intersected by mountains and heads of land, well peopled, and the disadvantages of their situation sufficiently recompensed by the plenty of fine tobacco which they produce; and here and there you are surpris'd with the sight of level downs, or pleasant vallies, most agreeably watered. The soil is for the most part gravelly, which, though it soon swallows the rain, and becomes dry, yet retains the effect, so as to preserve its freshness much longer than in a more compact soil, and gives a stronger and more extensive root to whatever is implanted. The island derives also more refreshment and fertility from the rivers and running streams, which are upwards of forty in number, and some of them, particularly on the *Cabeslerre*, are deemed navigable within land.

Few habitations.

*Martinico*, among other advantages over the rest of the islands, boasts its being less subject to hurricanes, and consequently often in a condition to supply them with provisions and all kinds of necessaries, when their crops are, by these devastations of nature,







**MARTINICO,**  
 one of the  
**CARIBBEE ISLANDS,** in the  
**WEST INDIES;**  
 Subject to The FRENCH  
*according to the Observations*  
*of M<sup>r</sup>. Houel Engineer,*  
*By Tho<sup>s</sup>. Jefferys Geographer*  
*to His Royal Highness the Prince*

British Miles 60 to a Degree.  
 French and French Sea Leagues 20 to a Degree

*Published by Tho<sup>s</sup>. Jefferys near Charing Cross London*



**EXPLANATION.**

- ☒ Habitation or Plantation
- Sugar works & Oven mill.
- Water mill.
- \* Places determined by Astronomical Observations.

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ture, destroyed; which observation is founded on experience. The exports from this island are sugars white and brown, cotton, ginger, indigo, cocoa, aloes, pimento, plantains, and other tropical fruits, with coffee, which has been planted by the Europeans with success; but it is not found so good as that of the *Levant*, though the fenna and cassia are better. The raising and manufacturing silk has been tried here, and yielded profit. The tea, which grows wild has been gainfully passed for the produce of *China*, without discovery by the nicest of palates. Pease, manioc, *Indian* grain of different sorts, with the most delicious sallads, large potatoes, and bananas, thrive here very fast; horned cattle, sheep, and good poultry are in sufficient numbers; nor are the serpents that lurk in the woods so numerous nor dangerous as fear has represented them.

All kinds of provisions imported yield a good, and often a very considerable profit, as beef, butter, dried fish, gammons of bacon, hams, tongues of oxen and hogs, sausages, cheese, corn, and dried fruit of all sorts that *Europe* affords, with wax, tallow, wines, brandy, drams, and all things that can contribute to the use or pleasures of the table; all sorts of *Birmingham* and *Sheffield* wares, of which there are many manufacturing factories in *France*, with powder and ball, every implement necessary to the plantation of land; hats, china, earthen ware, linen and woollen cloth, rich laces, cambricks, muslin and embroidery, ready made cloathes of all prices, gold and silver stuffs, utensils of the same metals, clocks and watches, well set jewels, all sorts of ornamental furniture, and every thing that can flatter the pride and vanity of the weaker sex. To gratify their expentive appetites they have their favourite Negroes, who raise sugar, indigo, and cocoa for them by night, and the produce, called *manœuvre de la lune*, or moonlight work, is appropriated to this purpose; every woman in the island now encouraging it as their right, though allowed otherwise by her husband an handsome sum for pin-money.

The first Islanders, like the old inhabitants of *Lacedemon*, could fight well by sea and land, and were disposed to any actions of gallantry or valour; but then few of them were able to read or write, so that their glorious deeds remained un sung. The case is at present otherwise; learning daily gains ground, so that all kinds of books sell well here, those of amusement particularly best, though science is not without its encouragement.

Having thus given, from the best authorities, a general, we shall proceed to a particular view of the island, in the progress of which we promise rather exactness than order. If we chance to omit speaking of some of the parishes, let it be imputed either to their want of consequence, or of variety; and we would rather be instructive and brief, than minute and wearisome. This done, we shall present the reader with an historical account of the first settlement of the island, continued down to its present opulent state.

*Fort St Peter*, when first seen from the sea, appears like a row of houses at the foot of a steep mountain; but, as you approach the land, the distance between them increases considerably: Regularly built houses, streets well peopled, and an hurry of business, next occur at once to observation: You are boarded by a multitude of Negro slaves, whose wretched attire, and naked backs, melted with blows, excite pity from a compassionate stranger: Their only cloathing is a pair of coarse canvas drawers, and a miserable covering for the head, something like a bonnet, or the remains of an hat.

The town of *St Peter* takes its name from a fort built in 1665, by *M. de Cladré*, governor of *Martinico*, with an intention rather to awe the seditious inhabitants, who often revolted against the *West India* company, than to resist the attacks of a foreign enemy. It is an oblong, for the most part regularly built of good stone, with a strong battery of cannon, which commands the road. The opposite side, where the *Place d'Armes* lies, is flanked at each end with a round tower, and embrasures for four pieces of cannon. The wall joining these towers is also bored for cannon, but has neither ditch, palisade, nor covered way. The road, which is excellent, except in the middle, where is a sharp rock at bottom that cuts the cables, is also commanded by some cannon, mounted on one of the shortest sides of the fort, and faces the East. The fort is walled by the river *Roxelana*, now called *St Peter's*, or the *Fort River*. The gate lies to the East, and opens into a long court, flanked on the North, which looks towards the country, by a palisaded wall; and on the South, or towards the sea, by a wall

wall planted with artillery. Within the gate, on the left hand, or North, stands the guard-house; and opposite to it, at the bottom of the long court, is a chapel, a vestry, and a guard-room. *Fort St Peter* may be commanded every where but from the sea, and most part of that front, with an angular battery on the river, were torn down and destroyed in 1695 by an hurricane. The wall has been rebuilt, and there is a platform, in the place of the other building, which forms part of the governor's lodgings.

Town of *St Peter* described.

The town may be properly divided into three quarters, *St Peter's*, *la Mouillage*, and *la Galere*. *St Peter's*, or the middle quarter, begins at the fort and the parochial church, and extends to a mountain on the West, where there is a *battery à barbette*, mounted with eleven pieces of cannon, called *St Nicholas's battery*. *La Mouillage*, so called from the anchorage of vessels secured by the goodness of the ground, reaches from the said island to that of *St Robert's* on the Western extremity. Vessels are here better sheltered, and, upon the whole, ride safer than at *Fort St Peter*. Divine service for the people of this quarter, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring eminences, is celebrated in a church belonging to the Dominicans, and dedicated to our Blessed Lady of *Safe Harbour*. *La Galere*, or *Gallery* quarter, is a long street by the seaside, running from *Fort St Peter* to a small battery at the mouth of the Jesuit's river. The hurricane above-mentioned swept away from this quarter above 200 houses, leaving only three or four standing, among which was a magazine belonging to the *Guinea* company, which, by means of a strong parapet of stone, resisted the most impetuous violence of the sea.

*St Peter's* church.

In the two parishes into which these quarters are divided, one of them belonging to the Jesuits, the other to the order of *St Dominic*, were reckoned, the beginning of this century, near 5000 communicants, including soldiers and sailors, and as many children. *St Peter's* church is a handsome piece of masonry, though the architects have been guilty of some gross imperfections in the design. The front is of hewn stone in the Doric style. The church, which is 120 by 36 feet, is in the form of a cross, the wings made of two chapels. The altars, seats, and pulpit, &c. are very handsome, and religious offices decently performed. The houses of the intendant, the particular governor, the court of justice, the prison, the public bakehouse, magazine for ammunition, the royal treasury, a monastery of nuns, a large sugarwork, which belongs to the Marchioness *de Maintenon d'Angennes*, and the habitations of the most considerable merchants are in *St Peter's* parish.

*Mouillage* church.

The Dominican, which is the parochial church of *la Mouillage*, is 90 feet by 30, and two square chapels of 24 feet in a side form the wings, shaping it thus like a cross. It has a front of stone in the Tuscan style, extremely simple; there is a commodious pew for the reception of the sea officers, who have also here a right of sepulture, because they contributed largely to the building which is neatly finished, and stands in the midst of a church yard, walled round, with a gate opening into the chief street of the parish. On one side of the church yard, at about 300 paces from the street, stands a Dominican convent, to which you pass through an orange walk, about 100 paces long, each pace three French feet and half, and intersected by another walk of much the same dimensions. The order has lately enlarged their territory in the neighbourhood, and considerably improved it; for where the honest friars once get footing they will be sure to confirm and extend it. The convent was at first a neat square building of wood, 50 feet long, containing on the ground-floor three small chambers and a hall, with a stair case leading to an upper story, which was divided into three apartments: Behind the convent, and on each side, were detached buildings, which served for a kitchen, hen-house, and refectory. Beyond the convent is a good kitchen garden abounding with all sorts of roots, greens, and fruits, and inclosed by a double range of orange-trees. This garden was once laid waste by a torrent from the mountains, which covered it with stones, destroying every thing in the ground, and filling the convent itself with the rubbish to the height of four feet, leaving only some china oranges unhurt.

New Dominican convent.

The Dominican convent, which was erected in the room of the old one, under the direction of *la Bat*, has an elegance that will sufficiently compensate for the time which the reader may consume in the perusing of it. Hence will be not only furnished with an idea of the improvements made upon *Martinique*, in regard of its buildings

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ings within the 18th century; but also plainly perceive in what a state of restriction and mortification the humble fathers live; how strictly they adhere to the vows of poverty, and what sufferings they sustain in this world, to secure happiness in the world to come.

This building then, with which these emblems of meekness and humility are satisfied, is a grand pile of hewn stone facing the sea, with 16 windows in front. It is 120 feet long and 40 broad; at each end a wing runs out towards the mountains, each 60 feet long and 30 broad. The grand floor is raised four feet above the surface, with an ascent of seven steps, by which you pass through a grand folding door into a spacious hall, 46 feet by 22, at each end of which are two chambers, each 22 feet by 15, with two windows, from whence you have a prospect of the harbour. The hall is enlightened by four windows in front, and as many in the back part; and the whole story is 13 feet high. There is a gallery backward 15 feet broad, running the whole length of the buildings, in which opens a door not only out of the hall, but out of each chamber. The gallery has also three doors, one at each end, and one in the middle, which lead to a back court, containing the kitchen, laundry, and other offices necessary to the sons of poverty and self-denial, and also into a kitchen garden well stocked. From this gallery also you pass through two arches into each wing, the ground-floor of one of which serves for a dining hall, or refectory; that of the other for an infirmary. The Attic flight, or second story, is twelve foot high from the floor to the ceiling, divided into seven noble chambers, each having a door that opens into a gallery parallel with that below. Over the principal door there is a grand balcony in the Doric style, a noble stone balustrade crowns the top of the building all round, adorned with vases and globes, and inclosing an handsome terras, on which the good men take the air in an evening.

Description of the convent.

The monastery of nuns of the order of *St Ursula* joins the intendant's house, and is under the direction of the Jesuits. Here boarders are received, and the little girls of the town properly instructed in the necessary branches of female education. The monastery is rich, and well filled, many Creole maidens from time to time taking the veil, and bringing with them a portion of 5000 franks each.

Nunnery of St Ursula.

Our author, who was upon the mission, being ordered by his superiors to *Cabesterre*, set out with his companion from *Fort St Peter*, each upon a small horse, attended by a couple of Negroes, who carried their bed and bedding, the place of their destination being but indifferently provided with necessaries.

Journal of two missionaries.

Quitting the town of *St Peter*, they entered a beautiful avenue, about a quarter of a league long, lined with oranges, and dividing two spacious plantations, upon the largest of which, at this time, were upwards of 300 slaves, two sugarworks, a refining-house, a water-mill, a horse-mill, and a manufactory of chocolate. About half a league farther is a handsome plantation abounding with sugar, cocoa, &c. which formerly belonged to one *Benjamin D'Acosta*, a Jew, who considerably improved it. But the *West India* company, not chusing to bear any longer with the toleration of Jews, procured him to be stripped, and banished the island: There were honest Christians enough to seize upon the spot. His heirs and assigns had the king's permission, after the peace of *Ryswick*, to endeavour at repossessing themselves of this citate, which they tried to no purpose.

Plantations of sugar and coco.

Great injustice to a Jew.

At the top of a little craggy hill bounding an orange walk on this plantation, there is a parapet composed of palisades, filled with earth and fascines, and strengthened by some other works, and a few pieces of cannon; they call it the redoubt of *Martinico*, because it protects a savanna, where, in case of an attack, there is a safe and extensive retreat for the women, children, and slaves, and where the cattle and moveables may be securely lodged. All the roads leading to it are intricate, craggy, and easily to be defended.

Redoubt of Martinico.

Having passed another orange walk, bounded by good sugar plantations, and crossed another little hill, they found themselves on the border of a forest three leagues long, at the entrance of which stands a wooden crois, erected by the first missionaries. Here are several large stately trees, that emit a whitish gum. And our travellers inform us, that as they were now in an ascent all the way to *Morne de la Calabasse*, or *Gourdhill*, they had sufficient leisure to make their observations, their slaves and horses both jogging on very slowly, the one being laden, the other heavily laden.

Foot.

*Morne de la  
Cabo-Verde, or  
Gourd Hill.*

*Gourd-Hill* is half way, and the highest spot of ground, between *Basse* and *Cabo-Verde*. In the way at *Rouge-Morne*, or *Red-Hill*, some reverend fathers of the charity are settled, who plant cocoa and rocou, and have some herds of cattle, which thrive very well. Their residence on this spot has induced other planters to settle on it, and they find their account in raising cocoa, and feeding cattle. *Cabo-Verde*, viewed on a fine day from a rising hill, affords a very pleasing prospect, for you see the greater part of it, being mostly level, and fertile; whereas the *Basse Terre*, though in a lower situation, is more craggy and uneven. There is a road cut through this hill, which is very narrow, and the only passage hereabouts that unites the two *Terres*. It may be very easily defended, and though an enemy were masters of one side of the country, they would on this account find it hard to penetrate into the other, if opposed but by a few people of resolution.

Strong pass.

Fountain.

It being now turned of noon, they dismounted at the bottom of the hill, and turned their horses loose to feed among the woods; then, seating themselves by the side of a fountain on the left hand of the road, they refreshed themselves with such provisions as they had carried with them, and their Negroes dined on salt-fish and manioc, which they had brought for that purpose.

Burying place  
of the  
Negroes.  
*Falaise* river.

Three quarters of a league forward is a piece of consecrated ground, marked by a cross, and here the Christian Negroes of the neighbourhood bury their dead. Descending by a road, cut through the declivity of an hill, they reached the river *Falaise*, and passing through an orange walk, which serves as a fence to a thriving plantation of cocoa, they came to the end of the wood, where stands a third cross, called the cross of *Basse-Point*, as it leads to the quarter and town of the same name.

Cross of  
*Basse-Point*.

*Capot* river.

Leaving this cross on the left hand, and going straight forward, they reached the river *Capot*, which they crossed. All the rivers here are torrents, that tumble with vast impetuosity from the mountains on the least rains, and suddenly swell the stream to a great degree; they are seldom more than two or three feet deep. The waters of the *Capot* are clear and pleasant, commonly about ten fathom wide, and two or three feet deep in the middle; the bottom is rough, stoney, and unequal; the passage is not very safe in rough weather.

*Grande Ance*  
parish.

From hence to the parish of *Grande Ance* is a small league, and the road, though fatiguing from its inequality, made a little pleasant by the oranges with which it is lined. At the curate's house our reverend travellers hoped to find the labours of the day concluded with some refreshments; but they were deceived, the good man was abroad, and had left nobody at home but a Negro, who told them his master knew of their coming, and had commanded him to refresh them with what they wanted, but at the same time advised them to hasten forward, since he could not accommodate them with a lodging, and was obliged to be absent. This might possibly have been the case, but it is more likely that he chose to be out of the way, because tired out by repeated visits from his brethren.

*St James's*  
cove.

*Lorain* and  
*Macle* rivers.

This reception was both a disappointment and a mortification, but they were obliged to acquiesce, and continue their rout, though their horses were quite tired, and their slaves sinking under their burdens. However, as they had a little before foddered their beasts, and now recruited the Negroes with each a good dram of brandy, though it was near sunset, they pushed forward for *St James's Cove*, at two leagues distance. After climbing two or three more steep and craggy eminences, and passing the rivers *Lorain* and *Macle* with no small trouble, as they were a little swollen, one of their horses began to halt, and there was a necessity to drag him forward; night too came on, with a heavy shower of rain, which obliged them to take shelter under the trees till the clouds were passed over. They were now both forced to lead their horses, and arriving at *Mariget* parish, found no hopes of relief, because no clergyman resided in the place; determining therefore to proceed, by the advice of their Negroes, they resolved, as the shortest way, to load the tired horse with their baggage, and, leaving him all night in a secure place, to pass on with the other, the fathers riding him by turns. They now reached the banks of *Carpenter's* river, which they passed over on horseback, not without danger, as the bottom is a quicksand. When one of the fathers had crossed, the Negroes returned with the horse for the other. He who went over first being by chance entangled among the briars, fancied himself that instant seized by a serpent, and cried out again; but was not a little abashed when he discovered his mistake, which afforded his companion some mirth. The horse now seemed

*St James's*  
cove.

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*St James's*  
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to know his way, for he freely began to mend his pace. But he had not gone far before he went on his knees, as it were to kiss the ground out of veneration; a ceremony the good father upon his back would have very willingly excused, as it brought him also to the earth. The road to their journey's end, by account of their Negroes, was now but short, though very bad and uneven, and rendered still worse by the rain that had lately fallen; wherefore they agreed to walk, and a Negro was ordered to lead the horse; one of the good fathers, almost fatigued to death, held him by the tail, the other followed his footsteps, and the second Negro brought up the rear. After many times tumbling they gained *St James's* river, which they crossed over on horse-back, and 300 paces more brought them to the convent, half dead with wet, dirt, and fatigue. Their brethren were surpris'd at such a late visit, it being nine o'clock at night, and blamed them for not stopping at some house, assuring them that any of the planters would have harboured them with pleasure, since want of hospitality, especially to the clergy, was not the growth of the place.

*St James's river.*

Fathers arrive at the end of their journey.

They were here treated with great brotherly love, and refreshed with clean clothes, linnen, and a good supper. As for other conveniences the convent was very poor, the napkins were all torn, and yet two of them were obliged to be spread over the table cloth to hide the holes. Hunger however gave the travellers excellent stomachs, and though the beds were rather worse than the rest of the accommodation fatigue soon closed their eyes. The next morning they were relieved by the arrival of their own bedding and baggage, together with the horse which they had left behind.

Their treatment.

*St James's Cove* is a flat piece of ground, about 900 feet wide, flanked by two high heads of land, and watered by a small stream called *St James's* river. It is about eight leagues from *Fort St Peter*, and two from *Trinity* town. The convent stands on an eminence by the river side, about 300 paces from the sea, to which it lies open. The building of which it consists may comprehend ten or eleven square fathoms; on the left is the domestic chapel, thirty six feet by eighteen, and eight feet high, being a piece of stone work, with a small vestry ten feet by six. The body of the main building, which is thirty six by twenty four feet, contains a hall twenty feet by sixteen, with a little office, two chambers that look to the sea, each sixteen feet by twelve, and a staircase, leading to a gallery containing two chambers, each of which may be parted into two, and all in very bad order. Adjoining to the building is a storehouse of twenty four feet by twelve, thro' which you pass into a kitchen of the same length, and seven feet wide. The whole edifice was out of repair, as well as the sugarworks belonging to it, which, together with the water mill, were not only wretchedly situated, so as to be subject to every inundation, but also most incommodiously designed. The whole was the choice and contrivance of father *John Temple*, an *English* friar, and re-dounded but little to the honour of his judgment.

Description of *St James's* cove, and convent.

In a bad repair.

The chief cause of this indigent state of the house is ascribed to the millionaires, its late possessors, who, through want of œconomy, ran it very much in debt; however, new regulations, and good management soon recovered it, and it is at this time not only newly built, but considerably endowed.

Reasons for it

*Pere Labat*, to whom we are obliged for great part of this account, being appointed to the parish of *Macouba*, a good way East of *St James's* cove, set out, attended by a Negro boy about seventeen. He was provided with a bottle of wine and a loaf, his servant was well acquainted with the road, and the good father was by this time a little skilled in the lad's gibberish. At the *Grande Ance* he met with the kindest reception from the curate, who would fain have detained him all night. Passing the river *Capot*, he entered upon two fine plantations in a flat level country, three or four fathom above the sea, and extending about two leagues to the foot of a mountain of easy access. From the river *Capot*, where *Basse-Point* commences, to the great river which separates *Macouba* from the *Preacher's* parish, lies the richest and most secure tract of land in all *Martinico*. The plantations are almost all divided by little rivulets, or deep ditches, which answer the same end; and though they render the roads very difficult, yet at the same time they are not without their conveniency, for they may serve as trenches in time of war to stop the progress of an enemy, who, if perhaps he has got footing upon one quarter, will from these obstacles find it hard to prevail in another.

Journey to *Macouba*.

Another journey of *Father Labat* *Grand enc.*

Rich tract of land.

Our missionary arriving at length at his parochial church, found here a female slave, who told him that, by ringing the bell, the schoolmaster, who lived at the sea side,

Father arrives at the parish.

and

## A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

and kept the keys, would be quickly roused. The sound had its effect, and he soon appeared, together with the churchwarden; and as the place was quite in disorder, the said officer of the parish intreated his reverence for that night to accept of such entertainment as his habitation afforded. The good man heartily closed with his proposal, and accordingly followed him through a steep, narrow way, hewn through the rock to the strand, not without shuddering at every step, for had his horse once slipped, he must inevitably have broke his neck. However, on assurances that such an accident had never happened, and that the horse knew the road, he afterwards passed and repassed it without the least fear. By the sea side he found besides the schoolmaster, a surgeon, and some other inhabitants, with magazines filled with sugars, and other commodities for exportation. Here, in a large opening, as it were cut between two steep banks, falls the river *Macouba*, about two feet deep, and forty feet in breadth. The churchwarden, whose house was here pleasantly seated, was the same gentleman whose life, as we observed, had been saved at *Marigalante* by the timely arrival of General *Coddington*. The parochial church of *Macouba* is dedicated to *St Anne*, whose picture hangs over the altar; the depth of this church is twenty feet, its breadth sixty, the two chapels which form the arms of the cross are each seventeen feet every way, and the choir is twenty four by twenty. The chapel on the right is dedicated to our Lady of *Rosary*, and serves for a confessional; that on the left, sacred to *St Anthony of Padua*, is used as a vestry.

*Macouba river & church*

Father visits a missionary.

*Basse-Point church and town.*

After residing some days at *Macouba*, our author visited the missionary at *Basse-Point* parish, whom he found prepared to receive him and fourteen or fifteen of his parishioners, who escorted him, in a very hospitable manner, having been previously supplied with all the necessary provisions from a foreknowledge of the intended visit.

The parochial church of *Basse-Point* is dedicated to *St John Baptist*; formerly *St Adrian* was the patron, but how he came to be disunited we are not told. This church is all of stone, prettily finished, sixty feet long and twenty four broad, has no wings, is too low, and spoiled by adhering to the old custom of fixing the altar in the East, by which means its flank, instead of its front, looks towards the street. The town is small, consisting of no more than twenty houses, inhabited by merchants, mechanics, and officers of the customs. The curate's house is small, but neat and convenient, with a garden in good order, and a meadow inclosed for his horse, as cattle may graze abroad all the year.

After residing a month at this parish our author now returned to *Fort St Peter*, to report the state in which he found it to his superior, and to consult about the manner in which he was to be supplied with provisions. Here he took the opportunity of a passage boat to carry him down to *Fort Royal*, where he had long wished to pay his respects to the governor, *Count de Blenac*. The boat belonged to a free Negro, who made the course from fort to fort, and back again the same day. He exacted a crown a head, allowing each passenger a servant gratis, or hired the whole boat for six crowns. This carriage is very commodious, for though it be but seven leagues by land, the roads are so intricate and inconvenient, being a continued chain of dangerous and craggy ascents and descents as to be hardly passable; the distance by sea is computed at nine leagues. About two in the morning he left *Fort St Peter's*, in company of four other passengers, with five Negroes to manage the boat. Two leagues to the leeward of *Fort St Peter*, they were overtaken by a sudden gust of wind and rain, and put into a small bay, and going ashore, found refuge in the natural hollow of the steep beach till the clouds were passed. Then they reembarked, and the tired missionary tells us, that if he fails to describe the coast, it was because he fell asleep, and waked not till he arrived at *Fort Royal*, when it was near nine in the forenoon, and, as his coming had been notified to the governor, he was soon after introduced, and treated in the most cordial manner: That gentleman, who knew our author's skill in mathematics, and particularly in fortification, used many arguments for inducing him to stay at *Fort Royal* to oversee the new works. But this he absolutely declined, insisting that the principal acting engineer, who had been sent thither by the ministry, was, doubtless, a man of sufficient knowledge and integrity to account himself properly of his charge.

After a conference of two hours, the captain of the guard was ordered to conduct him through the fort, and shew him every part of it. After which review, the governor insisted on his company at dinner. The engineer, whose name was *Cailus*, was a *Languedocian*, a great matter in his art, and one, who, according to our author, if he had been

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been permitted to pursue his own plans without controul, would have made the place almost impregnable; but the greatest geniusses are too often counteracted by knavery or folly; and the advice of the most disinterested person is least regarded. Such is the case every where, as well as at *Martinico*, and it will be so always. The fortification, had already a multitude of defects, owing to the ignorance of a fellow, who, with scarce any capacity, was thro' interest, made surveyor of the building, and had intirely deviated from the plan of *Blouel*, proposed in 1675, pretending that to pursue it would be too expensive. But that which he substituted in its place so abounded in faults, that vast sums and great labour were ineffectually wasted to correct them.

Blunders of  
an engineer.

Joining to a neck of land, about 20 fathoms broad, connected with the continent, is seated an eminence, or peninsula, every where else surrounded by the sea, which lies at least 16 fathoms beneath it. Here stands the fort on a loose and gravelly foundation, which easily crumbles a little below the surface. This neck of land is defended by two small demi-bastions, and a small half-moon covering the curtain, with a ditch filled with water, a covered way palisadoed, and a glacis. The gate of the fort is on the side of a demi-bastion opening upon the rock, with a narrow stair-case cut in the rock, leading to a platform, on which are some pieces of cannon. This stair-case brings you to another of a similar nature, by which you are conducted to a second platform mounted with cannon. The side of the fort towards the rock is secured by a double wall well flanked. On the side of the sea is only a parapet, with embrasures. There is a third terras, or platform, above the entrance, upon which some cannon are placed, which command an eminence that overlooks the fort on the opposite shore. The garrison in time of peace consists of seldom less than 400 marines. The last mentioned battery appeared to our author particularly useful, as otherwise the fort might be considerably annoyed from the eminence before mentioned, called the *Capucelin Morne*, in possession of an enemy.

Fort Royal  
described.

As the intention of this short voyage was now fully answered, our reverend author returned to his parish by the same vehicle that had brought him to *Fort Royal*. He takes no notice of any particular part of the coast, except the *Casse Pilote*, a quarter intersected by little hills, and craggy heads of land; but the spaces between are savannas, planted with cassia, which was formerly a good commodity; but the tree is now so common, being cultivated in every part of the *Basseterre*, that it is no longer thought worth gathering. Some of the parishes have been formerly under the inspection of the secular clergy, but they have been supplanted by the Friars, and Jesuits, who have now, more particularly the Friars, the pastoral care of all the *French* islands. The king pays the curate in brown sugar, and his income runs from 9 to 12000 lb. which, reduced to coin, does not amount to a considerable sum. Their habitations are, however, for the most part, very commodious, and the people, who stand in great awe of them, are continually making them presents, so that they seldom need to purchase any thing.

Casse Pilote,  
quarter.

Parishes by  
whom govern-  
ed.

As the religious orders on these islands are subject to no episcopal jurisdiction, whether *American* or *European*, they are accountable for their proceedings to a superior general, who is vested with all necessary spiritual powers by the congregation de *propaganda fide*; and they have many great and particular privileges conferred upon them by a papal bull; such as, in particular cases, to dispense with breach of oath, with keeping of ill-gotten goods, and even to pardon wilful murder; from all which, and many other crimes, they are at liberty to absolve, certain acknowledgments being made to the church. This submission answers every end, and without it hell is pronounced rather too good an asylum for the delinquent, who, if he be an infidel or pagan newly converted, is still allowed to keep as many wives as before, being obliged, however, to give the preference to such of them as chance to be Christians.

Privileges of  
religious or-  
ders.

Our author being now settled in his parish, had leisure to review the neighbouring places, and, among others, he gives us the following account of *Trinity* quarter. The town is about two leagues from *St James's* cove; part of the way is pleasant enough, till you reach two hills, which are high and craggy, covered with a red earth that glisters after a little rain. The river *St Mary* is also to be crossed, which is dangerous, not only because it often shifts its bed, but as it swells considerably, if the sea happen to be a little higher than usual. *Trinity* harbour is a large gulf, flanked on the South-west by a neck of land, at least two leagues long, and ending in a point called *Pointe*

Trinity quar-  
ter described

Town.

St Mary river

Trinity Har-  
bour.

- Pointe de la Carvelle.* *de la Carvelle.* The other side is secured by a promontory above 1300 feet long, which joins to the main land by an isthmus about 240 feet broad. At the bottom of the harbour is a chain of rocks and shoals, which are plainly seen at low water; and here a small battery might be very easily raised. A battery upon the promontory, the surface of which is flat, protects the entrance of the harbour; for all ships are obliged to pass under it within reach of pistol-shot. Here the curate has a house, too far indeed both from the town and the church; but this is but a small inconvenience, when weighed against a fine air, elegant situation, and delightful prospect, in the judgment of a pampered Friar. The town, in 1694, consisted of rather less than an hundred houses, most of them of wood, and forming a curve line, by bending round the harbour. It is, since that time, considerably improved; and the houses are now many of them of stone, and there are some handsome back streets; the church has been rebuilt in a fine taste. The town owes its thriving condition principally to the vast quantities of sugar, cocoa, and cotton raised in these quarters, by which merchants were encouraged to settle, by reaping a considerable profit, and ships invited to make it their mart by finding a quick sale for their cargoes from *Europe*, and a ready and cheap supply of country commodities. As this quarter is extremely populous, the sale on both parts must be naturally quick, the demand being equally eager on either side; and it is reasonable to suppose, that the people would rather chuse to supply their necessities, and dispose of their crops at home, than at *Bassisterre*, which is considerably distant. Besides the port being a good bottom, and well sheltered, ships can no where be more secure in case of an hurricane.
- Cul-de-Sac Robert bay.* *Cul-de-Sac Robert* is a bay about two leagues deep, flanked by two points of land, *Pointe de la Rose*, and *Pointe des Gallions*. The mouth of it is covered by a small island about a league in circumference, called in the maps *Monsieur*. The property of this islet is vested in the order of *St Dominic*, to which it was presented by the heirs of Governor *Du Parquet*, to whom it originally belonged. There is another small isle a little more to the Eastward, between which and *Monsieur* the sea forms a canal, and the two together not only break the force of the waves as well as winds, but also conduce to make the harbour equally calm and secure. Thus we see this harbour has three inlets; two between the islands and the main land, which are shallow, and admit only of small craft; and one between the two islands, of a good depth, and fifty or sixty fathoms wide. Fancy cannot frame a finer port any where; it is not only capable of containing a multitude of shipping, but those of the heaviest burthen will in many places find water enough to ride so close to the shore, that you may cross to it on a plank. The parochial church, dedicated to *St Rose*, stands on an eminence to the west, it is a neat edifice of stone, pleasantly situated, and has a prospect of the whole bay, is free from flies and other vermin, and watered on one side by a running stream.
- Gallion river.* Returning from thence to *Trinity* bay, the river *Gallion* must be crossed, which is generally done in a canoe, tho', by taking a sweep by the sea-side, you may pass near its mouth on horseback over a bank of white sand, without wetting the horse's belly, when the sea is low. The passage indeed is at any time dangerous, not only on account of the sharks and becunes, or paricotas, that haunt it, but also because about three leagues within land, where it becomes more rapid, and consequently more shallow, in many places it forms whirlpools, which have occasioned the loss of several slaves. The breadth of it is from 30 to 35 fathoms.
- Tides between the tropics and in the Mediterranean.* As our author talks often of the sea running low and high, he thinks it necessary to observe that, whatever may be advanced to the contrary, there is undoubtedly a constant ebbing and flowing between the tropics, and even in the *Mediterranean*, under the influence of the moon, and that it is far from being imperceptible. Of this, he says, he is convinced from constant and close attention to the motion of the waters between the tropics for more than 12 years: Nor was he less attentive to the changes of the *Mediterranean* sea, during six years residence at *Civita Vecchia*.
- Gallion harbour.* Between *Trinity* and *Robert* harbours lies *Gallion* harbour, or bay, flanked by *Pointe la Carvelle*, a branch of which to the Eastward takes the name of *Tartanne*, and separates the *Greater Gallion* bay from the *Lesser*, hence often called *Tartanne* bay.
- Cul de Sac, or Francois harbour.* As our missioner made no regular progress through the island, but traversed it backward and forward as necessity or pleasure dictated, the reader must not be surpris'd if, from the river *Gallion*, we proceed to the *Cul-de-Sac*, or *Francois* harbour, which

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is four leagues from *Pointe à la Rose*; and were it not for a moving sand at the mouth of it, which shifts with the tides, and the situation of which, especially in the time of floods cannot be ascertained, this bay would be better than that of *Robert*, because larger and deeper. It is fronted by three small islands, one of which furnishes a white stone used in the sugar furnaces, though it neither resists fire so well as the grey stones of *Basseterre*, nor the red found about *Trinity* bay. The reader will please to observe, in the course of this work, that we use *Bay*, *Harbour*, and *Cul-de-Sac*, as synonymous terms; for example, *Cul-de-Sac de la Trinité* we sometimes render *Trinity* bay, &c.

Our author mentions a *Rivière Française*, so called after the harbour in this place, near forty fathoms wide, and very deep. The sea water, he says, mixes with it, and communicates to it a brackish or rather saltish taste, two miles from its mouth. Its bed, like that of the other rivers of *Martinica*, is upon such a declivity, that a little rain converts the stream to a torrent. It abounds with excellent fish, but the sharks and paricotas often disturb the sport of fishing.

The channels seems freighted by the mangroves that encroach upon its limits; but they yield a most agreeable shade, and help to render this quarter almost inaccessible to an enemy. For no part of it would require to be covered by an armed force, except where openings are made for canoes to pass up and down for the convenience of merchandize, and these might be easily secured. Yet this advantage is not without some bad consequences; for it not only entirely prevents the heat of the sun, but gives birth and animation to such swarms of musquetoes, wasps, and other sorts of troublesome flies, that they darken the air, and spread themselves over the dwelling houses in such quantities, as to render staying within doors impossible. However they may be chased away with smoke, and the wind is often kind enough to do that good office.

At the *Preacher's* quarter, you see a customhouse, a small fortification, mounted with cannon, and defended by a company of soldiers, with a good magazine, and a parochial church, dedicated to *St Joseph*, and belonging to the Dominicans. The town is but small, for, excepting two or three plantations in a level spot or two, the whole quarter is very mountainous and uneven, perhaps the most so of any in the island, consequently neither fertile nor populous. It takes its name from a large rock lying off the point, bearing some resemblance to a preacher in a pulpit.

*Carbet* quarter is also very mountainous; as it formerly belonged to governor *du Parquet*, it is sometimes, even to this day, called the quarter of *Monsieur*. It is watered by a fine river, in which is a small island, where that gentleman built a house of brick, and resided several years, when he conferred it on the brothers of *Ignatius*. Here are some plantations of manioc and tobacco; and an indifferent edifice of stone, dedicated to *St James*, is the church belonging to the parish.

The parochial church at *la Casé Pilote* is under the protection of the Holy Virgin. Facing the road appears a fine piece of flat fertile soil, and here is also a small garrison, some storehouses, and a customhouse for weighing tobacco. In the neighbourhood you have a prospect of a savannah, almost two leagues long, at the foot of a mountain, where cows, oxen, and goats, breed wonderfully, and thrive very fast.

Every parish has its magistrate, or magistrates, who decide in causes of property, or disputes of any kind happening within their particular precinct. An appeal lies from them to the sovereign council, composed of the governor general, the intendant, the lieutenant governor of the island, twelve counsellors, a procurator general, and the king's lieutenants, who have each a right to a seat and a vote. Their decisions are liable to the examination of the board of trade in *Europe*, and they are sometimes set aside. In the absence of the governor general, intendant, and lieutenant governor, the oldest counsellor presides, collects opinions, and pronounces sentence. This council sits twice every month at *Fort Royal*. The seats of the counsellors are not sold, they are given to merit, or to interest; and the secretary of state for the plantations, signs their commissions.

These counsellors are most of them substantial planters, few of them know any thing of law, and are somewhat like the jurymen of *England*. It is unnecessary to speak here of the climate of this island, which differs but little from that of the rest of the *Antilles*, of which we shall hereafter give a concise natural history by itself, under which head, the reader may expect to find us treat of the disorders peculiar to the place, and of the various products and particular properties of the soil.

A General

*A General History of the first settling of Martinico, with the various Difficulties, Wars, and most material Transactions.*

Avarice motive to settlements.

**A**VARICE is not the growth of this century, the mind of man has been in every age actuated by a desire of riches, continually inspiring a contempt of danger, and a passion for the most difficult undertakings. A review of the first plantations of *St Christopher's* and *Guadalupe*, affords us a strong proof of this position. The difficulty, dangers, and expence of raising and keeping together five or 600 men, and sending them on a voyage of near 2000 leagues, to clear a land covered with wood, void of every necessary, to cultivate a soil in itself unwholesome, and to face, without shelter, all the disadvantages and inclemencies of an inauspicious climate, required an uncommon stock of prudence, activity, and resolution.

M. d'Enambuc has carried the settlement to Martinico.

*M. d'Enambuc*, in the settling of *St Christopher's*, shewed himself master of all these qualities. It was his intention afterwards to have planted *Guadalupe*; but having communicated his design to *M. d'Olive*, his lieutenant, that gentleman made his own use of the confidence, and obtained a patent in his own favour for the company.

*Martinico* was now the island of consequence that remained without culture, *M. d'Enambuc*, therefore, who had, from a private adventurer, raised himself to great power and wealth, and was besides well respected wherever he was known, determined to take immediate possession of it, and to clear it, and people it in the name of the king, and under the direction of the company.

Assembling therefore, at *St Christopher's*, about one hundred hardy fellows, who were accustomed to changes of weather, different climates, and hard work, and consequently well adapted to clearing of woods, working of ground, and building of houses, he embarked with them for *Martinico* in *July 1635*, and landed there on the sixth day after.

He had furnished himself with a good cargoe of necessary provisions, besides manioc, pulse, all sorts of grain, and potatoes, &c. to put in the ground, with various necessary utensils, and implements fit for the improvement of land. His first task was to erect a fortification, with cannon for its defence, which he dedicated to *St Peter* and *St Paul*, having landed on the octave of their festival. Having completed this with some other buildings, and seen the plantation in a promising way, he returned to *St Christopher's*, leaving *M. du Pont*, a man of merit and courage, to act as his lieutenant; charging him, above all other considerations, to keep peace with the Savages.

Fort St Peter

Native quarrel with the French.

These barbarians, uneasy at the progress of a new settlement, not only murmured openly against it, but even picked a quarrel with the planters, in which some were killed on both sides. After this fray no person went out of the fort without being well armed, a precaution useful to the preservation of their lives, and which occasioned the destruction of many treacherous *Caribbeans*, who, however, continued every day to parade well armed about the fort, in hopes of an opportunity to surprize it; but in this they were deceived. Hence therefore they had recourse to such of their neighbours at *Dominica*, *St Vincents*, &c. as were enemies to the *French*, in conjunction with whom they presented themselves before the fort in a body of 1500; and having carefully reconnoitred the place, without perceiving any preparations to resist an attack, they supposed that the garrison, intimidated by their numbers, were afraid to shew themselves, and therefore pressed forward with shouting, and in a disorderly manner, imagining they should carry their point without any opposition. But, in the mean time, *du Pont* had prepared for their reception, keeping all his men out of sight, except one to each of three pieces of cannon, which he had charged up to the mouth with musket balls, broken nails, and old iron. The guns were so well served that, on being fired, they made a dreadful slaughter among the assailants, and filled them with such a panic, that they fled in the utmost disorder, not even staying to carry off their dead and wounded, as was their usual custom.

Repulsed from the fort.

Sue for peace

This unexpected defeat so terrified these Savages, that the *French* were now at liberty to improve and extend their plantations without disturbance, since the fugitives did not so much as think on returning for a long time after, until at length they sued for peace in very abject terms. They plainly perceived that this was their best way of proceeding, for the colony grew daily so much in strength and riches, that it was out of their power

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power to hurt it; and ships found it to their advantage to lade and unlade daily, as the port was good, the products of the soil excellent in their kind, and the markets quick. *Du Pont* received the deputies of the *Caribbeans* with great mildness and civility, acquainting them, by his interpreter, that it was with regret he had found himself obliged to repel force by force; that they had sought the quarrel themselves, and consequently deserved the loss they had sustained; that it was his most sincere intention to keep upon peaceable terms with them, and preserve a perpetual course of mutual and amicable correspondence. Nay more, he assured them he had their interest warmly at heart, and should embrace every opportunity to convince them of the truth of his declaration. The *Caribbeans* answered in the same friendly strain, and peace was at length concluded about the end of the year, to the general joy of the colony and the *French* settlements, as well as to the great satisfaction of their adversaries.

Conclude a peace.

*Du Pont* seeing his endeavours thus successfully crowned, determined to pass over for a few days to *Guadalupe*, to give an account of his proceedings to *D'Enambuc*, to procure a reinforcement of inhabitants, and a fresh supply of provisions for present use, seeds for the ground, implements for cultivating it, and every thing necessary to promote the interest of the infant plantation.

He had scarcely got out of port, when a violent storm arose, which drove his ship ashore upon the coast of *Hispaniola*, where he, together with all his equipage, fell into the hands of the *Spaniards*, who, judging from his appearance that he was above the common rank of prisoners, selected him from the rest, and shut him up in a close prison, where he remained three years, not the least syllable of his fate transpiring; and all his retinue, as well as the ship's crew, being so well secured, that none of them had means of escaping, it was supposed he had foundered at sea, and *Du Parquet*, nephew to *D'Enambuc*, was ordered to *Martinico* to command in his room.

Governor taken by the Spaniards.

*Du Parquet* appointed to succeed him.

This young gentleman, who had been carefully trained up under the eye of his uncle, and commanded a company at *St Christopher's*, was every way qualified for his new appointment. He landed at *Martinico* with about fifteen attendants, well inured to the climate, and a few servants. Through his great affability and other talents the country increased both in trade and people, though not till after some time; for the woods so abounded with serpents, that almost every tree which was felled appeared to harbour one, and the people were discouraged from clearing the ground, because the bite was yet without remedy, and its effect was found mortal in two days at farthest. The report of this pest gained ground daily, so that sailors were afraid of venturing ashore, and business was for the most part transacted on the water.

Venomous serpents.

*M. du Parquet* had now been upon the island three months, and gained entirely the affection of the people, when a *French* ship of 250 tons chanced to anchor in the road; twenty of the boldest passengers resolved to go ashore, to take a view of the island, despising the dangers represented by their more timid brethren. The governor received them with open arms, treated them with the utmost hospitality, shewed them the improvements he had made, and so fully convinced them of the advantages to be reaped by such people as might settle on it, that, on their return on board, they influenced the rest of the passengers to such a degree, that they mustered up a body of sixty-two, who, in spite of all remonstrances, determined to go not a step further, but to fix their standard and try their fortune on this very spot.

Colony reinforced.

The new colony soon became of consequence enough to command the due attention of the *West India* company, who had heard so much of its thriving condition, and the abilities of the commander, that they dispatched to him a commission, nominating him their Captain General of *Martinico*, with power to act as he should think best for the service of the crown and colony; and this commission, dated in Dec. 1637, was to continue unreversed and in full force for three years.

Governor commissioned by the *West India* company.

The following extract of a letter to President *Fouquet* shews the state of the place in 1639:

"The affairs of *Martinico* are in a thriving way. The care of *M. du Parquet*, under whom every thing proceeds regularly, merits the greatest praise. He has built houses about *Fort Royal*; others, as choice directed, have taken them, and the place begins to enlarge itself considerably. Here are 700 men fit to bear arms, and you will judge of the resistance they are capable of making, in case of an attack, when told they have not among them four rounds of powder. The palisades about the fort are repaired; but all the cannon are dismounted, and the carriages

Letter on the state of the colony in 1639

## A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

" unfit for service. There is but one carpenter upon *Martinico*, and there are but few on the other islands. This is no small deficiency; it is incumbent on you, by sending some people of that trade hither, to remove it. Thus have I shewn you its temporal, but what shall I say to its spiritual state? There are but two secular priests here; these are removed at a great distance from each other; and there are two Friars in this quarter. If any one of the four should ever arrive at the office of chancellor of *Sorbonne* I will renounce my spirit of prophecy; their incapacity is deplorable."

Du Halde &  
Fromenteau  
declining.

*D'Enambuc* dying, his lieutenant *M. du Halde*, a gallant *Gafcon*, who had lost an arm in the service of the crown, was appointed to succeed him. But tho' he accepted of the commission for the present, he begged to be excused from holding it, because of his very bad state of health. *M. de la Grange Fromenteau* was afterwards named for this important charge by the company; but he declined it, as not having a sufficiency of fortune to equip himself. He accepted however of the lieutenantancy under *M. Du Poincy*, who was induced to fill the post.

Du Poincy  
succeeds D'E-  
nambuc.

*Du Poincy*, who had been long a knight of *Malta*, and held benefices under the order, which had formerly yielded him an annual revenue of 20,000 livres, always maintained the character of a man of strong parts, and had given many proofs of his courage both against the infidels and the enemies of his country. He was powerful both in money and friends, having often served the *French* crown in the rank of a vice-admiral, and his birth was illustrious. He had been for some time out of business, on account of a dispute between him and the archbishop of *Bordeaux*, who commanded in chief the *French* marine, which detained him at *Paris*, and therefore the more readily agreed to acquiesce with the honours that sought him, and not only confirmed *De la Grange* in his lieutenantancy, but also advanced him, as a loan, 4000 livres, to equip him for his voyage, on which otherwise he would not have been able to proceed. This kindness, and every other part of his conduct towards *La Grange*, argued great benevolence and generosity, which, as is too commonly the case, were repaid with ingratitude in the sequel.

Arrives at  
*Martinico*.

*Poincy*, provided with a commission, constituting him Captain General of the island of *St Christopher's* for the company, and Lieutenant General of all the isles in behalf of his majesty, set out from *France* in a ship called the *Little Europe*, accompanied by a large body of soldiers, planters, and mechanics, in the beginning of the year 1639. On Feb. 11, he came to an anchor off *Martinico*, after a prosperous voyage, and was received on his landing with every honour due to his rank and quality, the cannon of the fort firing, and the soldiers under arms double lining the beach as he passed; and the next day his commission was read in public, and he was sworn into his authority. The governor then ordered the gates of the fort to be flung open to him, acknowledged him as his superior, and promised to deport himself as in duty obliged. After this he departed for *Guadaloupe* and *St Christopher's*, with all his train, at each of which places his reception was the same.

Natives jea-  
lous of the  
*French*.

*Guadaloupe* now felt severely the ill understanding that subsisted between their governor *D'Olive* and the Savages, which put the *West India* company to much trouble and uneasiness, and caused great bloodshed on the land. At *Martinico* the case was very different, thro' the prudence of *Gov. Parquet*, who took care to avoid the like misfortunes, by cultivating, as much as possible, the friendship of the *Indians*. But not all the presents this officer made them, nor the sweetness of his manners, nor the equity of his administration, could extinguish the sparks of hatred against the *French*, which lay, as it were, smothering in their breasts. The flourishing state of the *French* colonies, their continual acquisition of strength, from an increase of inhabitants and commerce, and their daily encroachments on land which belonged to others, gave them invincible umbrage, which they did not conceal but with the utmost difficulty, and only waited a fair opportunity of commencing hostilities by surprizing their enemies in a state of weakness or neglect.

Commit some  
acts of vio-  
lence.

Matters, however, had like to have come to an open rupture in *July* 1659; for some of those barbarians discharged a flight of arrows from the land of *Dominica*, upon a bark which carried *Parquet*, who made no return but a smile of contempt. However, on his arrival at home, he was somewhat alarmed, when he found that they had carried off by force two of their fellow natives, settled on a neighbouring plantation. Irritated at this proceeding, he seized upon their chief, who was 120 years old,

old, and to be kept remaining to the world. His death to observe the defence of their schools and humors.

The war, that, 1640, by pointment confirmed *M. du*

and *Houel* even took make a difference succeeded and defended woods, a hands of the government next in command with *Poincy*.

*Houel* *Thoisy* might be a curb make his as has been *Christophe* *Thoisy's* a portable blood among people in and turned fed by force kept alive represented posed right but to lose dispute, but one longer than strongly a had been *Beaufort*. *Pierre* enjoyed *Parquet*, commotion the company same fate without rates of and he had head of supposed five rings



old, and ordered him to be manacled hand and foot, in which state he was threatened to be kept until the two persons who had been carried off should be restored. After remaining four or five days in custody, he contrived to get off his irons, and fled to the woods, where a serpent bit him by the shoulder, and he died of the wound. His death once known, it was no longer to be supposed that the *Caribbeans* would observe terms of peace, and therefore *Du Parquet* took such effectual measures for defence of himself and all the inhabitants, that the *Indians* did not care to carry any of their schemes into execution; but, after due deliberation, brought back their plunder, and humbly begged to live upon the same terms of amity as before.

Chief of the  
Savages killed  
by a serpent.

Indians seek  
peace.

The wisdom of *Du Parquet's* proceedings had such an effect upon the captain general, that, in order to encourage him, and increase his income and authority, in *July* 1640, he created him captain of the new companies raised at *St Christopher's*; an appointment not incompatible with his residence at *Martinico*, where, in 1643, he was confirmed governor and senechal by a fresh letter from the *West India* company.

Parquet ap-  
pointed and  
rewarded.

*M. du Thoisy* being ordered to supersede *Du Poincy* in the government of *St Christopher's* and the generalship of the islands, was acknowledged by *M. Parquet* at *Martinico*, and *Houel* at *Guadaloupe*. But *Poincy* not only refused to abdicate in his favour, but even took up arms to oppose him. The two governors in *Thoisy's* interest agreed to make a descent in his favour upon the *Cabellerre* of *St Christopher's*, in which they succeeded so far as to make prisoners *Poincy's* two nephews. *Poincy* soon after attacked and defeated this party, headed by *Parquet*, who was forced to save himself in the woods, and afterwards claimed protection of the *Englische*, who delivered him into the hands of his enemies, as we have before remarked in our account of *Guadaloupe*. The government of *Martinico*, was during his absence, assumed by *M. de la Pierrie*, the next in command, who acknowledged *Thoisy's* authority, disclaimed all connexion with *Poincy*, and was acceptable to the people.

Expelling  
Thoisy's party  
falls into the  
hands of his  
enemies.

Pierrie com-  
mands in his  
absence

*Houel* finding that *Poincy* was likely to keep his ground at *St Christopher's*, and that *Thoisy* might in consequence find it necessary to settle upon *Guadaloupe*, which would be a curb upon his ambition, took every possible step to oppose his measures, and make his residence irksome to him, until at length he was forced to return to *Europe*, as has been before observed. Previous to his embarkation, a captain of a ship from *St Christopher's* to *Martinico* brought with him a seditious manifesto, exclaiming against *Thoisy's* authority, and the imposts demanded by the *West India* company, as insupportable burdens. This libel was maliciously dispersed about the island, and bred ill blood among the people, and kindled such a flame among them, that multitudes of people in the *Preacher's Parish* assembled together on the twenty sixth of *June* 1646,

Thoisy returns  
to Europe.

Insurrection  
in Martinico.

and tumultuously demanded of *Pierrie* an exemption from taxes. The flame was fed by some of *Poincy's* incendiaries, who, intermixing with the malecontents, artfully kept alive a notion that the rights of the company were unjust and tyrannical, and represented *Thoisy* as a rapacious minister, sent among them to assert those supposed rights by foul if they could not be obtained by fair means, and not only so, but to load them with fresh taxations. The whole island was now concerned in the dispute, and divided into two parties, both united against the rights of the company; but one of them, and that the more powerful, declared against acknowledging any longer the authority of *Parquet*, still confined at *St Christopher's*, as supposing him too strongly attached to the interest of the company. The ringleader of the mutineers had been formerly a glover at *Paris*, and this upstart now called himself General *Beaufort*. The sedition grew to such an head, that it bore down all before it, and *Pierrie* was obliged to temporise, by declaring openly for neither party, though policy enjoined him seemingly to be of *Beaufort's* side. *Madam St Andre*, the wife of *Parquet*, whose marriage was not yet publicly known, suffered greatly during these commotions from the brutality of the blind mob. *July* the 7th, they fell to plundering the company's magazines, those belonging to many private merchants underwent the same fate, and devastation spread its ravage every where in the *Preacher's quarter*, without remorse or distinction. On the 9th, while the acting governor was fixing the rates of a *Dutch* ship, the rabble pulled the company's house down to the ground, and he narrowly escaped with his life. The day following, General *Beaufort*, at the head of the seditious, burned down several habitations belonging to people whom they supposed ill affected to their interest. *August* the 6th, General *Beaufort*, with twenty five ringleaders of the rebellion, each having a mulket on his shoulder, and four pis-

tols,

tois stuck in his girdle, gave notice to *Pierrie* that, out of an inclination to restore peace to the island, they had drawn up certain articles of accommodation, with which they attended for his perusal and concurrence. *Pierrie*, who had marched out of the fort to meet them, having perused the paper, ordered wine to be brought, that all might drink the king's health, previous to business, as a testimony to the world that they meant not by their proceedings to violate their duty to the king, but to free themselves from the tyranny and impositions of the *West India* company. When he had drank off his glass, with a loud shout, he raised his mulket, as if to crown the toast with a volley of small arms, his attendants, in number eighteen, doing the same; but suddenly levelling his piece he shot *Beaufort* through the head; the rest had taken such good aim, that each of them brought down his man, and the remains of the rebels, in vain endeavouring to save themselves by flight, were pursued, and every man slaughtered; those who were disabled by wounds having their brains beaten out. This piece of nicely executed justice had been before concerted between *Pierrie* and *du Fort*, together with *Mad. St Andre*; but, as it too often happens, it degenerated into a massacre, for the executioners of it marching directly into the *Preacher's Quarter*, there butchered seven or eight people, half of whom had no manner of concern in the disputes on either side. A boy of fifteen, who had only carried letters for *Beaufort*, was murdered in his father's arms. One *Petit*, a native of *Calais*, who was dragged from his asylum, being exhorted, before death, to reconcile himself to heaven, time being offered to him for his preparation, wickedly answered, *If God does not choose to protect me, may five hundred Devils hurry me away!* He was then shot, and his body flung into the sea.

*Pierrie* now applied himself, with great assiduity, to restore peace to the island, which he had thus effectually cleared of faction. In his endeavours he was seconded by *Thibisy*, who dispatched to him an act of indemnity and oblivion, by which all delinquents in the late insurrection, of what kind soever, were pardoned, and his authority confirmed.

In *February* 1647, *Parquet* returned to *Martinico* amidst the general acclamations of the people, and was re-instated in his government. He had been exchanged for *Thibisy*, whom his enemies had for that purpose delivered into the hands of *Poincy*, and councils were held on putting him to death, though at last it was thought best to send him to *Europe*, which was accordingly done.

The Savages, impatient and uneasy at the prosperity of the *French*, found a pretext for beginning a new war in 1654, in which all the *French* settlements soon shared. At *Martinico*, where the governor had taken every possible precaution against them, they invested his house with 2000 men, his wife happily escaping, under an escort of soldiers, to fort *St Peter*, where she was delivered of a child, occasioned by the fright, before her time. The attacks of the barbarians were gallantly repelled, and with the assistance of large dogs, who fastened on, and tore them down, as they ran, they would have been totally defeated, had they not been joined and encouraged by some fugitive Negroes. These miscreants, who knew every turn of the island, ran from quarter to quarter, burning the houses, and murdering man, woman, and child, tearing infants from the womb, and dashing their brains out against the stones. Nothing now but desolation reigned in the island, the confusion was inexpressible, the public good was no longer regarded, the inhabitants fled on all sides; those who despaired of safety in their houses, sought it in the woods, and there perhaps fell victims to the savage fury of the enemy; it was impossible to rally them; the authority of the officers was no longer recognised, and *Martinico* seemed irreparably sunk in the abyss of destruction, when it was relieved by the special interposition of providence.

Four *Dutch* men of war, who had been used to trade on the island, coming to an anchor in the road, and seeing great signs of confusion and irregularity upon the coast, and conflagrations in several places within the land, detached 300 armed soldiers to the shore, who found *Parquet*, to whose worth the *Dutch* captains were no strangers, closely besieged in his house by the Savages. They made no more to do but immediately attacked them, and put them to a speedy flight, compelling them to seek refuge in the *Cabesferre*. The governor, now relieved, and furnished with military stores, of which he stood much in need, pursued them thither, defeated wherever he came up with them, and at length forced them to evacuate the island. In one of his excursions, an officer, named *Orange*, detached after a party of the enemy, was forsaken by his soldiers, in the midst of an engagement; however he gallantly sustained the combat,

Suppressed by one bold and politic step.

Preferently wicked speech.

*Pierrie* confirmed.

*Parquet* returns to his government.

Savages re- new war.

Desolated state of affairs.

*Dutch* bring relief.

Flowers of another set.

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though wounded with five arrows, till night, when he saved himself in an adjacent thicket, and remained there safely four days, when he was found by a detachment of his friends sent in quest of him; during that time he had drawn out the arrows with his own hands, and discharged the poison from his wounds by incisions made with a pen-knife.

The Savages were obliged to sue for peace the year following, and policy dictated the granting it. A little before this there had been a most dreadful hurricane at *Guadaloupe*, and, though it did not reach *Martinica*, yet this island suffered greatly by an earthquake. Of this disaster we find the following account in a letter from one of the missionaries.

Peace with the Savages.

'We had an earthquake here some days ago, which filled us all with a general consternation. As I had never before been in any such situation, I sustained the first effects of it without perceiving what it was. I thought my head wheeled round as I was writing, and that the house was turned topsy turvy. Finding this phenomenon repeated, I imputed it to a swimming in my head, and, imagining the bed would give me ease, was about to lie down. The earth beginning now to shake again, I was thrown upon my face; and when I rose I could hold by nothing, but was tossed from side to side like a drunken man. I now saw it was something extraordinary; but more so when I heard the foundation of the house crack, and the joists rattle one against the other. Being alone, I went out to seek for our good friend *Orange*. I now could plainly hear the cries of the people, who had taken refuge in our chapel; and no sooner did they see me at a distance, than they cried out in tears that all was lost, and that the island was about to be swallowed up by an earthquake. These words alarmed me, for till then I had no manner of fear. I now reflected upon the repeated shocks I had felt, and, I own my weakness, it filled me with as much dread as any of them. I begged of them, however, to implore the mercy of God, and do some acts of contrition. During the *Miserere mi Deus*, which we all sung, we were thrown from our posture by a more violent shock than any we had yet felt, and we imagined that it would have swallowed us up quick, and the cries of the congregation were loud and piercing. For eight minutes after, or thereabouts, the chapel remained leaning prodigiously to one side, when a shock, not less terrible than any of the former, set it again upright. This was the last fit of an earthquake, which lasted two full hours. Imagining all was over, I hastened to the mountain, where I found every thing in strange disorder. *Parquet*, who had known many other earthquakes whilst he had resided in this quarter of the world, owned he had never felt any so great, or by which he was so much impressed; and he is a man of strong resolution. When he perceived the first shock, he was stretched on a couch in his hall, extremely afflicted with the gout. He was about to order himself to be moved, but had not time to call any of his people; for a second trembling shook his house, which was of freestone, so strongly, that fearing it would tumble about his ears, and forgetful of his gout and the blisters which were upon him, he fell almost naked to the bottom of his garden, his wife and family following; and they were just coming in when I arrived. You will perhaps be surpris'd when I assure you that this violent effort of nature was felt as sensibly upon the water as on land. The vessels in the harbour had been equally agitated; two of them, being driven from their anchors, were obliged to make out to sea, where the waves ran to a prodigious height, and they were so rudely tossed that they almost despaired of life.'

Account of an earthquake.

In 1656 great disorders were committed at *Guadaloupe*, by the insurrection of the slaves, which spread itself to *Martinica*, where, though they did not openly dare to fall upon the planters, they yet deserted in great numbers, and found refuge among the Savages, who furnished them with small craft to carry them over to the *Spanish* islands. A wide road being discovered in the hills, through which they were supposed to escape, twenty five men were dispatched that way, under conduct of an officer; and another party was sent by sea to search for the fugitives among the Savages, who denied having seen them. Yet they soon after made use of them to favour their irruptions, and that they themselves might be the more effectually concealed, they dyed their skins like those of the Negroes, to whom they taught the use of bows, arrows, and bludgeons. The boldest of these Negroes computed the vanguard upon any excursion, carrying in one hand a torch to set fire to every house in their way, and in the other a bludgeon to knock all the *Barbicans* on the head.

Defection of slaves at Martinica.

It is the  
of the  
Savages

These distractions continued above a year, and the Savages were grown to such an height of insolence, that they ventured to come down upon the inhabitants in open day. On *August 29, 1657*, they publicly appeared upon the *Marne de Risle*, burned many houses, and shot some people with arrows. The alarm was soon given, and though the inhabitants quickly turned out, headed by their officers, they could not prevent the death of one planter, into whose house two of his old Negroes forced their way, and revenged the injurious treatment they had received at his hands by killing him with a billhook. The Negroes of *M. d'Orange*, on the other hand, fought like lions both against their fugitive brethren and the Savages, who could neither by promises nor threats compel them to quit the house which they defended, and by that resolution preserved from the flames.

The *French* finding that, in spite of all treaties and negotiations, the Savages not only received their fugitive slaves, but even lent them their canoes to make their escape, drove them at length entirely off the island. In *October*, however, they again sued for peace, by the mouth of one of the most considerable among them, named *Nechas*, followed by a train of people. It was the 18th when *Parquet*, though in a very bad state of health, caused himself to be carried out in a litter to meet them. Presents were given on each side, and a young boy by way of hostage, after which the deputation departed. The next day they appeared upon the *Cabotterre* in the same manner as before the war, and *d'Orange*, whom they most feared, and who had acted against them with most vigour, went boldly into their tents, confidently eat and drank with them, and made them promise to harbour no more fugitives. Their desertion, after this conference, was but rare. *M. du Parquet* being now grown old, his spirits broken with care, and his body violently afflicted with the gout, and other disorders, died on the third of *January 1658*, to the general grief of the island.

Peace rene-  
wed.

Death of  
*Parquet*.

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will, was con-  
ferred on his  
children.

Fresh distur-  
bances.

Misconduct  
of the  
Savages  
renewed.

Immediately upon his demise his widow was acknowledged superior, or first magistrate, in the island, the usual oath to that end being administered unto her, until the return of a special messenger, whom she had sent to *France* to solicit the government of *M. d'Exanbac*, her eldest son. Accordingly in *Sept. 1658*, in the same year, a commission was granted by the king and council to her eldest, or, in case of his death, to her second son, if the survivor, of the government of the island. *M. Tanderque*, their uncle, being appointed regent until one of them should be of age.

While this important affair was under debate at *Paris*, the island was reduced to the brink of ruin by the proceedings of some malecontents. The principal promoters of the disturbance were never publicly named, though they were suspected, and the chief agents, *Sigeli*, *Phinssile*, and the *Tippois*, were known to be but machines, actuated by some hidden spring. They inspired the people with discontent on account of some proceedings of their late governor, which they took upon them to arraign, and to charge to his wife's influence over him. When therefore they had drawn up a formal process, they summoned the widow before a council, the members of which were selected from among themselves, having previously renounced their oath of fidelity to her, and refused any longer to acknowledge the authority of such officers as she had appointed. As they had promised her safe conduct, if she answered their citation, the unhappy lady submitted; but they immediately seized upon her person, telling her the mask was now hung aside, and carried her prisoner to the *Presbyter's* parish, where she suffered not a little from their insolence. Here they compelled her to sign a paper, in which, among many other opprobrious articles, she was forced to renounce all share in the government, and even to promise to use her interest at court to procure a confirmation of their proceedings, and a general amnesty. In return she was restored to all her goods, honours, and possessions. This act being signed, and lodged in the hands of *M. de Grandlog*, who had been *Parquet's* lieutenant, and had, during all this bustle, acted so cautiously, that it was hardly possible to discover to which party he leaned, the sedition was appeased, and each side laid down their arms as readily as they had taken them up.

But the flame of discontent was once again like to be kindled by the following accident: One of the lady's servants, more imprudent than the rest, declared in the public market place, that she had been compelled to sign the agreement, and that it was her firm intention to seek redress, by laying the state of her case before the king. The malecontent hearing this flew again to their arms, and the island seemed to be anew threatened with commotion. It never they subdued on the island of the chief

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*Parquet*,

of *Parquet's* French friends, who were first formally divested of all employments. *Madam de Parquet* might perhaps have met with worse usage, but the chiefs of the conspirators feared that by so doing they should run a hazard of being discovered, wherefore she was set at liberty, and the affairs of the island went on with their usual tranquility.

The reader cannot forget the peace that was concluded with the Savages not many months before the death of the late governor, nor how little regard these barbarians paid to treaties, on the least prospect of advantage, or opportunity of bathing their hands in blood by infringing them. There were some of the inhabitants, who, without seeming to remember their repeated acts of treachery, daily ventured among them, either to fish or hunt upon the *Cabesterre*. One day it chanced that several of them, coming thither as usual to hunt, went up the country early in the morning after sport, and left only three of their number to take care of such game as they brought down. These three the Savages murdered with their clubs, and then flayed their canoe. Those who had been on the chase returning and seeing this butchery, and themselves deprived of the means of returning home, betook themselves to the woods and fastnesses, in order to avoid the same treatment, and four days after reached the parish of *Casse Pierre*, almost dead with fatigue. The Savages, tearing a rigorous retaliation of their villainy, ventured to send a canoe filled with their people to the fort, to exculpate themselves, and to lay the blame on some foreigners inhabiting either *Dominica* or *St Vincent*, who had come thither by chance. As disputes ran high here at the time of their arrival, revenge was a point that could not demand a present attention; their excuse was therefore admitted, and they were dismissed with assurances that they should suffer nothing from this accident.

They were to well pleased with this answer, that shortly after, when all things were quiet, Master *Nicholas*, one of the most gallant and stoutest of these people, came to the fort with seventeen others, and sat down, without the least jealousy or suspicion, to drink brandy with some *Frenchmen* whom they knew. Their confidence being observed by one *Beaufort*, a rough head-shouldered fellow, and one of the principal people concerned in the disorders so lately quelled, he determined immediately to avenge upon them the death of his countrymen, who had been so lately massacred upon *Cabesterre*. For this purpose he collected among the storehouses, which are also houses of refreshment, a company of seventy or eighty men, to whom he communicated his design; and they came into it the more readily, as the interest of every individual, as well as the public safety, seemed to prescribe the necessity of such an example; and though the action cannot be justified by the laws of religion, it seems to be requisite according to those of policy. *Beaufort* and his associates, having armed themselves with muskets and other weapons, surrounded the sitting-houses in which the *Indians* were making themselves merry. The unfortunate wretches, roused from their security, endeavoured in vain to find safety in flight; five were shot in the marketplace, seven in *Mad. de Parquet's* plantation, one among the sugar-canes, and three were committed prisoner to a dungeon belonging to the guard. The brave *Nicholas* striving to make way to his canoe, received a musket-ball in his body, which however did not hinder his raising the water, most of the assassins pushing him to the very brink, and incessantly discharging their pieces at him, though to very little purpose, for he avoided them by diving, and returned their fire with stones, which he brought up with him from the bottom, and courageously hurled at their heads, not without some effect, till at length he received a musket-shot in the eye, and was seen no more. Two of these unhappy creatures had the good fortune to escape, and bear their melancholy tidings to their brethren.

*Beaufort* and his companions, inflated with the success of an exploit which had been conducted without a leader, and with no regularity, now meditated an affair of much greater consequence, which was no less than the intire expulsion of the barbarians from the *Cabesterre*, and so from the whole island. They openly asserted the necessity of this expedition, and expatiated upon the advantages of carrying it into immediate execution. All the officers, as well as the inhabitants, concurred in this opinion; but the secret support of *Beaufort* and his friends, unexpectedly falling them, they found themselves far removed from the head of this undertaking, and their fury in some measure bounded by *M. Gouville*, who acted as lieutenant governor in the name of *Mad. de Parquet*, without a competitor. This minister ascribed all the officers and principal inhabitants

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Seven were  
shot in  
the plantation.

inhabitants in council, laid before them the injuries they sustained by the refuge their run-away negroes found among the Savages, the manifold losses they themselves had sustained from their treachery; their cruel and unprovoked assassination of many of the inhabitants, and their continued infraction of treaties. These premises duly considered, war was declared against them in form, and their absolute expulsion resolved.

Six hundred men were immediately selected from among the companies of the island, one third of which number was dispatched to the *Campsterre* by water, under the command of M. de *Loubierre*, under whom was *Banphelil*, who being detached at the head of a party with orders to reconnoitre the *Peacher's* quarter, and then proceed to the rendezvous at *Cabeferre*, returned back, pretending he had found no people there. Perhaps he acted thus out of spleen; or, it may be, the commander, to rid himself of a turbulent fellow, had given him such instructions. The rest of the forces were ordered to proceed in two divisions by land, taking different roads. The Savages, apprised by their scouts of the approach of this army, made a show of resistance, and came on with the war-whoop; but, after some slight skirmishes, their vigour seemed to decline, and at length they fled in seeming confusion. The *French*, encouraged by this advantage, would have pursued them, had they not been restrained by an officer, who suspected some treachery, and the rather so as night was impending. After some time halting, he proposed to change the rout they had intended, and march directly, by another road, to attack the enemy in their huts, at a time when they were least expected. This advice was highly prudent; for, had they proceeded according to their first plan, they had certainly been cut off, at least the most

Stratagem of the Savages.

part of them, the Savages having dug deep pits in the roads through which they intended to pass, the bottoms of which were covered with poisoned arrows stuck upright, and these snares were so artfully covered with old trees, and loose turf, that they could not possibly have been discovered but in their fatal effects. As soon as *Grangias* came in sight of their huts, the Savages, who did not expect him on that quarter, imagined themselves surrounded by a different body of men from those with whom they had engaged the preceding evening; and their scouts signifying, by two handfuls of sand thrown over the head, that their numbers were not to be reckoned, such a panic ran through them, that they would have fled without resistance, had not the bravest of them made a stand, and covered their canoes, while the women, children, and aged embarked. However, they kept their ground not long, for the first fire threw them into disorder, of which the *French*, taking the advantage, charged them sword in hand, and soon dispersed them, so that they fled on all sides, some to the woods, and some to the beach. The victors, instead of following them, staid to burn down their huts, putting all they met to the sword, without distinction of sex or age. Those that made their escape got off to *Dominica* or *St Vincent*: The latter about the latter end of 1650 *Martinico* was entirely freed from those people, who had done the planters so much damage, and given them such frequent cause of uneasiness. A wooden fort was immediately erected upon the *Cabeferre*, to prevent their settling here any more, and a chapel built, and dedicated to *St James*, out of compliment to the late governor, whose name was *James Banphelil* was arrested, not having appeared at the appointed rendezvous, and being stigmatized as a traitor, and a disturber of the public peace, was banished the island, together with *Pharville*, *Thibault*, and others of his associates, who were however permitted to withdraw their effects. The various troubles *Mad. du Parquet* had undergone having brought upon her a dysentery disorder, she embarked for *France*, to try the mineral waters of *Bath*, but died in the voyage.

Savages routed and expelled from the island.

*Banphelil* banished.

Death of *Mad. du Parquet*.

*Vanderque* assumes the regency

Is succeeded by M. *Clermont*.

*Tracy*, governor of the *French* colonies.

In the latter end of *Nov.* 1659, M. *Vanderque* arrived late from *France*, according to the royal appointment, to act as governor during the minority of *St James*, but he had little of the easy carriage, address, and winning disposition of his brother; so that he died, not much regretted, in *October*, 1662, and was succeeded by M. *Clermont*, who was next of kin to the minor.

In *Nov.* 1663, M. *Alex. Praille de Tracy*, of the king's council, and councillor of state, late commissary general of the forces in *Germany*, and lieutenant general in the army, was appointed, with an almost uncontrollable power, lieutenant general and general governor of all the islands, settlement, &c. under the *French* dominion in *America*, in the absence of the famous Count *d'Etrees*, who bore the title of viceroi of *America*, and was at this time ambassador in *Holland*. A man of *Tracy's* character

was at St. James was a person of honour to the

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After a *deras*, *Cop* landed in great numbers had been the road, against the such court returned to *Fort St. James* received the day, he was when he returned with a regular of the people, and a lady, that a number of canoes with which of audience to them a judiciary sed in once in a regularity quickness in the w

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was at such a crisis absolutely necessary in a commission so highly important. He was a personage celebrated for resolution, prudence, conduct, and had done honour to every service on which he had been employed.

*Guadaloupe* was now torn to pieces by intestine divisions, and disputes between the proprietors; and the government of *Martinico* was administered by tutors, who rather consulted their own interest than that of their pupils, or the advantage of the island. The only remedy for these disorders, which required much integrity and resolution in the practice, was, entirely to alter the scheme upon which the islands had been hitherto governed; to oblige the old company, or proprietors, to dispose of their rights at a market price; to vest the property of the whole in the crown; and to commit the administration of the public affairs of this part of the world to the management of a new company, called the *West India* company, with the king at their head.

New scheme of government.

The new lieutenant general had the good fortune to carry this design into execution, and we have given a cursory view of his prudence and manner of proceeding in our account of *Guadaloupe*; but this history will throw still stronger lights on his character, as we shall find in the sequel. The power vested in this gentleman of sending home from *Guadaloupe*, not only *Huel* and all the proprietors of that island, whose complaints for a long time past against each other had been very troublesome at court, but also all other governors who should appear to him to have been culpable, gave great weight to his authority, and much ease and smoothness to his proceedings.

Executed by the new governor.

After a voyage of more than three months, during which he touched at the *Maderas*, *Cape Verde* islands, &c. *Tracy* arrived at *Martinico* in safety, on *June 2, 1664*, and landed amidst the loudest acclamations of the people. This welcome reception was in great measure owing to the following accident: No sooner had his ship, which had been some time expected, according to intelligence from the *Dutch*, appeared in the road, but some officers and inhabitants came on board, to prefer a complaint against the governor on account of some ill treatment, and they were received with such courtesy, affection, and strong assurance of redress, as made the place ring when they returned on shore with the praises of *Tracy*. He came to an anchor between *Carbet* and *Fort St Peter*, and sent notice of his arrival to the governor regent *Clermont*, who received the message with proper respect. At his landing, which was on *Whit-Monday*, he was saluted by the cannon of the fort, and of all the ships in the harbour; and when he came ashore, the inhabitants, who were all under arms, complimented him with a regular discharge of their muskets. He took up his residence in a large arsenal of the town, and proceeded to administer the proper oaths of fidelity to his people, and establish courts of justice, in which he himself heard causes with such impartiality, that deprived, even those who were cast, of the power of murmuring. The number of causes which he heard in a day are incredible, as well as the speed and calmness with which he dispatched them; for which purpose he had two doors to his hall of audience, one to give entrance to the plaintiff, defendant, and every thing relating to them; the other, to give them egress. How differently slow and deliberate are the justiciary proceedings in *England*, where scarcely any cause of importance is dismissed in one court, till there seems almost a moral certainty that it will make its appearance in another. Indeed the *English* slow and lingering method of deliberation and regularity produces incessant murmurs and complaints: On the other hand, *Tracy's* quickness, and extra-formal way of proceeding, left no room even for murmur itself. In the whole course of his administration in this place he shewed himself judicious, loyal, generous, disinterested, and inflexible. Having settled peace among the inhabitants, reformed the economy of the island, which was deeply indebted to the *Dutch*, and confirmed *Clermont* in the government, he published an ordinance tending to promote the cause of religion and virtue, which are always inseparable, and then embarked for *Guadaloupe*, where he landed on *June 23d, 1664*.

Tracy arrives at Martinico.

The just and prudent administration.

The islands, about this time, suffered great want of necessaries by a prohibition to traffic with the *Dutch*; and on this account they began to grow uneasy under their new regulations, so that it was feared some disorders might ensue, when they were a little satisfied by the arrival of five ships, freighted with all sorts of necessaries by the new *West India* company, and bringing besides *Chabré*, who was sent from *France* to supersede *Clermont*.

Chabré sent.

Clodord  
review  
of  
Martinico  
at  
1665.

Clodord arrived in the beginning of the year 1665, and was publickly presented in his new character to the people on February 19, by Tracy with an eulogium upon his qualifications, which he answered very modestly; and he was extremely well received, the cannon of Fort St Peter were discharged in honour of him, wine given to the populace, and an entertainment prepared for the better sort of people. As the inhabitants were not yet in the best humour, M. du Abierre, a man of great sagacity and estimation, was allowed to continue in the post of lieutenant, which he had long filled; though the new company had sent over one M. du Cluse to fill up that employment. Clodord was sworn, together with his lieutenant and several new officers, after them the different states of the island, as the clergy, nobility, sovereign council, and the lower order, took their respective oaths of fidelity.

New regula-  
tions of the  
governor

On the 17th of March following, several new regulations were published by the lieutenant general, tending to strengthen and confirm the public good. The inhabitants of Martinico, who had always been inclined to broils and disturbances, and of late had lived very irregularly, having scarcely acknowledged any superiority since Parquet's death, perceiving that they must for the future submit to restriction, shewed some reluctance, whence they, who were best acquainted with their manners and disposition, prognosticated a mutiny at hand. The day before Tracy departed from Guadalupe, some of the boldest and busiest among them murmured loudly, and in the night several shots were fired, for which no account could be given. The officer advised the lieutenant general to double his guard, which he would by no means permit. The following day all things wearing a beautiful aspect, he set sail for Guadalupe with a fair wind. The next evening M. de Bie being in the Preacher's quarter, a place remarkable for a mutiny, and settling a magazine, was set upon by a party of malecontent, headed by one Rodomon, a very insignificant fellow, who abused the new company, and his servant. The commilitary gave them good words, and by degrees retreated to his shallop, which floated near the beach, with which he pushed off, glad to have escaped with his life, being pursued by a volley of stones, the insurgents crying *Down with the company, Parquet for ever!* M. de Bie reached the fort, terrified almost to death, and made his report to Clodord, who, with great presence of mind, immediately saw what was to be done to prevent a general insurrection, to which this seemed only the prelude. Having assembled forty stout men, among whom were twenty eight veteran soldiers, and two sergeants, on whom he could depend, he ordered the colonel of the militia to attend him, who obeyed his summons, and sent a message to the Sieur de Paucillon, who commanded at the Preacher's quarter, to meet him with the best inhabitants of his division, at the place of arms, in order to quash the insurrection, which Rodomon, in the mean time, endeavoured to promote, by going from house to house, attended by five or six of his associates, and raising volunteers. The governor's next step was to make sure of the person of young Parquet, then about 13, of whose pretence, if they had seized him, the mutineers might have made some use. Wherefore he ordered Clermont, his tutor, to remain near him, under forfeiture of his head; and an officer offering to argue with him, as he marched out he courageously answered, "Sir, sedition is on foot, and it must be subdued; ask no questions, but follow and obey me; it is your duty, and him that first flinches I'll shoot through the head, and have the provost the trouble." This resolute behaviour, quashing all remonstrance, and abating cowardice, he proceeded on his way, and the people followed him in silence.

Insurrec-  
tion

Clodord  
at  
1665.

He soon reached the Preacher's quarter, whither the time of his preparations had speeded before him, and made such an impression upon the malecontents, that they immediately dispersed to their several homes. There he found Paucillon, who received him at the head of about fifty of his company, though it seems he had been represented to him as a man of no integrity, and one who had winked at Rodomon's et cetera. But the governor had taken his measures so well, that this fellow was brought prisoner to him in about a quarter of an hour, to the astonishment of his private adherents, who imagined him in sufficient safety to be called upon in future commotions. This piece of service had been performed by a lieutenant, who forced him with his own hand, after venturing upon his levelled piece, which happily missed fire, on which he struck it from him. Clodord immediately sent an account of the whole affair by his lieutenant to Tracy, who was on the point of sending him 200 armed soldiers to support his authority, but desisted on finding there was no need of them.

Mutiny  
at  
1665.

Clodord

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However, he sent back the lieutenant instantly, with orders to hang *Redomon* out of hand, which sentence was accordingly put in execution, after he had first sustained some slight torture, and his head, stuck upon a pole, was erected in the middle of his scene of villainies. The judgment of confiscation of his goods was reversed in favour of his wife, an honest *Irish* woman, who knew nothing of his schemes, and was big with child. Three of his principal associates were condemned to be hanged, and a fourth sentenced for four years to the galleys, whither they were all sent, the sentence of death against the rest being moderated. Young *Parquet* was transported by the first ship to *France*, *Clermont* being permitted to act upon the island as his attorney. *Clermont* got himself great honour by his whole conduct in this affair; he received the public thanks of the new company by letter, and the great *Colbert* wrote to him in the warmest terms of approbation.

Young Parquet sent to France.

Though this activity and resolution, joined to the exemplary punishment of the insurgents, established peace for the present on the island of *Martinico*, the tranquillity was but of short duration; the seeds of mutiny still remained in the ground, and we shall find them before long shooting into stalks, and affording *Clodore* new opportunities of signalling his great talents. As the number of Negroes imported had of necessity increased considerably of late, their desertion had been proportionably great. They had now got together between three and four hundred in a body, who had chosen among themselves a chief, called *Francis Kibaki*, a Black of extraordinary stature, and martial deportment. They were armed with darts and arrows, and in the night constantly pillaged some houses in distant quarters, going in gangs of thirty or forty together, and bringing off every thing that was portable, particularly arms, ammunition, and provisions. As yet they had killed no body, and this was imputed to the lenity of their commander, to whom therefore a free pardon and his liberty were offered, if he came and surrendered. This he promised to do; but some accident or other from time to time preventing his coming, the governor in council concluded to declare war against these miscreants; but it was found scarcely practicable to prosecute it, as the woods were very thick, and here and there interperfed with precipices, almost impossible for an *European* to climb; besides, the Negroes were not only well acquainted with all the windings and fatnesses, but also too swift of foot in general for any *Frenchman* on the island.

Slave, desert.

War, which them almost

After mature deliberation on the difficulties attending an open war, *Clodore* thought himself of another expedient, which was to give a considerable reward to any person who brought in a fugitive slave within a certain limited time, to be paid by the master or owner of the slave, who was also assured of his pardon. This method had the desired effect; many slaves were brought in; the terms on which they were restored were faithfully observed, and most of them ever after continued faithful to their respective owners.

A general expedient

In five or six months *Francis* himself gave notice, that he was willing also to yield upon terms. The governor readily embraced the offer, and caused him to be informed, that he might depend upon his liberty, provided he would bring in with him as many fugitives as he could conveniently collect. Though he could at first gather but seven, he boldly ventured with them to the governor's quarters. "You have given me your word, said he, for my security, and I rely on it: if I have not brought back as many Negroes as you might have expected, it is because I chose to delay no longer the opportunity of convincing you of the confidence I put in a man of your and a soldier. I am weary of living wild, and in a state of perpetual alarm; but that I fear, but that I like it not. Though I now submit, I shall not desert from you, if you will receive me."

This surrender of the chief gave the governor great satisfaction; he caused him heartily, gave him his liberty, permitted him to carry a slave, accommodated him with an apartment in his own quarter, and ordered the stipulated rewards to be paid him. *Francis* afterwards made daily excursions into the woods, and never returned without bringing with him some fugitives, for which he always received the promised recompense, till by this kind of trade he soon became a wealthy man, and a considerable person.

Shortly after, certain impolls of the company, which the managers refused to pay, excited a general insurrection at *St. Pierre*, and four hundred men were assembled in a body to oppose the governor's officers, besides detached parties that paraded in different places. But such was the speed and activity of the governor, that he had formed

... choice

Suppressed by the vigilance and activity of the governor.

Fate of the ringleaders.

a choice and stanch little army, with which he marched to meet the rioters, who, though superior in number, were afraid to engage him, and pursued them from post to post, till at length they dispersed themselves in the woods. By a stratagem he got into his hands the ringleaders, two of whom he ordered to be hanged, and one of them, tho' he broke the rope twice, was tuck'd up a third time. Their heads were cut off, and fixed upon poles opposite to a magazine which they had been about to plunder. The rest were condemned to the galleys; but the ship, in which they were sent for that purpose to *France*, was taken by an *English* man of war, as belonging to the states of *Holland*, and carried to *Jamaica*, where she was condemned as a legal prize, those villains swearing her to be *Dutch* property, and being in return set at liberty. Those who had begun the disturbances at *Café Pilote* had laid their measures with such precaution, that a general insurrection seemed inevitable. They knew that the malecontents were every where the stronger party, and could they but have once effected a junction with those of the *Cabeslerre*, the fate of the island would of course fall into their hands, so that many people, otherwise peaceably inclined, would in their own defence have been obliged to join them. Had they succeeded in this point, their next was to have cut off the governor, and all the officers of the new company.

Commissions in the *Cabeslerre* 1699.

The sedition at *Café Pilote* was now scarcely suppressed, when *Clodré* was advised of fresh disturbances in the *Cabeslerre*, where the malecontents had not only forced *M. Maffé*, otherwise a man of great honour, and one of the principal people of that quarter, to head them, but were also solliciting, by one of their emissaries, *M. Rey*, of the *Preacher's* quarter, to take the title of *Syndic* of the people. A letter was also sent by one *Roffelan* to *Capt. Valmeniere* of the cavalry, whose reputation for honour and arms was sufficiently established, inviting him to declare himself Protector of the people. The letter he delivered to the governor, and *Roffelan* being seized and examined, after they had made him confess all that he knew, was sent prisoner on board a ship in the road; and great discoveries were also made by a man who had held frequent conferences with the malecontents, and had been betrayed by his wife.

The farther *Clodré* examined into this affair, the more dangerous and deeply laid it appeared. He now sent a lieutenant with twelve soldiers to the *Cabeslerre*, under pretence of taking into custody the company's commissary, of whom loud complaints had been lately made; but his real errand was to carry a letter to *M. Maffé's* son in law, who was captain of a company in that quarter. This letter contained some gentle expostulations upon *Maffé's* conduct, and very solid reasons assigned for inducing him to alter it. The lieutenant did honour to the trust reposed in him; for, after a long conference with *Maffé*, he persuaded him to go with him to the governor, and account for his conduct, promising he should not be detained. *Clodré*, however, thought it impolitic to abide by the promise, and therefore confined him on board a ship. He was not indeed kept long in custody, many people, both clergy and laity, taking upon them to vouch for his conduct, and his son in law becoming surety for his future deportment. Thus, without noise or bloodshed, *Clodré*, by his sagacity and resolution, totally suppressed a scheme, the best of any devised for overturning a constitution.

Suppressed without bloodshed.

Causes of discontent.

After all, it must be allowed that there was some sort of reason for these repeated scenes of trouble and uneasiness, which were fomented by the merchants, who would have been glad to see the company's authority extinguished, under pretence that their exactions devoured all the profits. The new company, as well as the old, had not been so careful in supplying the islands with necessaries, as they might have been if they had really studied their own interest, and afforded their commodities as cheap as those which came from *Holland*.

They never reflected that every thing must have a beginning, but formed to themselves vast notions of the profits to be instantly drawn from the new found world, and finding some sort of disappointment, grew cold in their assistance, at the very time when the utmost warmth was necessary. Besides, their commissaries and principal officers had hitherto paid more attention to making their own fortunes, by the most rapacious means, than either to the happiness of the people, or interest of their masters. For these reasons the name of the company became odious, and we are only to wonder that their chain of injudicious measures did not only absorb their property,

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but even prove the absolute destruction of those infant colonies, which have since proved jewels of immense value in the crown of France.

In Nov. 1665, *Clodré* took absolute and full possession of the island in the name of *Parquet's* property in *Martinico* fold. the *West India* company, who had purchased of the guardians of *Parquet* all his right, title, and property in and to the same, for 40,000 crowns.

In the beginning of 1666 the company began to open their eyes a little upon their own interest, and sent to the islands several ships laden with variety of merchandize, provisions, and ammunition, all which were extremely necessary, as the trade of the islands began to grow more extensive, particularly of *Martinico*, where they now raised sugars with success. But their correspondence with *Europe* proved at this time a little precarious on account of the war, which this year broke out between *France* and *England*, in the course of which the *English*, being driven off *St Christopher's*, two or three hundred of the inhabitants, who were natives of *Ireland*, and Catholics, chose to retire to *Martinico* and *Guaulaboupe*. Island better supplied and flourishing.

In *July* happened still another insurrection in this island, occasioned by the company's failing to supply the stipulated necessaries. The whole *Cabesierre* was in arms, and had seized two brave officers, in whom *Clodré* had put particular confidence. He was apprised of their actions by a letter from Capt. *Ferpre*, which he received from the hands of a Negro, who had travelled eight very difficult leagues in four hours. He instantly gave directions for assembling all the forces, and such of the inhabitants as he could trust, and to hold themselves under arms, in readiness to march with the first orders; after which he sent one of the missionaries to persuade the malecontents to abandon their ill-concerted schemes. The father did his office with great fervour and cogency of reason, though to very little purpose. The ringleaders of this sedition were one *Daniel Jesselin*, an intolent illiterate tobacco-twister, and another fellow, called *La Rivierre*. Insurrection in the city; text. Ringleaders.

The governor soon found himself at the head of five hundred men, on whom he thought he could rely; these he divided into two parties, one, consisting of two hundred and fifty men, headed by *M. de Valmeniere*, was ordered to march to the *Montagne Poile*, where the insurgents were supposed to make a stand, while the governor with the rest marched round to the *Cabesierre* by another road, where, by suddenly charging the rioters in these parts, he expected to make them fall back upon their principal post, and thus put themselves between two fires. Governor marches against them.

When *Valmeniere* arrived at his place of destination, he found the insurgents posted upon the summit of a hill, and not to be approached on that side but by a steep narrow defile, through which but one man could pass at a time. As he was an experienced officer, he saw that there was nothing to be done but by altering his position; so that the wind, which was pretty strong, should blow full in the face of the enemy; and he gained his point by winding round the bottom of the hill, where, finding a spot fit for his purpose, he made a halt. Stratagem.

*Perriere* and *Bouillon*, two officers, who had been made prisoners, and forced to take commissions among the seditious, persuaded about twenty stout fellows, who were under their command, that these troops were not the governor's forces, but the friends whom they expected from the *Preacher's* quarter. Under this supposition the two officers held a party with *Valmeniere*, in which they assured him that their party were no more than scare-crows, who were easily intimidated. At the same time a report, which had the desired effect, was artfully spread, that *Clodré* was not arrived; that this detachment was led by *Valmeniere*, who was commanded not to fight till farther orders; and that he was ready to parley. On this several of the insurgents foolishly quitted their posts, to confer with a man whose hands they imagined tied up, as well as that he was master of a force vastly inferior to their own. Malecontents over-reached.

While this passed, *Perriere* and *Bouillon*, under pretence of being more secure, had extended their authority, and formed separate companies in order of battle; so that the communication between the seditious was intercepted, the governor's troops having imperceptibly advanced on all sides. The two officers then, with great firmness, asked the rioters if they knew their commanders? They answered in the affirmative. Then know them to be, said they, the king and *Clodré*. This unexpected declaration, like an explosion of lightning, joined to the confusion into which they saw themselves thrown on all sides, intimidated them to that degree, that they acquiesced without murmuring, and marched off to join *Valmeniere*, who compelled them directly Reduced by the policy of two officers.

A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

recly to lay down their arms. The consternation now became general; the malecontents that resisted were killed or disabled; some strove to find safety in the swiftness of their heels, and were as swiftly pursued. Daniel Joffelin, after receiving a deep wound with a backword over the ear, and another in the throat, together with La Riviere, escaped among the crowd, but were soon retaken. A multitude of the fugitives, who had made their way to the woods and fastnesses, many of them without knowing where they were, in endeavouring to find an egret, got into the midst of Cledré's party, who now advanced with speed, and, as had been concerted, effected their junction with Valmerie.

This dangerous revolt being by these vigorous measures entirely defeated, the governor returned with his victorious troops to the fort, where he published a reward of two negroes a-piece for La Riviere and Joffelin, and their unhappy wretches were delivered up, for the reward, by some of their associates on whose fidelity they had relied. Joffelin's wounds being deemed incurable, and his life despaired of, he was tried out of hand, and condemned to be hanged, which sentence was immediately put in execution. A third of these desperadoes, who had been equally guilty, kept the woods for some days in misery, till he perished at last in great agonies by the bite of a serpent. As for the rest of the malecontents, some were heavily fined, and others condemned to serve the company as slaves for three years.

probable, the principal delinquent.

Company's interest, the islands, to take.

Much might be said in behalf of these unhappy people, who found themselves in many things grievously oppressed, and reduced to want many necessaries, even provisions, which the Dutch always furnished at a reasonable price: And yet the company, who had prohibited that traffic, had not substituted one of equal efficacy in its place. The intention of the insurgents was to restore the trade with the Dutch islands; to depose all the company's officers, renounce their authority, declare themselves vassals to none but the king, and to chuse a governor from among themselves. They had their eyes for this post on M. de Nabuc, or M. de Valmerie, or M. de Cledré.

14th of July, late.

Some short time after this disturbance, the appearance of Lord Willoughby's fleet threw the island into some consternation, from which they were freed by his shipwreck, as has been already observed; and, had not that been his unhappy fate, Cledré had taken such measures for defence as must have baffled all his lordship's designs.

Company's interest, the islands, to take.

In 1646, M. de la Barre was constituted commander in chief of the French forces in America both by sea and land; and, after some disputes with the inhabitants of Martinico, in which he had like to have embroiled them anew by changing some of Trauc's ordinances, he drew up and signed some new regulations, which for the present made them very easy.

Company's interest, the islands, to take.

In July 1667, a strong English Squadron made five different attacks upon Fort St Peter and the neighbourhood, and was forced to draw off with six hundred men killed, many more wounded, and several vessels considerably shattered by the fire of the fort. In the winter, news arrived of a peace between England and France by the treaty of Breda.

Company's interest, the islands, to take.

In 1672, France and Holland being then at war, the famous Dutch admiral De Ruyter, made an attack upon Fort Royal, which then scarcely deserved the name of a fortification; and the town itself was then little better than a morass, covered with weeds, and some forty houses of the same materials standing by the seaside, which served as warehouses to stow the goods belonging to such vessels as careened here during the stormy seasons. Ruyter found no resistance here, but his troops landed very quietly under Count Stirum, and immediately set to pillaging these warehouses, which they found well stocked with wines and brandy, of which, like true Hollanders, they drank so immoderately, that they were incapable of obeying command, when their general would have led them to an assault. A ship of St Malo's of twenty-two guns, and a man of war of forty, which anchored close under the fort, made such a terrible fire upon the drunkards, and were so well seconded by the fort, that above nine hundred of them were killed, among whom was the commanding officer, Count Stirum; so that the officer next in command was obliged to order a retreat, and to cover his men with entrenchments.

Dutch's interest, the islands, to take.

Dutch's interest, the islands, to take.

Ruyter, who had cannonaded the fort all day, came ashore at night, and finding with astonishment more than 1500 of his people killed and wounded, immediately resolved to embark the rest of his forces under cover of the night. In the mean time,

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M. de St Martha, governor of the island, held a council, in which it was resolved to abandon the fort, after nailing up the cannon; as there was reason to fear that the enemy, who had broken down most of the palisades, and levelled great part of the intrenchments, should, when sober in the morning, drive the inhabitants from their posts, and carry the place by assault.

*French abandon the fort.*

These things could not be so secretly transacted, but that the noise of them reached the ears of the *Dutch*. Instead of supposing that it arose from nailing up cannon, transporting men, provisions and ammunition in canoes to the other side of the fort, they imagined it to proceed from preparations making for a sally, which in their present situation must have been fatal to them: Wherefore they hastened their embarkation as much as possible, leaving behind them all their wounded, baggage, and part of their arms. Their decamping, which was overheard by the *French*, was mistaken for their making ready for an attack by the morning light, and gave new wings to their hurry of embarking. The terror on both sides being thus equally diffused, both the fort and the coast were soon cleared, the former being, however, still possessed by a drunken *Stuff*, who had chanced to tumble into an obscure corner, and there out-slept all the noise and hurry. And when he was awakened by the firing, he was sufficiently astonished to find himself sole lord of the fort and its precincts, without either friend or enemy in sight.

*Double mistake and vain terror.*

The Marquis d'Almonet, who commanded the forty gun ship, and was entirely ignorant of this double retreat, began to renew his fire as soon as day broke; but neither seeing any body within view, nor hearing any noise either in the fort, or in the enemy's camp, which was sheltered by the reeds, sent a serjeant and some men ashore for intelligence. After reconnoitring all the avenues, without finding any thing, but dead, wounded, and drunk, they made their report; and an officer with a guard was dispatched to repossess the fort, the governor and inhabitants were recalled, and measures have been since taken to put the place in a better condition of defence. Such is the account of this surprize as given us by the *French*; if it be true, (and we have reason sometimes to suspect their veracity) it was one action, perhaps the only one, that reflects no honour on the great *Ruxer*.

In 1693, *France* and *England* being then at war, an *English* fleet attempted a descent upon several quarters of the island, and at length set 3000 men ashore in a cove about a league to the windward of Fort St Peter. Captain *Ott*, with a company of regulars, and some militia, opposed their landing at first, and afterwards disputed the ground with them inch by inch; and, though he had but 300 men, acted so effectually as to stop them in some measure, till the arrival of Count de Blenac with a sufficient body of troops, who forced them, in five days after their landing, to a shameful retreat, in which they were forced to leave behind 300 prisoners, besides deserters, and five or six dead, with arms, ammunition, and baggage.

*English make a descent.*

*Reimbued with loss.*

In *October*, 1695, the island suffered much from a most dreadful hurricane, of which we shall give a brief account. The word *Hurricane* signifies a tempest, or violent wind, that sweeps all points of the compass, carrying with it inevitable destruction. It held in this longer than twenty-four hours, and its greatest force is spent in twelve or fifteen, within which time it scatters horrid detolation. It is commonly preceded by a dead calm, and a fetid sky; shortly after, the horizon appears charged with clouds, which gradually increase, and the sea begins to swell, though there is scarce a breath of air. The birds fly backward and forward, with many marks of restlessness, and approach dwelling houses and other places of shelter, though contrary to their usual custom, as if they were at a loss for a place of security. The herds gather in herds together, paw the ground, and look as if they were much terrified, but more especially before an earthquake.

*Hurricane. Its signification and signs.*

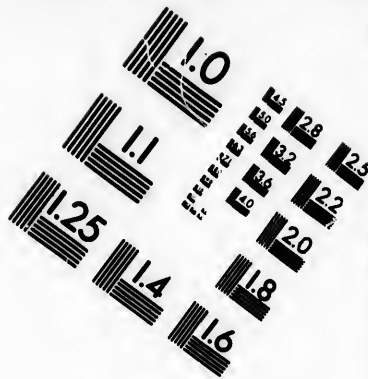
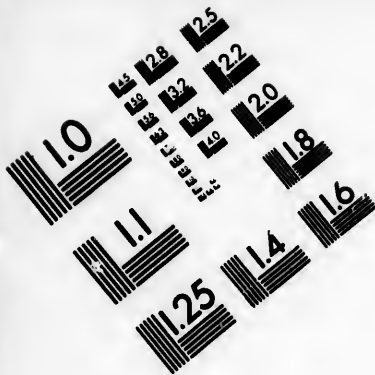
The effects of an hurricane are much more to be feared when it is accompanied by rain, because then, the earth being softened, the trees, canes, manioc, &c. are more liable to be torn up, than when the soil is dry and firm. Heavy thunder has been sometimes known to disperse the rain, and allay the wind; but, in the year we now mention, it was quite otherwise: The rain had fallen very reasonably, and the time of hurricanes was supposed to be elapsed. But on Sunday, *October* the 2d, it rained much more heavily than usual, with strong gusts of wind, and loud claps of thunder; it continued thus till *Tuesday* about six in the morning, when it ceased of a sudden; but on *Monday* following, about two o'clock in the afternoon, it blew most violently from the

*Fig. when it is accompanied with rain.*

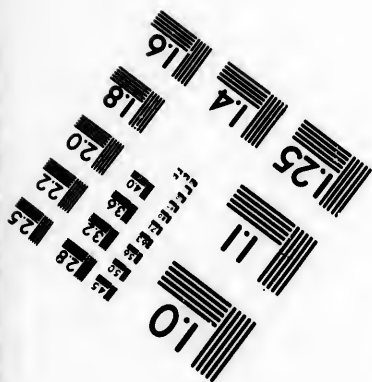
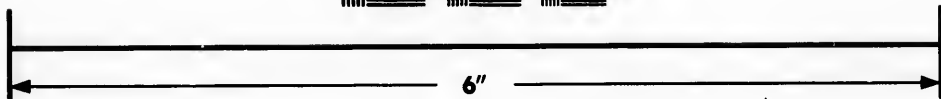
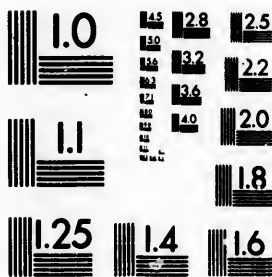
*Description of the same.*

South





**IMAGE EVALUATION  
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



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## A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

South; before seven, it shifted from thence to S. West; W. and N. and before midnight it had traversed all points of the compass, with incredible fury. The wind then a little abated, and the rain lasted till nine the next morning. At noon the horizon cleared up on all sides; the wind began to blow most refreshingly from the East, and the weather now became as fine as it had before been terrible.

Damages.

While the wind blew from the West, the sea overflowed its banks with such violence, that, in conjunction with the waters of the river *St Peter*, it carried away a battery of eight guns at the mouth of that river, with part of the wall of the fort, and of the governor's apartment, and a western angle; six or seven vessels of burthen, with several barks, were driven ashore, and beat to pieces. The gallery at the fort, which was near 800 paces long, was entirely ruined. All the houses in this quarter, three or four excepted, were carried away, and only two magazines, which had strong walls supporting weighty terraces, outlasted the force of this devastation. What a melancholy scene now opened itself to the siniles of one of the most delightful days that ever cheered the world! Trees in some places torn up by the roots, and piled upon one another in the ruined highways; others standing, still true to their tough roots, without branch, leaf, or even bark. The best plantations entirely destroyed; fine houses levelled with the earth; the labour of years fallen the prey of a ruinous moment; and even the domestic animals frightened into wildness, and flying from their friendly owners to the woods. After the rains were gone off, such plenty of ducks, teal, plovers, sea-larks, and various sorts of water-fowl, were found about the fields that were not overflowed, that they might be taken with the hand.

English privateer makes a descent.

On the night of *October 15, 1697*, an *English* privateer, of eight guns, and seventy men made a descent at *Marigot*, then consisting of no more than eight houses, and as many sugarworks. Sixty of the ship's crew were landed in two canoes without any opposition; for the night being very gloomy, and the sea running high, with no sign of an enemy in the evening, the inhabitants had retired to rest without the least concern. The sailors, leaving two men to guard each canoe, divided themselves into two bodies, the largest of which advanced, with all speed, towards the huts of the Negroes belonging to the next plantation, the Negroes being the booty which had invited them thither; the rest invested the town with as little noise as possible. In the first house which they attempted, an armed Negroe, hearing them speak *English*, discharged his piece at random, and killed one of them. The fire was imprudently returned by a pistol shot, and the master of the house, roused by the noise, which was increased by the barking of the dogs, and suspecting how matters stood, made his escape, but first spread the alarm by discharging his fusce. The *English* now directed all their force against a very large house, which, from its appearance, seemed to be the first in the town, and after much difficulty forced the door, when, to their great disappointment, they found it to be only a sugarwork. By this time most of the Negroes had made their escape, or hid themselves among the reeds and thickets, where they lay squat. Some of the principal people of the town now directed their course to the water side, in order either to destroy the canoes that had landed the *English*, or, at least, to render them useless. The inhabitants, a little recovered from their sleep and surprise, began to assemble, and firing upon the enemy, killed two; one of their own number being slightly wounded. The increased noise of the fuses intimidated such of the sailors as were pursuing the Negroes, and put them in mind of their canoes, to which they thought it now high time to retire, for, in case these had been destroyed, they would have found themselves exposed to the fury of an enraged people, from whom they had but little reason to hope for quarter. The resolution of retiring was executed as soon as conceived; they found their canoes in imminent danger, one of the men who guarded them being already killed, and the three others having withdrawn to some adjacent rocks for shelter from the same fate. The *French* who pursued them, not being strong enough to attack twenty men, suffered them to embark, and then fired on them briskly. Being now reinforced, they attacked the other body of sailors, who were making to the seaside with seven or eight slaves, whom they had made prisoners, and dragged along with great trouble. The sailors finding a strong force against them, quitted their prey, and made as fast as they could to the water side, where, throwing down their arms, they desperately plunged, and swam to their canoes, leaving behind them seven of their people dead, and one man wounded and a prisoner.

Sailors disappointed.

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One of the dead luckily had about him the privateer's commission, or else the prisoner would have been hanged as a pirate.

In about six days, the same privateer attempted a descent at the *Mouillage*, but was so warmly received by Pere *Labat* and his people, that he thought it best to steer off, not indeed without some loss. The commander of this unsuccessful frigate was called *George Roche*. Vain attempt of another descent.

On the 10th of *December* 1704, a corsair, that had been chased by an *English* ship of war, alarmed the country with the news that an enemy's squadron was on the coast. The same day the fleet appeared in sight of *Fort Royal*, consisting of twenty two large ships, as many transports, seventeen barks, six galliots, and some double shallops. This spectacle threw the whole island into a consternation, as there was not strength enough upon it to repel four or five thousand men, should such a number have chanced to land, and, even as it was, a vigorous attack might have exposed both *Fort Royal* and *Fort St Peter* to absolute destruction. The alarm was every where spread, and the inhabitants quickly in arms; but all would have been to no purpose, had the enemy really landed. Happily for the *French* they had other designs, and pursued their course founding the coast. One of the shallops landed some of her people at two or three coves, where they pillaged a few houses, and carried off a bark laden with sugar. About two in the morning of the eleventh, the whole fleet were within cannon shot of *Fort St Peter*, but, to the great joy of all the inhabitants, there was no sign of it at day break. Alarm from appearance of an English squadron.

In 1708, *France* being still engaged in an expensive war with *England*, and *Holland*. The *English*, by means of promises and presents, prevailed upon the *Indians* of *St Vincent*, to renounce their alliance with the *French*, which was of many years standing, promising, not only considerable succours, but also disclaiming any share in the booty they might make; a day was appointed for a large body of these *Indians* to join the *English* and land upon the island of *Grenada*, and after plundering the island to attack the remotest quarters of *Martinico*. This intended invasion was not so secretly conducted, but that it reached the ears of *M. de Machault*, governor general of the islands. The effects that might ensue from it were more easily foreseen, than a proper remedy found out to prevent it. From an enterprise of such a nature, the inhabitants of strong towns and fortifications, or quarters, well peopled and regularly guarded, have nothing to fear; on the other hand, every thing is to be apprehended for the more distant quarters, or for houses that lie scattered up and down, which, as they can make little or no defence, are liable to be surpris'd in the night. English excite the Indians to a rupture with the French.

After mature deliberation, on all these points, it was agreed that *M. Collett*, of whom we have lately spoken, was the properest and most likely man to overturn the newly concerted project of the *English*, to restore the *Caribbeans* to a proper way of thinking, and prevail on them to renew their ancient friendly intelligence upon a firmer basis than ever. This gentleman had already acquired some authority among them; they loved and respected him highly, because that wherever he met them, whether in the neighbourhood of his own house, or elsewhere, he took care to regale them cheerfully, giving them plenty of drink, and never dismissing them without a handsome present. Collett chosen to defeat the design.

The good of the community soon prevailed on *Collett* to accept of this important and dangerous commission. The governor gave him full power to act as his own discretion should dictate; and the intendant gave orders that he should be furnished by the merchants with whatever commodities he should judge fit to dispose of as presents, or otherwise, as might to him seem most proper. On such occasions as this, good cheer and agreeable presents are the most powerful reasons that can be used, none other being understood by the *Caribbeans*, or carrying with them the smallest force of conviction. His reputation among the Indians.

*Collett* finding every thing prepared for his embassy, left *Fort St Peter* on the 29th of *November*, with a large train of attendants and officers, and reached the *Basseterre* of *St Vincent*, on the 30th, about midnight. The sea running high, so that his vessels could not reach the shore near enough to afford a conveniency of landing, he leaped into the water and waded to land, calling out, at the same time, to a party of Savages, that stood on the beach, to tell them who he was. The report of his arrival spread among them like wildfire, and nothing was to be heard for some time but their encouraging one another to save what belonged to their good cousin *Collett* from the danger of shipwreck. In effect, they soon brought all his attendants and baggage to land, and

## A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

moored his vessels close under the shore. *Collett*, after landing, was quickly conducted to their principal huts, whither their chiefs from every quarter hastened to see him, and give him such testimonies of friendship as were consistent with their manners. His first step was to divide among them store of liquor, and some good eatables, which he had brought with him for that purpose. He then desired that notice should be given to all the chiefs of the Negroes, as well as the *Indians*, that their cousin *Collett* was come to visit them, and desired their presence immediately at his quarter, having something of a very particular nature to communicate, which concerned them all.

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When they were all assembled, which was in a short time, first getting himself painted red with rocou, for their better liking and resemblance, he feasted them plentifully, won their hearts with his presents, and then acquainted them with the occasion of his coming. His deportment and speech were so much to the purpose, that they not only renounced all alliance with the *English* on the spot, but burned all the preparations which lay ready on the shore for the expedition, to the value of 10,000 crowns. Nay he even persuaded them to bind their new treaty of alliance by giving hostages for their fidelity, to which they unanimously agreed.

Thus, by the address of one gentleman, a tempest that hung big with destruction over the *French* colonies, was entirely dissipated; and the island of *Martinico*, during that war at least, felt nothing more to create its distraction.

This island enjoyed peace and tranquility till a large fleet of men of war and transports commanded by Commodore *Moore*, with Generals *Hopson*, *Haldane*, (late governor of *Jamaica*) and *Barrington*, arrived on the 15th of *January*, 1759, off *Port Royal* harbour. The next morning the men of war destroyed the batteries, and drove the enemy from their entrenchments at *Pointe des Negres* on the West part of the said harbour; and the troops landed without opposition, and lay under arms all night. On the 17th, in consideration of the intricacy of the roads, difficulty of communications, and distance between *Port Royal* and *Pointe des Negres*, General *Hopson* proposed to Commodore *Moore* to land the heavy cannon, stores, provisions, &c. at the *Savannah*, which is before *Port Royal*; and, in case that could not be done, desired, that the boats might attend, the same evening, to bring off the troops, as soon as the moon was up: The commodore having found the above proposal impossible, until the West part of the fort should be silenced by the batteries raised by the troops on shore, made an offer, not only of landing the heavy artillery at *Negro Point*, where the troops then were, but also of transporting the same, wherever the general pleased, by the seamen belonging to the men of war, without any assistance from the land-forces: The troops were, however, reembarked that night.

The next day, the general acquainted the commodore, that the council of war was of opinion, it would be most to his majesty's service to proceed to Fort *St Pierre* with the troops, in order to make an attack upon that place, and that no time should be lost.

It appears accordingly, that, on the 19th in the morning, his majesty's fleet entered the bay of *St Pierre*, when the commodore, having examined the coast, represented to the general, that he made no doubt of destroying the town of *St Pierre*, and putting the troops in possession of the same; yet, as the ships might, in the attack, be so much disabled as not to be in a condition to proceed immediately on any other material service; and, as the troops, if it should be practicable to keep possession of the above town, would also be much reduced in their numbers for future attacks; he thought it advisable to proceed against the town and fortrefs of *Basseterre* in the island of *Guadaloupe*, and, in case of success, to keep possession of it; and afterwards, by all possible means, endeavour to reduce the said island, which would be of great benefit to the sugar colonies, as *Guadaloupe* is the chief nest of *French* privateers, constantly infesting the *British* islands, and destroying the trade from *North America*, which supplies provisions, &c. The commodore, for these reasons, submitted it to the general's consideration, whether it were not better immediately to turn their arms against that place, as the more important; and the general gave his opinion in the affirmative.

Retire from  
the island.

It is not our province here to enter into an examination of the merits of these proceedings, we shall contrast them with a copy of a letter said to be written by a *French* officer at *Martinico* after our squadron drew off, and leave the reader to judge for himself.

" We had been told, for a long time, says he, that we were to expect a very serious visit from the enemy; but we began to be less alarmed at it, as our last advices informed

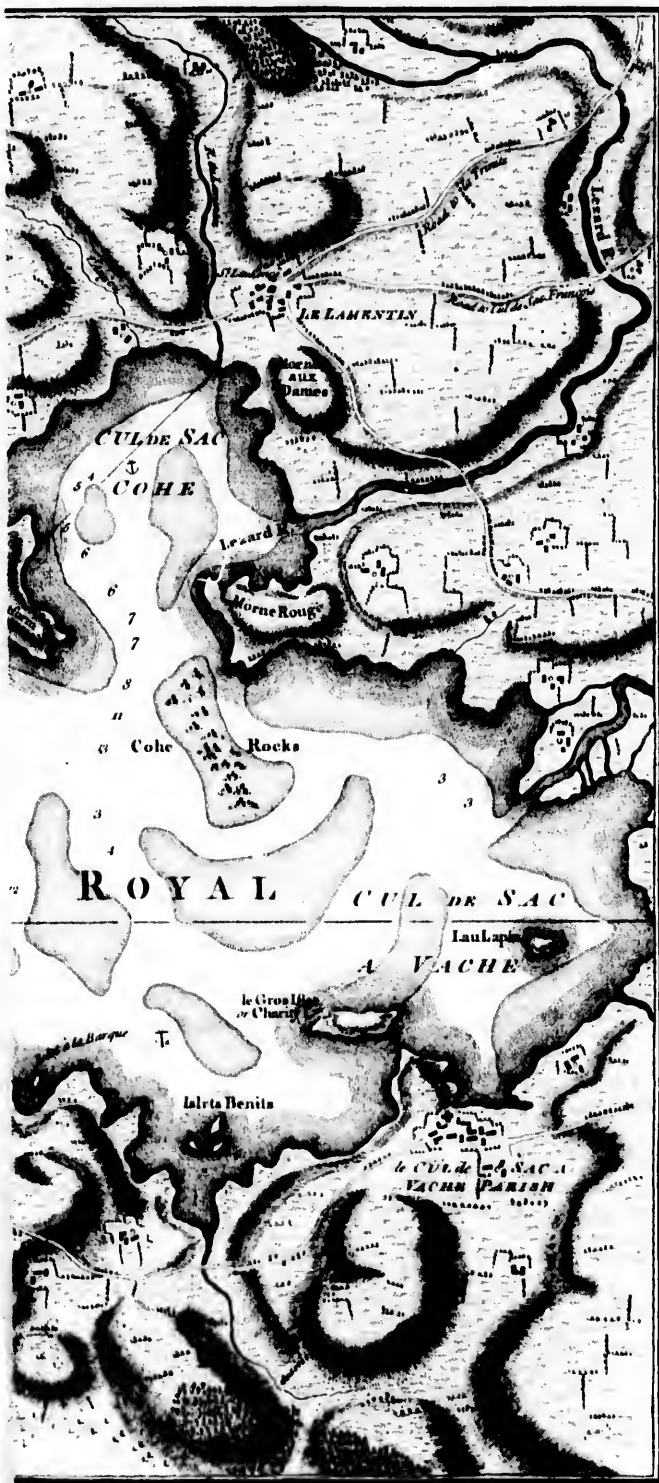
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us, that the extraordinary preparations which they had been so busy about in *England*, were actually suspended. It was universally reported, and believed, that the enemy had a greater object in view than *Martinico*, from so formidable a squadron, and such a number of transports, when it arrived upon our coasts, and convinced us, that though we had long been neglected by our mother country, there were, notwithstanding, some people in the world who had us in their mind.

*French officer's account of the defence.*

A country so distressed, that its inhabitants would gladly have given two bushels of coffee for one pint of beans, could but ill accommodate guests, so numerous, and of such importance: but we had been taught to feed upon resentment for some time, and therefore could not be at much loss for provision proper for their entertainment, tho' notwithstanding our best endeavours, we were but ill provided: Some bad entrenchments thrown up about two months before, at *St Pierre's*, and at a place called *Casnavire*, where we thought it most probable the enemy would attempt to land, made up the sum total of our abilities for receiving them.

From so little preparations being made, we concluded that we had no reason to expect an attack, or that we should have at least a month's notice of it beforehand.

Both the shepherd and his flock were in a profound sleep when the wolf, in the shape of an *English* squadron, made his appearance on our coasts, and at a time when he was least expected. One would imagine it could be no longer a doubt what they were, and what were their intentions; but even yet we appeared incredulous, and, after the example of *M. Beaubarnois*, we concluded what we saw to be no more than a fleet of merchantmen. This fleet, however, appeared on the 19th of *January* in the bay of *Fort Royal*, with their boats in tow, and every thing prepared for a debarkation; and then we began to be convinced what sort of merchandize they dealt in.

At this instant *Fort Royal* had all the appearance of falling an immediate sacrifice. Four companies of infantry, consisting of no more than one hundred and twenty men, and the major part of them more like apparitions than soldiers, thirty-six bombardiers, eighty *Swiss*, and fourteen officers, were her whole force; and a hundred barrels of beef were to serve for all the support as well as comforts of life; no water in the cisterns, a very few of the utensils necessary for the service of cannon, no spare carriages, no wadding, no match, but a few shot, and hardly any landgrage: This was her condition.

This fort, which hitherto had been the safeguard of our fleets, now stretched her arms towards the harbour, and in the day of her distress claimed the protection she had been used to give. The assistance she could have was but small; no more than one ship and two frigates could help her; and in her then unhappy situation, when she could do nothing herself, the smallest vessel might have been of use. But in the day of adversity how hard is it to find a friend? The two frigates had themselves to take care of, and having *M. Beaubarnois's* leave, they only waited for the darkness of the ensuing night, which they thought long in coming, to make their escape. Accordingly they abandoned the unfortunate fort to her destiny, while the more generous *Fleurissant* staid to share her fate.

Towards the evening of the 5th, a bomb-ketch approached to examine what vessels we had lying in the basin, when a shot from the fort carried away one of her masts, and obliged her to retire.

On the 16th, about nine in the morning, one of the enemy's ships stationed herself before the battery at *Point Negro*, and three more before that at *Casnavire*, which were silenced in a short time.

Being masters of these two small batteries, they began their landing, and advanced three hundred paces from *Point Negro*, where they raised a redoubt on their right, and another in front close to a road leading to a small wood.

Between the 16th and 17th, in the night, they ranged their army in order of battle, and sent some platoons a-head, by the side of the water that surrounds the *Marne Tortouefon*. The principal view of the enemy was to possess themselves of this post, which commands *Fort Royal*, the harbour, the road, and the town. The general despaired of maintaining this fort, and had resolved in the morning to blow it up; but nothing happened to be in readiness; and, though workmen were employed for that purpose, the mines could not be got ready in time; there was therefore a necessity of defending the *Marne Tortouefon* against the *English* to the last extremity.



## A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

It is impossible to describe the disorder and confusion among our people. The troops, already fatigued by a forced march, had neither bread nor water; and it was twenty-four hours before any was distributed. Thus, in a post disadvantageous in itself, without cannon, without a leader, spent with fatigue and hunger, were we exposed to meet a body of regular troops, well disciplined, and which, in the morning of the 17th, came marching towards us in two columns, and in good order, with two field-pieces, which opened their way against men who had nothing but their fusils; and the general happening to arrive just as the enemy had begun firing upon this confused company, thought it prudent to retire, and carried away with him many, who, for want of experience, did not know what to do with themselves. In this dilemma every man followed the advice which his own courage suggested; it was the only necessary thing we did not want, and in a business of this sort an heroic courage supplies every other deficiency. The gentlemen, and every body that was able, put themselves in the best order they could for fighting; but being ignorant of the art of war, they knew nothing more than to rush upon the enemy and fire away. People in *Europe* say, that hunting, or the chase, bears some resemblance to war; and I am sure our war upon that day was a perfect image of a hunting match. The people formed little parties, and engaged in platoons as well as they could; and the *English*, finding themselves attacked from every quarter, soon gave way, with the loss of a great many men. It is not our custom to carry off scalps, and we contented ourselves with their grenadiers caps; but I cannot help observing, that the threatening motto of *Nec ardua terrent* ill agreed with the behaviour of those that wore them. Their platoons, supported by a body of their troops, having advanced near a wood, were briskly fired upon; and, among others, the party which had passed the water before-mentioned, retreated and rejoined the main body of their army. One of their principal officers put himself at their head, to try to regain the post they had quitted, but he was soon killed.

During this time the bomb-ketches approached, and threw several bombs into the town and fort. One of them fell within twenty feet of the *Florissant's* stern, which shewed the critical situation she was in: But there was a necessity for posting her in that manner, both for defending one side of the town, and for blocking up the entrance into the *Cal-de-Sac*. One of the bombs thrown from the fort carried away the flag-staff of one of the frigates, which obliged them to retire.

Monf. *Lignery*, an officer of distinction and merit, and one in whom the island placed the highest confidence, had the command of *Fort Royal*, and behaved with such activity, that none of the enemy's ships came within reach of his guns, without paying dear for it.

His majesty's ship *Florissant*, commanded by M. *Mercill*, lay in such a manner as to prevent any disembarkation at the *Savanna* next to *Fort Royal*, and to fire upon the town, in case the enemy should possess themselves of it.

M. *Mercill* sent into the fort one of his officers and some men, with the best of his gunners, and formed a company with two officers and some of the marines, who desired to go as volunteers, whom he sent to the *Marne Vertueuse*, where the greatest push was expected; and, that nothing might be wanting that the ship could furnish, he sent provisions and ammunition to the camp; in short, there was not one of the king's officers, who did not give the highest proofs of his zeal and ardour, and shew as much warmth for the preservation of the country, as if they had all had citates in it to defend.

The officers of the garrison distinguished themselves very much; and M. *Mabant*, a captain in the infantry, threw several bombs with good success.

On the 17th, in the morning, we took two prisoners that had been wounded, which were carried to the fort, and an *Irish* soldier, who had deserted, came in to us. Being carried before the general, he gave the following account: "That the enemy left *Periswath* the 15th of *November*, and arrived at *Barbalos* the 3d of *January*, where they embarked 150 Negroes: That they had asked at *Barbalos* a reinforcement of a thousand men, which the government promised, if there was occasion, to send to their assistance: That one of their hospital ships, which had on board five of their principal surgeons, was not arrived, and, it was reported, had run foul of another ship in the night, and sunk; That one of their transports, with 150 *Huguenots*, was taken by two *French* frigates in the chops of the channel: That it was public in *England*, that C— M— had represented the island of *Martinica* in the most de-

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plorable circumstances, without provisions, or hopes of having any, by the care he had taken to prevent neutral powers from furnishing supplies: That he had made the court of London believe he should meet with little resistance in attacking it; and it was probable, many of the inhabitants, reduced by want, and in hopes of better treatment, would surrender themselves."

This deserter added, that the general and principal officers of the *English* army had remonstrated to Mr M—, that they found things very different to what they had been represented; that they saw no enemy to fight with, and yet bullets were flying about them from every leaf and bough they came near; that the country was full of ambuscades; and that, if they proceeded further, they must be all cut to pieces. Besides this, they were eat up with insects, and scorched to death by an insupportable heat; and as there was no prospect of succeeding in the attempt they were upon, they determined to embark again.

What this deserter told us was soon verified; for in the night time, and when we were expecting some grand effort from the enemy, they embarked with all imaginable precipitation, inasmuch that at the dawn of day we found in their intrenchments a large quantity of the implements of war, such as powder, guns, cartridges, shovels, pickaxes, wheelbarrows, and chevaux-de-frize. I imagine we must have killed and wounded them four hundred men, with a loss on our side of only twenty-one killed and wounded.

*Thursday* the 18th, their fleet got under sail, and made several tacks off the road till night came on. The next morning we found they had steered their course for *St Pierre's*, where every think was in readiness to give them a good reception.

In sight of the road of *St Pierre's* the fleet stood to and fro some time, as if there had been an intention of bombarding the town, which was then full of nothing but fighting men, as every thing else had been moved out some days before. In standing in too near, one of the men of war ran aground almost a-breast of the little battery at the mouth of *Dry Gut*, which plied her very warmly, and the on her part returned a brisk fire. Other vessels were sent to her assistance, and eight shallots to tow her off, which at length they effected, though they must certainly have lost a great number of men. On our side we lost only two matrosses. In the ensuing night the fleet left us, and steered towards *Guadaloupe*.

We had made most excellent dispositions against the next day. A little work was raised at the *Morne Tortueson*, and we had got some field-pieces there, which would have put us upon a footing with the enemy; all disorder and confusion was rectified; the ardour of our people for action was great; in short, every thing gave us an assurance of success, when the enemy robbed us of the glory of a victory by running away.

## A Description and History of the Island of GRENADA.

**F**ORTY leagues South of *Martinico*, and twenty-five from the continent, to which it is nearer than any other *French* island, in North latitude  $12^{\circ}$ , lies that of *Grenada*, near ten leagues long, not more than five broad, and upwards of thirty in circumference. *Columbus*, the first discoverer, gave it the name of *Grenada*, in honour of a province of that name in *Spain*. The great bay on the W. or *Grand Cul-de-Sac*, which gives it the figure of an irregular crescent, is formed by two points of land that run a good length into the sea, of which the Northern is much the widest. The true entrance of this harbour is W. S. W. its bottom is free from rocks, for the most part level, and so deep, that vessels may lie close to the shore. This island was by the *Caribbeans* always preferred to the rest of the *Antilles* for its variety of game, and plenty of fish.

In 1638, *M. Du Poincy*, having heard a very good character of *Grenada*, from a certain person who had touched here in a voyage from the continent, entertained some thoughts of planting it, but was deterred by its distance from *St Christopher's*, and the multitude of Savages who were said to inhabit it. *Sieur Aubert* finding the misunderstanding between him and *Huvel* likely to increase, and tempted by the description he

had heard from all hands of the advantages that might accrue to the proprietor of it, sent hither a man of sagacity to examine the situation, soil, and properties; but his disputes with *Houel* still increasing, he turned his thoughts another way.

*West India*  
company's  
grant not ex-  
ecuted.

In 1645, the *West India* company, who were no strangers to the character of the island, made a grant of it, with ample commission of governor to settle and inhabit, to *M. Naailly*; but junctures of circumstances obliged him to cede it, the year ensuing, to *Beaumontier*, whom he had chosen for his lieutenant. Either inability, or some other cogent reasons, prevented this gentleman also from carrying the commission into execution.

*Du Parquet*  
effects a let-  
tlement.

Hence the honour seemed entirely reserved for *M. du Parquet*, with whose character the reader has been already sufficiently acquainted. This sagacious personage had so well demeaned himself, that even the Savages, as well as the *European* inhabitants of the *Antilles*, held him in high estimation; nay, the former of these, who resided upon *Grenada*, having heard that he had some design of making an establishment among them, petitioned him to put it in execution. As he was well acquainted with their inconstancy, he took them at their word, knowing that a trifle would change their minds, and induce them to oppose him. Wherefore he published his intention of going on such an expedition, and promised an exemption from all taxes and imposts to every person who chose to bear him company. Volunteers enough soon offered, out of whom he chose two hundred, such as masons, carpenters, smiths, and other artificers necessary in establishing a colony. Most of them he knew to be able men, skilled in the manufactures of the climate, and particularly the culture of provisions, without trusting to the chance of fishing, fowling, or hunting. He prepared a sufficient quantity of cassava root, pease, grain of all sorts, and flesh meat well cured, to last his people for three months: He armed each man with a gun, a pair of pistols, and ammunition, and carried with him, besides every thing proper for working the soil, three barrels of brandy, two pipes of fine *Madeira*, with glasses and other toys to traffic with the *Indians*.

His prudent  
measures for  
success.

His people, who were embarked in two vessels, landed safe in *June* 1650. The chief or captain of the inhabitants affected to receive them with great pleasure. *Parquet*, having erected a cross and the royal arms of *France*, under a general discharge of the cannon of the ships, gave orders for erecting wooden habitations, and clearing the ground. The captain of the Savages, whose name was *Kairouané*, having told him jocosely, that to secure his property it was necessary he should purchase the place of the ancient inhabitants. *Parquet* seized the hint, and entered into a treaty with him directly for the sale, agreeing with him, in the name of his brethren, to become sole lord of the island, in consideration of a certain quantity of glasses, toys, knives, and hedge-bills, which were immediately produced and delivered into the custody of *Capt. Kairouané*.

Lands on the  
island with  
his people.

When he had distributed the ground in proper portions among his followers, he returned to *Martinico*, having first settled the government of *Grenada* upon *M. Le Comte*, a gentleman of good temper, and martial genius, whom he left with two hundred men in a wooden fort, palisadoed round, and defended by some pieces of cannon, intended as well to intimidate strangers from intrusion, as to awe the Savages, who were still left in possession of their huts and plantations; a liberty the governor had soon cause to repent of; for these barbarians, who did not dare openly to insult the new proprietors, resolved, without noise, to cut off all such as they could find wandering from the fort, or hunting in the woods. In this manner they massacred several, and obliged the rest, not only to be more circumspect, but to go out for the future in armed bodies.

Settles a go-  
vernor.

*Parquet*, informed of their treachery, immediately sent thither a reinforcement of three hundred men, and positive orders either to destroy the Savages upon the place root and branch, or at least to drive them all off the island. This matter was not easily carried into execution; for, when they found themselves vigorously pushed, in consequence of several bold attacks made upon them, they sheltered themselves under the covert of a high ragged rock, surrounded by horrid precipices, and accessible only by one steep winding path, the entrance of which they carefully concealed. It was however at length found out by the *French*, who surprised and fell upon them with such fury, that but forty were left alive, who preferred jumping from the top of the rock into

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the sea before trusting to the mercy of the enraged victors. By this action *Parquet* was left in fair and quiet possession of the *Basse-terre*, or low lands, which are at least half of the island.

The *Indians* of the *Cabesterre*, by remaining a good while very peaceable, and seeming as it were insensible of the fate of their brethren upon the *Basse-terre*, lulled the *French* into a foolish security, founded upon a supposition, that the disastrous fate of the latter would fully intimidate them from again making war. A very short time convinced them of the fallacy of their opinion; for their total destruction had been absolutely resolved in a full meeting of the *Caribbeans* assembled for that purpose. Their resolution soon appeared in their scouring the woods and sea coast in parties, and murdering, without distinction, all the *French* who fell into their hands. *M. Le Comte* soon prepared to punish severely this perfidy; and, putting himself at the head of one hundred and fifty men, he surprised their chief rendezvous on the *Cabesterre* by break of day, where, without regard to sex or age, he put them all to death; and then spreading himself suddenly over this whole quarter, he carried with him every where the same inexorable fate. Nor was it possible for any of those wretches to escape, the governor having beforehand taken possession of all their canoes, so that those who had fled to the woods, in passing from thence to the sea-side, met death from the hands of the victor, who now remained sole master of the island.

Revenge by  
expiation

The joy of this expedition was indeed clouded by the loss of *Le Comte*, who was drowned in his return, while exerting an act of generosity. His canoe being overset, all the people who were in it endeavoured to save their lives by swimming. Among them was the governor, who was got out of danger, when he ventured into the water again to save, if possible, an officer, his particular acquaintance, whom he saw hardly able to keep his head above water. He laid hold of his friend, now just spent, who clung so fast to his arm, that both sunk together.

Le Comte  
drowned.

The news of his death very sensibly affected *Parquet*, who lost in him a near relation, as well as a brave officer. As he did not chuse to entrust the care of this infant government to *M. Le Fort*, though next in command, as being too fierce, arrogant, and impetuous, he conferred it on *M. de Valmeniere*. When the new governor had arrived, and his commission was read, *Le Fort* answered very haughtily, That he himself was conscious, if nobody else was, of the great services he had done upon the island, in consequence of which he never could have thought that *Parquet* would have put any one over his head, or that of his intimate friend *Le Marquis*, who ought also to rise in his turn; that he honoured *Valmeniere's* commission, but could never acknowledge him as governor.

Succeeded by  
Valmeniere.

Who is op-  
posed by Le  
Fort.

On the dismissal of the assembly *Le Fort* and *Le Marquis*, with some of their partisans, retired to their houses, which they had fortified against the *Savages*, and *Valmeniere* took possession of the fort. The state of the colony was now very melancholy, being divided into parties, each of which wanted but little provocation to lift the hand to the throat of its antagonists. To put an end to these differences, *Parquet* sent positive orders to *Le Fort* and his adherents, to submit to the governor's authority, and these orders were seconded by a body of one hundred *Walloons*, who had been formerly in the *Dutch* service at *Brasil*, and being driven thence by the *Portuguese*, had insisted under him. *Le Fort* not only refused obedience, but even armed his people, and posted them round *Valmeniere's* place of residence, which was fortified, and also seized a bark belonging to the *Spaniards*, which had put into their neighbourhood to take in water. Notice of this piece of piracy being given to the governor, he sent his company of *Walloons* to demand the restitution of it. But *Le Fort* refused to parley, or to admit them to his house, unless by two at a time. The *Walloons* then attempted to force their way, but their commandant was wounded in the first onset by a pistol-shot. All peaceable measures were now laid aside; the fight grew hot; some on each side were killed and wounded, and the number would have been still greater, had not *Le Fort* happily received a wound in his foot, whereby he was for the present disabled from acting, and soon after taken prisoner, together with *Le Marquis*, and both were conducted to the fort, and the bark was restored to the *Spaniards*.

Distractions  
on the island.

Le Fort re-  
bellious.

Taken pris-  
oner, and

Advice of these transactions being transmitted to *Martinica*, a lawyer was immediately dispatched from thence to try the malecontents; and *Le Fort*, finding by this proceeding that an ignominious death was inevitable, saved the judge the trouble of his process by swallowing poison, adu administered by an *Indian* who attended him; but he refused

Poisons him-  
self.

refused

refused in his latest moments to be reconciled to *Valmeniere*. *Le Marquis* was condemned to be hanged, but appealing to the council at *Martinico*, the sentence was reduced to banishment and confiscation of effects; *Parquet*, however, generously mitigated the latter part of it.

Colony begins to flourish.

*Valmeniere* continued to exercise his authority with great wisdom, prudence, and success, and the colony grew every day more prosperous, to which the fertility of the soil, the great plenty of game of all kinds, and the goodness of its tobacco, which was rather better than that of the other islands, exceedingly contributed. A succession of men of *Valmeniere's* character would soon have rendered it a place of considerable consequence. The public tranquillity was sometimes, indeed, interrupted by the incursions of the Savages, to which he always had the good fortune to put a quick and severe check. The greatest objection against the place, was its lying out of the common road of shipping, whence it was often in want of necessary imports, to procure which, it was necessary to keep a bark well manned, constantly in pay to ply between *St. Vincent* and *Martinico*, without which, the garrison and inhabitants would often have been reduced to great distress.

Chief disadvantages of the island.

The Count *de Cerillac*, encouraged by the accounts he daily heard in *Europe* of the profits reaped by the proprietors of the *Antilles*, and being of an adventurous disposition, commissioned *Pere le Tetre* to make purchase for him. *Grenada* was the island chosen, and the success which the reverend father had in prosecuting this affair will best appear from a few extracts of a letter written by him on the subject to the Count, in 1657; nor can they be thought digressive, as they more fully illustrate the advantages accruing to the possessor.

Count de Cerillac purchases Grenada.

Advantageous character of the place by *le Tetre*, in 1657.

The land is very fine, well adapted to subsist a good colony, and has the advantage of a fine harbour. The island is as large again as that of *St. Christopher's*, the harbour and river of the *Basseterre* are overlooked by hills, in some places divided by narrow strips of fruitful vales; the inhabitants are in this quarter. The whole face of the rest of the country is very agreeable, and open enough for horsemen and chariots. You cannot go a league without meeting two or three rivers, or fountains; except towards the salt pits, where however the water, which is saved in pits, is not bad. The sun is so nourishing here, that no other of the *Caribbeans* can boast of trees so strait, high, massy, and beautiful. Besides plenty of fish, they have variety of game, particularly that of *Tinadillo* or *Tatou*, of which the inhabitants are very fond and prefer it to mutton. The harbour is very safe, it will hold at least fifty vessels, and a bank of sand divides it from a fine pond, where many more might ride securely in all weathers. The inhabitants are about three hundred, most of them armed with muskets. In the fort, which as yet is of wood, there are several suffles, and about a dozen pieces of iron cannon that will carry twelve pound balls. *M. du Parquet* imagines there is a pearl fishery dependent on it, which, if true, will make it still more valuable. As he is disposed to part with it, he at first insisted on 100,000 livres to be paid in ready cash. However he has at length agreed to accept of 30,000 crowns, half in hand, and the rest in lawful interest to be paid at the end of one year, reckoning from Midsummer day next ensuing; after which you must be answerable for every shilling to be expended upon the place, to which you must also send somebody to take possession in your name. The bargain seems so advantageous to all your friends, that if it be properly improved, they imagine that in three or four years, you will not only clear your principal, but even ten times the sum; for *Parquet*, by his conduct, cedes to you, not only the sovereignty of this island and its contingences; but also undertakes to put you in possession of all the public buildings, slaves, hired servants, cannon, arms, ammunition, provision, utensils, and, in short, every thing belonging to the island. It must be observed that, in return for the trouble to be taken in managing these matters by *Pere le Tetre*, the order of *St. Dominic*, the habit of which he wore, was to have the mission of the island, exclusive of all other religious societies.

Price of the purchase.

Count prepares for the voyage.

Count *de Cerillac*, on receiving of this letter prepared every thing for his voyage, and having raised four hundred men, and amassed a sufficiency of provisions, and all kinds of necessaries, he proceeded with them to *Honfleur*, where he found the ship, which he had engaged, and expected to be ready for sea the eighth of *October*, wanted as yet two months repair. This was but the beginning of his misfortunes, for his recruits, whom he had put on board two vessels lying in the road to keep them together, suffered

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suffered such extremity that many of them died; while the more substantial of his train, who remained ashore, having consumed their last halfpenny, were obliged to live upon their moveables, and embarked in so wretched a condition, that, had the ship made the voyage, the best part of them must have died upon the way. But by the contrivance of the ship's owner, who had already fingered a good deal of the count's money, the was run upon a bank, and having thereby sprung a leak, put back to rest. The knavery of this transaction was so palpable, that a company of the most considerable traders at *Havre* offered, not only to stand by him, if he would break his contract, but also to furnish him with three stout vessels, and a reinforcement of useful men for his colony. These advantageous offers, through a sort of infatuation, he rejected, and after having without success, endeavoured to borrow money of the Capuchins, under colour of securing to them the mission of *Grenada*, which he had before granted to the Dominicans, in about a month he found the ship once more fit to make her voyage, and embarked his people in confusion and haste, for he feared lest the matter should play him some new trick. He put to sea when the wind was cross, and the heaviness of the clouds threatened bad weather, nor could he be delayed by any persuasion. The night brought on with it a violent storm, which lasted three days, during which, the ship sprung a leak, and above twenty of his people dying were flung overboard. At length, after much hardship, they put in at *Portsmouth* in *England*, where the ship was condemned, and most of the people either died or deserted. Among the latter was the son of the count himself, who was, however, soon taken and brought back to his father. From *Portsmouth* he went up to *London*, where he commenced a suit against the captain of the ship, whilst the poor friars in his train being totally neglected, and reduced to the last extremity, with great difficulty found their way back to *France*. Having reduced his affairs to some regularity, he laid aside all thoughts of the voyage himself for the present, and committed the remnants of his people, and the government of his island, to the care of his lieutenant.

This repeated misfortunes and disappointments.

This officer did very little honour to authority, for his behaviour was rude, indiscreet, and overbearing; so that, rather than be subservient to his humours, many of the inhabitants withdrew with their effects to *Martinico*. His insolence growing at length intolerable, the people of the island were unanimous in seizing upon his person, when, after a formal trial for male-administration, he was sentenced to be hanged. The unhappy officer, finding that all defence, remonstrance, and supplication, were in vain, begged at least that, in regard to his being a gentleman, they would order his head to be severed from his body. This favour could not, however, be granted him, as it was an office of too nice a nature for their executioner, wherefore they were kind enough to order him to be shot. It is not to be supposed that any, but the lower sort of people, were concerned in this execution, the richest planters were withdrawn from the island, and the officers had retired to the *Bajazette*. In the whole court where he was arraigned there was but one man that could write, whose name was *Archangeli*, he, who collected the interrogations, and conducted the trial, being a farmer, who made his mark.

This lieutenant's government was all conduct & face.

The court, informed of this strange and unprecedented process, sent over a ship of war with a commissary on purpose to examine into the affair, and some troops to assist his proceedings, and punish the guilty. The commissary being arrived set about taking depositions, and found that none were concerned but persons of the lowest rank, most of whom had hidden themselves. Wherefore he did not push his inquiry with any great vigour, so that, in short, no body was punished except *Archangeli*, who was only obliged to quit the island, and retired to *Marigalante*. Here he joined the *English* in 1692, and undertook to guide them to the place where the governor and principal inhabitants had retired. Our historian does not tell us whether or no he fulfilled his promise, but we are inclined to believe the negative, because the enemy caught him, together with his two children, to be hung up at the church door, the divine providence punishing both his barbarity and perfidy.

His judges proceeded.

One of them in a report of divine justice.

Count de *Cordillac* arrived here soon after the death of his officer, whose imprudent conduct he imitated in such a manner, that he became the aversion of the people. Nor was that of his son, whom he invested with his authority, when business called him to *France*, less blameable. Hence *M. Tracy*, when he arrived in this part of the world, was burthened with such complaints of the exactions and tyranny of the family, that he determined to administer justice to the people in person. With this

Count's administration.

view he embarked in *November 1664*, at *Guadaloupe* for *Grenada*, attended by Captain *Vincent*, an officer of great honour, and most respectable characters, together with twelve soldiers commanded by a serjeant, and near fourscore staunch planters from *Guadaloupe* and *Martinico*, who, relying upon the lieutenant general's great prudence, intended, under his influence to settle there. After touching at *Martinico*, where he made some necessary regulations, he arrived at *Grenada*, *November 22, 1664*, and found it in strange disorder. The inhabitants who were rated at five hundred when the count took possession of the island, being reduced to one hundred and fifty, and those not in the most flourishing circumstances. Famine was legible in all their faces, as their general subsistence was only on game, which some of them knew not how to procure. His first step was to settle all the differences that reigned among them, for their desperate circumstances had neither made them friendly nor unanimous. In the next place he consented to pay them eighty thousand weight of tobacco for debts due from Count *de Cerillac*; and then proceeded to divide some land among his followers, most of whom were well able to improve it.

Tracy arrives on the island.

Remedies disorders.

Constitutes Vincent governor.

Cerillac tells his property.

Mild administration of the new governor.

Cultivation of the soil neglected.

Indians meditate mischief.

Resolution of the governor.

Intimidates them.

They sue for peace.

Having thus disposed matters, he constituted Captain *Vincent* governor of the island, and put him with his serjeant and twelve disciplined men into the fort, having obliged the young count to evacuate it, and to promise that he would be contented to live private in a separate house. After some time, he sent him and one or two of his father's confidant's to *France*, and they were soon followed by his brother, the lieutenant general thinking it better for the island to be freed from the whole family. In *August 1665*, the old count *de Cerillac* was compelled at *Paris* by authority, to sell all his right and title, whatever in the island, to the *West India* company for 100,000 livres tournois, 25000 paid down, and the remainder in two payments at the end of six and twelve months, bearing proper interest.

The inhabitants now began to breathe a little under the prudent conduct of *M. Vincent*, who gave them leave to fish and hunt, without any constraint, both upon this and the neighbouring little islands; a liberty of which they had been debarred hitherto by Count *de Cerillac*. They lived now, not only more at their ease, but drew large profits from their tortoise and flesh meat, for both which commodities, they soon found enough of buyers.

*Grenada* would have now flourished greatly, had the cultivation of it been studied by the company; but while the rest of the *Antilles* engrossed their attention, this island seemed to have been totally neglected; having scarcely more than one bark belonging to a particular inhabitant, which carried their game, tortoise, and tobacco, to the other islands, and brought them back in return some necessary commodities. Sometimes the people were supplied by ships, which by chance touched here, in their way to the continent; but these succours were so weak, and so rare, that the richest of the planters withdrew one after another to the other islands, and all *Tracy's* fine hopes gradually fell to the ground.

The Savages who had regained their footing on the island under the count, began to meditate the destruction of the colony, when the arrival of *Tracy* prevented their progress, at least for that time: But now seeing the *French*, as it were leaving one another in the lurch, they resumed their design, and thought the weakness of the colony would favour their treachery. With this view some of their chiefs, under pretence of friendship, gave the governor notice that war was designed against him by the Savages of *Paria*. This wise magistrate, plainly perceiving that this was but a counterfeit name, a colouring assumed to conceal the perpetration of their own villainies, answered them roundly that he cared not who they were that should dare to commence hostilities; for so long as he knew them to be Savages, he would, without distinction, avenge himself of every Savage that might fall into his hands, without considering his class or denomination. He then, by proclamation, forbid the inhabitants from going abroad singly or unarmed, and interdicted all commerce with the Savages. Seeing their machinations turned upon themselves, and the *French* ready and forward to attack them, they sent a deputation to the governor, intreating him to live at peace with them. His answer was, that he would not commence hostilities, but was determined to prepare at all points against them, and that if their motions even denounced a rupture, he would listen no more to deputations, but put, indiscriminately, every man of them to death. This menace frightened them effectually, and after much sollicitation peace was granted them with

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so high an hand, that they were ever after afraid, to do the slightest thing to offend either *Vincent*, or his colony, but kept with them upon the most amicable terms.

It would be an injustice to the memory of this gallant commander, should we omit to relate his manner of seizing on the island of *Tobago*, from whence the *Dutch* had been lately driven by the *English*, who left in it a garrison of fifty men. *Vincent*, tho' very weak, could not think of lying idle; and as his mind was always bent on something that might procure him renown, *Tobago*, at present, appeared to him a very fair field for gathering lawrels. Wherefore, in *August* 1666, having hired a bark lying at anchor in the bay, he embarked on board it twenty-five volunteers and two drums, commanded by an officer, whose name our author forgets, and turned them adrift to seek their fortunes. They arrived happily, and landed without discovery at a place called *Courland Cove* on the island of *Tobago*. Leaving nine men to take care of their vessel, the officer, with the remaining fifteen and two drums, marched towards the fort. About night-fall they came to a plantation not a musket-shot from it, and killed the sentinel before they were discovered; for here was a guard of fourteen other soldiers, who saved themselves by a postern door, of which the officer was ignorant, otherwise he had cut off their retreat. At break of day one of the drums, who was a very acute fellow, beat the chamade, and summoned the commandant to surrender with his garrison to the *French* army, who were encamped, as he said, near at hand, otherwise they were to expect no quarter, intimating, at the same time, that expedition would obtain for them more favourable terms, the ships which lay on the other side of the island, as well as the army, being bound upon much more important service. The commandant was not only weak enough to come out of the fort armed with no more than a sword, tho' he saw a fusce upon the shoulder of the drum, which is contrary to the rules of war; but after demanding time to consider of the terms of capitulation, to ensure which he gave hostages, had the imprudence to accompany the drum to a neighbouring eminence, whence he was promised a view of the *French* army. Here the drum presenting his piece, made him surrender his sword, and led him prisoner to his officer.

With this valuable prize they marched to the fort, and after a gasconading summons of surrender, the garrison submitted to lay down their arms, and become prisoners of war. This done, the officer and his fifteen men took possession of the place, which might, with such a garrison, have held out a tolerable siege. Besides fifty prisoners, the victors found themselves possessed of several pieces of cannon, variety of excellent arms, and a good booty, with all which they loaded their bark, and returned with a joyful welcome to *Grenada*. *Vincent* kept a garrison there till the month of *March* 1667, when he called it off, first setting fire to every thing that might have proved useful to an enemy.

Though we have related this story as we find it set down by father *Tertre*, we would not presume to offer it to the reader as true in every circumstance, but would rather chuse to suppose the credulity of the honest *Friar* abused by some braggardly soldier.

In 1674, the *West India* company were obliged to dispose of the island of *Grenada* in favour of the king; and these frequent changes, together with the damp cast upon it by the neglect of those whose interest it was to act otherwise, reduced it so low, that in 1705, when *Labat* was here, the colony was almost dwindled to nothing. At the head of it was *Bellair*, a soldier of fortune, bred to the sea, a man of no family; but brisk, penetrating, and enterprising. He had been formerly in the service of *William III.* of *England*, who was an excellent judge of military merit, and made him governor of *Bergen-op-zoom*, on which he had seized as an equivalent for his principality of *Orange*, of which the *French* king had possessed himself. In the war of 1688, being detected in some under-hand dealings with the *French* ministry, he was obliged to desert his government; and taking refuge in *France*, was entrusted with the command of a king's ship. Being in company with several others, in *June* 1693, they came up with the *English* *Smerna* fleet, and finding his commodore not in a humour to come to close quarters with the enemy, he bore down upon them, without waiting for orders, and took a forty-gun ship richly laden, the cargo of which he immediately divided among his officers and crew. The former part of his conduct was applauded at *Verfailles* as an action of great gallantry, and the act of disobedience was not once mentioned. The latter part of his behaviour was indeed justly



justly condemned, as favouring more of the *Buccaneer*, than of a king's officer: on this account therefore he was suspended for twelve months, at the end of which he was restored with honour, and served many years after with an unblemished character, until, the government of *Grenada* chancing to be vacant, he was dismissed from the sea service, and appointed, at his own request, to that charge.

State of the fort in 1705.

The fort of *Grenada* was not at this time of much consequence; its situation was high, and the air about it wholesome; but an eminence, from which it was divided by two pretty large streams, commanded it at between three and four hundred paces distant. Its front is to the North-east, and from point to point of the demi-bastions that compose it, the measurement is nearly forty-five toises, or fathoms. Here are neither covered way, palisadoes, nor glacis; there is nothing to defend it but a shallow indifferent ditch. In viewing it round you find some salient and other angles in poor order, and on the side of the harbour a demi-bastion, with six pieces of cannon, which have little better than the name. The garrison, consisting of about thirty-five marines, lay in huts raised within the walls; and the apartments of the officers, and even of the governor himself, were mean and inconvenient. The eminence on which the fort stands is on all sides steep and craggy, except to the North-east, where there is a good handsome flat, bounded by a river, beyond which, on another eminence, are situated the church and the curate's house. And they were now employed in transplanting hither the old town, formerly seated between a neighbouring lake and the sea side, which might be easily joined by a small ditch, and would make an excellent harbour for shipping, the lake being deeper and lower than the sea any where near the beach.

*Grenada* of a fertile soil.

All the environs of both the port and the bay, tho' not very high, are however steep and craggy, and very near one another, the sections being extremely small, yet kind and capable of cultivation. The soil produces indigo, sugar, cocoa, millet, and variety of grain. There are, moreover, some fine spots of pasture land, fit for the nourishment of cattle. The inhabitants breed numbers of poultry, and may be termed a sort of civilized peasants.

New town better situated than the old.

The situation of the town, on its new foundation, appeared much more commodious than the former, and less liable to the insults of an enemy. *Labat* observes, that nothing could be more easy than putting the town and harbour in a state of defence. Redoubts fixed upon the eminences that more immediately command the mouth of the channel, which is but sixty fathoms wide, and upon that which projects most upon the anchoring place, would be of much more service than the fort itself. *Labat*, who was a good engineer, and a man of understanding, also affirms, that were this island in the hands of the *English*, it would soon wear a very different face. "No nation," says he, knows better how to improve a natural advantage, and *Grenada* in their possession would have been flourishing and wealthy, instead of lying waste, without commerce, inhabitants, or manufactures. The planters are poor, their houses little better than huts, their furniture and accommodation rather worse, and, in short, the place, at this juncture of time, seems to have been degenerated almost into as bad a state as when *Parquet* first purchased it from the Savages."

Economical the *English*.

Land of late much improved.

It appears, however, that it has been since much improved; the people are more wealthy and polished; the fortifications are numerous, and as strong as any upon the *Antilles*. If it is less known, it is because it drives a close but profitable trade, particularly with the continent; and the *French* at this day are well convinced of its value, which their present policy teaches them to improve to the best advantage.

Dominican mission and settlement.

The mission was for some time served by the Capuchins, whom Count *de Carrière* particularly favoured, and from whose tyranny the Dominicans, to whom it fell by right of contract, retired. They have been since restored, and for their maintenance they have a tract of land four leagues North of the fort, called *Le fond du Grand Pauvre*; it is about a thousand paces broad, and of a considerable length. Here they have a very large habitation, a large sugar manufactory, and a water-mill.

General character of the island.

We cannot conclude this account of *Grenada* better than by observing of it in general, that when cultivated and well inhabited, it must be a delicious retreat. The air is for the most part wholesome, but new comers are liable to a disorder called the *Grenada fever*, that often degenerates into a dropsy. Here is plenty of excellent water, good flesh meat, delicate poultry, fat and tender; great quantities of game, and abundance of fine fish.

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Of the GRENADILLES.

The island of *Grenada* is surrounded, especially on the North, with several small islands, called the *Grenadilles*, the chief of which are, *Beouya*, or *Little Martinico*, Their situation. *Canuaouan*, *L'Union*, *Cariouacou*, *Des Moustiques*, *Fregate*, and *Le Diamant*. These islands are as it were reservoirs of every thing that can contribute to make life comfortable in this climate. They look like delightful gardens, adorned with tall strait trees at such a regular distance, that carriages might with ease pass between them: They abound with all kinds of birds to delight the ear, or feast the appetite; and fish of most kinds are caught in the surrounding seas. Among these islands *Cariouacou* has a commodious port. Plenty and delights.

*Beouya*, or *Little Martinico*, is the largest and most Northern of the *Grenadilles*, lying more contiguous than any other to *St Vincent*. Its circumference is thought to be twelve leagues, and it derives its name of *Martinico* from its resembling that island in producing many vipers and other kinds of serpents, the effect of whose bite is much to be feared. It does not appear from the accounts before us, that the *Europeans* ever formed any regular plantations upon this island, or on any other of the *Grenadilles*. Whence called Little Martinico.

A Natural History of the ANTILLES.

CHAP. I. Of the Air, Seasons, Winds, Mines, &c.

**T**HERE are few subjects which can be arranged under the article of a *Natural History of the Antilles*, but what are common to all the islands of that denomination, wherefore we chose to make a distinct chapter of each class, by which means we have for the most part, avoided interrupting the thread of our narration by digressions, and have the advantage at the same time of gratifying the curious enquirer into the operations of nature, with a compact and united view of what will best gratify his inclination, or reward his searches. Some things indeed may possibly be thought proper to have been classed here, which have appeared in the preceding part of this work, placed there by accident, or perhaps propriety. These we shall not repeat, brevity as well as entertainment and instruction being the mark at which we aim. All then that remains for us to do in this chapter with respect to the air, temperature, change of seasons, winds, and hurricanes, is to observe that what we have to say of them will be found by recurring to our accounts of *San Domingo*, *Guadaloupe*, &c. Introduction.

It seems to be past doubt that all these islands have mines of gold and silver; but the working of them would be double what they are worth. According to *Tertre*, there are grains of gold found intermixed with the sands of the *Faber's River* in *Guadaloupe*, and he speaks, from his own knowledge, of a pound of ore found at *Houelburgb*, which, tried chymically, yielded some gold; but that it all at length evaporated in the process, being overcharged with a volatile sulphur. There might be silver raised in *Guadaloupe*, *St Kits*, &c. but it would not pay the trouble. The case would be different with regard to iron, the best mines in *Spain* not producing more excellent iron ore than those of the *Antilles*, where yet it is unaccountably neglected. Sulphur is also found in plenty here, as well as the *Terra Sigillita*, and a fine bole, resembling the armoniac; both these have their peculiar efficacy in medicine. Here are variety of crystals of no great value, with alum, salt formed in pits, stones fit for building, and earths that may be easily wrought into bricks. Mines.

CHAP. II. Of Pulse, Plants, Shrubs, &c.

Most sorts of pulse known in *Europe*, as common beans, *French* beans, pease, &c. thrive very well in this part of the world. Here are cultivated two particular sorts of pease, called *Angola* pease, though it is not certain they were brought from *Africa*: for it is as likely they were brought from the continent belonging to *Spain*, or that they were known and cultivated by the old Savage inhabitants. The root is very tough; the main stalk, which branches out into many smaller, is strong, and twines round

the highest trees, running up like ivy; the leaves are not so thin, nor slender, as those of the common pea; the flower is white, and pretty, twenty or thirty hanging to a branch of not more than half a foot length; a pod rises from the flower about three inches long and one broad, containing the pea, which is more palatable of itself than ours with sauce. If they can find nothing to clasp to, they push themselves forward in different directions to thirty or forty feet on the ground.

**Sweet-scented pea.** In their garden hedges, alleys, and pastures, they plant a sweet-scented pea, little larger than coriander seed, of a flesh colour, speckled with black, and produced from a yellow agreeable flower. They are very hard to shell, and grow upon a sort of a shrub, that rises, without any prop, to ten or twelve feet. In the sand by the sea

**Sea pea.** side there springs up a large brown pea, thought to be dangerous, and therefore never gathered.

**Cure for barrenness.** The Savages have a sort of medicine, not unlike a mushroom reversed, which prevents barrenness. Its cup is scarcely large enough to hold more than a lentil; it contains at its bottom three very hard seeds, and grows in woods and moist places upon a sort of rotten stem. As much of this mushroom dried and reduced to powder as will lie upon a crown piece, is an effectual remedy, as they tell us, in all cases of barrenness.

**Powder to help women in stava l.** To help women in childbed, for they have few midwives, they use a sort of mushroom pulverised, the smell of which is very grateful; a small quantity infused in a glass of white wine is efficacious.

**L'Herb-aux-siecles, or the arrow herb,** was first discovered by some friendly Savages to M. Aubert, and is endowed with wonderful virtue. Its root peeled, and applied to a wound caused by a poisoned arrow, entirely draws out the venom, stops the progress of a gangrene, takes away all kind of inflammation, and also cools the sting of the wasp, which, in *Guadalupe* more especially, is very painful. The leaf of this herb is as long as the palm of one's hand, and about three inches broad, of a bright green colour, shining, and soft as fatten; the flowers small and longish, violet without and white within; the leaves composing the flower are separated; they close at night, and expand themselves with the rising sun.

**Cats skin, or fleurs de Coe.** About the houses of the planters grows in great plenty, an herb resembling our petitory of the wall, but rather thicker and flatter. Its leaves are green, small, smooth, and indented, growing two together, and inclosing a small knot of hairy flowers, red and green, called *cats-skin*, and sometimes *fleurs de coe*. If care is not taken, this herb, which requires no cultivation, will soon over-run a garden. It is full of milky juice, a drop of which is certain death to a serpent, whenever it touches him. Bruised, care being taken to preserve its moisture, and applied to a wound from the bite of a serpent, it draws out the poison, and perfects the cure. Given in powder, it strengthens the heart, and preserves it from being affected by the venom.

**Dysentery plant.** There is also a prickly sort of shrub, that bears a green berry about the size of a coriander; it sticks to one's cloaths, and the leaves powdered, and infused in proper liquid, are good against a dysentery.

**Nightshades cure tooth-ach.** The Savages prescribe two sorts of plants as a cure for the tooth-ach; one of them appearing to be a species of *solanum*, has small hairy leaves, shaped like those of the *morrellia* [garden nightshade] with a little white flower, and a red seed; the other is a stronger plant, with round tough leaves, and white flowers resembling in some measure *liverwort*, and it differs but little from the *cicuta* [deadly nightshade]. These herbs immediately deaden the pain of the tooth-ach, but instantly inflame the jaw, and the whole side of the head to which they are applied; so that the use of them may chance to be attended with the worst consequences.

**Senna.** *Senna* is found in all the sandy spots of the *Antilles*; its uses in bilious and inflammatory cases, particularly those of the fundament, are well known. It is also a native of *Egypt*, *Alexandria*, and several parts of *Turkey*; being a shrub of two or three feet high, with woody stalks, bearing a five leaved yellow flower, veined with purple, and several crooked *stamina* in the middle.

**Sargazo, or vitis marina.** Great part of the seas hereabouts, and elsewhere in the *West Indies*, are covered thick with the *sargazo*, or *vitis marina*, by which the navigation of small craft is often rendered dangerous. It rises about an inch above the surface of the water, shooting out fine slender stalks, one interwoven with another; the leaves are long, thin, serrated, and reddish; the berry flat, and empty. If it has any root, a point yet undecided, it

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is at the bottom of the sea. It is used in fallads, and good in all disorders of the kidneys, urethra, the nephritic colic, and scurvy, and may be taken in a decoction.

Pepper, sometimes called *pimentum*, sometimes *capsicum*, is a spice which the French have been taught to like by the Savages, who take it in every thing of nourishment. It gives a high relish to sauce, assists health, and promotes an appetite. Flung on a fire in a close room, the smoke has the same effect as kindled charcoal; for it obstructs the breath, chokes up the lungs, and causes suffocation if fresh air be not introduced. Vinegar applied to the nostrils is a restorative in this case.

Ginger, a plant originally a native of the *E. Indies*, is now so plentiful in the *Antilles* and *Caribbees*, that we import thence the greatest part of what we use. There are two sorts of ginger, the male and female; the leaf of the female is the smoother. The root creeps about on all sides, being divided into points as thick as one's thumb, and running three or four palms deep in the earth. This part of the plant, properly cured, is put up in boxes, and transported for its medicinal virtues to many parts of the world. It strengthens the stomach, promotes concoction, comforts the brain, assists the memory, helps eyes that are weak through aqueous humours, stimulates ventry, and expells wind. It is said to have the strength, but not the quick penetration of pepper, and to keep its heat longer. The taste is biting, and it makes an excellent sweetmeat when green; it is consumed in the kitchen as well as the dispensatory. Great care must be taken to preserve this root from the wood-eater, for which reason it is found in the shops whitened with chalk, or stained with oker; and, when first taken up, either covered with mud, potters earth, or prepared with vinegar, and attentively watched.

The *China occidentalis*, or *falsè China root*, which grows in all the islands, is the most part inferior to that brought from the East, but in scrophulous disorders, and consumptions arising from them, it is preferred by many physicians. It has long climbing branches, a little prickly, with large, firm, fibrous, roundish leaves, pointed, but not prickly. The fruit is black, round, of the size of a juniper berry, and the root is full of knots, white without, and red within. It has little smell, or taste; in which it resembles the Eastern root. Sir *Hans Slane* thinks it a species of *Jmilax*, or the rough bindweed.

In some, but not in all of the *Antilles*, there is found a shrub, the leaves of which shrink from the touch, and close all along the branch affected. *Tetze* says it differs in many things from the common sensitive plant, of which however it must be a species. The leaf is rank poison, and has no antidote but its root. The stalk is woody, small, and brittle, growing about two feet high, pushing out branches with small tendrils, bearing dark green leaves, striped with red, extremely small, very narrow, and almost touching each other. Where the branches divide from the main stalk, there springs a cluster of deep blue flowers, to which succeeds a pod, containing a flat, black, shining seed.

Tobacco, a commodity in which all the islands drive a considerable trade, is well known to need here any description. They also reap large profits from indigo, which they cultivate very carefully. It would engross too much of our time to describe the manner of preparing it for sale. Let it suffice to observe that it is the *secula*, or sediment of the *emerus Americanus filiqua incensa*. Dyers consume vast quantities of it, and some physicians in certain cases administer it, to the amount of a dram, while by others it is deemed a poison, and the internal use of it in *Saxony* totally prohibited.

Every nation, nay, every class of people has its prejudices and peculiar opinions. *Europeans* wonder how it is possible to find nourishment from any preparation of a root, a spoonful of the juice of which is poison; and indeed it must be owned a kind of paradox. On the other hand, the Savages are astonished how a nation can subsist without this root, which belongs to the *manibet* shrub. Of the *manibet*, or *caffad*, or *caffava* tree, or *manise*, there are two sorts, the white and the red; of these the former is the better, the juice being less poisonous; but then it ought to be used when but four months old. It grows to the height of five feet, sometimes higher. The stalk is knotty, twisted, and brittle; with a pith like that of elder. The leaves resemble those of the lupine; the flowers are of a pale yellow, edged sometimes with light purple. The root, which is like a parsnip, full of milky juice, is ground fine in a strong iron mill, then pressed to extract all humidity, and exposed in a place where

*Pimenta, or Capsicum, or pepper.*

*Ginger.*

*Indica China root.*

*Sensitive plant.*

*Tobacco. Indigo.*

*Manise, which yields the Capsicum bread.*

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it can be thoroughly dried. After this they pass it through a sieve, and put it over the fire in a copper pan, keeping continually stirring it till they know it to be perfectly cured. Of this they make their loaves, like the oaten bannocks of *Scotland*, which are well tasted, very nourishing, and as good as wheaten bread. People afflicted with dropfies find it serviceable to them. This shrub is vastly infested with worms and ants, and fought, and greedily eaten by beasts, wild as well as tame, to which it proves very nourishing, tho' destructive to the human system. There are many different preparations of the manihot, both physical and culinary, which are too tedious to be here inserted. It is generally allowed that the simple juice expressed, is present death to all animals; but it loses its malignance, if kept twenty four hours.

Its effects

Potatoes.

When the manihot chancas to fail, or to be destroyed by the hurricanes, the people find the loss fully supplied by potatoes, of which the *Antilles* produce the finest in the world, and the inhabitants justly esteem them a most wholesome food.

Yam.

The igname, or yam, is a species of potatoe, but more close-grained, mealy, and white. It resembles the root of a small tree, and commonly weighs between two or three pounds; sometimes indeed they run to twenty pound. When dug they must be put in a dry place for the air to winnow them, or covered with fine sand. They will keep above a year, and are pleasant and nourishing either roasted or boiled; in the latter case, the skin should be taken off before they are eaten.

Sugar cane.

The cane which yields sugar, is a native both of the *East* and *West Indies*; it grows to the height of six or seven feet, is of a greenish yellow colour, about an inch in circumference, jointed in several places, full of a white sweet pith. The root is not so woody as the common cane, but abounds with a pleasant juice; the *Indians* use it as bread, when dried to powder. Sugar is possessed of very balsamic qualities, and resists putrefaction so strongly, that it is found necessary in conserves, electuaries, syrups, confections, &c. and in all substances that require to be preserved a long time.

There is an account in the *Philosophical Transactions* abridged, *Vol. V. p. 311*, of a *Bedfordshire* gentleman, who lived to an hundred years of age in a sound habit of body, which was chiefly attributed to his using sugar with every thing he eat. When the late king of *Sardinia* was opened upon his death, his heart and other intestines were found remarkably perfect, which the physicians ascribed to the virtues of sugar, it being his daily practice to eat at least half a pound without any thing else. The sugar cane is liable to the yellow blast, which is caused by a sort of insect, corroding and destroying the vessels. This blast is most destructive in dry years; for the rain washes away those insects, and destroys their eggs.

Sugar how made.

The juice of the ripe cane being pressed out in a mill, is boiled several times, and shifted each time into a different copper, until, with skimming and evaporation, scarcely remains more than one seventh of the juice, which now assumes the appearance of a thick syrup, calling up little or no scum. When it is judged to have attained the proper consistence necessary to become sugar, it is poured into a brass cooler, and kept gently stirring, that the air may be thus equally admitted to every part, and the sugary particles disengaged from the molasses. It is afterwards put into earthen moulds of a pyramical form, which having a hole left open at bottom, are set over other vessels to drain and purge, and after some time exported to *Europe*, where their contents are farther whitened and clarified. From the different skimmings, mixed with water and molasses is extracted rum, which, being more oily, is reckoned more wholesome than brandy, as not stimulating so strongly the coats of the stomach; made into weak punch it preserves the bowels.

Ananas, or Pine apple.

The Anana, or Pine-apple, is remarkable for the beautiful tuft of green leaves which crown it, and seem to mark, in a manner, its sovereignty; and also for its most exquisite flavour, which, in the opinion of the nicest judgment, exceeds that of all other fruit. It is produced by an herbaceous plant, whose leaves are indented, not unlike those of the aloe, but more thin and juicy: It is supposed to derive its name from its resemblance to the cone of the pine-tree. The plant thrives wonderfully in all these islands, whither it is supposed to have been brought from the *East-Indies*. It is now cultivated in most gentlemen's gardens in *England* by means of hot houses. There are several sorts of this fruit, which have different degrees of goodness, the best of them being, according to the nicest judges, the sugar-loaf pine of *Borbades*. The anana, when ripe, emits a very fragrant smell, and is soft when pressed. When ripe, it will not retain its fine flavour, even on the plants, above four days; and it should be eaten

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soon after gathering, for it will not keep above twenty four hours. There is a juice extracted from it, as strong and spirited as malmsey; it cheers the heart, exhilarates the spirits, and provokes urine, but endangers miscarriage.

The Karata Penguin, or wild Anana is a fruit of a whitish colour like an apple, but rather more tender, and springs in clusters from a plant furnished with hard, stiff, prickly leaves, bending inward, thereby reserving the dew and rain for its better nourishment, and growing sometimes to the height of nine feet. It is common every where in the *West Indies*, but seldom matured in *England*. It very faintly resembles the anana in flavour, but is a grateful acid, gives a high relish to punch, and is a good medicine in fevers, though dangerous for pregnant women.

Wild anana.

Here are two sorts of water melons, one with a whitish green pulp and black seeds, the other with a red pulp, and red seed. They thrive in dry, rocky, grounds, are used as a desert, and eaten with wine, being cooling and diuretic, and therefore given in fevers; the seed is used in emulsions and provokes sleep.

Water melons.

The root of the Colocynth, or belly-ach weed, is whitish, oblong, and deep, creeping on the ground, and bearing leaves at two or three inches distance. The clavicle, or tendril, is not long, but creeps away from its root, and falls on such stones as lie in its way. The colocynth, or colocynth, is an extraordinary remedy against the belly ach, and often prescribed in a dropy.

Colocynth.

The Aloe, which grows in all the islands, springs from a root, that runs into the ground like a stake. The stalk is tender, red in the middle, and bears a thick flat leaf of a large circumference, and beset on both sides with blunt prickles. This plant has a strong scent, and is very bitter; the juice has many uses in medicine, and often distils from the plant like a tear, for which reason a pavement is made round to hinder it from sinking in the earth. In order to obtain it, sometimes the stalks are cut before the seed is ripe, and sometimes the leaves. It is good in conglutinating wounds. The aloe is of an inspissating, condensing, and gently warming quality; it is a gentle purge, operates without disturbing the stomach, which it strengthens, and excites an appetite. It stops spitting of blood, and carries off the yellow jaundice; mixed with vinegar and oil of roses, and rubbed on the temple, it eases the pain in the head. The leaf stripped of the outer skin is an excellent remedy for a green wound.

Aloe.

CHAP. III. Of Trees.

In some of the islands, particularly *St Domingo*, it is impossible to dig above a few feet without meeting with a kind of freestone, tobacco-pipe clay, and potters-earth, or, lastly, a bed of sand. But it often happens also, that the good soil runs to a considerable depth; and, what will at first sight perhaps seem very surprising, this last is often most delicate of trees. There is however a very apparent reason for this peculiarity, which evidently proceeds from the drought that prevails for three or four months together in three fourths of the island, and disables the deep soils from furnishing trees with a proper supply of juices for their growth and nourishment; whereas in the shallow soils the rains and dews are retained by the hard bottoms that lie under them. The skilful planters, however, always prefer the deep to the shallow soils, as these last are sooner exhausted. But let it not be concluded from what I have said of the shallowness of most of the soils of this island, that they are incapable of producing any but very small trees; on the contrary, they produce the strongest and the tallest; and this is one of the wonders of the country.

Manner in which trees cast their roots.

Soil preferred by the planters.

There are no trees here whose roots penetrate above two feet into the earth, and few have their roots near that depth, though spread horizontally, in proportion to the weight they are to bear. The cassia-tree indeed must be excepted, for it casts its roots much in the same manner with our trees in *Europe*; but it is to be observed that it came originally from another country.

Remark on the cassia-tree.

It is reported, that as *Columbus* was one day giving queen *Isabella* of *Castile* an account of several peculiarities he had observed in this country, and was speaking of the trees, she interrupted him with a serious air, saying, "I am very much afraid that the men born in this country will resemble the trees, and want solidity, constancy, and sincerity." But *Columbus* might have answered, that the trees made themselves amends for the shallowness of their roots by the horizontal extent or number of them; and that probably the future inhabitants would likewise find means to compensate in one point for defects in another.

Acute observation of Queen Isabella.

Fig and palm  
tree.

The fig-tree spreads its roots to the greatest distance, extending above seventy feet. The palm-tree, on the contrary, has very short roots, but their shortness is counter-acted by their numbers: whence it is that this tree, though generally one hundred feet high, is as little subject to be blown down as others. If this little depth of the roots of trees were observable in such places only, where freestone, the solid rock, or other such obstacles lie immediate in their way, one would be inclined to think such an obstruction the only reason of their sinking no deeper; but it is the same thing every where. We must therefore look out for some other cause; and I think we may perceive it in the extreme dryness of the land below a certain depth, whither the most constant rains are not allowed by the sun to penetrate. Providence therefore has wisely ordained that the roots of trees, which require moisture, and can only find it at the surface, where it is seldom wanting. Though there were nothing but the dews (which are here very plentiful at all seasons) to supply it, should take a horizontal instead of a perpendicular direction. But deep soils, in general, as I have already observed, are not the best clothed with these useful and stately vegetables.

Balsam tree

In several of the islands, and more particularly at *St Domingo* and *Grenada*, there grows a species of balsam tree, the leaves of which resemble those of sage, but are rather thicker, more yellow, and mealy. One of these leaves being plucked off, there flows from the body of the tree certain drops of viscous, yellow, transparent liquor, of little or no smell, and a bitterish, astringent taste. It cures green wounds, provided they are not arrived at a state of suppuration, and cleanses, and in a short time cures old ulcers. Though our author gives the description without the particular denomination, we have room to suppose it to be what *Pomet* calls *new balsam, baume nouveau*.

Sandal wood.

In the *Basse-Terre* of *Guadeloupe*, where the soil is moist dry and sandy, there is found plenty of the sandal, which grows to the height of a young apricot, in circumference as thick as one's thigh. Its branches are slender, full of small leaves, bearing a white flower, and succeeded by a black grain of the bigness of pepper. It makes a bright pleasant fire, sending forth a fragrant smell.

Guaicum.

Guaicum, or Pockwood, is a large tree, with a brown brittle bark, a ponderous, gummy, solid wood, of a very deep yellow, and having at the heart an aromatic smell. It bears a yellow flower, and a decoction of its wood was once reckoned a sovereign remedy in all venereal cases; but of late years it seems to have lost somewhat of its character in the medicinal world.

Holy wood.

There is a species of guaicum called *holy-wood*, rather whiter than the first, the gum of which is a specific in gonorrhœas; it is good in all kinds of ulceration, and gives ease in the gout; the two differ very little either in nature or effect.

Candle wood

Candle-wood, so called from its being used as a flambeau, grows near the sea, not very tall, nor yet more than six inches in diameter. Its leaf resembles that of the laurel, but is rather thicker, and more oily; the bark is brown and brittle; it lasts, when lighted, longer than any other wood, the flame being strong and clear, and the smell very grateful.

Rocou or  
Achiot.

Rocou, or Achiot, according to the best accounts, is a tree that grows to the height of eight or nine feet; its leaf resembles the peach, and it bears a prickly husk as large as a chestnut, enclosing a red seed; and these husks, which grow in clusters, when ripe, begin to burst spontaneously. The *Indians* then gather them, pound the seed in a mortar, pass it through several waters to cleanse it, after which they lay it up to dry, and export it in cakes of a fine violet colour. Dyers make much use of it, and it is infused in the composition of chocolate. It is said to strengthen the stomach, help respiration, and stop a looseness. The *American* Savages cultivate it with great care, for it not only ornaments their gardens, but the branches serve for thatch to their houses; of the wood they make firing, from the bark they draw a cordage to make coarse linen, and the root and leaves infused in their sauces communicate a fine relish and colour. With the seeds, prepared as abovementioned, they paint their bodies, for that purpose intermixing with it some kind of oil; and thus they preserve their skin not only from the effects of weather, but render ineffectual the attacks of the musketoes, and other troublesome vermine, whose bite would otherwise be perpetually vexatious.

Cotton-tree.

The Cotton-tree, if permitted to aspire, would reach an height of fifteen feet; but this luxuriance is prevented, as it would lessen the number of pods. These, when ripe, open of themselves, and discover, in three or four partitions, the cotton, of well known

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known use in various manufactures, rather more in the *East* than the *West Indies*, and appearing in white locks, among which are interspersed dark brown seed, used in medicine to cut phlegm, assist expectation, and cure soreness of lungs. The leaves are scolloped, like the currant-tree, and the flower consists of five yellow petals, stained at bottom with purple. After very close sultry weather the crops of cotton are often totally destroyed in three or four days by a sort of worm of the caterpillar kind, which afterwards changes into a dark brown moth. Of this worm there are three species, called the black-back, the streaked-back, and the fire-worm; the last, which being the smallest, is of a russet colour, and by much the most destructive.

In this part of the world grows a tree indented and crooked, with a tough grey bark, a yellow hard wood, and a thick sea-green leaf, like the common pea, the root of which steeped in any stream, disturbs and intoxicates the fish that suck in the water impregnated with the poisonous bitter, in such a manner, that they pant for a while on the surface for air, and then hasten to the bank, where they expire; nor is it said that they are bad eating in consequence of this intoxication.

There is also a tree, with a flower fragrant as jessamin, and not unlike it either in smell or shape, only larger, which being cut pours out a stream of milk, of a dangerous nature from its caustic qualities.

Thorny-wood appears of four sorts, two black, and two yellow. The first grows up from the foot in three or four years to the height and bulk of a large oak; it is called *Dutch cheete*, from the brittleness of its bark, and is full of well covered branches that yield an extensive shade; its thorns are strong and thick, and it bears a pod of the bigness of an egg, filled with a sort of soft brown cotton of no use. The second is not so thorny as the first, but tall and strait; the wood, which is of the colour of common deal, serves for oars, but is not durable enough for building, soon breeding worms. Of the yellow sorts one grows much taller, and is less thorny than the other, with a tough strong grain, very fit for any kind of durable work. The last is of the dwarf kind, coloured like rhubarb, very bitter, and used by the Savages in the cure of ulcers.

*Indian wood*, or aromatic laurel, flourishes in moist places, and good soil; it grows very high; the bark is smooth and shining, the wood close grained, hard, and so heavy, that it sinks in the water like lead; it takes a beautiful polish, and resists the attacks of time. The leaf resembles the laurel, smells like a clove, and has a sharp astrigent taste, leaving an agreeable bitterness in the mouth. It is given in decoctions with success in paralytic cases, and affords relief in dropsies.

The *acoma* is very heavy, durable, and fit for building. It is of a yellow colour, which whitens in time; the fruit is shaped like an olive, and of a bright gold colour. It yields a gum, which, when fresh, gives ease in the tooth-ach, by rubbing therewith the temples and hinder part of the ear. When dried it is exported, and has various uses in medicine.

In *St Domingo* and the neighbouring islands grows a tree, called by some *acajou*, and by others cedar; it neither resembles the cedar of *Mount Libanus* in fruit, branches, leaves, nor manner of growth; but it has its grain, colour, fine smell, and incorruptibility. The woods, which here are called oak and elm, are very unlike those of *Europe*, particularly the latter, the species of which our author has not been able to determine. They are used in many different kinds of work, and are scarce and dear, as well as the workmen, who soon make fortunes, get settlements, and forget their ancient occupation. The most remarkable *acajou* tree, and the most useful, (for there are two sorts,) grows to the height of an apricot tree, with a broad thick leaf, tapering at the stalk, and rounded at the end, of a bright green in the heart, but bordered with red or yellow, according as it has been more or less exposed to the sun. Its bark is thin and adhesive, of a dirty white, veined with brown; the flowers are purple, variegated with white, and when they fall their pistil is changed into a fruit, composed of two very different parts: The first is a nut, shaped like a kidney, which is followed by a green shining fruit, about four or five inches long, and two in diameter. At first the skin is green, but changes, as it ripens, to a deep brown. Within the nut-shell is a whitish fruit, covered with a brown skin, resembling an almond, but infinitely more agreeable, and full of oil. The fruit is sweet and juicy, and said to exhilarate and refresh. It is cut in slices, which are heated in boiling water, and then eaten with sugar. If you attempt to taste this fruit raw, it fetches

- the skin off the mouth, for which reason, before it is served up at table, it is macerated in wine, or its acrimony corrected with salt. The juice, duly fermented, inebriates like wine; and the nut-shells yield an oil that gives a lasting colour to painting in black, preserves wood from putrefaction, and kills letters, &c. If the tree be pierced, it yields a gum like gum-arabic; and the wood is strong and fit for ship-building.
- Rose-wood.** Rose-wood, by some called Cyprus, by others Marble-wood, grows very high, with a long smooth leaf, and clusters of white flowers. The wood is fit for building, and when worked sends forth a most odouriferous smell, which is lost in time, but may be renewed by rubbing hard.
- Green-wood.** On *Guadalupe* there grows in great plenty, particularly in the most fertile spots, a tree called Green-wood, which takes a most excellent polish, and, after a while, assumes the colour of ebony. It is a good commodity, and particularly coveted by the *Dutch*.
- Red-wood.** Red woods are also here in great variety, fit for working either for use or ornament, and little inferior to Brazil.
- Iron wood.** Iron wood, so called from the hardness of its grain, grows about seven feet high, and half a foot in circumference. It is used in building, but is often destroyed by a worm that eats into its heart. The bark is black, the sap red, and the rest of a deep violet colour, approaching to a black.
- Sope tree.** The Sope-tree grows in dry sandy places, more especially near the sea, seldom higher than three feet, dividing into several branches, each as thick as ones thigh. Almost every leaf is supported by a crooked tendril, which catches hold of the next tree or shrub: if washed in water it lathers like soap, but burns linnen if often used. It bears a bitter red berry, less than a gall, good to cure scalds.
- Plantain-tree.** The trunk of the Plantain-tree, which is very soft and spongy, near the ground, is about two feet and a half in circumference, tapering gradually upwards to the height of nine or ten feet, where it produces, from a long tapering stalk, leaves of a beautiful sea green colour, often five feet in length, and two and a half broad, of an oval shape, with the middle rib very prominent. The flowers spring among the upper leaves, and from them rises a palatable sweetish fruit, nine or ten inches long, and about one inch broad; and this fruit, baked or boiled, is often used as bread.
- Banana.** The Banana is a species of this tree, having smaller leaves and fruit, the latter being oftener served up raw at deserts: when ripe, it is of a beautiful yellow colour, sweet flavour, and fragrant smell.
- A conjeñure.** The leaves of the plantain were probably those which our first parents used in *Paradise* to cover their nakedness; and this opinion is preferable to *Milton's*, who supposes them to be the fig leaf, which is scarcely more than five inches long, and three broad. The branches of the plantain, at a certain age, hang down to the ground, and there taking root, spring up again, forming an arch with its mother trunk, from which in time a grove may be propagated.
- Mangrove.** The Mangrove grows exactly in the same manner, but is fondest of water and marshy soil, though sometimes it thrives in the garden, and is a beautiful ever-green. It will sometimes run up, if permitted, to an height of forty feet, shooting out arches on every side, and furnishing most delicious shady bowers, provided it be pruned, otherwise it is entirely entangled.
- Trees omitted.** The Fig-tree that bears fruit, and the various kinds of palm-trees found in the *Antilles*, being common to other places, a description of them here will not be reasonably expected.
- St Domingo apricot.** The *St Domingo* Apricot is a handsome tall tree, with large regular branches, adorned with a very beautiful green leaf, six or seven inches long. The fruit is covered with a brownish shell, of the consistence of leather, and as thick as a crown piece, under which is a tough, thin, yellowish skin, adhering to the fruit, which is of a fine yellow, hard as a citron, leaving a pleasant, but gummy, bitterish flavour behind it in the mouth, and yielding a most fragrant smell. It contains a stone at the heart, enclosing a bitterish kind of almond. Steeped a while in sugar, the bitterness of this fruit goes off, and it is reckoned good in disorders of the lungs.
- Manchineel.** The Manchineel, or Mancenilla, is a native of the *West Indies*, and grows in marshy or low sandy grounds to the height of our common oak. The wood has a fine grain, and takes a beautiful polish; but care must be taken, before it is used, that it

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be thoroughly dried; for the juice, which is of a milky colour, is a strong caustic. A drop of it falling on the skin raises an inflammatory blister; it burns linnen, and if it touches the eye, it in a moment blinds. It bears a fruit resembling a golden pippin, by which many Europeans have lost their lives; some, however, have been saved by oil and instant vomiting. The goats eat the fruit without sustaining any injury; all other animals avoid even the shade of it, under which nothing thrives; and even the rain that drips from it has a pestiferous quality. The soldier snail yields a clear water, and an oil may be extracted from it, both which are an excellent antidote against all ill effects of the Manecilla. Its ill effects.

The Coco-tree is a species of palm; it grows to a considerable height; the timber is used for masts and planks of ships, as well as in house-building. Hats, sails, and thatch are made of the leaves: Ropes are spun of the outer bark, and better oakum than ours, as it swells more with the wet. The nut, which is as large as a young child's head, but rather spherical than round, contains a pleasant cooling liquor, that helps fevers, gonorrhoeas, stoppage of urine, &c. but it soon dries into the kernel and inside of the shell. The pulp of the nut grated and mixed with water, yields a good milk, used in pastry instead of cow's milk, and often drank in the East Indies with rice. The shell of the nut is formed into drinking vessels, which are very common. From the kernel is extracted an oil, used in lamps, and at table, and prescribed by physicians to purge the stomach and kill worms, also in old aches, gout, and contraction of the nerves. The top of the tree cut is used as cabbage, and from the incision, as well as from an expression of the flowers, may be had a liquor called *sars*, which cools the liver, and cleanses the urethra and kidneys, thus entirely expelling the stone and gravel. It turns to vinegar by standing in the sun, but soon loses its virtues when cold. This liquor thrice distilled is called Arrack; with raisins it makes a fine red wine, and yields, by evaporation, a wholesome black sugar. Birds make their hanging nests of the fibres of this tree, to protect themselves from serpents, which fly also from torches made of its boughs and leaves. The root is used in tempering iron. Umbrellas, and coverings for palanquins, or those sofas, in which the inhabitants of the hot countries are carried abroad, are made of the leaves of the coco, which also serve for paper, on which they write with a pencil of steel. The first letter the king of Portugal received from Calcutta was written upon this paper; a suit of cloathes of the same texture was presented to him at the same time. This tree thrives best in moist places, and often grows twenty fathoms high. It is often found levelled on the desert islands, either from the rats having corroded and withered it, or from the ants carrying away the earth from the root. Baskets, brooms, and trunks are made of its leaves; and javelins of the middle ribs, tied together and lacerated. The kernel may be eaten as bread, and the shell, as well as the timber, used for fuel. And antidote.

The Cabbage-tree is very tall, growing sometimes to the height of three hundred feet. The top of the trunk contains a white tender substance, which, eaten raw, tastes like a walnut, but is oftener served up to table, in all the islands, boiled, pickled, and variously dressed as cabbage, being called *chou de palmiste*, or palm of the cabbage-tree. The pith is very soft, and, when the tree is felled, soon consumed by worms; but the pipe hardens, and in time takes the consistence of iron. The tree shoots up as strait as an arrow, and is universally admired; for not a pillar of the nicest architecture can strike the eye with a more regular picture. The bark is of a clouded ash colour till within about twenty-five feet of the top, where it changes to a deep sea-green, which it carries to the top. Cacao-tree

The cacao-tree rises to about fifteen feet high, with a grey smoothish bark, as thick as ones thigh. It has several branches on every side, the ends of which running to a great length, are set with leaves, standing on an half-inch stalk. Every branch bears a small purple flower, after which follows the fruit, as big, when ripe, as ones fist, of a deep purple colour, and larger in the middle than at the extremities, which are pointed. The shell is no thicker than the edge of an half-crown, and, when opened, discovers many kernels of an oval shape, each lying in a thin membrane covered with a mucilaginous substance, and about as big as a pillachia nut; they have an oily bitterish taste, and one ounce of them is said to contain more nourishment than a whole pound of beef. Of these nuts is made chocolate, on the good or bad qualities of which it is not now our province to deseat. A juice may be expressed from the Cacao tree.

mucilaginous substance contained in the husk of the cacao nut, resembling cream, of a grateful taste, and cordial quality.

**Juniper-tree.** The Juniper-tree, which takes its name from bearing a berry that resembles our juniper, is one of the largest and highest trees in this part of the world. It may be cut into large shining reddish-brown boards, not unlike the *Bermudas* cedar, being very firm, close-grained, and odoriferous, and highly valued for making ceterators and cabinets, and for wainscoting rooms, it being avoided, as much as cedar, by the cock-roches, and all other mischievous vermin, on account of its strong scent. Sir *Hans Sloane* says, however, that he has seen keels of ships made of this wood eaten thro' by sea-worms.

**Fustick wood.** The Fustick-wood seldom exceeds fifty feet in height, being large and straight, with a leaf like that of an elm, and a fruit about the size of a nutmeg, of a greenish colour both within and without: when ripe it is very luscious and pleasant, and may be eaten with wine and sugar. The Negroes are very fond of it, and a poultice of it fresh is said to be good for a sore throat. The bark is brown, tinged with yellow; and the wood, which is firm and solid, and of a beautiful yellow, is cut into logs, and exported to *Europe*, where it is used in dying yellow.

**Button-tree.** The Button-tree has a trunk as thick as ones thigh, which grows up to thirty feet in height; the bark is greenish and smooth; the flowers are yellowish and pointed, producing round red balls, like buttons, whence it takes its name.

**Bastard cedar.** The Bastard Cedar is thicker than the last, and grows to the height of forty feet. The wood is white and ductile, fit to make staves for casks; it bears a dark-brown rough cone, divided into various cells, filled with brown roundish seed; of these cattle are very fond, on which account, in time of scarcity, this seed is very valuable.

**Lageto.** The Lageto is not a very large tree; the wood of it is white, covered with a grey smooth outer bark, the inner being solid and white, and made up of twelve layers or coats, which cut off at some length, opened, and cleaned, presents you with a web, resembling gauze, lace, or thin muslin; and it has served to well the purpose, instead of mourning linnen, that the difference has been scarcely perceptible. Sir *Thomas Lynch*, when governor of *Jamaica*, is said to have presented a fine cravat of the lageto to King *Charles II.* It will also bear washing.

**Lignum Rhod.**  
**dam.** The trunk of the *Lignum Rhodium* is as big as ones leg; it is very hard, and generally twenty feet high; its bark is sometimes grey, sometimes dark brown, beset with many short prickles, and its branches inclined to the ground. The wood is white, solid, and of a very pleasant smell, having a pretty large pith; it bears a small white flower, to which succeeds a round fruit, of the size of black pepper, having within a dry brown skin, which opens in two a round black seed that smells like bay. If this wood be set on fire, the smoke perfumes the air for a vast way along the plains or savannas, with a most fragrant smell. It is not impossible but that the delightful odour perceived by *Columbus* near the Southern shore of *Cuba*, when he first discovered that island, mention of which is made by many historians, arose from the burning of this aromatic somewhere on the coast.

#### C H A P. IV. *Quadrupeds, Serpents, Insects, &c.*

**Four footed beast.** Cows, horses, asses, goats, sheep, and swine, are numerous on all the islands, and each reckoned good in its kind. In many places they are found wild in the woods, and the chase of them yields profit and pleasure. Here are also cats, dogs, apes, rabbits, and musk and other rats.

**Acouti.** The Acouti is a small animal, participating of the nature of the hare and of the pig. It has the swiftness, shape, and teeth of the hare, a skin like a young pig, the head of a rat, and short round ears, with six nails on the toes of its hinder legs, on which it has no hair, and but little on its fore legs, which are the longest. It feeds on young shoots, is seldom fat, and hides for the most part in hollow or old trees, from whence it may be smoked out and killed; but it is oftener run down by dogs bred to the sport. *Labat* says the flesh is white, delicate, and excellent eating. The female brings forth two or three times a year, but never more than two at a time.

**Tatou, or Armadillo.** The Tatou, or Armadillo, according to *Tortre*, can survive nowhere but on *Grenada*: *Labat* contradicts this assertion, and is supported by every body acquainted with the natural history of the islands. It is no larger than a pig of thirty days old, with

a small nose divided by a foot. The grey colour itself up to trees, and fat, reliquidilla that plates of

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a small narrow head, strongly armed with teeth; the tail is long, without hair, and divided by circular scales; the legs are small and thick, with strong claws on each foot. The body, from shoulder to rump, is covered with substantial scales, of a dirty-grey colour, with some white specks, and no thicker than a sixpenny piece. It rolls itself up like a hedgehog on being touched. This animal can neither run fast nor climb trees, and feeds on leaves, fruit, &c. so that it may be well supposed to be tender, fat, relishing meat, served up with spice. Tatou is the savage name for it, and Armadilla that bestowed by the Spaniards, on account of its scales, which are exactly like plates of armour.

The Manitou of Grenada is found also in others of the Antilles; it is something like a cat in size, has a fox's head, with the teeth and mustachios of a cat. The tail is half naked, and thrice the length of its body; by this it suspends itself to the branch of a tree, whence it swings over to the next. At the bottom of the belly of the male, as well as the female, there is a large, natural bag, into which the young retreat for shelter, and they carry them alternately. They flink so horribly that the dogs will scarcely approach them; they are very mischievous and almost as daring as a wolf. They prey upon poultry, and where that is wanting feed on fruit, sugar-canes, and manioc.

Here is an amphibious animal called a galliwasp, about twelve inches long, and six in the largest circumference. The bite of it is reckoned poisonous, however it flies the approach of a man, but seems fond of eating the victuals which he has handled. Its common food is the smallest land-crab. The back and belly of the galliwasp are hard and compressed; the feet are not above an inch and half long with five toes on each foot; like the lizard, it inhabits the marshes.

There is a variety of serpents in all these islands, the bite of some of which is venomous; but they generally avoid a man, and are very harmless unless provoked; some have been found fifteen feet long. The inhabitants are careful in preserving from injury a large, brown spider, common in every house, because it hunts down, and feeds on the cock-roach, or large bug, which is very troublesome. This spider is very innocent, more than an inch and half in diameter, and of a brown colour; it will swallow an insect, according to *Shane*, above an inch long. There is a small black spider, whose bite is venomous.

Of all the animals in nature those that emit light are perhaps the most surprizing, whether we consider the heat with which all luminous emissions are generally attended, or the singularity of construction requisite in animal organs to yield these emissions in such a deliberate manner; if we may be allowed the expression, as not to prove detrimental to themselves. With this treasure of nature the island of *St Domingo* is plentifully supplied, by means of a beetle half as big as a sparrow. This insect, besides two eyes in its head, has one under each wing, by the light of which one may travel, and even read. The *Indians* used to hunt and fish in the darkest nights by tying them to their arms and legs; but they give this light only during the great heats. It is also affirmed, that they are an excellent preservative against musketoes, and other troublesome flies, which it is impossible to avoid in the day time without exposing oneself to the sun. The way to catch them is by whirling a firebrand about in the air; for they immediately fly to it, and when once knocked down, never attempt to rise again; but it is very difficult to keep them alive above eight days. The substance yielding this light is a humour, which has the same effect when rubbed on the face or hands.

There is another kind of beetle here, called the Rhinoceros beetle on account of its having a very long snout. As soon as a palm-tree is cut, these insects resort to it, and deposit a great quantity of eggs, which soon turn to horned maggots, that are looked upon as delicious eating by most people, but some can never be brought to touch them.

The island has likewise such insects and reptiles as are poisonous in other countries, but are here quite harmless in that respect, except wasps, millipedes, a black pismire, a kind of spider, the largest and most monstrous upon earth; and a scorpion, reported to be found in the peninsula of *Samana*. But, after all, their stings are neither dangerous nor very troublesome, that of the scorpion excepted, the reports concerning which are however not to be entirely credited. There are snakes here large enough to swallow a whole hen.

Besides



*Pismire per-*  
*mossa.* Besides the Pismire already mentioned, there are two other species, one of which, called by the *Indians Nigua*, burrows in the flesh, especially the legs, where it occasions a great heat, and, unless speedily extracted, multiplies to such a degree, that the adjacent parts rot away and fall off with most violent pains. The other species of pismire is still more pernicious; for their foam, or spittle, is so strong a dissolvent, that it makes an impression even upon iron. They are called Wood-lice, because they feed upon soft wood; and as soon as they have gained the top of a house, the owner must think of providing himself with another roof. They also make great havock among linen and books, and there is no chest close enough to keep them out. It has been discovered that arsenic infallibly destroys them; so that immediately to get rid of them, nothing more is requisite than to sprinkle a little of it in the roads which this insect makes for itself, being a pipe of earth, or hollow way.

Cock-roch. The Cock-roch is much more mischievous and intolerable; it makes its progress in the night, and besmears every thing over which it passes, leaving behind it a very noxious smell. These insects spoil meat, linen and books, and will get into beds, and bite there; nothing escapes them. They are called *Racenet* by most *French* authors.

Rat and mice. Rats and mice, with the common *Europæa* fly, swarm now over all the islands, tho' they were unknown here before the *Spaniards* arrived.

Cotton-tree  
Worm. Old cotton and bully trees breed the Cotton-tree Worm, which is round, white, and smooth, consisting of several sections, about two inches and a half long, and as thick as ones thumb. It is extremely fat, and much coveted by the *Negroes* and *Indians*, who esteem it a fine flavoured bit, preferring it to marrow, and boiling it in their soups, potages, and oles; they also eat them toasted on bread, without any other cookery.

Cotton-tree  
Worm. The great yellow Wood Spider is clothed in various colours, among which yellow is the most predominant. It is common in the woods, and spins large spiral webs of yellowish silk, of a glutinous quality, and strong enough to entangle wild pigeons; nay, it gives a man some trouble to break thro' them.

Tortoise-fly. The Tortoise-fly, so called from its being shaped in the body like a tortoise, is little more than one third of an inch long; it has six legs, is of a shining yellow colour, with a green eye, and some red rusty specks here and there. It is common among the trees by the sides of rivers, and as it plays about its colours vary, which make it pleasant to behold.

Musk-fly. The Musk-fly is an inch and a half long; it has six legs, with a sort of snout, and prickles in the middle of the thorax, it is of a bright green colour, and sends forth a smell not unpleasant.

Cotton-tree  
Worm. The large Golden Saw-horn is about two inches long, and an inch broad, with reddish hemispherical eyes; the thorax is green, smooth, and polished with two large copper-coloured spots. The natives of *Guinea* make ear-rings of the deaths of the wings, which are narrowed lengthwise with little cavities between, and are of a fine changeable green.

Winged ants. Here are large black-winged ants, which build their nests in trees, up the sides of which they form for themselves a covered way. These nests are as large as a bushel, and divided into different apartments: They make a nice skeleton of an human body, and when they have finished the flesh, eat into the bones for the marrow, destroying all other insects in their way. The *Negroes* are before hand with them, for they eat them uncooked.

Cotton-tree  
Worm. The large green Humble-bee has no sting; it sucks from flowers, makes a louder noise than the common honey-bee of *Europe*, builds its nest in hollows of trees, or crannies of rocks, and produces black wax.

#### C H A P. V. Birds.

Cotton-tree  
Worm. Sir *Isaac Steno* remarks that it is a false notion, that the hot climates produce birds more beautifully plumed, but less melodious, than ours; and says there are many sorts of birds in this quarter of the world, whose notes are extremely musical.

Mary. Among them may be reckoned two or three different sorts of nightingales, thrushes, and black-birds, with variety of parrots, and the macaw, so much esteemed for docility and power of mimicry. This bird is generally about three feet long, with a strong,

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strong, black curved bill; the top of the head is green, the under part of the chaps black, and near the eyes on each side appears a reddish lump of flesh, decorated with a few black feathers. The upper part of the neck, back, wings, and tail, is blue; the under part commonly orange; the legs are short, covered with black spots, and armed with crooked talons. It imitates an human voice to admiration, and feeds on raw flesh chiefly, but would digest other food.

*Sloane* represents the Yellow Woodpecker as a great curiosity. From the end of the tail to that of the bill the distance is nine or ten inches, and its height is much the same; the bill is about an inch long, and black, together with the head, throat, part of the back and tail, and the legs and claws, of which latter it has three standing forward, and one backward; the wings are black and white, and all the rest of the bird of a bright orange-colour. It feeds on insects, and hops about like a magpye.

The Curassó, which is found in all the *Antilles*, was first brought from the *Dutch* island of that name. It resembles very much a turkey; the feathers are as black as jet, but on the thighs very few; it has a crooked bill, an inch and a half long, yellow towards the base; the head and part of the neck are crowned with a spiral tuft of black feathers, which have a pretty effect.

The Mock-bird is a sort of nightingale, which cannot be reared in a cage. Its most common notes resemble those of a thrush; but it mimics not badly the melody of many other birds. It is about seven inches long, and eleven from wing to wing when extended. The head, neck, and back are grey; the tail and wings of a dark brown, spotted with white; the breast, belly, and under part of the chaps are white; the legs and feet black, and armed with long crooked claws. It builds in ebonies, feeds on berries and seed, is good eating, and perches on the highest branches of trees.

The Savanna bird is small, runs in the grass like a sky-lark, and soon alights again when sprung, never flying either far or high. The top of the head, and upper part of the neck and back are a mixture of brown, white, and dirty yellow; the wings and tail are brown, the neck and breast yellowish, and belly white; the legs are about an inch long, covered with white scales, and armed with long crooked claws; the tips of the wings, and circles round the eyes, are yellow.

The Green Humming-bird is very beautiful, frequents solitary places, and is so indolent that it is easily taken, scarcely any thing provoking it to move. It exceeds in bigness four inches; its bill is broad, flat, and not near an inch long; the chaps are of two different red colours; the head, back, and part of the wing of a fine green, and under the chaps is a beautiful scarlet spot; the belly straw-coloured, and the breast of a bright green; the tail is variegated with green tipped with white, and an inch and a quarter long, and the feathers are all downy; it feeds on small vermin.

There are three or four other species of the Humming-bird, one of which, called *Melicora axis minima*, or *least Humming-bird*, we shall describe, as being the most remarkable. This bird measured any way is scarcely more than an inch long; the bill is in length not quite three quarters of an inch; the tail is very short, the tongue white, and proportionable to the bill; the head, back, and neck are of a changeable brown; the belly, bottom of the neck, and the breast are of a silver grey, spotted in some places with brown; the legs are small and black, with three toes before, and one behind, armed with sharp talons. They are found in greater numbers and variety after rains, and hover over the sweetest flowers, on the farina and stamina of which they feed, resting on expanded wings while they extract their food with their long bills. They have no pleasant note, but chirp like a sparrow, and make a noise with their wings, when flying, like the turning of a wheel. Their eggs are white, and no bigger than a common pea. As this bird is most elegantly coloured, and transparent no light can be more beautiful than to see it in sun-shine on the wing.

The Black and White Bird is not more than four inches long. There are two openings for nostrils in the bill, which is half an inch long, black above, and white below. The head, back, tail, and wings, are either of a dark brown or black, streaked with white. The neck, breast, and belly, are white, spotted with black; the legs are covered with dark green scales, which are about an inch and half long.

The Worm-Eater is something larger measuring from tip to tip, when its wings are extended, near ten inches; the upper part is of a light brown colour, the under is fawn-coloured, not unlike the breast of the *European* sky-lark.

**Bonano bird.** The Bonano Bird, so called from its being commonly found on that tree, is a sort of sparrow. It is all over blue, in some places inclining to a green, and the ends of the feathers yellow. The breast and belly are of a much more lively blue than the top of the head, back, and tail.

**Rain-bird.** The Rain Bird, so called from its chattering in the hoar, being always a fore-runner of rain, is also called the *Old Man*, from the grey colour of its downy feathers. From the end of its bill, to the tip of its tail, it is about a foot and half long, of which space a roundish, crooked, pointed bill, black above, and white beneath, takes up one inch, and the tail, which is black, fringed with white, about nine inches. The belly and bottom of the tail are of a sorrel colour, and the legs, about two inches long, are fenced with dark blue scales, it feeds on worms.

**Crab-catcher.** The Crab-catcher, so called from his favourite food, which, its horny bill, armed with a triangular tongue, seems especially adapted to bruise, is about a foot long. Its head is crowned with a tuft of dark blue feathers, and there is a white ring round its neck, the under part of which, as well as of the wings, and the belly, are white; the breast is bluish, and the tail and wings, are feathered with black and white. It perches among the trees in the marshes, chatters loud, and is seldom or never eaten.

**Coot.** The Coot feeds on small fish and beetles, and is very frequent about all the rivers, being properly a water fowl. It exceeds a foot in length, and from the upper part of the head, there hangs down a fleshy membrane of a bright scarlet colour, which covers the bill. The body of the bird is for the most part brown, with here and there some streaks of white. The thighs, legs, and feet, are six inches long; the thighs are scarlet, the legs covered with yellowish scales, and it is web-footed.

**American scarlet-Pelican.** The *American scarlet Pelican*, or Spoon-bill, is in length about two feet and half, and from tip to tip of his expanded wings, it measures four feet; the bill is eight inches long, shaped at the end like a round spoon. This bird frequents the salt ponds, is good food, and very beautiful to behold, being covered with a mixture of scarlet and white feathers, the two first feathers in the wings excepted, which are of a dark brown colour; it is web-footed.

**White Gual-dig.** The largest white Gualding, from bill to tail, all inclusive, is three feet and a half long; it is covered with beautiful white feathers, feeds on fish and small fry, and frequents the marshes.

The Pelican is common in all *West India* seas about the islands; in stormy weather it takes refuge in the bays, and shelters upon a tree. It is a pretty large bird that flies over the surface, fousing down when it perceives its prey under it, and it is reckoned bad food. The sight of a pelican at sea is a sure sign of land being near.

**Parrots.** The parrots of these islands soon learn to speak very distinctly. They differ in their plumage, the head, neck, and belly, of such as are natives of *Guadaloupe* are of a slate colour, with some green and black feathers; the back and wings are green, intermixed with yellow and red. Those of *St Domingo* are all green, but the tail and throat, which are red. Those of *Martinico* have less red, and more slate colour about them than the rest, they are less than the natives of *Guadaloupe*. The wings and tail of the *Guinea* parrot are for the most part red, and the rest of the body of an ash-colour. The parrots which are brought from the *Rivers Amazons*, are quite green, except the top of the head, which is yellow. This bird is long lived, though subject to an epilepsy. Its food is ripe fruit, and grain, the scent and tincture of which are contracted by the flesh, so that they are often a most palatable food, being pretty fat, especially when the guaves are ripe. They lay two eggs at a time, in the hollow of a tree, upon two or three of their own feathers, and the male and female sit by turns.

**Pezzoquet.** The Parroquet, which partakes mostly of the parrot kind, is seldom so large as a thrush, they are all green, with a tuft of red feathers on the head, a white bill; they are easily taught to speak, and to run tame about a house, knowing and caring their benefactor as well as the parrot. They are very small and well tasted.

**American Ortolan.** The *American Ortolan* is a sort of Nightingale, extremely fat, and well tasted, not quite so large as a quail, having ash-coloured plumage. They fly in couples, abound in the woods, and are not easily frightened.

**Tropic bird.** The Tropic bird, so called from his being seen only between the tropics, is not quite so large as a pigeon, it has a small handsome head, with a large red bill, strong and pointed, about three inches long. They are web-footed, and seem supplied with wings much larger and stronger than they have occasion for. They are all white, their

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their tail is about six inches long, consisting of about fifteen feathers, from among which proceed a couple to the length of seventeen or eighteen inches. On which account the *French* sailors call them *Pailles-en-Cul*. This bird flies well and high, feeds upon fish, and rears its young in desert places, near the water, on the surface of which it is often seen to rest as if asleep.

If *Labat* may be credited, the *Frigate* or *Man of war* bird flies so high, and so swiftly, that the eagle is but a tortoise compared with it, and on this account it is called the *Frigate*. This bird is seldom larger than a pullet; its eyes are large, black, bold, and penetrating; the upper part of its bill is crooked and pointed, the under part straight; the legs are short and thick, and the feet armed with strong talons, with which it seizes the flying fish, as they spring up to escape the dolphin. The wings of this bird, when extended, measure from tip to tip eight or nine feet; and it rests on them in the air, being often met three or four hundred leagues from land, which is the more astonishing, as they have no property of a water bird, and would be undoubtedly lost if they touched the surface. They are covered with a strong black feather, and are not bad eating, but taste a little fishy. The fat of the *Frigate*, mixed with spirits, gives ease in a sciatica and numbness, by rubbing with it the part affected before the fire.

The *Frigate*,  
or man of  
war bird.

The *Flamingo* is a very beautiful bird, with long legs, that make him appear very tall, though his body is no longer than that of a common turkey; his plumage is of the finest red; the neck is slender, long, and arched, and the head small; but it has an arched bill, long, thick, and sufficiently hard to turn up the sand and stones in search of the insects, crabs, small fish, and worms, on which it feeds. It drinks plentifully of salt water, seldom flies alone, but in company with several others, one serving as a scout, who gives the signal in case of the approach of any molestation, and then all take flight. The islanders find it very hard to tame these birds, and though they train them very young, they find it scarcely possible to make them quite familiar.

Flamingo.

The *Booby*, or *Loggerhead*, is smaller than a crow; it has much the same shape, and flies in the same manner, sustaining itself well in the air, and souping down upon such fish as is proper for its food, as soon as it perceives it swimming near the surface. The back and wings of this bird are covered with grey feathers, and the belly is white.

Booby, or  
logger-head.

The *Great Blackbird*, from the bill to the tail, measures fourteen inches, being all over black. They are common in the woods, and on the borders of the savannas, and spoil the fowler's sport, for, on the appearance of a man, they alarm all the birds in the neighbourhood. They are useful however, as by this noise they direct the planters in the track of the runaway Negroes, who are thus discovered.

Great Black-  
bird.

The *Carion Crow* of the islands differs in almost all respects from that of *England*, the feathers being brown, and part of the wings and tail grey. The head and an inch of the neck are without plumage; the skin being flesh-coloured, covered with a thin membrane, that gives it, to strangers, the appearance of a turkey cock; but the leanness, and ill fineness of the body soon correct the mistake. It feeds on dead carcases, snakes, and lizards, and flies against the wind, admirably resisting its force. The flesh is said to be good in high stages of the venereal disorder; the skin, half burned, heals wounds; and the feathers, burned to ashes, fret away hair, and prevent its future growth.

Carion Crow

The *Devil-bird* is about the size of a young pullet, its feathers are black, its wings wide and strong, its legs short, and feet resembling those of a duck, but armed with strong talons, its bill hooked, about an inch and half long, in which there is great strength. Its eyes are large and brisk, doing it special service in the night, but of little or no use in the day, the brightness of which it cannot sustain, whence it flies against any thing in its way, and falls to the ground. It lives upon fish, which it takes after nightfall, and then returns to its burrough. We have made some mention of this bird and the manner of catching it, in our account of *Guadalupe*.

Devil-bird.

The *Pheasant* of the *Antilles* is as large as a capon, but much longer legged; his neck, resembling that of a cock, is very long; he has a head and bill like a crow; his neck and breast are of a fine shining blue; his back is greyish, and his tail short and black. This bird, when tamed, reigns the tyrant of the farmer's yard, beating all the other poultry, and sometimes killing them with his bill. He also bites the dogs till he makes them howl, and is particularly spiteful against the Negroes, whom he will nip till he draws blood from their legs and feet.

Pheasant.

The

**Magpye.** The Magpye of this climate is a much prettier bird than any thing we have of that species in *Europe*. The bill and legs are red, and the neck blue, collared with white; it has a white tuft on its head, streaked with black; its back is of a dun colour to the rump, which is yellow; its tail consists of eight or nine blue and white feathers, and two of which are six or seven inches longer than the rest; the wings are composed of brown feathers, varied with black lines; but green and blue are the predominant colours, and the belly is white. This bird is very shy; it frequents the banks of rivers, is but poor eating, and chatters like the *European* pye; but we are not told whether or no any attempts have been made at teaching them to speak.

**Tobacco-button.** There are swarms of a little bird in *Guadalupe*, called the Tobacco-button (*Bouton de Petun*) which are never seen in *Martinico*. They are something like a blackbird; have a loud, pleasing note, extend their wings and wag their tails as they sing, seeming, as it were, to dance to the melody of their own music. They are very fond of cassado, in search of which they fly about the farm houses, and feed besides on young lizards, which it is pleasant to see them chase.

**Black Gualding.** The Black Gualding is found near ponds and watery places; it is about a foot and a half long from the bill to the tail, and not less than three feet from tip to tip of its expanded wings. The bill is blueish, changing to black near the end, where it is sharp, and near two inches and a half long. Round the eye appears a greenish skin, and a tuft of long, thin feathers on the head. The neck is six inches long, covered with a few feathers of a dark-blue, which is mostly the colour of its whole body; the feet are seven inches long, with green scales. Both the Gualdings are very tall birds.

**Long-legs.** The long-legs is also a large, high bird, the back of it for the most part brown, and the under part white. It feeds on grass, and is reckoned good food. There are besides many sorts of common *European* birds, such as swallows, doves, pigeons, wild geese, and wild and tame ducks; some of the latter have white bodies, and beautiful red necks. There is also kept in the poultry yards a sort of *Magpye* Duck, which is not a native of the island, but large and handsomely plumed; they breed and hatch several times in a year; the Geese hatch but once annually. The reader would find room for censure should we enter into a minute description of all these animals; and we fancy he will be better pleased when we assure him that we have not omitted any whose beauty or rarity might be thought to deserve it.

#### CHAPTER VI. Of Fishes.

**Introductory remark.** *Tertre* tells us that no seas whatever abound more with fish than those of *America*; in them, he says, are found most of the sorts known in *Europe*, and other parts of the world; besides an innumerable variety, natives of these climates, and known no where else. And though perhaps they swarm not close upon the coast, you need not go out of sight of land to meet with plenty.

**Various kinds of fish.** The most common are the May, Mullet, John-Dory, Maccarel, Thornback, Old Wife, Gurnet, Conger, Pilot, Dolphin, Manatee, Swordfish, Whale, Crocodile, Bonito, &c. with Tortoises, Lobsters, Muscles, Crabs, and many other different kinds of Shell-fish.

**Whales.** The Whales of these seas are pigmies compared to those of the North, though here have been some seen upwards of fifty feet long. Their most common time of appearing is from the middle of *March* to the end of *May*, when they may be seen three or four together in a morning forming fine jets d'eau, [spouts], by throwing up water from their nostrils to a considerable height, with a noise that may be heard at a mile's distance. If two males meet about a female, a combat generally ensues, in which the strokes of their tails and fins upon the water sound like the firing of a cannon.

**An adventure.** *La Bat* tells us he saw several while he was in this part of the world, but none of them were large. He relates, that being in a small bark off *Dominica*, they came up with a young one that gave them great uneasiness; for he seemed to eye the people with a furnished aspect, regulating his march by their course, remaining motionless when they civilly backed their sails and lay by to give him way, and proceeding in the same course when they went forward. When he had thus politely escorted them for four hours, he at length abruptly sunk to the bottom, and removed their distracting fears.

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The Sword-fish, or Saw-fish, is the sworn enemy of the whale; he follows him every where to attack him, which he does by endeavouring to strike him with his beak, which is a large, strong, flat spear, issuing from his nostrils, to the length of eight or nine feet, and flanked with sharp teeth. The whale has no defence but his tail, one blow of which, were it to take place, would crush his enemy to pieces; but the Saw-fish being more nimble, he easily avoids the stroke, and bounding upwards falls upon the Whale, seldom without a certainty of giving him a deep wound, so that the monarch of the ocean has but little chance to escape, if closely engaged with this little adversary.

Sword or Saw-fish.

The Shark, which is a large fish of prey, being sometimes forty feet long, bites off large pieces from the Whale, and is fond of its fat. This is perhaps the most voracious fish that swims; and as it goes at a vast rate, nothing could escape it, were it not under a necessity of turning on its back to feed, which requires some time; for the opening of its mouth is a good way under its throat.

Shark.

Dolphins, and Bonitos, or Gilthead, abound in all the seas between the tropics, constantly pursuing the flying fish. The Dolphin is a large fish, fond of following a ship's course, and exhibiting a variety of beautiful colours, like the Chameleon, all which it loses when dead, retaining only a light bluish hue: The Bonita is something like a Mackerel, often measures a foot and half in length, and is very good eating. Either of these fish may be struck with phittigs, a sort of strong iron harpoon, flung from the yard arm; or by hooks and lines baited with flying fish, or something resembling it.

Dolphin and Bonitas.

The Paricot, called by *Tortre* and *Labat*, *Becune*, and by *Shaw*, the Barracuda, is a sort of sea-pike. It is a nimble, carnivorous animal, bold beyond imagination, not to be driven away by any noise. It prefers horses, dogs, and Negroes, to white men, but devours the last greedily if there be no alternative. It has the lower jaw longer than the upper, each furnished with two rows of teeth; the tongue is oblong and cartilaginous; from the tip of the upper jaw to the gills, which are red, it widens by degrees, then continues of the same breadth and bigness to the anus, whence it decreases to the tail, which is large and forked; and from it to the head there passes a single line through the middle. The belly is white, the back of a dark-brown, with a few black spots, and small thin scales. It has seven pair fins, two on the back, and five on the different parts of the breast and belly. If the teeth be white and clear, it may be eaten; but if they appear toul, and the liver prove bitter, it is poisonous, either from being out of season, or having swallowed the machineel apple, which may chance to drop into the sea, and communicates its pestiferous qualities to whatever fish feed upon it. The fish of this kind which *Sir Hans Sloane* describes was but fifteen inches long, and three across in the broadest part. *Tortre* says, they are sometimes eight feet long, and *Labat* goes farther, and assures us, that at *Guadalupe*, in the river *Gallion*, they have been seen of eighteen or twenty feet long, and as thick as a horse.

Paricot.

The Zigue, or Pantoulier, is a most dangerous voracious monster, ten or twelve feet long, and thick in proportion. Its head is like a hammer, at the extremities of which are large round eyes, in which there is something very frightful. He has a wide mouth, well armed with teeth, and much more conveniently disposed for biting than the Shark, which the body mostly resembles. *Labat* tells a story of a Savage, who ventured into the water to attack one of these animals, which had a little before bit off a child's thigh, as he was bathing in the road of *Basse-Terre*. He carried a bayonet in each hand, which he managed to well, that in a little time his enemy expired, weltering in its blood, and when brought ashore measured upwards of twelve feet.

The Crocodile seldom attacks a man, but he will be daring enough to seize on any animal that may be with him, or even upon the meat he may chance to bear. They are not to be feared in deep water, having no power unless they touch ground with their feet; for which reason they commonly take post near a river side, or in shallow water. If they are very hungry they will venture to make at a man, who may easily escape, and tire them by winding about, for having no joint in the back, they are as long in turning, as a ship in tacking. You may discover them to the windward by a strong musk, which perfumes the air, and penetrates both their flesh, which is very bad eating, and their eggs, of which some folks, the *Spaniards* particularly, make amulets. They are rarely found in places much frequented, and insect only marshes, and sides of rivers. They are commonly twelve or fourteen feet

Crocodile.

long,

long, with a stiff body, brown skin, armed with scales, and a long head, not unlike a lizard. They watch for their prey by a river side, lying stretched under a tree, or some other way shaded; and when a fair opportunity presents, they rush upon the victim, and being amphibious, force it with them under water, where they devour it when a little corrupted.

Manatee.<sup>1</sup>

The Sea-Cow, Manatee, or Camentin, has a head very like a bullock, is provided with two fins under its shoulders, with which it either holds its young, which it brings into the world, and suckles like other oviparous animals, and is said to shed tears when dragged ashore. These circumstances, or qualities, have occasioned these three different names to be given it by the *English*, *Spaniards* and *French*. Some have been caught which measured twenty feet in length, and ten in breadth at the shoulders, from whence they are taper to the tail. The flesh of this animal, when salted, eats like veal, but is rather more delicate, and keeps better. Its fat is also very good, and not apt to taint. The skin makes very good leather for shoes and other purposes, and the head contains stones of sovereign virtue against the stone and colic. The old Manatees are seldom caught but ashore, when they come to feed by the banks of the sea and rivers; but the young are taken in nets. These animals are said to be very easy to tame; and they tell a story of a manatee, who, at the time the *Spaniards* arrived here, was led in a lake by one of the *Indian* lords, and used at a call to come ashore, enter their houses, play with the children, and carry on its back whatever they placed, even sometimes ten men at a time, to the other side of the lake. They add, that having been wounded with a musket shot by a *Spaniard*, who one day treacherously called him, he took care for the future to have a thorough view of his man, before he ventured near enough to receive any mischief, having the sagacity to distinguish the *Indians* from the *Spaniards* by means of the beard peculiar to the latter.

Influences of its stupidity.

Galley.

The Galley is another very curious fish, or rather marine insect, which expands its skin in form of a sail, and is thus wafted from place to place by the wind. But though nothing can be more agreeable to the eye than this pellicle, being adorned with all the most beautiful colours, woe to the hand that attempts to touch it; for it is covered with, or perhaps consists of a kind of poisonous slime, which causes the most violent pains.

Ivane.

Here is an amphibious animal, which seems to deserve a particular description. It is named the Ivane, or Iguana, as the ancient inhabitants called it. This animal seems to be of an intermediate species between the Crocodile and the Lizard; for it is as often to be seen in the water, as on the tops of trees; but it has one advantage over both these animals, namely, that its flesh is very delicious food, though very bad, it is said, for persons infected with the venereal disease. The skin of this creature resembles that of a serpent; its figure the most horrible that can well be imagined; but nothing can be more deceitful than its aspect, for it is the mildest and most harmless animal in the world, and so wondrously patient, that it may be kept tied to a string three weeks together, and without any thing to eat and drink, or making the least effort to regain its liberty. The largest of them are about two palms and a half long, and somewhat more than a palm in breadth. It has the paws of a Lizard, a larger head, a tail twice as long as its body, very sharp teeth, and a long and capacious pouch, which hangs down upon its breast. The fore paws are longer than the hinder, and terminate in fingers armed with claws resembling the talons of birds of prey; but these claws are incapable of taking a strong hold. And to conclude, there runs from one end of its back to the other an upright indented fin like a saw. These animals have been sometimes found very small, which denotes them probably of a particular species. The Ivane is absolutely dumb; it commonly feeds upon castava, grats, and things of that nature. Those that are full grown cannot swim, their paws losing the agility requisite for that purpose. It lays its eggs in the sand, by the sides of rivers or small streams, and some pretend that it lays from forty to fifty at a time. These eggs are said not to harden when boiled in butter or oil, but only in water. They are about the bigness of a walnut, and are covered with nothing but a very fine pellicle. As it is easy to get near this animal, it is not difficult to take him. The way is to tickle him on the back with a running knot, for he takes this for the motion of some insect, and remains some time quite motionless to make sure of his prey, instead of which he gives the person who thus deceives him an opportunity of seizing him. Most sorts of Lizards are taken in this manner.

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The Captain takes its name from five rows of gilt scales running round its neck, something like a gorget, and is not unlike the Carp. The flesh is firm, fat, and white, as is that of the great scale-fish, the back of which is round, and the belly large. It is covered with large scales of the bigness of an half crown, which diminish in proportion as they approach the belly and tail.

The Surgeon-fish is about a foot and half long, in form, scales, and colour of the flesh, resembling a Tench, and perhaps it takes its name from two fins near the ears, resembling lancets.

The Orphy, or Sea-Needle, which is sometimes, I think, named the horn-back, is very long, and scarcely thicker than an Eel; the colour of the skin is blue, and the flesh is white and good, but rather of the dryest; from its nose projects a sharp bill, at least one fifth of its length.

The Moon and Plate-fish are neatly alike, being quite round, except at the head and tail, which are but small projections. Their skin is of the colour of silver, and their flesh fat and firm, but they are seldom more than eight inches diameter, and one thick.

The Macouba, or Ball-head, is reckoned a great delicacy, its flesh being rich, fat, and white. The skin is of a fine black; the body mostly round, and the head large and fleshy.

The common Red-fish weighs about eight pound; it is delicate food, the flesh being very firm and white; nor are the eggs less esteemed, whether in sauce or otherwise. Their skin and scales are of a fine fire colour, and thence they take their name.

The Old Wife, in taste and form, resembles a Cod; its belly is very large, and therefore it is called the Old Wife; they sometimes weigh two hundred pounds and upwards, and are excellent food, properly dressed; but care must be taken to see that they have not swallowed any manchinel apples, which they often do.

The Parrot-fish, so called from the shape of its mouth, and the beauty of its colours in the water, is broad just at the head, and decreases gradually to the tail. It is covered with large round scales of a red circumference, feeds on sub-marine plants, and has a very small tongue.

The Pampus is a small fish, covered with white scales, and tapering from the head to the tail. The tongue is fleshy, round, and speckled, and the eggs large and black, with a white circle round them; two long fins behind, and two before; another fin running from the middle of the back to the tail, and a fourth of the same sort and dimensions under its belly. The tail is forked, and more than one third of its length.

The Toad-fish is roundish, with blue eyes striking out of its head, and an iris of scarlet and white. The back is speckled with brown and white, and the belly, which is void of scales, smooth, and white, is capable of great expansion. By means of two wind-bladders in the stomach it puffs itself up like a toad. Sir Hans Shane mentions another toad fish, called by the natives of Brazil, *Itaca*, the skin, liver, and bones of which are poison; but it may be eaten dead. The slime of it cures such as are hurt by the prickles of the *Porcus Marinus*. This seems to be the same with the Trunk-fish, or Coiffer.

The Gar-fish is an enemy to the Herring. It is about two feet long, and round like an Eel; its head is flat, its eyes large and spherical, and its jaws furnished with small teeth; the tongue is little, hard, and cartilaginous; the tail is forked. It has two fins in the middle of the belly, one under the anus, and another broad one, running from the back to the tail; the back is green, and the belly white. This fish often leaps out of the water a foot or two above it, and strikes against any thing it meets with in its way. Sir Hans mentions one that bounded against a waterman rowing in his boat, with such force, as to stick his snout into the waterman's side, whose life was thereby much endangered. It is well tasted when fried with butter, and has no bones.

The Pilot-fish is almost square with its fins. The mouth is little, armed with small sharp teeth, the tongue round, and full of small bones. It takes its name from its keeping a-head of a ship for four or five hundred leagues at sea, till it brings it safe into port. It is pleasant to see it mock the shark, which never can seize it; for it plays round it with great unconcern. The eye is black, in a white circle; the tail almost square, and from

it



to the head runs a very crooked line. The body is covered with ash-coloured scales, crossed by a few black lines. It is of the size of a Maccard, and sold at market.

Drummer.

The Drummer is something larger than the former; it is thicker just at the shoulders, the back arching, and tapers to the tail. Under the head is a triangular, prickly fin, and another along the back, which is covered with light brown scales; the belly is silver-coloured, the tongue large and white, and the eyes are round; it has two small holes for nostrils, the gills are very red, and it may be eaten.

Carang e.

The fish called, by *Latin*, Carangue, is from three to four feet long, of the flat kind, with a wide throat well armed with teeth, and large red eyes. Just under his throat he has two strong fins, and his tail is broad and forked; he is an excellent swimmer, leaps very high, and often makes his escape from the fishermen when they open their nets. It is of such astonishing force, that it often breaks the strongest lines, and two or three fishermen are scarcely able to drag it ashore, when secured.

Whip ray.

The Whip-ray takes its name from the slender tail, which is black, smooth, and thrice the length of the body; this serves it as an offensive and defensive weapon, and the Crooles use it for a whip. It is armed on each side with sharp teeth like a saw, which easily enter the flesh, but tear it in extraction. These lie in a hollow, or cavity, made to receive them, that the fish may swim with less impediment, and are only exerted occasionally. The skin of this fish is of a blue colour, with white spots, and so is the flesh, which however is eatable.

Sting ray.

The Sting-ray, described to us, was but four inches in diameter where broadest. Its eyes were grey and prominent about half an inch from the fore-part. The tail was three inches long, with a poisonous sting at the end of it, about half an inch in length, with which the Savages often head their arrows. The back is high, the skin brown, spotted with yellow, and the belly white.

Pargie.

The Pargie is about seven inches long; four in its broadest diameter. A little below the head rises a fin, with prickly bones in it, which runs down the back; it has two long fins by the gill, two by the belly, and one beyond the anus, defended with a prickly bone. It has round eyes; its jaws are set with sharp bones; the tongue is white and triangular; the skin is scaly, of a light-brown towards the back, and the belly white, crossed from head to tail with yellow lines. It is eaten by the Crooles, after cutting off its long forked tail.

Rock fish.

The Rock-fish is a little larger than the last, with two holes under the eyes like nostrils. The eyes are large and black, with a white circle round them, environed with another of yellow. The mouth is prominent, the under jaw longer than the upper, and both armed with rows of small sharp teeth. The tongue and palate are soft, of an orange-colour, and the tongue triangular. A large fin, an inch broad, runs from the head down the back, the distal part of which has prominent prickly bones. This fish has also a tail, lives upon sea-crabs, and is counted good food.

Orbis, or

Armed fish.

The Armed-fish, called *Orbis*, is round as a football, stuck full of prickles like an hedge-hog. It has no head, but eyes in its belly, and a small tail. Instead of teeth its mouth is furnished with two hard white stones, with which it breaks the shells of crabs and other fish on which it feeds. It is taken with hook and line, and plays a long time about before it swallows the bait. When drawn up there is no touching it, to very strong and sharp are its prickles, but it soon expires; a very small part of it is eatable.

Remora, or

Sucking fish.

The Remora, or Sucking-fish, is found from a foot to a foot and a half long in all the *Indian* seas; it attaches itself to the Shark, and other large fishes, from which it sucks nutriment. They follow the course of a ship a great way, being fond of keeping it company, perhaps on account of the ordure that are flung on-board. The story of its being able to stop a ship under sail has long since lost its credit. The back is of a dirty-violet colour; the sides are green, fading gradually to the belly, which is whitish; it is so clammy that it slips through the fingers like an Eel; the head neatly resembles that of a sea-dog; it has round yellow eyes, mediocrally considered it prevents abortion.

Tortoise, or

Turtle.

The Tortoise, or Turtle, takes its former name from the *Latin* word *testa*, a shell, this animal being covered with an hollow shell of a peculiar kind, shaped like a shield, diversified with various colours, and remarkable for size and solidity. It is a sluggish, deaf creature, without any brains except a small lump resembling a bean. Its head and tail resemble those of a serpent, and it has the feet of a lizard. We have four sorts;

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forts; the sea, the fresh-water, the mud, and the land Tortoise; though most naturalists allow them to be amphibious.

The Sea Tortoise often falls asleep when ashore, and dies if he continues there too long. Sea Tortoise  
His food in the water is small shell-fish; and herbs on land. They bite hard, and live some time after their heads are off. *Pliny* mentions a Tortoise so large in the *Indies*, as to cover a small house with its shell, and the inhabitants of the *Red Sea* use them as barks to sail in. There is but little difference in the make and form of the several kinds of Tortoise. The flesh of the Sea Tortoise is like veal, and is much the most delicate and nourishing food. Its juice is reckoned a restorative and good for phtisical people; but, being hard of digestion, it must be corrected in the cooking. The blood dried has been administered with success in the falling sickness; and *Cardan* says, that the flesh, constantly eaten with bread, relieves in the leprosy.

The Land Tortoise is found on the mountains, in forests, woods, fields, and gardens, confining itself to no particular food. It may be kept alive, about a house, upon bran and flour. In winter it hides in holes like serpents and lizards, and survives without any food. They are long lived, and often snatched up, by the Eagle, to a great height, thence dropp'd upon a rock, where the shell is broken, and the bird descends to prey upon the contents. By an accident of this kind *Æschylus*, the Greek tragedian, was killed, in very advanced years, an Eagle mistaking his round bald head for a stone, as he sat studying in the fields.

Here are many sorts of Lobsters, which differ from those of *Europe* in their want of claws; they are however protected by prickles. Among these the largest, though not the most delicious, is the red Lobster, which sometimes weighs nineteen or twenty pound. The green Lobster weighs not above two or three pound; its largest horns are at least eighteen inches long, and between them spring up two lesser, divided near the extremities. The eyes are guarded by sharp-pointed crooked horns; the ends of the feet hairy, and the shell upon the back thickly fludded with large prickles.

Among the various species of Crabs in this part of the world, the Lazy Crab is the largest, and most beautiful. The back is of a fine scarlet, full of knobs, and guarded with sharp prickles. It has eight strong legs, four on a side, covered with short brown hair. The two greatest claws are often ten inches long, and differ from those of other crabs in being so properly indented at the extremities, where they hold their prey, that they fall into each other like a pair of nippers.

The Horseman-Crab is small and white; it takes its name from its being quick in retreating from danger; it is found upon the shore when the tide is going out, with which perhaps it has been watted from the sea.

The Club-men, and Sheep-biters, are much alike; I know not whence they take their names. They are not larger in the body than an *English* shilling, and their claws are long beyond proportion. They frequent the edges of salt marshes, and burrow in clay and deep sand.

The long-legged, small white Crab has not so large a body as a fixpence; its legs are long, at least half a foot, and very slender, resembling knotted thread.

The Scuttle-Crab is small, and its back marbled with dark lines. It casts its shell, which is very handsome, once a year. Its food is the moss growing on the rocks between high and low water marks.

In the salt ponds, near the sea, is caught the Sir Eager Crab, which is an oblong, whereas the others are roundish. The upper shell is blackish, spotted with pale white; the two claws are long and slender, entirely guarded with sharp teeth, or prickles. Crabs are good eating, and often prescribed in medicine.

In all these islands there are also found various sorts of Land-Crabs, the meat of which is good to eat, and they scarcely differ from those of the sea in any thing but their inhabiting the hills and inlands, so that to describe them would be needless.

The Soldier-Crab however deserves to be mentioned, as he possesses no shell of his own, but is an usurper from his youth, and changes his tenement as he increases in bulk and age. His first appearance is commonly in a periwinkle; when he out-grows this, he takes up with a wulk; and his last stage is the top-shell, which is finely spotted with red and white, or blue and white; and when his first coat is cast, shews a fine mother of pearl, so that his last stage is a most magnificent habitation. This Crab is found often sticking to the rocks, but oftener in graneries, for it is very fond of corn. It is

armed with two claws like other crabs, and from its tail, which is covered with a thin skin, may be extracted an oil, good to rub into stiff or swollen joints.

Lambis.

The shell of the Sea-Snail, called the *Lambis*, is very heavy, weighing often five or six pound. The outside is rough and uneven, but the inside of a fine-polished red colour. The Savages break this shell into splinters, which they hang by way of ornament round their necks. The snail is finely variegated, and may be forced from his cavern, by such as would chuse to see all his beauty, with an hot iron pin, though he does not long survive; the flesh is very hard, and but indifferent eating.

Casket, or  
Helmet snail.

The Casket, or Helmet snail, is much smaller, and more oval than than the *Lambis*. There cannot be in nature a more beautiful shell, it being spotted, or rather clouded, with variety of colours. One side of it, which may be reckoned the back, has two blunt little openings, like a canal. There is an indented aperture, running the whole length of the other side, by which the creature draws in its nourishment.

Trumpet-  
shell.

The Trumpet Shell is eight or ten inches long, convolved, and tapering like a horn. A hole being made at bottom, it is used as a speaking trumpet, though yielding a sound of no great strength. The outside, when polished, is shaded with various sorts of brown; the inside is like mother of pearl, and the food it affords exceeds that either of the *Lambis* or *Helmet*.

Burgan, or  
Murex of the  
Antients.

The Burgan of *Tertre* and *Lobat* is much like the *Murex* of the antients, which yielded the famous *Tyrian* dye, and is known to be the excrement of a shell fish. This *Murex*, for so we shall take the liberty to call it, seldom measures more than three inches and a half over the flat side, which may be called its mouth, and in the narrowest place about two inches. It has three circumvolutions, and is about four inches high. The colour of the outward shell is dark-grey, tinged with yellow; the shell is very thin, and yet tough. The flesh of the animalcule it contains is white, but a bright red may be seen dispersed through all its intestines, and this yields a most beautiful purple dye to either linen, woollen, or cambric, which is the less valuable, as washing discharges it. The secret for preserving it would be a treasure to any one that could find it, for the colour is extremely delicate and strong, while it lasts. In order to obtain a larger quantity of this liquor, a parcel of the shells should be put into a bason, and beaten one against another with a rod, or the naked hand, to irritate and make the animal spend himself, which he never fails to do at the expence of this rich liquor. *Hughes*, in his *History of Barbadoes*, tells us that, as he walked one day on the North side of that island, he saw a shell fish sticking to a rock, and sent a slave to bring it to him, whose hand he perceived on his return to be stained with a beautiful crimson, from having plucked it with too much haste, and there arose from it an offensive smell, it proved to be this *Murex*. He observes, that when the animal is dead, the juice has not that quick penetration, it being some time before it communicates its colour. Upon the whole, this dye can be of little use in manufacture, since we have no method of preserving its lustre. Such of the inhabitants as happen to fall short of victuals, and cannot easily supply themselves, often eat the contents of the Burgan, which easily drops out of the shell when boiled. It is but poor nourishment, and should be first divided from a bitter bag sticking to it.

Concha Veneris.

There are many different kinds of the *Concha Veneris* found also among the *Antilles*, one of the most remarkable of which is round, thin, and white, beautifully fretted with redish spots, wide towards the mouth, and without teeth, but sinews. It is an inch and a half long, and about half as broad.

Yellow speckled  
gowry,  
&c.

Of this species is the yellow-speckled *Barbadoes* Gowry, which is not quite an inch long, and about half as broad. It is deep for the bigness, speckled with round yellow spots, and having white teeth: Also the *Jamaica* Buff-gowry, which is a little larger and deeper, of a reddish brown colour, with teeth on each side the belly, or mouth, which is sometimes purple. They are common in all the *Antilles*.

Curl girded  
Needles.

To see a parcel of the Curl-girded-Needles moving together is a very pretty sight, for they resemble a grove of moving spears; the fish carrying the shell bolt-upright. It is sharp-pointed, two inches long, and wreathed.

Punches.

Between the high and low water marks are found clusters of wreathed vermicular tubes, some black, some white, some of amber, and other various colours. Their hollow is as large as that of a crow-quill, and their tubes are so sharp that, if trod upon by the naked foot, they leave a circular incision, resembling the impression made upon leather with

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with what shoe makers call a punch ; for which reason these clusters are called Punches. They are the recesses of certain slender worms, which are seldom seen.

The Beef-shell is from one to two inches long ; the shell, which is of a blackish grey, is divided into eight joints, laid one over another, by the help of which the fish can expand or contract its habitation at pleasure. The edges of this shell are covered with a strong greenish bearded substance ; the fish, which is of a reddish colour, is firm eating, short, and well tasted.

The Music-shell is about two inches long, and near an inch broad towards the claviæ ; its mouth is large ; the circumvolutions are scarcely visible ; the shell is thick and ponderous, the ground of a flesh-colour, intersected by black lines, which are crossed by other lesser ones, as if intended for notes of music : hence it derives its name.

As the large conch is a very curious shell fish, not to speak of it were an unpardonable omission. There are male and female ; the male is thinner and larger, distinguished also by a Penis two inches in length ; the shell of the female is the thicker and more ponderous. The outside of the conch is of a brownish white, studded at uncertain distances with blunt knobbed protuberances. The inside is well polished, exhibiting a pale red near the extremity, which deepens farther inwards. The head of the fish is guarded by a long horned beak, or tongue, sharp-pointed, and crooked, three quarters of an inch broad, and two inches long. This beak is fortified with a strong middle rib, fastened to a tough cartilaginous neck, as thick as one's thumb ; the upper part of it is protected by several indentings, being as rough as a rasp. This tongue being extended and fixed in the sand, by a strong muscular motion, draws after it the heavy weight of the whole shell.

Aristotle and Pliny imagined that with this tongue it pierced the lesser shell-fish for prey ; for the Conch was not unknown to the ancients. Fish may perhaps be partly its food ; but it finds other sustenance with less trouble, for there grows a white moss upon the outside of the shell, which it scrapes off with its tongue ; and it may be met with at sea, after great floods, near deep gullies or rivers, feeding on the fruits, leaves, &c. brought down by the torrents. The whole fish is seen often to come out and feed, particularly when it is licking its own moss. Two inches below the tongue are three blunt protuberances, of a cartilaginous substance and conic form, on whose extremities appear the eyes, surrounded with blueish circles. Between them stands the third, nearly as thick as a swan's quill, and two inches long, the extremity of which ends in a mouth, and this is strongly contracted when the fish is in a state of rest.

The empty shell, more especially the thinner, is used instead of a horn to summon the slaves to work, and the sound may be heard a mile off in a calm morning. This fish is found in the summer months in all the bays of the Antilles, in five or six fathoms, and brought up by the divers in calm weather. They are very commonly eaten, and accounted good.

Here are also Pearl and other Oysters, with cockles, and much greater variety of shell-fish than we can possibly describe in our present limits, and many kinds of black coral, in grain, weight, and polish, equal to the red.

C H A P. VII. Of the Original Inhabitants of the ANTILLES.

The Caribbeans, or natural inhabitants of the Antilles, whom we oftener call Savages, are in their real disposition, grave, mild, and affable ; far from that inhumanity and wildness which the word *Savage* implies ; and, though extremely simple, they have a moderate share of reason ; and are not insensible of the force of a subordination between a son and a father, but they had no notion of other superiority, or of any servitude, till corrupted by *European* example. They were all equal, no man being poorer, richer, or more elevated than his neighbour : their desires aimed only at satisfying their wants ; and superfluity they despised.

If you except the flattening of their heads, which gives an air of wildness to the face, their features are good, their eyes small but black ; their teeth are, for the most part, white and even ; their hair is black, long, and shining, from the oil with which they daily anoint it. They are strong, well made, and so healthy and robust, that men more than an hundred years old are found among them, walking firm and upright,

right, and scarcely any wrinkles, some of them, indeed, are lame or crooked, and a few bald-pated, or blear-eyed. Their skin is naturally of a deep swarthy, or rather copper coloured hue, and necessity seems to have taught them to paint their bodies with rocou, tempered with oil, which, in some measure, defends them from the penetrating heat of the sun, and effectually secures them from being infested with gnats and musketoes, which cannot abide the smell. When they are going to a feast or to battle, the females form their mustachoes for them, and mark their faces and bodies with several black strokes; for which purpose they use the juice of the genipa apple, they wear a cord round their middle, to which hangs a piece of cloth five or six inches broad, and that serves to cover part of their nudities, and drops carelessly almost to the ground. By their thigh they stick a knife, but carry it more commonly in their hands, and can use it to avenge an affront, for they are extremely vindictive; and moreover excessive drinkers.

Women described.

The women are round-faced, with small black eyes, and long black hair; they are well proportioned, comely, and of a more lively, smiling, aspect than the men, yet sufficiently reserved. A cotton veil, of different colours, conceals the distinction of sexes, and they bind up their hair behind, with a string of the same manufacture. They adorn their hands, arms, legs, and necks, with bracelets and strings of coloured stones, of which they are very fond.

Ornaments.

Girls before marriage.

When the girls are about twelve years old, a buskin of beads is fastened round the leg, a little above the ankle; so artfully, that, unless it breaks by accident, it is impossible to get it off; and it often becomes extremely troublesome, particularly if it grows into the flesh, but it must by no means be unloosed. About this age the girls are separated from the boys, and admitted among the women; but before these years they have generally chosen a husband, who waits till his girl is of a proper age for consummation; and as their liking is generally mutual, their parents are seldom averse to the connexion.

Polygamy & incest allowed.

In their marriages they have no other regard to consanguinity, than that a mother will not unite with a son, nor a brother with his natural sister. The men are allowed plurality of wives, and it often happens that one man lives with, and has children by three or four sisters, and perhaps his nieces or cousins-germain. They pretend that the nearness of kindred makes them more agreeable to each other, and that they are thence induced to labour more heartily in their mutual interest. They look upon their wives as no better than servants, and no tenderness they may possibly have for them, will induce them to excuse the least omission of duty or respect, which they think their right. Nay it was never known that a wife was permitted to eat with a husband, or even in his presence. They carry this authority very high, and on the least room given for jealousy, or even on a slighter provocation, the man often strikes off the wife's head, and thinks no more of her. The women are sensible of their state, and behave in the most obedient, mild, silent, and respectful manner.

Husbands descriptive.

Largages.

The *Caribbeans* have among them three sorts of languages; one common to them all, a second peculiar to the women in which they converse among one another, and this the men hold in utter contempt, nay, though they understand, disdain to speak it. A third language used only in their assemblies, is not understood by the women or children, and seems to be a jargon, introduced to give more solemnity to their debates and decisions.

Remark.

From considering their two different tongues, it is not unreasonable to infer that the Savages found upon the *Antilles* or windward islands, by *Columbus*, were not the natural inhabitants of the places. For there is an infinite difference between them and the natives of the nearest continent, whether we consider them as to speech, customs, or manners, and they were moreover generally at war with those whom the *Spaniards* found in the larger islands.

Conjecture concerning the original inhabitants.

There is some room to imagine these the real and old inhabitants of the *Antilles*, because on many of the larger or Leeward islands, they speak a language nearly resembling that used by the women of the *Antilles*. The *Caribbeans* being driven perhaps from their own territories by hostile force, fortune conducted them hither, where, meeting with a race of people less warlike than themselves, they conquered them, destroyed the males, and preserved the females for servitude and breed, who still retain the tongue of their fore-fathers. This conjecture receives some support from their still preserving all the women they take from their enemies, bringing home, naturalizing, and et-

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pouring them. And as certain *Indians* of *Florida* have nearly the same manners and tongue with the *Caribbeans*, it may be reasonably inferred that from hence these latter drew their origin. Derived from Florida.

*Columbus* represents them as furnished with canoes sufficiently strong for a pretty long course. Hence we may suppose they sailed, with the land always in sight, from the bottom of the gulph of *Mexico* to the point of *Florida*; then passing the streights of *Babama*, and coasting along the large islands of *Cuba*, *St Domingo*, and *Porto Rico*, they at length reached the *Antilles*, where the people being less numerous than on the Leeward islands, they found it easier to cut them off, and usurp their habitations. This argument receives strength from the disposition of the women, who are possessed with a softness and simplicity, which forms the peculiar character of the *Indians* between the tropics. The language of these people is barren, but easily learned, it abounds with significative adverbs, and is not charged with conjugations or declensions: It was sufficiently expressive for a people who had neither commerce to pursue, nor science to improve. The language of the women, which has such strong appearances of being the older, is more soft, more easily acquired, and the pronunciation not so difficult. Argument from the women. Language of tropical Indians.

These people rise before the sun, and bath in the next river, or the sea, but prefer the former. Then returning to their hut, they sit down exposed to the wind, so that they may be soon dried. One of their wives soon after brings rocou and oil to paint them, and adjusts their hair, in which, if they find any lice, they crack them between their teeth, and revenge the bites they have had from them by eating them. It is remarkable that lice will not live upon any one after they pass the tropics, but except *Caribbeans* and Negroes. Their way of living. Ridiculous revenge.

*Cañado*, or the fish of the preceeding day, is then brought for breakfast, and they eat it hot, without any sort of grace, or ceremonious introduction, and the young and old sit round the mess, without distinction of place. When this is over, drink is brought, and some retire to their hammocks, some entertain themselves with forcing a most disagreeable monotony from a sort of hollow tube; part betake themselves to making bows, arrows, baskets, or other things of which they have an idea, each according to his genius, and others squat like monkeys upon their hams round the fire place, and continue in that situation for hours together, as it were in deep meditation. No man enjoins another his business. Their occupations are spontaneous, and they quit them just as they think proper. If one man speaks, it is in a modest easy tone, none contradict or interrupt him, but all attend with silent respect. They have neither dispute nor quarrel. When one of the company has finished his harangue, another begins, perhaps, on something very different, and is permitted to proceed with equal deference. Yet it often happens, that without provocation either by words or blows, they massacre one another at their feasts. For these assemblies there are no fixed times, they meet at his option who chuses to be at the expence. They are made for debating on business, war, or pleasure; and no man, though invited, is under a necessity to attend; but all comers, whether of that number or not, are made welcome, and every man departs when he pleases. Eating & recreations. Conversation. On different occasions.

After a plentiful repast, before the company begins to diminish, the master of the entertainment proposes the occasion of the meeting. If it be warlike, a proper time is taken to introduce an old woman who enumerates the affronts and injuries they have sustained from their enemies, and names such of their relations and friends as they have brought to destruction. When she finds that the heat of the liquor, and enthusiasm of her harangue has raised them to a proper pitch, she throws among them a broiled limb of some one of their foes who had perished in the war; on this they fall like mad men, and with an insatiate thirst of revenge, rend and chew it with their teeth. After this with loud shouts they resolve on the expedition, and a day is named for them to join in the extermination of their enemies. But in all this parade, every man acts of his own head, and no person is subservient to authority; for their delicacy in this respect is inconceivable. These people are not cannibals nor do they feed on human flesh, for though they bake the limbs of their enemies, and save calabasses filled with their fat, these are only kept as trophies of their glory, and not to supply the place of food. Warlike. Ceremonious prelude to war.

They kill, without distinction, all such of their foes as they find in arms, seldom troubling themselves with making prisoners. The women and children they treat with sufficient tenderness, incorporating them among themselves, and the worst fate they allot them to is to be sold to the *Europeans* as slaves.

Fests stained  
with blood.

Few of their feasts end without murder; and it is perpetrated with little or no ceremony. If any one among them in the warmth of his liquor takes it into his head, that his opposite neighbour has killed any of his friends, or otherwise aggrieved him, he comes behind, and either stabs or cuts him down without any ceremony. No one present endeavours to prevent him, or to avenge the death of the victim. Indeed, generally the assassin takes care that none of the brethren or children of him, against whom he lifts his weapon, be present. One or other of them, however, seldom fails of getting intelligence of the murder, and watches to retaliate it upon the murderer or his next relation. Hence it is that their divisions are eternal; that their territories are so thinly peopled; their women so numerous; and that they claim some sort of a right to a multiplicity of wives.

*Banarée*, an  
honourable  
name.

When we were speaking of the origin of these people, we should have remarked, that they call each other, and such *Europeans* as they chuse to distinguish with honour, *Banarée*, which signifies a man come from beyond sea. With this and the name of *Caribbean*, they are well pleased; but to call them *Savage* provokes their anger. It is hard to say who gave them a right idea of the word; but it is certain they detest it; and he who would keep well with them must call them cousin or comrade. They affect to assume the names of powerful personages, as governors, or captains of men of war, whom they have seen exercise authority; but merchants, tho' never so rich, they despise, looking upon them in a subordinate light.

*Savages* de-  
tected.

Affected  
names.

Manner of  
making war.

Their way of making war is much to be dreaded, because it is never declared, open, and foreseen; they chuse the darkest nights and worst weather to commence hostilities, ravaging the lands, breaking into houses, and slaughtering the unsuspecting inhabitants in the hour of silence, and under covert of profound darkness. All their stratagems consist in surprize and ambuscade; they are ignorant of regular marching, battle array, conducting a siege, and of every sort of military operation but bloodshed and dissembling their motions. When they are discovered they retreat, unless they find their opponents too weak to resist. They hide themselves, covered all over with branches and green leaves, upon the skirts of the woods, in the way by which they expect their enemies, who find themselves transfixed with arrows, and gasping in the pangs of death, without perceiving the hand that directed the fatal weapon. In the mean time the assailant squats among the bushes, or lies close to the ground as an hare, for fear of being discovered, till he sees the effect of his aim.

Ambuscade  
and surprize.

Method of  
fring houses.

Their way of burning an house covered with canes or palmetto-leaver, is to discharge at the thatch an arrow, to which they have fastened some cotton just set on fire. They then lurk among the trees till the fire forces out the people, who by the light are conducted to their massacre, and fall without hope of revenge. They are excellent marksmen, and will shoot off nine or ten arrows, all which shall take place, during the charging of a musket. If you have the good fortune to drive them, you must carefully pick up and break their arrows, which they would otherwise gather and use to fresh purposes; but by so doing you destroy their chief magazine, which is seldom well stored.

Method of  
procuring fire

When they are in want of fire they take two pieces of stick, one harder than the other; the latter they hollow, and clap into it the former pared and pointed, which they keep twirling about like chocolate, till heat is generated by the action, which must not be discontinued, and fire soon ensues.

Expert  
swimmers.

They are such excellent swimmers, that one would be almost induced to imagine them amphibious. In this exercise the women are as expert as the men. It often happens, that by crowding too much sail in returning from the *French* settlements, when they are for the most part drunk, they overturn their canoes; yet by such an accident they seldom or never are drowned; nor do they lose the least part of their baggage, which is the most part well secured. While the men apply themselves to setting the boat again on her bottom, and laving out the water, the women float about with great ease, only troubling themselves to give breath to the infants at breast, while the more full grown children swim round with as much unconcern as if water were their proper element. In the year 1669 came on shore in the island of *Dominica* a *Caribbean*, who had belonged to a boat which was lost with some ecclesiasticks in it between *Santa Lucia* and *Martinico*. He had been sixty hours on the surface, without plank or board to sustain him, and scuffled with the violence of the storm and all the stimulations of thirst and hunger during that time without relief.

Swimming  
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The Venereal disorder, which is undoubtedly a disease of *American* growth, often appears upon infants whose nurses are in a good state of health. They cure it with making the sick drink plentifully of a decoction of the woods, among which Guyacum is a principal ingredient, and they sweat the patient violently either by forced exercise or otherwise. They also use unctious, according to *Labat*, with an ointment more mild, but not less efficacious than mercury; but he declares himself ignorant of its composition.

Venereal disease.

The small pox was brought to this part of the world from *Europe*, and makes considerable ravage. Many of these unhappy people were destroyed on the first appearances of this cruel disorder, by the villainous counsel of a christian surgeon, who advised them to bathe in a cold river in the very crisis; had they discovered his inhumanity, the effects might have been distantly prejudicial to the colony of which he was a member.

Small pox fatal.

At *Dominica*, when the master of an hut dies, he is buried in the midst of it, the other Savages forsaking it forever, and settling somewhere else in the neighbourhood. Nothing can please them more than to present them with a gun, which they soon spoil, let it be never so good; for they either lose the flint, knock off the lock, injure it by throwing it roughly on the ground, through indolence, for they are the most sluggish people upon earth, or perhaps they burst it by overcharging.

Burial.

Fondness for fire arms.

The diameter of their bows is generally about six feet; they make them mostly of green wood, which is strong, close-grained, and heavy; and they shape them handsomely enough since the *Europeans* have taught them how to handle iron tools; for before this they only used sharp-pointed stones, and rough sharp flints. Their arrows are made of the tops of reeds, when about to blossom, being three foot and a half long, headed with a piece of green wood, in length eight inches, tapering from its base to the point, which is very sharp, and firmly bound with cotton thread. Their head is very neatly notched, and so contrived that it easily enters where it strikes, but in drawing out gives vast pain, and enlarges the wound considerably. Their arrows are sometimes steeped in the juice of the machineel apple, to imbibe poison, and in this case their hurt is mortal. Here we mean only the arrows they use in war; they have others something different, to wound birds, bring down beasts, or strike fishes.

Their bows.

Arrow.

The Savages also use with great dexterity a flat bludgeon, about three foot and a half long, of thick heavy wood, about two inches broad at one end and four at the other. On the broadest side are engraven some odd hieroglyphics, variously coloured. On whatever part of the body this falls it is sure to penetrate or bruise, and never fails to break the head when it hits it.

When they are much enraged just before shooting their arrows, they loosen the heads, so that these only enter the body, whence it is scarcely possible to extract them, being as it were buried in the flesh, while the reed, or stalk of the arrow falls off to the ground. Though they never go without a knife, and that carried for the most part in the hand, yet they seldom use it unless they are in liquor, as we have before observed.

Knife

They often learn the *European* languages of such people as they trade with, and sometimes profess themselves profelytes to christianity from conviction; but they relapse into their idolatry, if not closely watched, and are seldom sincere in their profession.

Prone to relapse into idolatry.

When they embark by sea on any warlike expedition, they take with them in each canoe two women, one to prepare cassado, and the other to paint them; but when they go upon voyages of pleasure or trade, all their women and children are of the train, and they carry with them their beds, arms, calabasses, and every thing proper to dress their cassado. Their beds are large cotton hammocks, all of one piece, painted with reason, and variegated with regular lines of black. The making and painting of these is one part of the womens employment, for a man would think himself degraded by condescending to such work.

Equipment on voyage.

Women's employment.

When they dispose of any goods, the buyer must be careful to put them out of sight directly, otherwise they may take it in their heads to seize them without any ceremony, and refuse to restore them, or the price at which they were bought. In this case all exposition is to no purpose, and endeavouring to persuade them to reason only breeds a quarrel, in which they all take part. If they be paid in money, the

Unfair traders.

pieces



pieces must be all ranged in one line, without covering or doubling the ranks, so that it may be all full in their view. And this pleases them so well, that they will rub their hands, and express their satisfaction by shrugging, simpering, and the most childish behaviour.

**Bad servants.** Being naturally sluggish and perverse, they make the worst servants in the world. They have the strongest aversion to do any thing they are desired; so that when you want them to go upon the chase, it is ten to one, but they will take to fishing. Repetition of orders is ineffectual, and beating dangerous, for they are sure to watch an opportunity of revenging the blows by murder.

**At enmity with the Negroes.** The *Caribbeans* and the Negroes hold each other in such mutual contempt, that it is impolitic to attempt intermixing them. It is remarked besides, that reason never seems to be fully ripe in these people; like children, they love to meddle with every thing, are very mischievous, sulky, and ill natured, nor do they ever know when they have eat or drank enough.

**Women easily delivered.** The women scarce know the pains of child-birth, they bring their infants into the world very easily, and after washing and laying them on a cotton bed, return to their household business as if nothing had happened: While the husband complains of illness, takes to his bed, is visited as a sick person, and dieted in the most sparing manner. This farce lasts forty days, at the end of which time, all his friends and relations repair to his hut, where they are feasted. But before this, they perform the ceremony of drawing blood from several parts of his body with the tooth of an acouti, and then bath the punctures with a strong pickle of *Indian* pepper, or pimento water; so that he becomes sick in earnest, and though the pain of this ceremony must be very severe, yet, if he utters the least syllable of complaint, he is ever after despised. After this he is again remitted for a few days longer to his bed, and his friends make merry in his cottage at his expence. Nor is this all, for during six whole months he abstains from fish or flesh, his eating of which he imagines would give the child the belly-ach; and besides communicate to it the prevailing defect of the animal. As for example, from his eating turtle, the child, say they, would contract deafness; and his feeding on the manatee, would give it round little eyes. He also avoids any carnal knowledge of the mother, who is also for her part, very sparing of her diet.

**How treated.** After six months and a week, the friends and relations are summoned to another entertainment, at which the child is named, and the father and mother anoint the head and neck of the gossips with palm-oil. They also cut a lock of hair from the infant's forehead; and if they find it strong enough, bore its ears, nostrils, and under lip, passing two or three cotton threads through the aperture; if it be weak, they defer the latter operations to the end of the year.

**Superstitious conceits.** When they are four or five months old they are left to run upon all fours, and roll in the dust, so that in more adult years they use the gait of man or beast with equal facility. They all eat earth with the same apparent relish as if it was something very palatable. The mothers are very tender of their young, and breed them up with equal care, though the father be dead or absent. And yet this breeding differs in nothing from the brute; they only teach them to fish and shoot for their subsistence; to swim, and to make little baskets, and cotton beds. The birds of the air cherish their young, till they are strong enough to take wing; encourage them by their example to transport themselves from place to place; instruct them on what to subsist, and how to construct their nests.

**Child named with much ceremony.** If the son is intended for war, when he has attained a proper age, the father summons together the oldest and most reputable of his friends, before whom having feasted the young man on a stool, he exhorts him to be gallant in fight, and to revenge himself fully on his enemies, then taking by the legs a large bird of prey, (by *Terré* called *Mancejenil*) which had, for some time past, been cooped and fattened for that purpose, he kills it by beating it about the youth's head, who, if he vince but ever so little, loses all claim to military reputation, although the strokes are sufficiently stunning. Then the father raising his skin in several parts of his body, till the blood comes, bathes him with a pickle of pimento, in which he had first washed the body of the *Mancejenil*, after which he makes him eat the heart of that ravenous fowl, as an incentive to courage. This ceremony being over, he is put into a hammock hung from the top of the house, where he is to remain stretched at full length, without meat, drink, or complaint, as long as he can suffer it, and they firmly believe that if

**Education.** he offers to he endures it has happily gained. Perhaps bearing children. The color lizards, por These little boats, little gain with ing, when them to r them of t they find t away cryin They m of that nam ment keep At these t stones in a old men t which the bodies rub dance about tricks. T more mod is a capit many othe their good Perhaps they draw nor have leaves, str distinction favoury. Their e fire, then neither e though an and never cats, and d from their In visits t a bed is p perfon of When that the t If he e wrapping in which men and They all of the de intimidate If he wa nearest r purified. It is cu tears at t he

**Ceremony of making a warrior.**

he offers to move or bend himself, he shall all his life remain crooked. But the longer he endures this striction, the greater opinion they conceive of his valour; though it has happened that some have died under the trial, and cowards, by long perseverance, have gained reputation.

Perhaps no part of the world affords women so prolific. There are instances of some bearing children at eighty years of age, particularly at *Guadaloupe*. Women fruit-ful.

The commodities which the Savages have to dispose of in trade, are tortoise, swine, lizards, poultry, birds of all kinds, bows, arrows, baskets, twine, and cotton beds. These they exchange for hatchets, bill-hooks, knives, pins, needles, sails for their boats, little shining toys, small looking glasses, and glass <sup>be</sup>ds. The best time to bargain with them for their beds, which have in them something curious, is in the morning, when they will dispose of them at a very cheap rate. But it is common for them to return and beg to be off the bargain, when the approach of night reminds them of the use of a bed, which, in the morning, had slipped out of their thoughts. If they find their request refused, as they scorn to ask for any thing a second time, they go away crying.

They make feasts on many different occasions, and call them *Ouycou*, from a liquor of that name of which the men drink plentifully, while the master of the entertainment keeps guard at the door with his bludgeon on his shoulder, to prevent any disorder. At these times some of them play on a kind of discordant flute, the young girls rattle stones in a calabash to some certain time; others sing in a strange uncouth strain, the old men filling up the chorus with a baffe, and thus forming a kind of concert, with which they are well pleased. In the mean time some of the young men, having their bodies rubbed over with gum, or some viscous matter, and stuck with various feathers, dance about the floor for the entertainment of the graver sort, playing numberless antic tricks. The women drink as hard as any at these assemblies, and foot it, but to a rather more modest measure than the men. To abuse a woman among them when in liquor is a capital crime, nor can drunkennets excuse it, though now admitted to plead for many other excesses. At these times every comer is invited and welcome to partake of their good cheer, as far as it will go. Feasts. Music. Dancing. Women drunk.

Perhaps the universe cannot produce more unclean animals than these wretches, they draw water with one hand, while with the other they are cramming their mouths, nor have the slightest notion of decency, for they often do worse. They never mind leaves, straw, or nastiness that may lie in their dish, but greedily swallow all without distinction. Their food is for the most part also so peppered, that, were it clean and savoury, nobody besides themselves could taste it. Sevenlinefs.

Their common food is fish and birds; the birds they singe and half roast upon the fire, then devour them entrails and all, with the remainder of their feathers. They neither eat pottage, milk, cheese, nor butter, and hold oil and eggs in detestation, though among the *French* they learn sometimes to eat them; they throw away all fat and never use salt. Their dish is a calabash, round which men, women, children, cats, and dogs, sit all in common, though the two last gentry sometimes receive a knock from their next neighbours, if they happen to be too quick in clearing the dish. Food. Eating.

In visits the guest is served with bread, fish, drink, and whatever the family has at hand; a bed is put up for him to rest upon, and every body bids him welcome. If he be a person of any consequence, the women paint him, and anoint his head with palm-oil. Visits.

When a Savage is taken ill, all his friends and relations avoid him, pretending that the smell of the sick body is very nauseous and intolerable. Sickness.

If he dies, the women wash and paint the body, as if for a solemn meeting, then wrapping it in a cotton bed which has never been used, it is interred in the same hut in which the good man died. If the father of a family gives up the ghost, the women and children cut their hair short, and wear it in that fashion for a whole year. They also fast for a lunar month upon bread and water; not that they think the soul of the deceased is thereby profited, but lest the sight of his ghost should affrighten or intimidate them, and so cause them to be delivered into the hands of their enemies. If he was possessed of slaves, they are killed to attend him in the next world, by his nearest relation, unless they secure their lives by flight, in which they are never punished. Death.

It is customary for them to lament heavily over their dead, and to shed plenty of tears at the grave. If any one of the relations has been absent at the time of interment, Mourning.

ment, he repairs as soon as possible to the tomb, and there cries as heartily as the others had done before him, and perhaps without the least feeling. They are sometimes a quarter of an hour yelling and playing of tricks, before they can squeeze out a tear; but when once the rain begins to drop, it pours like a torrent.

### CHAP. VIII. *Of the Negro Slaves of the Antilles.*

**Introduction** It is not our intention, in this place, to consider whether one species of mankind has a right to enslave another; all that we propose is to give a short account of the Negroes, who are the principal riches of the planters of these islands, in which we shall briefly view their origin, classes, and manners. It is impossible for a humane heart to reflect upon the servitude of these dregs of mankind, without in some measure feeling for their miseries, which end but with their lives, as if their sable complexion were the black characteristic of their misfortunes.

**Their misery.** Nothing can be more wretched than the condition of this people; one would imagine they were formed to be the disgrace of the human species. Banished from their country, and deprived of that blessing, liberty, on which all other nations set the greatest value, they are, in a manner, reduced to the condition of beasts of burthen. In general, a few roots, potatoes especially, are all their food; and two rags, which neither screen them from the heat of the day, nor the extraordinary coolness of the night, all their covering. They are indeed permitted to bring up pigs, which is easily done, as they feed on potatoe-skins, tops of sugar-canes, the scrapings of the kitchen, and almost any thing. And, besides, calves and cows are so cheap here, that some rich planters, who have 120 or 130 slaves, allow them two carcasses a week, which is no great expence, considering they buy them from the *Spaniards* for four or five crowns apiece, and afterwards can sell the calvekins for a crown the couple, and the skin of a cow for a crown. This is an advantage which *St Domingo* has beyond any of the windward islands, where they chiefly feed on salt meat brought from *Europe*, which is very dear, and often scarce. The huts of the Negroes are like kennels made for bears; their beds and hurdles, sifter one would imagine to bruise their bodies than procure them rest; their furniture a few calabashes, and some little wooden or earthen platters. Their labours are almost continual, their sleep very short; they receive no wages, but have twenty lashes for the smallest fault. Such is the condition to which one part of mankind has found the means of reducing another; but their services are absolutely necessary to those who treat them in that manner.

**Food.** In the midst of all these hardships they enjoy an almost uninterrupted state of good health, while their masters, glutted with the conveniences and pleasures of life, are subject to an infinite number of disorders. Though every day exposed bareheaded to the sun, which, one would imagine, must make their brains boil in their skulls, they never complain of any thing but cold. Thus they enjoy the greatest of all blessings, that of health, at the same time that they seem insensible to the loss of all the rest. Some therefore pretend that there can be no charity in drawing them from so painful and abject a condition. They would, say these humane gentlemen, but make an ill use of that blessing. But it must be considered, that those who use this language find it their interest that things should be as they represent them, and are at the same time both parties and judges.

**Lodging, &c.** After all, it must be owned, that if there be no service so flattering to human pride as that of these slaves, neither is there any liable to be attended with such disagreeable consequences. Hence, there is not in all our colonies a single person, who does not think it a great misfortune not to have any other servants. And this is no way surprising, were there nothing to make them think so, but that sentiment, so natural to man, and in which we partake of the nature of God himself, which makes us consider as nothing any thing that others do for us only out of fear, without any mixture of love. But this is a necessary evil, at least no adequate remedy for it has been as yet invented. Unhappy are those in the colonies who have a great number of slaves; this great number is to them a perpetual source of uneasiness, and a constant occasion to exercise their patience. Unhappy those who have no slaves at all, they can do nothing without them. Unhappy, lastly, are those who have but a few;

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**Unhappy condition of their masters** they

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they must put up with any thing for fear of losing them, and with them all they are worth.

Negroes are marked above and below the stomach, on the right and left sides, and on each arm, with a cypher, by means of a silver instrument heated; and this operation being repeated as often as a slave changes his master, some of them are as much marked as an *Egyptian* obelisk; by such means however the property of them is absolutely fixed. There are in *St Domingo* always six or seven hundred *French* fugitive slaves in the fastnesses of the mountains, who despite all power, and, being assisted with arms, &c. by the *Spaniards*, grow every day more and more bold; nor can any volunteers be induced to march against them.

Negroes how marked.

Fugitive Negroes.

The Negroes are brought from *Africa*, particularly from different parts of the coasts of *Guinea*, *Angola*, *Senegal*, and *Cape Verd*, where they are sold by the king, or chief ruler of the provinces, for bars of iron, grinding-stones, small pieces of silver, glass beads, various sorts of trilling toys, linnen, woollen, and brandy.

Whence brought.

We may divide them into three classes, 1<sup>st</sup>, prisoners of war; 2<sup>d</sup>, criminals, whom the magistrates rather chuse to make money of, than to execute; and 3<sup>d</sup>, such as having cheated their neighbours, or been guilty of theft, are disposed of, and the money arising from the sale applied to indemnify those whom they have wronged.

Their classes.

These unhappy creatures own, without ceremony, that an interior sentiment tells them they are an accursed generation. The most sensible among them, for example, have learned by a tradition, perpetuated in their country, that this misfortune is the consequence of the sin of their *Papa Tam*, who mocked his father; and may it not be reconciled to *Nab*? The *Senegalese* are better made than the other Negroes, more easy to discipline, and fitter for domestic services. The *Bambaras* are the largest bodied, but addicted to theft; the *Aradas* those who best understand husbandry, but the most high-spirited. The *Congos* the smallest bodied, and the most expert fishermen, but prone to desert. The *Nages*, the most humane; the *Mondongos*, the most cruel; the *Mines*, the most resolute, the most whimsical, and the most liable to despair. And, lastly, the *Creeolian* Negroes, to whatever stock they belong, inherit nothing from their parents, but their spirit of slavery, and their colour. They have more sense, penetration, and dexterity, but are, on the other hand, greater boasters and bullies, and more dissolute than the *Dandas*, which is the common name of all those that come from the coast of *Africa*.

There have been brought to these islands Negroes carried off from *Monomotapa*, and to the *Antilles*, some that came from the island of *Madagascar*; but neither have been of any service to their masters. The latter are almost ungovernable, and the former immediately perish different ways. As to understanding, all the Negroes of *Guinea* enjoy it but in a very limited degree; some of them even appear quite stupid. There are those among them who have not memory enough to learn the Lord's Prayer, or reckon beyond three. Of themselves they have no thought, and know as little of what is past, as of what is to come. They are mere machines, that require to be wound up as often as they are to be set on going. Some people have imagined that their apparent dulness proceeded rather from cunning than want of memory; but in this they were certainly mistaken. To be convinced of it, we need only reflect a moment on their little foresight in cases that personally concern them.

Characters of different nations of Negroes.

It is however very difficult to reconcile this character with that which all in general give them, of being very sharp and dexterous in any business which they have very greatly at heart, and that to such a degree as often to make fools of their masters. It is added, that they season their railleries with some wit, and are wonderfully prompt and acute in marking any thing they see ridiculous in others; that they are well versed in the art of dissimulation, and that the most stupid Negro is to his master an impenetrable mystery in the most common affairs, while he sees through his master with the greatest facility. One thing is certain, and that is, they look upon their secret as their greatest treasure, and would die sooner than part with it. Nothing can be more diverting than the countenance of a Negro, when any one attempts to find out a thing he desires to conceal. He puts on so natural an air of surprise, that a man must have had a good deal of experience of them, not to believe him sincere. He breaks out into fits of laughter, sufficient to disconcert the most confident. They are never at a loss for evasions, and, when taken in the fact, cannot be brought, even by blows,

Their virtues and vices.

blows, to own that which they have once denied. They are in general mild; humane, tractable, and simple, but credulous, and, above all, superstitious to excess. They are incapable of retaining sentiments of hatred or anger, strangers to envy, fraud, and calumny, and, when once they have been made acquainted with the true God, religion is the thing in the world they hold dearest. This sentiment is the fruit of reason, undisturbed by any violent passion. A few examples of the contrary are not sufficient to invalidate a remark founded upon general experience. Besides, what is generally alledged against them proceeds from want of religion in their masters, who by such accusations seek only to justify the little care they take to procure these poor creatures that instruction to which they have an undoubted right.

How they are  
to be treated.

The whip, properly employed, is sufficient to correct most of their failings; but it is a remedy that must be often repeated. Though severity, therefore, or at least, a certain air of severity, should predominate in the conduct of those who govern them, yet mildness and good nature are not to be entirely neglected. The *English* find not their account in correcting them always in their cruel manner; and it is therefore probable that if the *French* had them for neighbours at *St Domingo* instead of the *Spaniards*, they might, easily seduce the greater part of their slaves. They would make good soldiers, were they properly disciplined and conducted. They are brave, but it is often because they are ignorant of the danger, or because their vanity hinders them from seeing it. Were a Negroe to find himself in an engagement, in company with his master, he would undoubtedly stand by him; but then it must be a master that had never corrected him unjustly; he knows very well how to distinguish between just and unjust punishments, and will find out means of revenging the latter. A company of seditious Negroes is to be immediately dispersed with sticks and whips. If they are permitted to keep together for any time, they will defend themselves with obstinacy, for, as soon as they find that death is inevitable, they matter not much what kind of death they meet with, and the smallest success renders them almost invincible. The best way to make faithful servants of them, is, to endeavour to make them good Christians.

Other parti-  
culars concern-  
ing them.

Singing amongst them is a very ambiguous sign of joy or grief. They sing in afflictions to drive away sorrow, and sing when easy in their minds, to express their satisfaction. They have, it is true, merry and mournful airs, but one must have been a long time used to them to distinguish one from the other. They are very unmerciful to the beasts under their care; some have been seen to get into a slough, merely to have the pleasure of whipping their cattle to pieces. In this case they pretend to be in a great passion, they swear and storm, whereas, in reality, they do it to divert themselves. A great many masters feed not their slaves, but give them some relaxation to work for themselves or for others; but though great pains have been taken to find out on what they then subsist, it, as yet, remains a secret. Besides, every one knows that a Negroe will live three days upon what will scarce serve a white for a good meal. The Negroes, however, can eat very heartily, when they meet with an opportunity; but how little soever they eat or sleep, they are equally strong and fit for labour. It must be added, that they are very ready to share the little they have, with those they see in want, though utter strangers to them.

Religion of  
the Negroes.

As to religion, it is proper to observe, that none of them have any of their own. The *Congos*, however, were converted to Christianity two hundred years ago by the *Portuguese*; their kings have ever since been Christians, and many of them have been baptised; but it is seldom that the least tincture of it is to be found in any of them. Some of the *Senegalese*, brought from the neighbourhood of *Morocco*, are *Mahometans*, and circumcised. The *Aradas* are idolaters, and pay divine honours to the snakes of their country. But all of them, as soon as they leave *Africa*, lose their attachment to their former religious belief and worship, or, if they retain any, are yet very easily brought over to Christianity; and the greatest trouble a missionary has with them is to defer their baptism till they are sufficiently instructed, without giving them offence. Few of them have been known to renounce the faith. It is hardly possible to know what idea most of them entertain of God before they receive the light of the gospel; but it is an easy matter to make them believe that there is one; and it has even appeared, on questioning the children, that they had some confused idea of a sovereign being that governed the universe, and of a wicked spirit solely bent on doing mischief. It is added, that the devil torments them cruelly till they are baptised; and

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that this is the reason why they are so earnest to receive that sacrament. As to the law of nature, they have some very imperfect notions of it; nothing, according to them, is a crime, but theft, murder, and adultery. In fine, they are very little capable of comprehending the truth of the Christian religion, and the highest pitch of knowledge to which any of them ever arrive, is to be persuaded that there is a God, a heaven, and a hell.

In an extract of a letter from Father *le Pers*, the reader will find some particulars in regard to the *French* slaves, which, in our opinion, very well deserve a place in this history.

"It is an easier matter to impress them with a sense of moral obligations, and some of them often make apt reflexions on their salvation, and appear to be fully convinced of the truths of the Christian religion. In this respect, baptism produces in them alterations that are altogether surprising. As some of them, however, make profession of witchcraft, before they receive this sacrament, it is sometimes a hard matter to induce them to renounce the practice of it. Those who have more carefully observed them, are persuaded that there is something preternatural in some disorders they are liable to before baptism, and in the remedies they employ to cure them. But sometimes the Negroes think themselves bewitched, when they are only poisoned; for there are among them, as amongst other people, mountebanks, whose art consists entirely of imposture; and it is certain, that their pretended charms, when directed against the *Europeans*, never take effect.

It must be owned, that their marriages are attended with great inconveniencies, against which it seems absolutely necessary that some remedy should be found. The laws of the state forbid a slave to marry without his master's consent; and it is but just that he should obey. Besides, clandestine marriages are forbid, and null when celebrated, but if a master will not permit his slaves to marry but among themselves, what will a young slave do, who cannot find among his fellow slaves a girl to his liking? And what must a clergyman do, if a Negro and a Negress, belonging to different persons, should, after a long criminal correspondence, for want of being able to obtain the consent of their masters, come at last to church together, and declare themselves man and wife in his presence? Many other similar cases, and those too not very speculative, might be proposed, which often perplex a divine, and against which the secular authority has provided but very weak remedies.

The *Dundas* are the lowest and most numerous class of the inhabitants of *St Domingo*, and it may be said, that it is chiefly on their account that we come hither, since without them we would not pretend to call ourselves missionaries. There are generally two or three thousand of them brought to *Cape François* only every year. As soon as I hear that any are arrived in my district, I go to see them, and I begin by guiding their hands so as to cause them to make the sign of the cross, after which I make it myself upon their foreheads, in token of taking possession of them in the name of *Jesus Christ* and his church. After the ordinary words, I add, *And thou accursed Spirit, I forbid thee, in the name of Jesus Christ, to offer ever to violate this sacred sign, which I have imprinted on the forehead of this creature, whom he has redeemed with his blood.* The Negro, who understands nothing of what I say or do, opens a pair of large eyes, and appears quite thunderstruck; but, to quiet him, I address him by an interpreter with these words of our Saviour to *St Peter*, *Thou knowest not at present the meaning of what I do, but thou shalt know it hereafter.* I then exhort their master, in the strongest terms I can think of, not only to accustom these new comers to say every day their prayers in common with the rest of the Negroes, a practice observed in every well regulated plantation, but also to instruct them every day by themselves, and never fail sending them on *Sundays* and holidays to church, where care is taken to instruct them in a manner suited to their capacity. It must be owned, that there is some zeal to be found among our planters for the discharge of these duties, in which they differ widely from the *English*, who very often neglect to procure the blessing of baptism to those who are born among themselves, and still oftener to those who are brought to them from *Africa*. The slaves, on their part, express a real earnestness to receive that sacrament; but even adults, both men and women, among them, are seldom fit for it in less than two years; and to admit them to it, even then, the missionary must often be of the same opinion with those who hold, that the knowledge of the mystery of the Trinity is not essentially necessary to salvation. I am convinced, that let a

Negro answer never so pertinently to the questions propounded to him in relation to this mystery, which, after all, they seldom do, he knows no more of what he says than a parrot, who could repeat the same words. And, in this respect, the knowledge and penetration of the ablest divine will carry him but a little way. However, a missionary ought to consider more than once with himself, and weigh the case, rather than suffer any man or woman whomsoever to die without baptism. And if any scruple arises in his breast, these words of the prophet, *Homines et jumenta salvabis Domine*, "Thou wilt save, O Lord, both man and beast," *Pf.* xxxvii. 6. immediately occur to quiet his conscience.

As soon as a slave is baptized, we do all that lies in our power to make him preserve his newly acquired innocence; and the surest way is to provide him with a wife. But, on this occasion, both their own zeal and that of their masters often fail them, since the inhabitants generally think it against their interest to permit their slaves to marry, because the laws of the church, as well as those of the state, forbid them to sell the husband without the wife, and the children under a certain age. The Negroes, on their part, are never in any great haste to marry, because they look upon this second engagement as a kind of slavery still worse than that in which they were born. This aversion, which all our arguments find very difficult to overcome, proceeds from that natural right which these *Africans* imagine they have, to keep as many wives as they please, and to repudiate them whenever they think fit. And it is seldom we can bring them to reason, but through the hopes of heaven and the fear of hell, which it is requisite to be constantly inculcating into their minds; and, after all, not a little management is often required on the occasion. This management consists in not baptizing them, till they are willing to marry at the same time. The longing desire they have to be baptized gets the better of all their aversion to marriage. But it is expedient to be constantly preaching up to them the obligations they have contracted in receiving those two sacraments; and we generally have the pleasure to see them comply with these obligations in a manner that ought to make Christians blush.

We assemble them commonly on *Sundays* and holydays, as they come from mass, and after the exhortation we first make to them, and in which we insist most upon such points as influence their practice, we baptize the infants, and decide such little differences as arise among the adults. This is soon done, as they are generally very ready to abide by our directions. We likewise visit them sometimes in their huts, and oblige their masters to send them to us to confession at *Easter*. But the hearing their confessions is no easy task, as there are at least two thousand adult Negroes in every parish. As to the baptizing of the adults, every missionary takes his own time for it. For my part, I have always set aside the four principal festivals in the year for that purpose."

The merchants and ship-masters who use this trade, have been often wicked enough to carry off persons whom they have invited on board to recreate themselves, and who, in the midst of their innocent carousal, have found themselves loaded with chains, and devoted to slavery; nay, it has been often known, that this atrocious injustice has been extended to the persons even of kings.

*Tertre* tells us of a slave attending him in *Guadaloupe*, whom he supposes to have been a queen in her own country: there was something extremely majestic in her deportment; she had a soul infinitely superior to her fate; and she lost nothing of her dignity in disgrace. The rest of the Negroes, both men and women, wherever they met her, treated her with the highest marks of respect and veneration. However, in this place it should be observed, that when the king, or ruler, of one district upon the coast of *Guinea* conquers the people of another, he drives them all to market, and sells promiscuously the royal family of the vanquished, without distinguishing them from the meanest of their subjects, vending whole families of men, women, and children together.

According to the general laws, or rather customs, for they do not deserve the name of laws, established amongst these people, this proceeding is not unjust; for the next day may perhaps reduce the conqueror to the same abject state.

The Negroes of *Angola* are preferable to those of *Cape Verd*, being rather stronger, and more intelligent; but they have this disadvantage attending them, that when heated with working, they stink like he goats, and even leave the infection behind them

Villainy of the people who use this trade.

Story from *Tertre*.

Enslaving customary among the *Africans*.

Difference of *Angola* and *Cape Verd* Negroes.

them in the way they are treated; or they are better treated; or they are treated worse; or they are treated as they are treated.

As the case is treated in the world; is countenanced; is the other way; is his own interest; setting him

Negroes, afford great pleasure; they are their own country; brandy falling being the contrary, do it in fact; his ill treatment; parent, wife, and most as we believe; pens that the first day

The few convenient labour. The or four days black. Frightened with their fight. When every quiet heat of the young for their own slave, that nothing of jargon, if lodging.

They cast of many others their cause on the masters, their own

*Labat* religion, he expostulated well, but remonstrated

The *St Cbrill*

them in the air. The natives of *Cape Verd* are not so disagreeable, with less strength, they are better made; the turn of their features is more delicate, and their skin black-er; they are besides more tractable and less vigorous.

As theameleon catches its tints from that colour which prevails most within its view, so does the Negroe slave form his disposition upon that of his master; when he is treated with mildness, and well fed, he esteems himself the happiest fellow in the world; is ready to do every thing, and the satisfaction of his heart enlightens in his countenance. On the one hand, if he is used with severity, which is too often the case, he shews his feelings in a sluggish pace, and a lowering melancholy aspect. On the other hand, if his transgressions were overlooked, he would imagine it owing to his own importance; and becoming more insolent, would form dangerous schemes for setting himself at liberty.

Negroes have a natural disposition to satire, and the slightest mistakes of their mas-ter, affords them matter enough for ridicule and diversion among themselves. They are great thieves, and must be closely watched, for even trifles will make them dishonest, nor does this disposition solely arise from the streights, and inconveniencies to which they are reduced by slavery, for by all accounts they indulge it profusely in their own country. They are sober only when they cannot help themselves, and if wine or brandy fall in their way, they drink of it to excess. We have many instances of their being the most faithful creatures in the world to the masters who use them well; on the contrary, they never forget ill usage, but revenge it, if any occasion offers for them to do it in safety. They shew strong affection to each other, their ties of friendship are strict and exemplary; in sickness each is ready to assist the other, and sympathize in his ill treatment. The chastisement of a child, one would imagine, inflicted upon the parent, who often begs to suffer in his stead. Many of them have a genius for trade, and most of the plantations can now boast of numbers of good Negroe mechanics. But, as we before observed, the majority of them being dull and stupid, it sometimes happens that at the end of three or four years apprenticeship, they are little wiser than at the first day.

The female Negroes are naturally prolific; they are brought to bed with so little inconvenience, that three or four hours afterwards they shall be found at their usual labour. Their children are either white, or vermillion coloured at their birth; in three or four days they become yellow; then deepen to copper, and grow at length quite black. For six months the children are fed with breast milk then weaned, and nourished with potatoes or yams boiled. The mothers never put their children out of their sight, but carry them upon their backs though going about the hardest work. When eight or nine months old, and grown too heavy to be lugged about, they will sleep very quietly if laid on the bare ground, without feeling any inconvenience from the heat of the sun. At three or four years old they are left at home under the care of a young female; and when the parents return they decline eating, untill they have gathered all their young ones about them; for they would give to them the bread out of their own mouths; and you cannot secure more strongly the affection of a female slave, than by being tender of her infant. The children born upon the islands know nothing of the language of their forefathers, they naturally talk *French*, and a certain jargon, spoken only among the slaves. Of the wretchedness of their cloathing, food, and lodging, with their hard and toilsome labour, we have already spoken.

They are fond of eating dirt, which gives them dropcies, and a heavy melancholy cast of mind. Those who work in the mines have more of this disposition than any others; to which the gloominess of their condition, the stagnation of air, and other causes contribute. Growing desperate, they hang themselves and cut their throats on the most trifling disappointments; nay they often do it purely to give pain to their masters, being persuaded that by dying they are only put in a way of going again to their own country; and it is impossible to beat them out of this ridiculous imagination.

*Labat* tells us that, though he had instructed one of his slaves in the Christian religion, he could not convince him of the falshood of this notion; and that when he expostulated with him upon it, the young man cried, and said, *Master I love you very well, but I must return to my father.* He continued to feed upon dirt in spite of all remonstrance, and at length dyed of a dropcy.

The same author has a comical story of one Major *Crisp*, an *English* gentleman at *St Christopher's*, who daily lost his slaves by suicide, and at length hit upon the following

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ing to his  
treatment.

Negroes  
prone to sa-  
tire.

Thieves.

Drunkards.

Grateful and  
revengeful.

Loving and  
sympathize in  
sufferings.

Tender pa-  
rents.

Their genius  
for trade and  
mechanics.

Women fruit-  
ful.

Children bred

Ignorant of  
their mother  
tongue.

Melancholy &  
prone to sa-  
tire.

Sad eff. of  
a strange no-  
tion.



Singular expedient for lopping the coule of suicide among slaves.

lowing expedient to prevent it. He had received private intimation, that all the slaves upon his plantations, being weary of servitude, had determined to set out for home, by hanging themselves, and that on such a day they were to put this fine project in execution, in the bosom of a neighbouring wood. On this he assembled all his white servants, whom he let into the secret of his intention, and loading them with all the materials necessary for carrying on sugar works, set out for the wood. When he arrived here, he found his slaves met together with cords in their hands. He immediately went to them with a noose in his right hand, and a resolute countenance, and told them that he knew they were about to set out for home, and he was resolved to go along with them. "I have, says he, for that purpose, bought a sugar work in your country, where I shall find you employment enough, and as there can be no fear of your running away, you may depend upon it that I will make you work day and night, *Sunday* and holiday without ceasing. And my steward, (continued he) sends me word that he has retaken all your fugitive brethren, who had hanged themselves heretofore, and he makes them work with fetters upon their legs, which they are to continue to do, until he receives my farther orders." As he ended his speech, his white servants appeared in sight with the waggons loaded with every thing necessary for carrying on the making of sugar, and they were thereby confirmed in the truth of what they had heard their master declare. In the mean time he chose out his tree, fixed his knot, and pressed them to begin to hang themselves, that they might have the pleasure of travelling together. This resolution, which they supposed him bent upon, joined to the miseries which they imagined, from his account, that their departed brethren underwent, intimidated them in such a manner, that they threw themselves at his feet, craving forgiveness, and promising never more to think of their own country. He was at first deaf to all intreaties, but his white servants joining with bended knees in the petition, he acquiesced, protesting that the first time any of them hanged himself, the rest should, to a man, be tucked up, and sent to labour in the new sugar-work carried on in *Guinea*, where they should drudge without ease or redemption. They then swore to continue true to their word, by putting some earth upon their tongues, raising their eyes and hands to heaven, and then striking their breasts. They would have you to understand by this ceremony, that they implore God to reduce them to dust as fine as that upon their tongues, should they fail in their promises, or be found in a lye. Major *Crisp* returned home well satisfied with his stratagem, by which he had saved his Negroes, who kept their word, for we find not that he ever after lost one of them by suicide.

Oath of Negroes.

Another expedient for the same purpose.

A *Frenchman* found another way of curing them of this trick, with equal success, when any of his people had hanged or otherwise made away with themselves, he lopped off the head and hands, which he hung up in an iron cage in his court yard. For it is the opinion of the Negroes, as soon as any of their brethren is buried, their spirit comes in the night, and carries away the body to their own country. "Let them hang themselves (said the *Frenchman*) as fast as they will. Since they are determined to go to their own country, I will take care they shall be miserable there; for as they have neither heads nor hands, they must be unable to see, hear, eat, or speak. The Negroes at first made a joke of his declaration, imagining their spirit would be strong enough to take away his members in the night, but finding themselves deceived in their expectations, they were induced to believe their master the more powerful of the two; and no more of them were known to hang themselves for fear they should wander about in their own country without heads or hands.

Their disputes of Negroes.

These people when they have any disputes among one another, plead their respective causes with a vehemence, that some people would call eloquence, and no one presumes to answer or interrupt, till he who has spoken first has finished all he intended to say. Their disputes indeed are generally about trifles, and their foundation rather in malice than reality.

Passions and entertainments.

Love of women is their prevalent passion, and dancing their favourite diversion, particularly the *Calenda*, a sport brought from the coast of *Guinea* and attended with gestures which are not entirely consistent with modesty; whence it is forbidden by the public laws of the islands. Their musical instruments are a sort of drum, being a piece of hollow wood covered with sheepskin, and a kind of guitar, made of a calabash.

Musick.

Differ from Europeans in taste.

They are happy in esteeming many things to be dainties which the *Europeans* cannot abide. For example, they feed on different kind of serpents, which they have the

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enough to employ the whole colony, which indeed is not considerable. But a great part of it is low and under water, the earth shallow, and necessary to be renewed e-

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the faculty of smelling, as hounds have of game; and dog's flesh they prefer to all others. One would imagine that these sagacious brutes were sensible of this taste, for they bark at them furiously wherever they meet them.

*Labat* tells us, that as he was one day about to chastise some black children for certain lascivious gestures, he was stopped by an old Negro, who represented to him, that it was unjust to chastise them for endeavouring to learn that which they must put in practice when grown up. "Is there any thing, said he, to be learned without application? and unless these children know something of the matter before-hand, how do you think they will be able to get young ones when they are married?" The priest endeavoured to no purpose to foil the poor Negro in his argument; but he was not to be convinced.

The generality of these poor people are strongly addicted to magic, in which their superstition leads them greatly to confide; and they have a faith in these sort of practices, which it is hardly possible to remove.

To conclude the character of these people, we should observe, that they at first despise their masters, until they find them in every thing their superiors; then, against their will, they acknowledge their excellence, and are tractable, because they see it is to no purpose to be otherwise. Though to us their condition may appear miserable, it is not so in reality, since all happiness subsists only by comparison. Their food, their clothing, and their cottages, are little better in their native land, than what they find upon the islands. Fated as they are, perhaps, at home, by fortune of war, or the tyranny of their rulers, to continued slavery, in changing climates they only change their masters. And is it not then reasonable to suppose, that those who are enlightened by the sacred text must be better masters, as being endowed with more humanity and benevolence than the unlettered Savage, who bears despotic sway over a herd of rough brutes, that have scarcely any thing but their walking upon two legs, to give them a title to the name of man, and in whom, if reason shines at all, it is with a faint and glimmering ray.

## Description of the Island of CAYENNE.

### CHAP. I. Of the Isle of Cayenne in general.

**T**HIS Colony is situated on the Eastern coast of America, in the province of *Guiana*, between  $3^{\circ} 30'$  and  $5^{\circ} 50'$  North Latitude, and between  $34^{\circ}$  and  $36^{\circ} 30'$  West Longitude from the island of *Ferro*. The river *Cayenne*, which separates the *Caribee* savages from the *Galibis*, gives its name to the island, which stands at its mouth, and has the sea on the North, the main land of *America* on the South, the said river *Cayenne* on the East, and the rivers *Oyac* and *Makuri* on the South West. The channel, formed by the rivers just mentioned, and the sea which separates the isle from the main land, is not above a good quarter of a league in breadth, with some small islets. The most noted points, or capes, are *Remire* and *Maburi* to the East, and *Ceperou* to the West. The key for vessels, which is honoured with the name of port, lies between Cape *Ceperou* on the island, and Cape *Corbino* on the continent, where the *Cayenne* and some other rivers and brooks fall into the sea, and afford a safe harbour for ships, which ride there in above four fathom depth, with good anchorage, defended from the East, South, and West winds by the lands which surround the bay, and only open to the North winds, which are not very violent on that quarter, nor the sea itself, even when agitated, because its billows are broken by a number of islets and great rocks, that lie before the mouth of the rivers, but leave a passage between them wide and deep enough for vessels of three or four hundred tons.

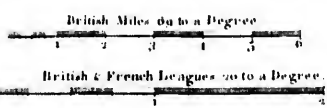
Whether this spot of land were first discovered by the *Portuguese* together with *Brazil*, or by the *French*, whose natural levity and restless temper did not permit them to establish colonies, as was designed, is not certain, nor very material. However, what is of more concern, if the whole island were good there would be ground enough to employ the whole colony, which indeed is not considerable. But a great part of it is low and under water, the earth shallow, and necessary to be renewed e-



THE  
 ISLAND and COLONY  
 of  
**CAYENNE**  
 SUBJECT  
 to the FRENCH, on the CONTINENT of  
**SOUTH AMERICA.**  
 By Thomas Jefferys, Geographer  
 to His Royal Highness the  
 PRINCE OF WALES.

**EXPLANATION.**

- S. Sugar Works.
- C. Office, Plantation.
- R. River.
- Carbet Indian Village.



## A Description of the Island and Colony

very five or six years, more woods must be felled, new spots of ground cleared, and, as the soil is not every where proper to produce what is wanted, the inhabitants have been obliged to occupy some lands on the continent, where, as we are told, they are better, and where at least they may carve for themselves, and take as much ground to the East, West, and South, as they please.

Ancient bounds of the colony.

The bounds of the colony's lands on the continent were formerly much more distant from the isle of *Cayenne*, which may be regarded as the center, than they are at present; for on the East they reached to Cape *Nord*, or rather to the river of *Amazon*, which separates *Brazil* from *Guiana*, the sovereignty of which belongs to the king; on the West they had the river of *Paria*, making with the other an extent of almost 400 leagues of coast. But the *Portuguese* on the East, and the *Dutch* on the West, have greatly reduced these limits.

By what means reduced.

In the year 1635, when the *French* first took possession of the island of *Cayenne*, they had no competitors. But the *Portuguese* having extended their colonies from *Brazil* to the river of the *Amazons*, and finding the islands at the mouth of the great river very good, and convenient for their purpose, made settlements on them. After this they passed the river, and having found its bank on the side of *Guiana* over-run with large forests of wild coco-trees, they seized on the lands, and built forts to secure their possession. It is said they found mines of gold and silver, another and even more pressing motive to persuade themselves that this country was dependent on *Brazil*, which they possessed entire as far as the river *Plata*, since the impatience and instability of the *French* had driven them from *Rio Janeiro*, where they had made a settlement under the command of *M. de Villegaignon*, and from other plantations on that coast.

Encroachments of the Portuguese.

The disorders which happened in this colony from 1635, to 1664, when it was retaken by *Mess. de Traci* and *de la Barre*, having given the *Portuguese* all the time necessary for establishing themselves in the lands which they had occupied to the North of the river of *Amazons*, it was not in the power of the governors of *Cayenne* to make them repair that river. They always gained ground, and at last pushed the *French* so far as Cape *Orange*, in four degrees of North latitude, which cuts them short in territory on that side above 150 leagues of coast, without reckoning damages.

Eastern boundary of the colony at present.

The boundary then at the East is at present Cape *Orange*, a country for the greatest part under water, unhealthy, and of little value as far as the river *Oyapok*; besides this, the property of it is contested for want of rightly marking the name of this river in the last treaty of peace. These pretensions might indeed have been settled by a post erected at the place where the bounds of the two colonies were supposed to meet; but this was now too late, and the governor of *Cayenne* was content to rebuild the old fort that was at the mouth of that river, where he keeps a small garrison, both to preserve the *French* rights, and prevent any adventurers from seizing on the mouth of this river, and there settling and fortifying themselves so as not easily to be dispossessed.

River Oyapok described.

The entrance of the river *Oyapok* is above a league in breadth, and more than four fathom deep at all times. The Savages who live on its banks, and consist of several nations, tell wonders of it. It is no less than four fathoms deep above fifty leagues from the sea, and receives several considerable rivers; its banks are covered with great trees, very thick and strait; a sure mark of the goodness and depth of the soil. Though this country be not much elevated, it is however dry, and has wherewith to accommodate many thousands of inhabitants.

A fertile country.

They reckon between twenty-five and thirty leagues from the mouth of the river *Oyapok* to the isle of *Cayenne*, including in that space several rivers. The country is infinitely finer and better than that to the north of the isle, producing every thing in perfection. The *Indian* nations there settled live very comfortably, and, if they were more laborious, might make an advantageous commerce of the fruits of the earth, Cotton, roucou, and indigo, grow there naturally, and without culture.

Western boundary of the French.

The boundary of the *French* territories on the West is at present the river *Maroni*, which separates them from the country possessed by the *Dutch*, and dependent on their colonies of *Berbiche* and *Surinam*.

Industry of the Dutch.

Every one knows that these countries from the river *Paria* were drowned lands, and impracticable marshes, and so unhealthy as to cause dangerous distempers almost as soon as entered. But the *Dutch*, by unwearied patience and labour, have made of them a fine territory, and, by means of canals and jetties, have drained those marshes,

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marshes, opened commodious communications, recovered immense tracts of rich land from the sea, and established on them manufactures of sugar, cultivated with success cotton, tobacco, roucou, indigo, coco, and coffee; have built very neat towns, and erected good fortresses. What would they not have done, had they remained masters of *Cayenne*, and the fertile land of the *Guyanna*, which have turned to so little profit in the hands of the *French*.

The river *Maroni* discharges itself into the sea by an opening three leagues in breadth, deep enough for large vessels, but so full of islets, banks, and rocks above and under water, as to be navigable only for moderate barks and canoes. The *Indians* who have rowed up this river by favour of the tide, which runs up near one hundred and eighty leagues, report, that they have spent between thirty-five and forty days in falling down the stream, and that they never were at its source. Its mouth is in  $5^{\circ} 50'$  North latitude, and  $36^{\circ} 30'$  longitude.

*River Maroni* defended.

The *English*, who had a mind to keep possession of this river, some time after they had taken the isle of *Cayenne* from the *French*, on *Sept.* 22, 1664, and had also made themselves masters of *Surinam*, belonging to the *Dutch*, built a fort on a point almost surrounded by the river, about three leagues from its mouth. But having been obliged to abandon their conquests, the *French* took possession of the fort, which was seated on their side of the river, and put a small garrison in it, which remained there as long as the fort lasted. It was surrounded only with a palisade, was of short duration, and the *French*, instead of repairing and maintaining it, abandoned the place, and retired to *Cayenne*. The forts which they had erected at the mouths of the rivers *Conanamu*, or *Mananari*, and *Corrou*, had the same fate; so that they maintain no more at present than Fort *St Louis* in *Cayenne*, and one of the two which were at the mouth of the river *Oyapô*.

*Cayenne* and *Surinam* taken by the *English*.

The island of *Cayenne* is well enough provided with shipping, the greater part of which have their station in the river *Maburi*, which separates the island from the continent on the East. The sea enters this river, and makes its water brackish. Another great stream has its source below the town *Aroua*, and falls into the said river to the South-east. The sea enters also this, and spoils its waters for some leagues. But to make amends for these inconveniences, there are several rivulets which fall from the hills of this island, and supply the inhabitants with very good water, besides enabling them to work sugar-mills, which turn to very good account.

*Navigation* and rivers of *Cayenne*.

## CHAP. II. Of the Revolutions in the Colony of Cayenne.

The *French* had long since made several vain and ruinous attempts to exercise commerce, and make settlements in Southern *America*. In 1530 two small ships of theirs trading with the *Indians* at the *Rio de la Plata*, were taken, sunk, and the whole crews massacred without mercy by the *Portuguese*. In 1555, *M. de Coligni*, Admiral of *France*, a Calvinist, sent a considerable armament to *Brassil*, under the conduct of *Villegaignon*, of the same profession, who carried some ministers with him, desirous to enjoy there the free exercise of their religion, which was intended to be abolished in *France*. He made a settlement on the river *Ganabara*, now *Rio Janeiro*, under the tropic of *Capricorn*,  $23^{\circ} 30'$  of Southern latitude. This colony was soon destroyed by the divisions among them, occasioned by the difference of religion; and at last their fort was surpris'd by the *Portuguese*, who put to death all they found there, as well as those Catholics who had gone over to them, hoping to find favour from the uniformity of religion. This ill success did not discourage the *French*, but put them upon new projects; they formed companies and armaments in 1594, 1604, and 1612; they went and settled themselves at *Maragnon*, and other places to the South and North of the river of *Amazons*, and had every where the same success; the *Portuguese* on one hand, and their own fickleness and impatience on the other, defeated all their enterprises. Those who had contributed money lost it, and those who ventured their bodies left them on the spot; the treachery of the *Portuguese*, hunger, and miseries brought them all to their last end.

Ill fate of *French* colonies.

Ten years then passed without thinking on new establishments, when chance directed them to make a settlement on *St Christopher's*, in concert with the *English*; and this occasioned them to turn their thoughts once more upon *Brasil*. But since the *Portuguese* had settlements and fortifications along that coast, from the *Rio de la Plata* to

that



*French soldiers attempt to settle on Cayenne, and are defeated.*

that of the *Amazons*, so as not to be dispossessed, the island of *Cayenne*, with the neighbouring country, were judged most proper for establishing a colony on them. Now here, instead of gaining the affection of the *Indians*, as had been hitherto practised, that they might have nothing to fear from that quarter, they were so imprudent as to take part in their quarrels. They joined the *Galibis* against the *Caribbees*, and these latter having obtained a considerable advantage over the others, the *French* found themselves involved in the disgrace of their friends. Many were taken, roasted and eaten; their new habitations destroyed, and those who escaped had the good luck to find faithful friendship with the *Galibis*, who received them with great civility, and regarded them as one people with themselves.

The establishments of *St Christopher's*, *Martinico*, *Guadaloupe*, and other isles of the *Antilles*, had so engrossed the care of the *French*, as to banish all thoughts of their poor countrymen, whom they had left in the hands of the *Indians* of *Cayenne*. At length, some who had belonged to that unfortunate company of 1635 recalled them to mind, grew ashamed of their indolence, and could not see without envy the prosperity of the Leeward colonies. They obtained therefore a new confirmation of the privileges which had been granted them for establishing colonies in *Cayenne* and *Guiana*. A company was formed at *Rozen*, in 1645, who chose for their president the *Sieur Ponce de Bretigny*, an empty, passionate, and cruel man, fitter to be confined in a mad-house, than put at the head of a colony. This furious fool first declared war against the *Savages*, and not satisfied with the blood of those poor *Indians*, which he inhumanly spilled whenever any of them fell into his hands, he grew bitterly exasperated against his own company, and there was no kind of cruelty which he did not exercise upon them. The wheel and gibbet were continually loaded with the bodies of those wretches. He inflicted tortures so uncommon, that he himself had no names for the instruments, but called one *purgatory*, and the other *bell*. Thirsting after the blood of those whom he had under his command, he seemed only employed in finding pretences for tormenting them. He had a mind to know their dreams: One of them told him he had dreamed that he saw him dead. He wanted no more to order the poor man to be broke alive and exposed upon the wheel, where he was left to expire, saying, he would not have had that dream, if he had not conceived a design to kill him. At last the *French* in despair resolved to abandon the island; some saved themselves on the continent, where, to preserve their lives, they went in search of the *Savages*, man-eaters as they were. The *Indians* had compassion on them, received them kindly, fed them, and did what they could to sweeten their hardships.

When the *Sieur de Bretigny* was informed of it, he sent to reclaim them; and the *Indians* being obstinate, and refusing to deliver them, he caused a thallop to be fitted out, and went in search of them himself. Here we have occasion to remark, that true bravery is never found in a cruel man. He had not made half a league in the river *Cayenne*, when he saw himself attacked by flights of arrows from the *Indians*. Instead of landing, he gave orders to fire upon them out of his thallop; but the death of some of them did not dishearten the rest, who seeing that he durst not come and attack them on land, plied him so warmly with showers of arrows and stones, that he unmoored in order to take his flight. But the *Indians* still pressing him more and more, he covered himself with a red cloak which he had brought with him, and in that condition was killed, with all his followers, who well deserved that fate, because they had been the ministers of his cruelties. The *Indians* took the thallop with all the dead bodies, and broiled and eat them. And tho' it was easy for them, after the death of the chief, to make a descent upon the island, and to massacre the rest of the inhabitants, they had the humanity not to confound the innocent with the guilty, but were satisfied with having exterminated that tyrant, and the assistants of his barbarities, and sent the *French* who were among them, to tell those who were in the island, that they would do them no harm, provided they lived in peace with them. The poor remainder of that colony accepted the proposal with joy. This peace saved the lives of those who were found there nine or or ten years after, when a new company was formed for settling in that country, which had no better fortune than that of the *Sieur de Bretigny*. The account in short is this.

A gentleman of *Normandy*, named the *Sieur de Royville*, having learned from some *Frenchmen* who had returned from *Cayenne*, after the death of the *Sieur de Bretigny*, the

*Cruelty of the Sieur de Bretigny.*

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the considerable advantage that might be reaped from a settlement in that country, resolved to put himself at the head of the affair, and to form a new company, which might learn instruction from the faults of their predecessors, and from those who remained. He communicated his design to some friends, who entered into his views, and engaged to find others who would furnish the sums necessary for such an undertaking. Pursuant to this, five persons were induced to deposit eight thousand crowns, for the first advance. They were soon joined by others, who raised a considerable sum, and obtained of the king the letters patent necessary for the establishment, with a revocation, at the same time, of those that had been granted to the company of *Rouen* which had been headed by the *Sieur de Bretigny*, because it was supposed to have been deficient in several articles specified in the letters of its establishment.

A new company of planters formed.

The company of *Rouen*, notwithstanding its ill success, had not abandoned their project, and little colony, though they supported it but feebly. Since the death of *Bretigny* they had not ceased to send, from time to time, supplies of merchandise; and, tho' they received but little profit, had dispatched a reinforcement of sixty persons with provisions and merchandise, while the new company was making the necessary dispositions for a voyage and establishment. These succours had arrived three months before the ships of the new company set sail, and the directors of *Rouen* had assured those upon the island that they should soon receive so powerful an assistance as to have nothing to fear from the new company.

Weakly supported by the old company.

Between seven and eight hundred persons of all ages, sexes, and conditions, were engaged in forming this colony. They were divided into companies, a great number of officers was appointed, and every thing was put in good order. Several associates were resolved to go and assist in person at the establishment. Never was a scheme better laid, or worse executed. Faults were committed without number: The most considerable, were the embarking so many people without taking care for their subsistence after their arrival in the country; and laying in so slender a stock of provisions, as to be forced to retrench the allowance before the end of the voyage.

Ill measures taken.

This great colony set out from *Paris*, *May* 18, 1652, in boats down the river *Seyre*, for *Rouen*, where they were to take small vessels to carry them to *Haure*, the place designed for their embarkation. The first misfortune that befel them, was the death of the *Abbe d'Isle Marivaux*. He was in a manner the soul of the colony by his profound knowledge in theology and canonical matters, had been nominated chief director of the company of *Cayenne*, and every thing was expected from his zeal and capacity. He was drowned at the port of *Confrence*. His death, however, did not retard the voyage, and the company safely arrived at *Haure*. Of the two vessels which the company had bought, one was unfit to put to sea, and more than three weeks were required to fit her out. At length the whole cargo set sail from *Haure*, *July* 2, 1652. The voyage was long and fatiguing; they had tedious calms, during which the spirits of the associates, who were called lords of the colony, were kindled into wrath and resentment, and highly exasperated against the *Sieur Royville*, who had been nominated general of the colony for three years. They pretended to have discovered a design formed by that general to cut all their throats, and to make himself master of the colony, and the ferment grew so high that they stabbed their general on *September* 18, and threw him into the sea.

General of the colony assassinated.

His death, however, did not cause any considerable disorder in measures, and the lords of the colony justified their action before their subjects as well as they could. Some new regulations were made, good and useful if they had been followed, and at last they arrived at *Cayenne*, *September* 29, after a passage of three months wanting two days.

Arrival at Cayenne.

The *French* belonging to the company of *Rouen*, seeing these two great ships with a white flag, took them for the succours which they had been promised. They hoisted the white flag in the fort, and as they saw that the pilots were not acquainted with the entry into the port, six of the principal men put themselves into a canoe, and came to direct them. This canoe meeting with a thallop belonging to the ships, which were searching the channel of the river by sounding, shewed it to them. Their chief, called *Fandangeur*, who was the first commissary of the fort, went aboard the thallop, where he was detained, and those who were in the canoe were obliged to come on board the admiral. The lords of the colony received them with wonderful civility, and promised them double the profits which they had enjoyed in their company. The commander of the fort was then summoned to come on board the admiral, and sur-

Fort surren-  
dered.

render his fortrefs into the hands of the lords of the company. He obeyed, and they took possession of it *September 30, 1652.*

Cabals, plot,  
and execution

Thus we see a new company established at *Cayenne*, with a dozen lords of the colony at its head; too many indeed to manage it as the business required. And therefore they began to cabal, form parties, and to project an assassination of some persons. The conspiracy was detected, and four of them arrested, one of whom had his head cut off the 21st of *December* following; the other three were deprived of the honours of their rank, and banished into a desert island till an opportunity offered for their passage to the *Antilles*.

Quarrels with  
the *Indians*.

This execution lessened the number of the lords of the company, besides which death had before carried off two more of them; but this did not restore peace among those who remained. Things were managed worse than ever; the government, contrary to all sense and reason, quarrelled with the *Indians*, plundered them, and took some of them captive. The *Indians* took up arms, plundered and burnt some quarters, and massacred some of these lords, and a number of inhabitants, and famine and diseases carried off many more. The rest were constrained to retire into the fort, which the governor had abandoned, after he had carried off a bark of the company, plundered his own soldiers, and retired for shelter to *Surinam* among the *English*, who were then masters of that place.

Colony aban-  
dons *Cayenne*.

The *Indians* pillaged the rest of the *French* quarters, and blocked up those in the fort so closely, as to oblige them at last to abandon the fort, cannon, arms, merchandise, and, in short, every thing that could not be embarked in a rotten bark which was left them, and in two or three canoes provided for them by the *Indians*, with a quantity of provisions, in order to retire among the *English*, and from thence to *Barbadoes*.

Dutch cause  
of its ruin.

Such was the dissipation of that colony, which had cost such sums, and had remained in the isle no longer than the end of *December, 1653*, and its downfall drew with it what was left of that of *Reuen*. It was always believed, and with good reason, that the *Dutch* settled at *Barbiche* had been the cause of the perpetual wars and treacheries of the *Indians* against that growing colony. Those republicans could not behold, but with extreme jealousy, that fine land in the hands of the *French*, while they themselves were obliged to toil and sweat in draining infectious marshes, which none but *Dutchmen* durst undertake to render of any value.

Dutch regain  
*Surinam*.

The *English* having driven the *Dutch* from the river *Surinam*, had there settled, and seized on the fort which the *French* had erected at the river's mouth during the tyrannic government of the *Sieur de Bretigny*. They had found it abandoned, and in no good condition, but had repaired and greatly enlarged it, and would have firmly established themselves in that post, and along that river, if the *Dutch* had not found means to regain them by a treaty, in which they gave up their plantations in the neighbourhood of *New England*. Thus did the *Dutch* repossess themselves of *Surinam* and the other places seized by the *English*, of which those by the river *Maroni* made a part, and the colony, thus established, is at present one of the most considerable in *America*.

Got possession  
of *Cayenne*.

It is not justly known when the *Dutch* became masters of *Cayenne*, nor whether they took it by force from the Savages, or by virtue of a treaty with those people. But by what means soever they got into possession, they demanded a commission from the states of *Holland*, who granted it to *Guerin Spranger* and his associates. He was a man of parts, and by his wisdom and great conduct soon put the isle in good condition. He got rid, either by force or accommodation, of the *Indians* who had habitations in *Cayenne*, and obliged them to retire to the continent; he augmented the fortifications, cleared large spots of ground, erected sugarworks, cultivated, with success, cotton, rocou, indigo, and other commodities, with which he drove an advantageous traffic with his countrymen, and others who came there to trade.

Scheme of a  
new *French*  
colony.

*Spranger* lived in peace on the island, when *M. de Fevre le la Barre*, master of requests, who had been intendant of the *Bourbonnais*, took a resolution of forming a new company, and establishing a colony, which, he hoped, would be more prosperous than those of which we have given account. He was much prompted, among others who belonged to the preceding colonies, by the *Sieur Bouchardeau*, who from his voyage to the main land of *America*, the isle of *Cayenne*, and the *Antilles*, was regarded as a person best acquainted with the state and affairs of those vast regions. These two gen-

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lemen drew up a scheme of a colony, and presented it to M. Colbert, secretary and minister of state, admired by all the world for his vast genius, and continual application to the establishment of commerce, navigation, and colonies.

This minister was pleased with the project, and easily obtained the royal approbation. He told the gentlemen that they must form a company, and that his majesty would support it with his authority, protection, and assistance of men, money, and ships.

M. de la Barre communicated his design to some friends, and in a short time got twenty, who agreed to deposit each 10,000 livres as a fund for a company, to which they gave the name of the *French Equinoctial company*, and so it is called in the letters patent of its establishment dated *October 1663*, in which the bounds of the grant are the river of *Amazons*, and the river of *Oronoque*. We omit the letters patent under the name of the *Equinoctial company*, because it kept that title no longer than *July 1665*, when the king, having broke the company of 1628, and others which had been formed for *New France*, or *Canada*, and obliged the particular lords or proprietors of the *Antilles* to report their contracts of acquisition, in order to be reimbursed, incorporated all preceding companies into one sole company, under the magnificent name of the *West India company*.

The company presented to the king the *Sieur de la Barre* to be governor of the *isle of Cayenne*, and chief manager of affairs in that country. To this his majesty agreed, and honoured him with the commission of lieutenant general in the lands of *South America*, from the river of *Amazons* to that of *Oronoque*, with order to M. de Tracy, privy councillor, and his lieutenant general by land as well as at sea, in *South* and *North America*, to put the new company in possession of the said countries, and to drive out by force of arms all those who might have established themselves in those quarters. Moreover, he gave orders for the equipment of two of his ships of war to escort those of the company.

The fleet, consisting of three large pinks, a fly-boat, and a frigate, belonging to the company, which had on board twelve hundred men, whom they had enlisted, and two men of war, with detachments from four regiments, and a number of officers and volunteers, set sail from *Rebelle*, *Feb. 26, 1664*, and after touching at *Madeira*, at *St Jago*, chief of the islands of *Cape Verd*, where they furnished themselves with several necessaries for the voyage, and the use of the colony, arrived in the road of *Cayenne*, *May 11*.

M. de la Barre immediately sent an officer to the fort of *Ceperon*, to invite the governor on board the king's ship, where he would let him know his majesty's intentions. M. Spranger well knew that it was a summons to surrender; and as he was in no condition to defend himself against so powerful a fleet, which might take the place by storm, and deprive him of the advantages of an honourable capitulation, offered to capitulate, and the articles were signed *May 15, 1664*, and the fort and island put into the hands of M. de la Barre, who was appointed governor.

The *Indians* made no resistance, but retired from the sea coast as far as they could within land; and as those barbarians know not what it is to pardon injuries, they imagined that the *French* were returned in such numbers only to punish them for their treachery, and massacre of *Frenchmen*, and were come to extirpate them. A long time passed without seeing one *Indian*, till at last they drew nearer by degrees, and seeing that no harm was done to some of their people, whom chance had thrown into the hands of the *French*, but that, on the contrary, they were sent back well satisfied with their treatment, they deputed some of their chiefs to demand pardon for what was past, and to promise an inviolable alliance and fidelity. M. de la Barre gave them a favourable hearing, and made them buy pretty dear a peace which he wanted to give them. It was agreed, that they should have no more share in the *isle*; that the *French* should be free to settle on the continent wherever they pleased; that if the lands which the *Indians* occupied were convenient for the *French*, they should be obliged to give them up, after taking away what they had put in the ground; that they should make no alliance with the *English*, *Dutch*, or *Portuguese*; that they should assist and defend with all their force the *French* in their hunting, fishing, and discoveries of the country. They were also obliged to send back to the fort the slaves and others belonging to the company, who might run away, or have a mind to retire among them, or among strangers. In performance of this convention they were promised

Approved by the king.

French Equinoctial company formed.

Their first arrangement.

Arrived at Cayenne.

Take possession of the island.

Treaty with the Indians.

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## A Description of the Island and Colony

an oblivion of all that had passed, and promised a free trade with the company and inhabitants. The *Indians* embraced these conditions with infinite joy, which they testified by songs and dances; and the colony, which now consisted of above a thousand persons, was expected to make a great progress.

The king was obliged to declare war against the *English*, in favour of the *Dutch*, Jan. 26, 1666, and hostilities began in the Leeward islands, to the disadvantage of the *English*, who resolved to revenge themselves on *Cayenne*, which had lately received a reinforcement of ammunition and provisions from a squadron of six or seven ships, which afterwards took their course to *Martinico*, where they arrived the beginning of *October*. The *English* squadron, consisting of one pretty large man of war, six frigates, and two transports, came in sight of *Cayenne*, *October* 22. The Chevalier de *Lezy*, whom the *Seur de Barre*, having accepted the office of lieutenant general in the islands and countries granted to the *West India* company, had left governor, was then at *Makari*. He immediately took post for *Remire* for better intelligence, and at all hazards gave an alarm for the inhabitants to take arms. He arrived at *Fort Capreau*, where he found a brigantine laden with ammunition and provisions, sent by his brother, with advice that the *English* were coming to attack him. He no longer then doubted that the vessels he saw were enemies. He redoubled the alarm, and putting himself at the head of two hundred men, marched in all haste from *Remire* to join the *Seur d'Estienne*, his major, who had one hundred men. He put his troops in order, and waited for daylight to see what the enemy would undertake, and to oppose them. Day came, when he plainly perceived that the *English* were making dispositions for a descent. Fifteen shallops full of men had cast anchor at the islet of *Cabrittes*, very near *Cayenne*. After they had made about a league, they returned all on a sudden to *Cayenne*, with no other design than by those different movements to fatigue our troops. The stratagem succeeded: The governor, who took the same rout, found himself followed by few of his people, who were obliged to fetch a large compass because of the trees, and a river difficult to pass; so that when the governor came to the place of descent, he found that the shallops had already landed fifty or sixty men, who had pitched their colours in the sand. The governor went up to them courageously, and fired his pistol within shot. Fifteen or twenty soldiers, who had followed him, also fired; but too far off, and without effect. The enemy fired but ill likewise; for none but the governor and the major were wounded, the first slightly in the shoulder, and the other worse in the thigh. They retreated upon a height, and perceiving that the other shallops were yet at a distance, they were in hopes to defeat the *English* who were landed, before they could be reinforced. The Chevalier cried out to his men to charge them sword in hand; but he perceived that most of them had no swords, and were only armed with pikes. He took therefore the resolution to retire to the fort, and commanded his men to follow him.

The ordinary rule of retreating is for the commander to march in the rear; but *Lezy* put himself at the head; a wise precaution; for he was apprehensive that his troops would disperse. But the *English*, content with his retreat, did not offer to pursue him, but gave him all the leisure he could wish to retire. He sent out to discover the enemy's motions, who reported that the *English* were content with their landing, and made no movement. There needed no more to put him and his colony and garrison in good heart, since it gave them opportunity to transport into the castle all that could be necessary for a long defence. But he took a resolution quite opposite, and gave orders to the inhabitants and soldiers to come and join him five leagues from the island, whither he pretended to retire, and save his retinue among the friendly *Indians*. And so, without any further ceremony, he embarked with his wounded major, and as many as the boat could contain, with a precipitation quite unworthy a man of war, telling those whom he abandoned, that he left them a bark and canoes, by which they might save themselves on the continent among the *Indians*.

This retreat, or rather cowardly flight of the governor, quite sunk the spirits of the inhabitants and soldiers that remained. A serjeant named *Ferant*, a *Swiss* by country, endeavoured to make them take a resolution worthy of their nation. He got together a hundred, and led them to the fort; these elected another serjeant, called *Buchaterie*; but his heart also failing him, he embarked at ten in the evening, with those who chose to follow, and saved himself. The *Swiss* serjeant, seeing himself still at the

head

*Cayenne* attacked by the *English*.

Governor abandons the island.

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head of fifty men, persuaded them to hold out the fort, representing that they were enough to defend it, or at least to obtain an honourable capitulation, since the fort was in a good condition, well provided with ammunition, and capable of making the enemy pay dear for it. But the flight of the governor and the rest had so intimidated them, as to oblige this brave man to send and demand to capitulate. The *English* consented, on condition that the garrison should be prisoners of war; and the next day at four in the afternoon took possession of the fortress with six or seven hundred men, from whom they made detachments which seized on the other ports of the island.

Fort Surreen-  
quered.

The Chevalier *Armand*, who commanded the *English*, knowing that peace was negotiated in *Europe*, and that the treaty might be made, or at least far advanced, was well advised that it was not for the interest of his nation to keep that island, which he foresaw he must be obliged soon to restore. He distributed his troops therefore over the isle, where they found none but women and children, and the soldiers did nothing for fifteen days but plunder and put on board all that they found, loaded their vessels with all the cannon, arms, ammunition, and provisions; demolished the sugar-works, pulled up all the gardens, and, when they were ready to embark, set fire every where, not sparing the churches, which they had plundered of their ornaments, and even of the company's books, which they had not taken care to secure. Thus was this unhappy colony once more destroyed.

English quit  
the isle.

The *English*, after this expedition, made sail for *Surinam*, a settlement of the *Dutch*. The chevalier *de Lezy*, who was retired thither with about 200 men, had given notice to the *Dutch* governor that to all appearance he would be attacked, and offered to share the danger with him. The governor, who was a man of merit, and full of courage, regarded the assistance as if sent from heaven. Some time after this the *English* appeared; their descent was disputed, but their numbers prevailed after they had suffered considerably. They then attacked the fort, which made a vigorous defence. *Lezy* bestirred himself as he should have done at *Cayenne*; he and his men fought like heroes, and wonderfully seconded the bravery of the *Dutch* governor; and the *English* must have been obliged to draw off with shame, had it not been for the treachery of the major, who opened to them a gate of the fortress, by which they entered. The governor then, seeing the cowardice of some of his men, put himself at the head of the *French* and the rest of his faithful soldiers, in order to repulse the enemy. He was taken, and the Chevalier *Armand* praised his bravery, and that of the *French*, and told them that if they had defended *Cayenne* as well as they did, after their leaving it, *Surinam*, their island would not have changed its master.

Take Carri-  
nam.

*Armand* did not think it fit for his purpose to keep this new conquest, but contented himself with plundering and carrying off every thing that could be put aboard his fleet; after which he set sail and went in triumph to *Barbadoes*, where he landed his *French* and *Dutch* prisoners, whom my Lord *Willoughby*, governor of that island, sent to *Guadaloupe*, where *Lezy's* brother, the lieutenant-general, shocked at his cowardice, refused to see him. Friends interceded, and obtained leave for the Chevalier to justify himself. He presented for that purpose a petition to his brother, who referred it to the governor of *Guadaloupe*. That prudent officer, after hearing evidence, which deposed that the subalterns had basely abandoned their posts under the conduct of their governor, he was declared to have done his duty, since he had fought to the effusion of his own blood. *Lezy* was then acquitted, his brother saw him, and finding him in a resolution to go and repair his fault, restored him to his favour and friendship.

Governor of  
Cayenne ac-  
quitted.

Father *Meerolet*, a jesuit, who had done the duty of a parson at *Cayenne*, and was saved with a good number of inhabitants among the *Indians*, gave notice to *de la Barre* of their condition, which encouraged the lieutenant general to rally the remains of the colony, and re-establish it. For this purpose *Lezy* returned thither in *December* of the same year, with about 200 persons, and a good number of Negroes. The company furnished him with the artillery, arms, military stores, and provisions, necessary for re-establishing the fort and the colony. He took possession of the fort; the *French* who had taken refuge among the *Indians* joined him, and he found himself at the head of above 400 men. It was hoped that the peace at *Breda* would be lasting, which encouraged the inhabitants to re-establish their manufactures, and make their lands valuable; and indeed there was reason to hope that, after many misfortunes hap-

Island re-estab-  
lished by the  
French.

## A Description of the Island and Colony

pening one upon the neck of another to this colony, it would at last become as flourishing as those of the Leeward Islands.

Surprised by  
the Dutch.

But the king having been obliged to declare war against the *Dutch* in the beginning of 1672, these put to sea a considerable fleet, which surpris'd *Cayenne*, and once more dislodg'd *Lezy*. Most of the inhabitants, weary of being so often driven away, and spoiled of their goods, made an accommodation with the *Dutch*, by virtue of which they kept possession of their estates. *Lezy* pass'd into *France*, and justify'd his conduct as well as he could to the minister. For the king, seeing the disorder of the affairs of the company which he had established in 1664, united the islands to his own domain in 1674, and govern'd them by military officers and intendants, as he did the other provinces of his dominion. Hence the loss of *Cayenne* redounding wholly to the king, M. *Colbert*, who was charg'd with the department of the marine, no sooner knew that the island was surpris'd by the *Dutch* than he was solicitous to recover it.

French squa-  
don before it

For this end the Count *d'Etrees*, with a squadron of ten men of war, four frigates, and the necessary ships with stores and provisions, sail'd from *Bress* in the beginning of *October* 1676, and arriv'd at *Cayenne* on *December* 17, and cast anchor at the cape of *Armire*, three leagues from the fort. It was known from a *Frenchman*, who had left the fort fifteen days before, that the garrison consist'd of three hundred men, who had greatly augmented the fortifications, had palissad'd them anew, and surround'd them with a wide and deep ditch; had rais'd cavaliers, and plant'd batteries, on which they had plac'd six and twenty cannon, to play in front and flank on the openings of the woods, by which approaches must be made; and in short they had omitted nothing necessary for a long and vigorous resistance.

Make a de-  
scent

The descent was made *Dec.* 18, by eight hundred men, who were afterwards divided into two bodies, each of four hundred. Though the greatest part of the soldiers were new levies, or seamen, they were led by such brave, prudent, and experienced officers, with the Count *d'Etrees* at their head, that they had all the success that could be expected from so bold and well concert'd an enterprize. The 19th was spent in refreshing the troops after the fatigue of so long a voyage, and the pains they had taken in the descent and debarkation of the necessary tools and stores. The admiral prudently judg'd, that if he should make his attack in the day-time, his troops would be too much expos'd to the fire of the cannon and musquetry; he resolv'd therefore to make it by night. He pass'd the woods and desiles from *Remire* to within two hundred paces of the enemy's intrenchment, with difficulty enough, under the guidance of some *French* inhabitants, whom the *Dutch* had left in their houses, after they had entirely disarm'd them, and had taken the precaution to confine within the fortrefs all of whom they had any suspicion.

Take the fort

As soon as the men came in sight of the intrenchments they form'd, and the seven companies which were to act with their officers at their head, and a number of volunteers, among whom was *Lezy*, who was more interest'd than any other in the recovery of that place, march'd at the signal with extraordinary bravery. The enemy, whom *Lezy* had summon'd the day before, rather to reconnoitre their works, than hoping they would surrender without fighting, had answer'd, that they were in a condition to defend themselves, and that they deserv'd to be hang'd if they did not; and accordingly made a stout defence, sustaining the efforts of the *French* with singular firmness and bravery. They came to handy strokes with spears and swords; but the palissade being pull'd up in several places, and the first intrenchment, which was the greatest and best fortified, being carry'd, the *French* cut off their retreat to the fort, where they might yet have made a long defence. The Chevalier *de Lezy*, who would fain signalize himself to efface past imputations, and command'd the attack, with the *Sieur de Melinieres* and the Chevalier *d'Emana*, had the good fortune to take the *Dutch* governor and some other officers. They oblig'd those in the fort to surrender at discretion; so that, after less than an hour's fighting, the Count *d'Etrees* saw himself master of the fortrefs of *Cayenne* and all the intrenchments with which the *Dutch* had surround'd it.

Loss on both  
sides

This action, tho' short, was not unbloody; the *French* indeed had but two officers kill'd on the spot, but fifteen or sixteen wounded, thirty-eight marines kill'd, and ninety-five wounded. The *Dutch* lost some officers, and thirty-two soldiers, and had thirty-five soldiers and seven or eight officers wounded. The governor with three captains and their lieutenants, two captains of ships, a minister, two commissaries of the

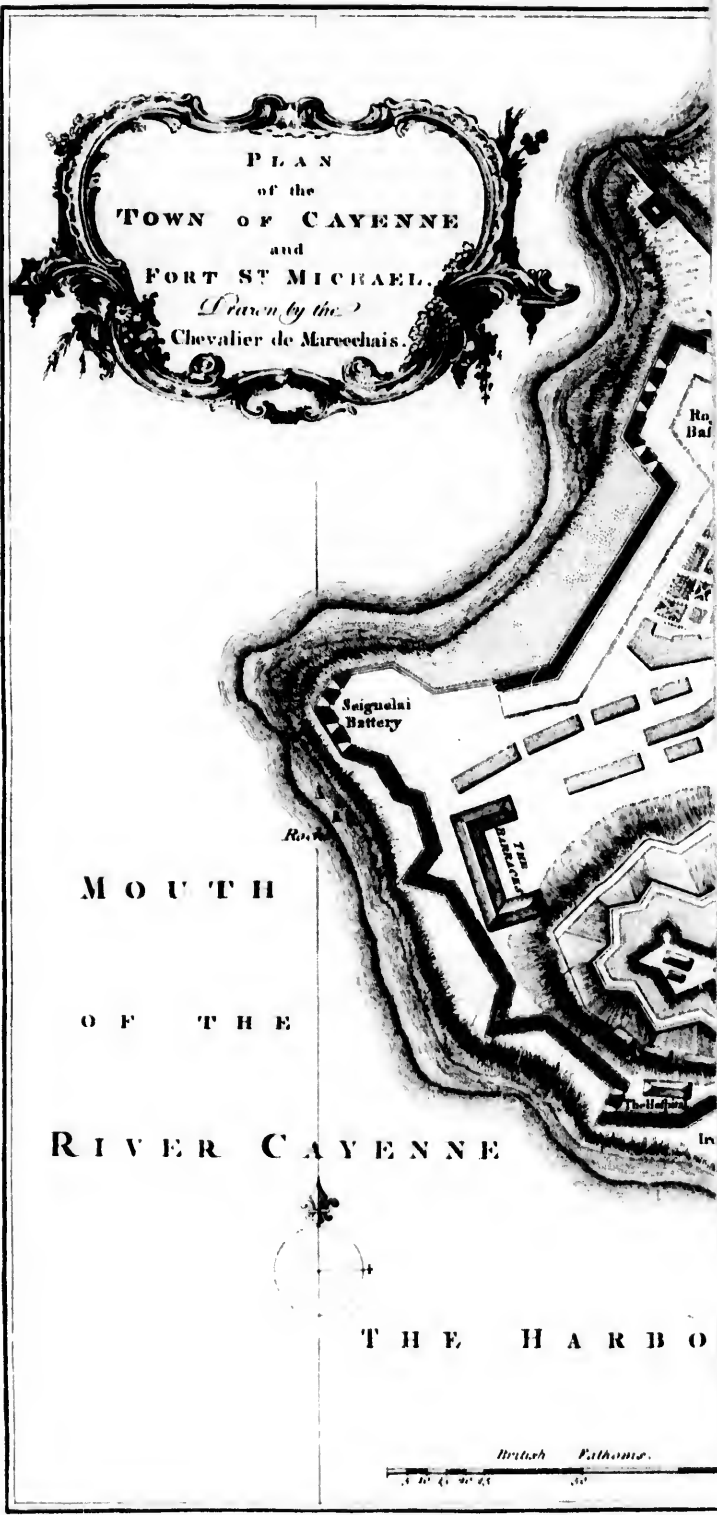
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**TOWN OF CAYENNE**  
and  
**FORT ST MICHAEL.**  
*Taken by the*  
Chevalier de Mareschais.

MOUTH  
OF THE  
RIVER CAYENNE

THE HARBOUR

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the company, a secretary, a volunteer, and two hundred and sixty foldiers remained prisoners of war.

Thus did *Cayenne* return under the power of the king of *France*, Dec. 19, 1676, since which it has not been taken nor attacked by the enemies of *France*. The *Indians* have lived in peace with the colony, and they deserve praise for their good behaviour. The *French* traffic with them in safety, and employ them in different works for small wages; and they have had the discretion to retire farther within land, in proportion as the inhabitants advance their plantations and dwellings on the continent.

Colony enjoys peace.

### CHAP. III. *State of the Colony of Cayenne in 1726.*

The port of *Cayenne* is formed by nature in a creek or small bay between the points or capes *Ceperou* and *Mahuri*, on the Western side. It is deep enough for considerable vessels, which ride in perfect security, and may even be careened. This country is quite a stranger to those furious winds called Hurricanes, which make the tour of the compass with extreme violence, and cause such detolation in the Leeward islands. In the port you must observe to moor across North and South, so that the greatest anchor may be on the Southern side, because the ebb and the current of the rivers are so strong on that quarter, as to cause the vessels which they drive to make a league and a half in an hour; whereas a small anchor is sufficient on the North, as the great current of the rivers, which fall with violence into the sea, resist its waves, break their force, and prevent all violent motion in that part, where consequently ships are out of all danger. The river *Cayenne*, which forms this port, parts into two branches, of which the Westermoit preserves the name of *Cayenne*, and that on the East is called the river *Mahuri*. The anchorage for ships is at the foot of the fort between the points *Ceperou* and *Mahuri*.

Description of the port.

The fort, to which the company gave the name of *St Michael*, because they took possession of the island on *Sept. 29*, the day dedicated to *St Michael*, was before called *Ceperou*, and still passes under that name at present. I mention both these names, lest they should be thought to belong to two distinct places instead of one. It stands upon an eminence, which commands the town, port, and road, or rather mouth of the river. It is but small, and very irregular; but it would have been better, and as regular as the ground would permit, if the design and plan drawn by the Chevalier *Renau* in 1700, when he came to survey the island by the king's order, had been executed. The height on which it is situated is entirely inclosed within the compass of the fortifications which surround the city. This compass is irregular; on the side towards the ile it is formed of four bastions, and three curtains, regular enough. The rest of the compass, or enclosure, consists only of redoubts, with an irregular bastion, which commands the entrance of the port. They were obliged to conform to the ground, and the rocks that border on the coast. There is no ditch but from the King's bastion to the Dauphin's, and it is dry. It was not thought necessary to make a covert way; there would be time enough for that, it was hoped, when an attack should be threatened. Pallisades are easily made in a country still almost covered with trees.

Fort St Michael and outworks.

The city has but two gates, one opening to the river, called the gate of the fort, and the other towards the land, called the gate of *Romire*. There is a bridge of the *faux*, covered with a half-moon pallisaded. The streets are broad, straight as a line, and neat enough when it does not rain. They are not paved, as the expence would be useless, because the ground being sandy requires no more than an hour of fair weather to dry it. The houses, commonly called *casas*, are mostly of wood; there are, however, some of stone in several quarters. The manner is to have many chambers on a floor, because they never want ground for building; and they find it the cheapest and most commodious way. They take care to have the rooms large, for the benefit of the cool air, and they make them higher at present than formerly, with windows from top to bottom. The furniture indeed is none of the most splendid, though the inhabitants are in a condition of having as rich moveables as any in *France*, but they chiefly regard conveniency. All the appendages of a house, as the kitchen, battery, warehouse, and other necessary rooms, are separated from the lodging of the master, who is by that means remote from the noise and offensive smells usual to those places. The houses are covered with shingles, or small planks of hard wood, from seven

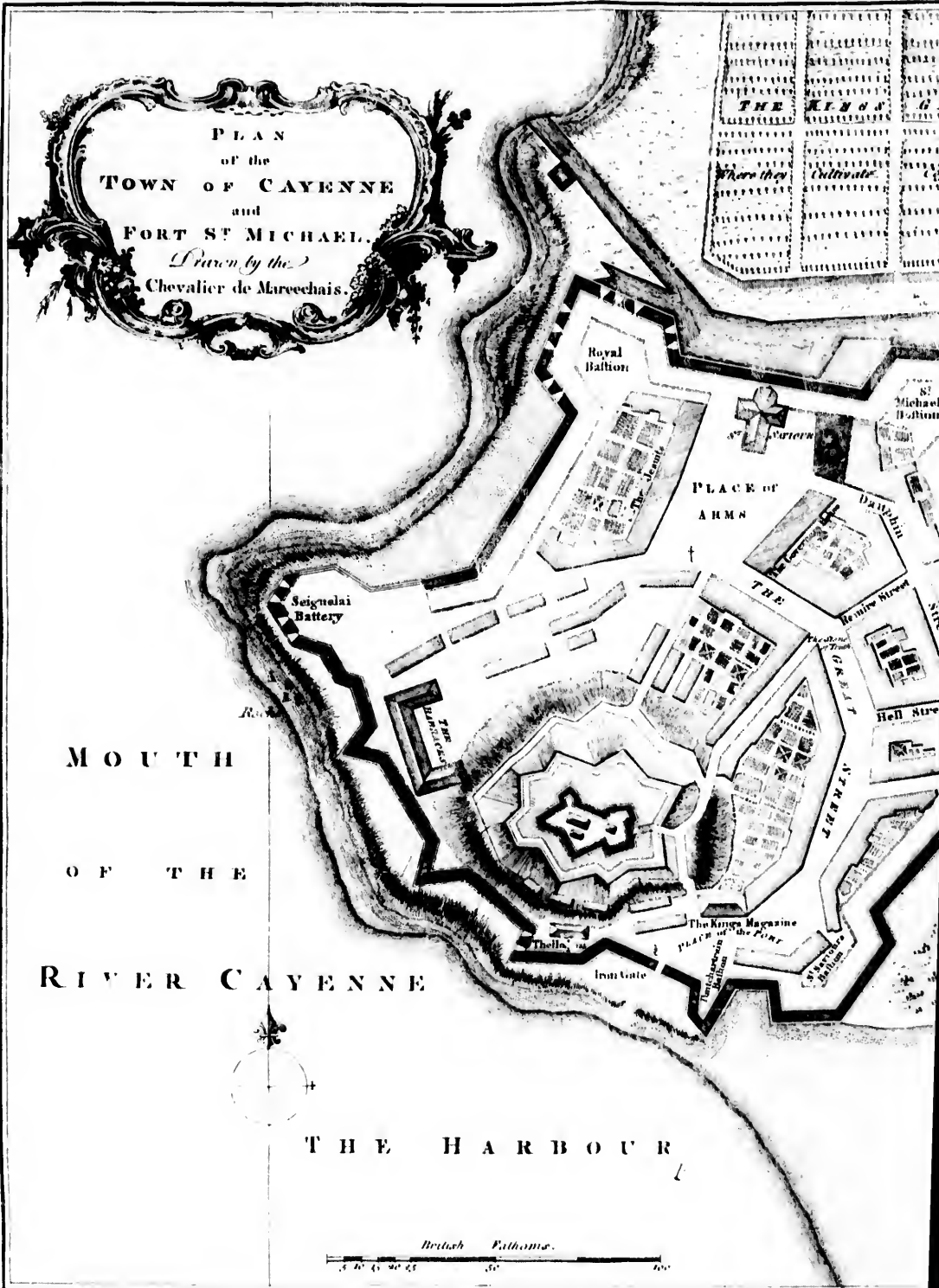
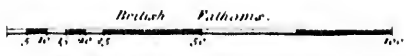
City of Cayenne.

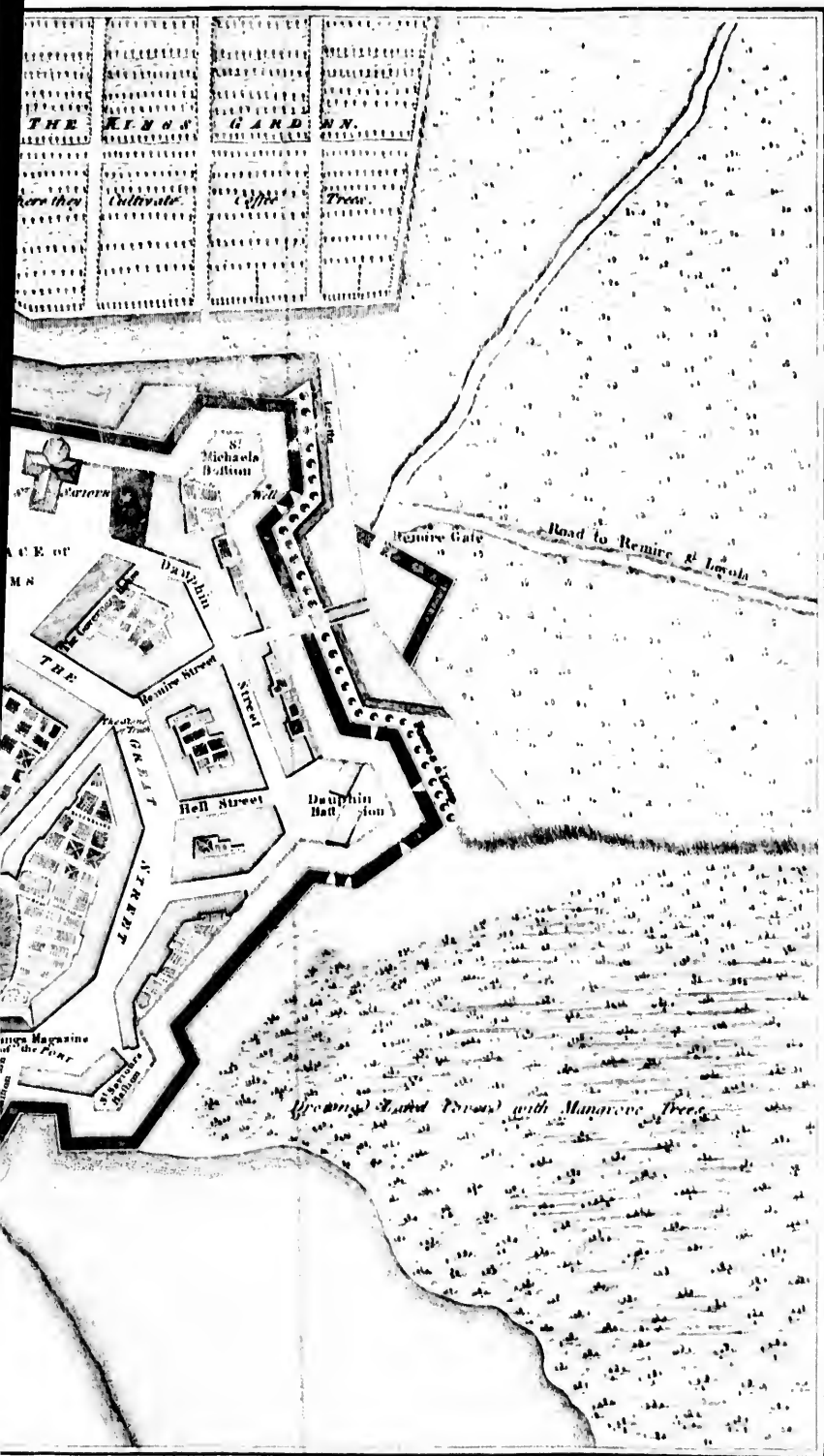
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PLAN  
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**TOWN OF CAYENNE**  
and  
**FORT ST MICHAEL.**  
*Drawn by the*  
Chevalier de Marcechais.

MOUTH  
OF THE  
RIVER CAYENNE

THE HARBOUR





*A Description of the Island and Colony*

to eight inches broad, and eighteen inches long, not sawed, but cloven, and well planed.

The road for shipping.

The road for shipping is very safe, having only two rocks to avoid, which are very noted, one called the *White Horse*, and the other the *Fountain Rock*. It is liable indeed to one inconvenience attending it from the worms, which eat holes in the vessels in those places which are not covered with pitch and tar. It is easy to prevent this mischief by only careening, or cleansing the ship from time to time by kindling fires; for these animals never come but where they find those void places, which are occasioned by the long stay of the ship in that road. The best anchorage is at the foot of the fort; it is an excellent road, where vessels ride in perfect security from the winds and all annoyance.

Principal edifices.

The arsenal, or place of arms, is at the bottom of the fort, behind the bastions of the king and *St Michael*. The parochial church makes one of the sides of the square; it is only of wood, but spacious, well enlightened, very neat, and ornamented; its wooden work passes for a master-piece in the country. The house of the Jesuits forms the left side: it is also of timber-work, large, beautiful, commodious, and well built. The governor's house makes the right side; this edifice is of stone, well built, well distributed, spacious, neat, and very pleasant. The college is by the side of the parochial church; the Jesuits have the care of it. The hospital for sick is at the foot of the fort; it is the third building of stone in the city: the general magazine is also near this place. The barracks are behind the irregular bastion which makes the point of the title. Besides the bastions before named, there are the bastions *Dauphin* and *Pontchartrain*, which last mounts most cannon.

Garden of coffee-trees.

The governors have made themselves a garden without the city, at the point of *St Michael's* bastion. That spot is excellent for gardenage; the earth, tho' sandy, is nevertheless good; the rains, the plentiful dews, with the continual heat, cause it to produce whatever one would desire; this place has the name of *the king's coffee-grove*.

C H A P. IV.

*A more particular Description of the Island of Cayenne, and the Continent of Guiana, from M. Milhan's Memoirs.*

River of Amazons.

This island is distant about one hundred leagues North from the river of *Amazons*. This famous stream, which few *Europeans* can boast of having surveyed in all its length, has its source in the mountains of *Quito* on the frontiers of *Peru*. It receives so great a number of considerable rivers in a course of above eight hundred leagues from West to East, which it is known to take, that it is no wonder if its mouth be near eighty leagues in breadth, and that the violence of its current is the cause that its waters mingle not with those of the sea, but preserve their sweetness for above thirty leagues in the ocean. It separates *Brazil* from *Guiana*, and its mouth would be like a sea, were it not charged with a multitude of islands, which form canals between themselves, to which it is not easy to assign names.

Forest of coco-trees.

Its Northern banks are covered with an infinity of fair trees, among which are entire forests of coco-trees, which produce the largest and finest fruit. The author of nature planted them, whence it is, that they are quite of another largeness and thickness than the finest and best cultivated trees of that sort in the islands. The reason is evident: the earth of the first is deep, rich, fresh, and, to all appearance, served only to nourish those trees, which are, as we may say, in their native country. They afford a considerable revenue to the occupiers of those lands, who are at no other labour and expence than to come twice every year, and make two harvests of those fruits, to cleanse and dry them upon the spot, and to find buyers to take them off their hands, or vessels to transport them to *Europe*, where their consumption is very advantageous to the proprietors of those trees, as well as to those who sell the fruit either whole or in pastry.

Reason for their cultivation in Cayenne.

We are well assured, that in the government of *Cayenne*, or *Guiana*, there is an infinity of great plains of a close, low, rich, humid, and deep soil, in short, the same as on the banks of the river of *Amazons*, and therefore as good as those for the culture of coco-trees. The few trees that have been planted for a trial are a sufficient proof of what I say. Whence, is it that the *French* planters confine themselves to the cultivation

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tivation of sugar-canes, coffee-trees, and roucou? Sugar is and always will be good merchandize; but then such a manufacture requires a great expence. A few inhabitants, in mean circumstances, at their first settlement, are incapable of it; it requires great settlements, vast clearings, mills, sugar-works, a multitude of pans, a number of hearths, and yet greater of slaves. An inhabitant who is just beginning to settle is in no condition to support such an expence; whereas, seven or eight labourers can in one year's space fell trees enough, and clear a spot of ground capable of bearing a number of coco-trees sufficient for their subsistence, and to render them capable of great enterprises, beneficial to themselves, and profitable to the state, the end which ought to be proposed by those who are at the head of colonies. It is owing to the small number of inhabitants of *Cayenne*, that *France* reaps so little advantage from that settlement.

But things will always remain in that state of mediocrity and meanness while the colony of *Cayenne* is on the present footing. For though the island be no more than seventeen leagues or thereabout in circumference, it would be sufficient to maintain the inhabitants, who are too few to people it, even tho' the greatest part of the country be drowned lands, and hitherto of no value. Hence at present there is no land cultivated, except from point *Maburi* to the city, making about five leagues, in which the colony has seven manufactories of sugar, and twenty of roucou. The rest of the inhabitants are on the main land, as the map shews. The colony is reckoned to consist of no more than between one hundred and twenty-five and one hundred and thirty families, much less numerous than those of *Martinico*, which swarm with children. They have taken infinite pains to rear children in *Cayenne*, ever since the profusal peace which it has enjoyed since 1676. We are told, that at present they breed them with less difficulty, which is a sure sign that the plantation will increase.

Colony not considerable.

If the world were not convinced of the error, in which it had lain for many ages, that the torrid zone was uninhabitable, and especially those countries which were under the line, or very near it, which is the case of the island of which we are speaking, we should be apt to impute its thinness of inhabitants to its situation. But this prejudice has been long since removed. If the heat be extreme in some places situate within the Tropics near the Line, we must seek for other causes of it than their situation. We may say, with respect to *Cayenne*, that there is hardly a country in the world more temperate, for the following obvious reasons.

*Cayenne*. a temperate habitation.

The days there are equal to the nights, whence, if the presence of the sun above the horizon produces a violent heat, which parches the earth, his equal absence under the horizon gives the earth the necessary time to refresh itself by a cessation of the motion caused on it by the burning rays of the sun.

First reason.

Add to this, that the sun attracts a prodigious quantity of vapours from the rivers and marshes, which cover good part of the land; and that these vapours descend in rain or dew, which refresh the earth by moistening it, for neither dew nor rain ever excite any motion in nature to produce heat.

Second reason.

To these two reasons we may further add, that there never fails to arise every day a very fresh Easterly wind, which lasts continually from eight in the morning till five in the afternoon.

Third reason.

The greatest heats commonly begin at the end of *June*, and last to the end of *November*, because this season is dry, during which it never rains, or very rarely. But from *December* to the end of *June*, showers being more frequent, the heat of the sun is more temperate. There is a cessation of those rains in *March*, about the Equinox, when the heat also is observed to increase, whence that season is called the little summer. But the equality of days and nights, and the easterly winds, which never fail to blow at such hours, so temper the heat, that the air is perfectly good, and exempt from all the multitude of distempers which reign in the Leeward isles, and make up a *typhoid*. It would be ridiculous to affirm that there are no diseases in this country, but we may safely say they are less frequent and dangerous than in an infinity of other places, especially among those who live soberly, who are no slaves to their appetites or other passions; who eat fruit with discretion, and not overwork themselves; for it decies must happen, they will certainly fall to the share of the indiscreet rather than of others.

Free from distempers.

## A Description of the Island and Colony

Some have made it their business to decry this island, by giving it the character of a most unhealthy region. It is true, that at first it was very difficult to breed up children in it; but the same thing was observed in *St Domingo*, *Martinico*, and others of the Leeward islands, without hindering multitudes of *French* from going thither, and fixing their abode in those places. This inconvenience proceeds not from the air, but from exhalations, which lands newly discovered never fail to produce. The heat corrupts those exhalations, and renders them putrid; the air we breathe is infected with them, and this is enough to cause distempers, especially in infants, whose tender frames render them more liable to disorders than grown people, whose constitution is already formed, stronger, and more capable of resisting infection. Hence we see that in process of time, since these lands have been cleared, the cause of maladies has ceased, and children are reared there with a facility hardly known in any other place of the world. This appears to be true from the prodigious number of children with which those countries are stocked; they multiply to a wonder; they walk alone before those in *Europe* are out of their swaddling clothes; they are large, well made, are never known to be lame, or crooked, are healthy, strong, robust, and vigorous.

Inconveniences of breeding children removed.

True cause of distempers.

There are however distempers, and the *Europeans* who resort thither for the sake of commerce, are more subject to them than others; which proceeds from their intemperance. The captains of ships, and persons of distinction, are sure to be welcome to the inhabitants, who all keep rich and plentiful tables, and delight to regale those who come to see them with the best they have, even to profusion. Long dinners are succeeded by yet longer suppers; the diversity of dishes, and their novelty, excite an appetite; the guests drink freely of all sorts of wine and other liquors; they find themselves heated, and are willing to enjoy the coolness of the night; they betake themselves to rest without covering the stomach, which is overcharged with victuals and liquor, and unable to digest them, whence they must necessarily fall sick. But it is a crying piece of injustice to accuse the air and the country of a fault of which they themselves are only culpable.

Sailors why more subject to distempers.

Sailors are more subject than others to fall sick: they have less reason, and observe no measure in what flatters their senses. The crews are generally composed of sailors from the *French* ports on the ocean and those in the *Mediterranean*; the first are called *Ponantais*, [Westerlings], the other *Levantins*, [Easterlings]. A very cunning and expert captain assured me, that, without knowing their country, it was easy to guess from whence they came, by only observing whither they went after they had landed. Those whom you see running to the tipping-bouties are downright *Ponantais*; the *Levantins*, on the contrary, have more sobriety; but they have a passion for women that is perhaps of a nature still worse. Were these two the only causes, they would be sufficient to make them fall dangerously ill; but these are not by themselves. Those people are obliged to go from house to house in search of sugars, and other merchandize, for loading their vessels. These searches are made in the day time, and during the greatest heats of the sun; they must always be ready with their oar, a violent exercise, which alone is sufficient to heat them beyond measure. As soon as they get on shore they drink greedily and without discretion of cold water, and afterwards of rum, then eat oranges, citrons, and acajou apples. These fruits are of a cold nature, and they most commonly eat them green, in which state they are most likely to injure their health. Hence they contract violent fevers, tormenting colics, and dysenteries, which are difficult to be cured. Then, instead of laying the fault on their own intemperance and indigestion, they blame the country, which has no share in it, but is found to be very healthy for wise people, fine in itself, and abounding with all things that can please the senses, where nature seems to exhaust herself in producing every day something new; but then sobriety is required in the use of those delights, as well here as every where else.

These inconveniences are objected and answered.

Heavy rains.

The inconveniences of this country may be reduced to the great rains which fall during some months of the year, the violent heat which is felt for a good part of the day, and some insects which are found there.

As for the first, is not *Europe* subject to rains? They are sometimes so excessive as to ruin houses, and recourse must be had to heaven to make them cease. But besides rains, what disorders are caused by heavy snows, hail, and frost! Have these accidents, which are dreaded every year, and ruin vines, trees, and grain, made *Eur-*

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rope be called a bad country? No; people resort thither from all parts of the world, live in it, and are well satisfied with their abode.

The heat, they say, is excessive. All the regions between the Tropics are also hot, <sup>2. Violent heats.</sup> *Europe* itself, to temperate a country, has parts where the heat is more unupportable, and has this inconvenience, that the nights are as hot as the days, whereas in *Cayenne*, and other countries under the same climate, the inhabitants enjoy an agreeable coolness during the night, and in the day itself are not incommoded with heat, while in the shade, or exposed to the wind, of which there is a constant and agreeable breeze from eight in the morning, till about five in the afternoon; a relief not known in *Europe*.

But there are gnats, macks, maringoins, muskettoes, flies, and venomous serpents. <sup>3. Insects and venomous serpents.</sup> These first four kinds of insects are found in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, without ever exciting a thought in the inhabitants of abandoning the places infested by them. They drive them away, and get rid of them as well as they can, the evil is not without remedy, and they do the same in *Cayenne*.

The chies are troublesome, and sometimes dangerous; but they molest only slug-gards, slovens, and those who go bare-foot, like the Negroes and *Indians*; besides the remedy is easy. <sup>Chies.</sup>

There are venomous serpents I confess, and the rattle-snakes are very dangerous. <sup>Rattle-snakes</sup> The poison which they diffuse in the wound they make is active and causes immediate death without speedy relief. There are of this kind in many other parts of *America*. But the evil is not without a remedy; the *Indians* of the isthmus of *Darien* threw it to a company of Buccaneers, who passed through their country in their way to the South sea. This remedy is nothing but the kernel of a nut called serpent nut, and very common in that country. The tree grows there naturally, and perhaps may be found in *Cayenne*, though at present unknown; there are some in *Martinica*. It has the same effects on vipers as on rattle-snakes; it is easy to procure the nuts, and to plant them. *Labat* has mentioned it in his voyage to the islands. But if this medicine should fail, Father *Lombard*, the famous apostle of *Guyana*, has given us in his letter an easy method of curing this evil, of which we shall give an account in the course of this relation.

Besides we are not to imagine that the country is so overstocked with these mischievous reptiles as has been imagined. Those who make the greatest noise about them have perhaps never seen them. Some who have lived several years in *Cayenne*, and have ranged the woods, never saw above one or two. This reptile has at the end of its tail certain dry pellicles, divided by joints, which make a noise when it moves itself, heard at a distance sufficient to provide against it, and it is easily killed. <sup>Rarely seen, and easily avoided.</sup>

Sailors are not the only persons who contract diseases in *Cayenne*, as must be acknowledged. Officers and merchants, who have no more discretion than the others, are equally liable to disorders. After plentiful repasts, in which they have been much heated, they are so imprudent as to lie down on the grass in the open air, and to sleep sometimes whole nights. In that condition, where they are exposed to the cool air, and exhalations of the earth, what can they expect but colics, acute fevers, and dysenteries? Is it the country, or their own intemperance and imprudence that are in fault? <sup>Diseases how contracted.</sup>

*November* is the most dangerous month of the year; it is the season for burning the new clearings, when the heated earth produces gross exhalations, which corrupt the air, and by means of respiration excite acute fevers, though seldom of any bad consequence; once bleeding with a purge carry them off without a relapse. Continued and intermittent fevers are dangerous when neglected, and without a speedy remedy. <sup>Fevers.</sup>

The quinquina, since it has been introduced into the country, is said to have had wonderful effects, and seldom to have failed of extirpating the cause of these fevers; which is all that can be required of this remedy. It had formerly the like operation in *Paris*, the faculty disliked it, and retolved to prepare it after their own manner; the remedy must be taken alone, or it will not succeed, and not to share its glory with other drugs, and this is the reason why at present it operates in a manner so subject to caution. <sup>Cured by the bark.</sup>

M. *Milbau*, so wise in other matters, bitterly complains that there is no physician in *Cayenne*, and that the surgeon major of the garrison is the only *Æsculapius*, to whom <sup>Hard delicate of a physician.</sup> the



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the sick can have recourse, who, after bleeding and administering a purge, is at the end of his lesson. But do they need do any more? Experience has taught that bleeding in the foot is generally a sovereign remedy.

*The most considerable Rivers of the Government of Cayenne.*

**Rivers.** Without prejudice to the rights the *French* have upon the river of *Amazons*, we shall here only speak of the rivers to the West of Cape Nord.

**River Maniacard.** The first and nearest is called the river *Maniacard*, or *du Cap*. Its mouth is sufficiently large, and has two fathoms of sea-water, and about three when the sea runs high.

**Cachipour river.** The second is the *Cachipour*, the banks of which are inhabited by the *Indians* called *Mavots*. This country is almost perpetually under water, more or less as the rains cause the rivers to overflow, or the tide is more or less violent, for when it is stronger than ordinary, it repels with more violence the course of the rivers, whence their waters swell and diffuse themselves in greater quantity over the lands on their banks, and form marshes, which appeared impracticable to those who have attempted to survey the country, but, being soon discouraged, never penetrated far enough to discover what lay ten or twelve leagues above the mouth, where probably they would have found habitable lands; since we are well assured that they are inhabited by several considerable nations of *Indians*, who find subsistence, and sometimes come to the river *Oyapek* to traffic. Now if this country were overflowed far within land, or ten or twelve leagues higher than the *French* rangers have penetrated, it would certainly be uninhabitable; whence the inhabitants who are known to be there must have lived on trees, as they have been found to do in several parts along the coasts of *America*. But if they lived on trees, we should have seen trees growing about the mouths of those rivers; but as none can be found, we must conclude that there are none, and, consequently, that the people, certainly known to be in the neighbourhood of those three rivers, live on dry ground, capable of producing the necessaries of life.

All this country, quite to the sea-coast, is covered with great and stout trees. It is true, the pastures and entrances of the rivers produce only mangles, or mangroves, which grow in fresh or salt water, and thrive equally in both. And the roots in areades of those on the beach are loaded with oysters, which stick to them, and grow there to a considerable bigness, as our rangers have observed. They who gather these oysters must be cautious not to take them but when they are moistened with the tide, for then they have a proper degree of saltness. But when they are soaked in river water, which is only brackish, they have nothing but a sweetish water, which makes them unfavoury, and perhaps unwholesome.

The trees above the mangles are of those different kinds which the climate produces in the driest lands; and this gives us another reason to believe that the soil above the inundations is good, free, deep, and capable of producing all that is necessary for those who live there, or shall have the courage to go and settle in those parts.

**Couripy river.** The river *Couripy* is the nearest to *Cap d'Orange*. It is considerable; its mouth is broad and deep, but barred by a bank of fixed sand, on which there are but two fathom water, though the bank, it is true, leaves a passage deep enough on its Eastern side. This river has high banks, and receives a multitude of others, by which it is greatly swelled. Barks have sailed up twenty leagues above its mouth, but as they stopped there, no more can be said. It is a fine high land; the hills are covered with large thick trees, which indicate the depth and goodness of the soil, on which excellent settlements might be made.

**Name of streams.** Besides these four principal rivers there are a number of others which are unknown, and consequently we cannot be certain whether they have particular sources, or are only branches of these four, by which their redundancies are discharged into the sea.

**Oyapek river.** Some leagues West of the *Couripy* is the great river *Oyapek*. It justly deserves that title; its mouth is broad, and four fathom deep; below Fort *François*, which is advantageously situated on the Western side, is five fathom water, and above a league in breadth. The soil on both sides is admirable; it is rich, without being watery, deep, free, and unexhaustible. It is the right place for establishing a powerful colony,

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lony, which would soon eclipse all the *French* settlements in *North* and *South America*. The ground once cleared continues so always; whereas in *Cayenne*, and its neighbourhood, the labour must be repeated at least every five years. Sugar-canes grow there naturally; coco-trees, of which there are vast numbers in an infinity of places, prove that those trees are of the growth of *America*, as oaks are in *France*.

The *Indians* who have sailed up this river assure us, that they have spent many days, and even two whole moons, or sixty days, in this navigation, without being able to approach its source. If we reckon their journals at five leagues, one day with another, they will make a course of three hundred leagues. They never observed any considerable fall during so long a navigation, and found at least two fathom water. This is more than enough for barks of fifty tons; for a depth of between six and seven foot of water is sufficient for such sort of craft. What settlements might they not make on the banks of this river! What convenience for unloading of merchandize, and loading with commodities of the growth of the country! What quantities of wood, what cargoes of sugar, coco, indigo, tobacco, roucou, marble-wood, ebony, precious roots and plants, and balms of different kinds, might they not export from thence! We might safely affirm, that whatever hopes they might entertain of those settlements, they would infinitely surpass what at present they are able to conceive.

An inviting  
situation for  
a settlement.

But whence shall they get people for such an establishment? The inhabitants of *Cayenne* are so few in number, as we observed above, that the transportation of some families would entirely destroy it. Shall they procure them from *France*? If they take them out of hospitals, which are overcharged with people, such kind of folk are not fit for labour; they are used to beg, and work would be insupportable to them; they are utter strangers to it. Besides, the change of air and diet would bring diseases, which would carry them off by hundreds. It would be still worse to take them from the galleys. The trial, which has more than once been made in the *Leeward* islands, has taught them what to expect from such people. They are good for nothing, when freed from the oar, but to go to the gallows, and not at all fit for work. They want such inhabitants as know how to work, and are accustomed to it. Can they find such then fit for their purpose in *Martinico*? That island is too full of people; they will, in a little time, be ready to eat one another. Land there is at an extravagant price, because there is not ground enough to employ and feed the inhabitants.

*Martinico* he-  
ter to furnish  
a colony.

Besides, the poor people of *Martinico*, who had no other employment or dependence than the culture of coco-trees, are almost intirely ruined, since the destruction of those trees by the forerunners of the violent earthquake which shook that island some years ago. Those trees are extremely delicate; they must have quite virgin ground; earth that has produced any little thing is absolutely unfit to bear coco-trees. Their roots, and the moss that surrounds them, are so tender, that they recoil without farther piercing forwards, shrivel up and wither, and the tree dies.

Tenderness of  
coco trees.

The inhabitants of *Martinico* understand this work to a miracle, and would gather within the jurisdiction of *Cayenne* as much coco, and even more, than all *Europe* could consume; and yet they need not fear. Whatever is consumed by the mouth always finds vent, and always yields profit. We may safely assure ourselves, that the inhabitants of this island would gladly embrace the offer of retiring to *Cayenne*, if means were found to facilitate the transportation of their effects and slaves, which would be of use to them in the beginning of their new settlement. They might take from *Martinico* above two hundred families, without making any show. The price of their habitations, which they might sell at parting, would serve to buy slaves, whose labour, under the inspection of such able and experienced planters, would soon clear those lands, which want nothing but husbandmen to cultivate them, and to produce the treasures concealed within their bosom.

Profit of their  
culture.

*Plan of a Settlement on the River Oyapok, in the Neighbourhood of Port Louis, which was put in Execution in 1726.*

It is necessary, for laying this establishment upon a solid foundation, to begin with clearing a spot of a thousand square paces, or five hundred toises, each pace being three feet, along the river, for conveniency of watering the lands. It must be planted with vegetables for food, such as manioc, mahis, peas, potatoes, yams, bananas, and fig-trees. The ground must be cleared and planted before the inhabitants, of whom the new colony is to consist, are transported thither, and will help to subsist the garrison, which is to be maintained in the fort, and in part the new comers, who are to be supplied gratis with manioc, and other plants necessary to be put in the cleared grounds for beginning their habitations.

As the few soldiers who will be in garrison would not be sufficient to make this first clearing, and to guard the fort, it would be proper to depute some able prudent *Frenchmen*, who are acquainted with the country, to the *Indians* in the neighbourhood, and also to those who live more remote, and engage them to undertake this work for hire; for they must not think to have their labour for nothing, much less to constrain them. The least violence, or threatening, would make them fly off, and estrange them, till they become as much their enemies as they are at present their friends. They should not be shocked at the word pay; a day's work of an *Indian* is worth a knife, a bundle of packthread, or some such trifle of small value.

It is expedient to procure some from all those nations to whom the *French* traders, or walking pedlars, have carried goods, in order to let them know that they esteem them equally, and must avoid giving them occasion for jealousy, to which they are too prone of themselves.

Moreover, for inducing those *Indians* to undertake this work, the chiefs of those nations must be engaged to come to the fort, in order to concert every thing with the governor. This officer is to receive them well, treat them, and make them small presents, let them know that the projected establishment will be highly for their advantage; that they will find there all the *European* commodities of which they can stand in need, and a vent always open for their own. He must agree with them for the number of men which each of them is to furnish, and their wages, and on the time when they are to be set at work, that the ground may be ready at the proper season for receiving what shall be thought fit to put in it.

It will suffice, as it is believed, to have twelve *Palicours*, as many *Mauritius* and *Karanes*, eight *Maranes*, and six *Losarves*, with a competent number of *Indian* hunters and fishers for maintaining those fifty labourers, that they may not be diverted from their work. These sorts of people are wondrously dexterous in clearing ground, but they must be left to themselves; they cannot endure to be contradicted; a rough and to absolute a command is not at all to their liking. Though this number may seem small, it is yet sufficient for the purpose; if there were more of them, they would incommode one another; the cost would be the greater, and the work proceed never the better.

Care must be taken to erect large booths for lodging the new inhabitants as they arrive, observing that it be done on the spots that will be marked out for them. For this work you must employ none but the same *Indians*; they know the proper wood, and best how to fit it; they are at once architects, carpenters, and tilers, and above all most diligent workmen.

All things being prepared, and the fruits fit to be gathered, it will be time to introduce the new planters, and provide them with lodging and victuals necessary for them and their dependants, and then, without delay or expence, allot every man his share of the land round about him, put him in possession, and excite him to clear it. On this article there is no need of instructions; the old inhabitants are best qualified to teach others; and their own interest will spur them on to lend a helping hand to the undertaking, and forward the work with all possible diligence. And it is certain, that in less than eighteen months they will reap the fruits of the earth, and lay up stores for traffic in less than three year. Besides the slaves which they are carrying with them, they might hire *Indians*, provided they treat them with respect, and pay them according to agreement. They will be guided by them as much as they

Land cleared  
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and with, and in a little time will find themselves in a condition not to want their  
... The clearing of a thousand paces may then be turned all or in part into a  
... a piece of meadow for breeding domestic animals for the use of the  
... and to exchange for other provisions with those who are in a condition for  
... making such exchanges.

After some time as much of the ground may be taken as shall be judged necessary Important consequences.  
to enlarge the town, and to build a town, and perhaps a city, where merchants  
will sit, as in the centre of commerce of the new colony; a commerce the more  
easy and convenient, as ships may cast anchor before the town, load and unload, and  
send their barks and shallops up the great river, and those which discharge themselves  
into it. This will be the way to discover the nations that lie most remote from the  
sea, and to find the riches which have hitherto lain unknown and buried in the bow-  
els of the earth.

But the choice of planters, and of a place of settlement in this new country, is not  
all that is required. The governor of this rising colony must be endued with many  
talents which are difficult enough to be found in the same person. He must be reso-  
lute without obstinacy, active and vigilant without rashness, affable without too much  
popularity, a lover of justice, peace, good order, disinterested, liberal, regard those  
planters as his children, support them, assist them in their affairs with promptness  
and expedition, and, in subordination to the interest of his king, see, hear, and work  
only for the service of his colony. Qualifications of a governor

Traders, or merchants, who carry goods to the *Indians*, are necessary for disco-  
vering the country, and procuring the advantage of the colony, and improving it be-  
fore all things. But care must be taken, that a sole view to self-interest may not  
incline the inhabitant to cheat or mislead the *Indians*. Those people are for the most  
part of a sweet natural temper; but they love their liberty, and become quite other men  
when apprehensive of a design upon it. They know how to avenge themselves, and,  
when they have done it, as they despair of pardon, they keep at a distance, and will have  
no more correspondence. Such dealings would be of vast prejudice to the new colony,  
which in its early state must of necessity want *Indians* for commerce, labour, and  
an infinity of other things. But, above all, they must be gently treated, and paid  
exactly and without delay what they have been promised, which is generally little  
more than a trifle, tho' of great account to those people. Friendship to be cultivated with the Indians.

The *Indians* are excellent fishers and hunters; it requires much time and use, as  
they have, to endure and succeed in those exercises. Traders often hire them for  
great huntings, and send the salted flesh of the game to *Cayenne*, where it finds a pro-  
fitable vent. This was well done; as soon, however, as a colony shall be established  
at *Oyapel*, a stop must be absolutely put to the destruction of wild beasts, for the  
take of the rising colony, which will stand much more in want of such provision  
than *Cayenne*, an ancient settlement, and provided with places enough besides for  
hunting. Preservation of game advised.

Though the *Indians* are mild enough by nature, they will quarrel among them-  
selves, especially when heated with some glasses of brandy, and sometimes beat one  
another outrageously. It is good to appease them, if possible, with words; but the  
overseer ought not to intermeddle for chastising them. They would regard such a  
step as a consequence of that dependance or slavery to which you had a mind to re-  
duce them. The case is different, if they should give themselves the liberty to abuse  
a White, unless it be in self-defence, in which circumstance information is to be taken,  
and the aggressor punished; and in the former, the *Indian* is to be severely chas-  
tised, after consulting with the chiefs of the nation, in order to maintain the respect  
due to *Europeans*. The ordinary causes of these disorders arise from the *Europeans*,  
when they would force them to work, or refuse to pay them what they had promi-  
sed, or constrain them to sell them what they are loth to part with, or, lastly, make  
too free with their women. The governor ought never to suffer these vexations; and  
as to the article of women, he ought to be inexorable, and punish convicts without  
remission. Justice and good order demand as much, and religion exacts it; for as  
the principal view of settlements in these countries was to make known the true  
God, and how the seed of the gospel in them, nothing is more opposite, and more  
capable of creating an aversion in the *Indians* to the truth, than such kinds of  
violence. Management of the Indians

*A Description of the Island and Colony*

It is necessary for the governor to lay a tax, not only on the commodities sold in the colony to *Europeans*, but especially to *Indians*; and also to settle the price of a day's work, and other labours, and never suffer the least injustice on that score. He must also enjoin the traders to engage, by all means, the chiefs of the most distant *Indian* nations to come to the *French* fort, where they must be well received. It is the surest way to make alliances with them, to discover that vast country, and the advantages that may be drawn from it, and to make establishments in those places which are not the less rich or considerable for their distance from the sea. By such management the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* are become masters of an infinity of places in *Africa* and *America*, where they have flourishing colonies, which drive a great trade. Moreover, the good of the colony requires a prohibition to traders from intermeddling in the wars of the *Indians* among themselves, and more from being accessory, unless the governor has urgent reasons for permitting it. For it is his interest as much as possible to stand neuter, and a friend of all the world, in order to gain over all those nations, for opening a trade with them, and making settlements among them; but this must be left to the prudence of the governor.

Governor allowed  
vines on ten-  
day heads.

There is no necessity of keeping a numerous garrison in the fort, especially in time of peace, when no more are required than just enough to mount the guard, which in time of war may be augmented for fear of a surprise; and, in case of an attack, the inhabitants will be ready with their assistance, because the preservation of their estates depends on that of the fortresses. It is supposed, in consequence of good order, that vessels entering the river shall first cast anchor at the foot of the fort, then their passports and bills of lading, and shall make no sale without the governor's permission, which shall be granted without delay or expence, since commerce demands expedition and liberty.

Company  
house.

Besides the favours and encouragements already demanded for the projected establishment, it might be wished, that some liberty were granted to traffic with foreigners for slaves. But it must be observed, that this favour, if granted, would turn to the disadvantage of the company, and consequently of the state interested in it, and even at last of the colony itself, as will easily appear on searching the matter to the bottom. Besides, such a step cannot fail of admitting strangers into the heart of the country, to observe its bigness, get acquainted with the parties, the depth of the river, with the bearings of the coasts of the sea and rivers, and thence take advantage, in time of war, to carry off or plunder the colony. It is much better therefore to dispense with that pretended help, which would draw after it too great a train of consequences. It is true, indeed, that if the favour was granted, it might be recalled whenever thought proper; but the mischief would be done, and it is better to prevent it, than seek out means to remedy it.

To those with  
foreigners for  
slaves to be  
prohibited.

To resume our subject, the *Indians* have settlements all along the sea coast between the rivers *Oxapek* and *Aprague*. It is no drowned country, but rises gently into hills, which are the beginning of those great mountains called the *Silver Mines*, either because they appear white at a distance, or because they contain mines of that metal, and even of the most precious of all metals; but that is as yet uncertain.

St. N.  
hill.

They reckon twelve leagues, or thereabouts, from the *Oxapek* to the *Aprague*. This last river is very considerable; its mouth, though divided by an island in the middle, is wide, and four fathom deep. A fort might be erected on this island, which would entirely defend the entrance. The whole country on both sides of the river is admirable. The inhabitants of *Cayenne* confess that it is infinitely better than their own; but their indolence and small number have hitherto prevented their transportation thither. The most considerable river between the *Aprague* and the *Mabouri*, or *Cayenne*, (for the *Mabouri* is but a branch of the *Cayenne*) is called *Caux*.

The  
channel.

The *French* had but an obscure knowledge of the river *Aprague* before the journey undertaken by the reverend fathers the *Jesuits Grillet* and *Bocharnel*. These two missionaries set out from *Cayenne*, Jan. 25, 1672, in a canoe, with two *Galibis* *Indians*, two of their own servants, and a fisher, who belonged to them, and was their pilot to steer their canoe. They carried some wares for traffic, as hatchets, knives, hooks, and looking-glasses, to exchange for necessaries on their voyage, and for presents to procure them the friendship of the *Indians*, in whose country they intended to make observations. Their provisions consisted of cassava and whicow pyc, with bananas baked in paste, which steeped in water make a refreshing and nourishing drink. It

Cayenne  
Journal of  
two Jesuits.

was, an apostolic way of travelling, for as to the rest they referred themselves to providence, on which they depended for fish, and perhaps for venison.

After twenty-four hours navigation on the river *Weia* they came to an habitation of the *Indians*, called *Maprouanes*. These *Indians* had retired from the river of *Ama-*<sup>Maprouanes</sup>  
*rens*, where they had lived before, to avoid falling into the hands of the *Portuguese*,<sup>Indians.</sup> or of the *Arianes Indians* their enemies, who had almost destroyed their nation, there remaining no more than thirty persons. Twelve leagues from the mouth of the river they met with the habitation of a *Galibis Indian*, on a mountain. Thus far the banks of the river were drowned, but two leagues farther the land was high, and formed a very fine country. They lay two successive nights on the bank of the river, and arrived at a small habitation of a *Galibis Indian*, in which were only ten persons. At length, on the tenth day of their voyage, they arrived among the *Nouragues Indians*, having quitted the river *Weia*, and entered the river of the *Nouragues*, on which they<sup>Nouragues</sup>  
failed six days without seeing the least sign of a regular habitation, but only some cots<sup>ever.</sup> of the *Galibis* and *Aracarets*. They had made a friend of the chief captain of the *Nouragues* by presenting him with a hatchet. Those people, like the rest of mankind, are easier to be gained by presents than words; otherwise they are the best folk in the world, gentle, and officious. At this place the *Galibis*, who had attended them from *Cayenne*, left them, and returned home.

The two missionaries engaged three *Nouragues* to accompany them both as guides and porters to carry their provision and baggage. They went four and twenty leagues by land among very rough mountains. In this journey they came to the *Aretay*, a fine river which falls into the *Aprouague*, and comes from the country between the source of the *Weia* and the territory of the *Mercieux*, which, according to the report of the *Nouragues*, is seven days journey in extent; and as these *Indians* march very fast, we may safely allow them ten leagues to a day, whence the country will have seventy leagues in extent. They passed the river *Aretay* in a small canoe with much danger, and for want of a house took up their lodging in the woods. The *Indians*, and others accustomed to travel in these countries, give themselves but little concern in such a case. They carry their hammocks with them, and tie them to trees, which is sufficient to make them sleep at their ease; or, when they have cause to be apprehensive of rain, they quickly erect a cabin. The necessary materials are found every<sup>Construction</sup>  
where; they cut a pole, and tie the two ends with lians, a kind of osier that grows of an Indian  
publickly in the woods; then they cut three or four more poles, and fasten one end to the first, which serves for a ridge, and the other in the ground; these rafters from space to space are tied with twigs, which serve for lathes. While this piece of carpentry goes forward, others are employed in gathering great leaves, to which they leave tails of a proper length. In these tails they cut a notch, which serves to hitch them to the rafters one upon another, like tiles upon a house. While the more dextrous hands are employed in covering the cabin, others are busy in getting fern and leaves to strew on the ground, and make a thick sort of litter, on which they lie secure from wet, let it rain ever so hard or long, if the covering be well made. All the care requisite is to chuse a place with somewhat of a ridge, the better to throw off the water. In places where there are no trees with great leaves, they use those of reeds, which are found almost every where, especially about rivers. This covering is better, and lasts longer, and the reeds serve for lathes. In default of these two things they make a shift with the longest herbs. I myself, says our author, have been forced more than once to have recourse to these sorts of cabins.

The missionaries were conducted by their three *Nouragues* to a place called *Cararibo*, from the name of a small river passing by it, having made, according to their estimation, eighty leagues since their departure from *Cayenne*. Here their three guides left them, and returned home, after recommending them to the *Nourague* captain of that place, named *Camiaty*. They purchased his friendship by the present of a hatchet. This captain received them very well, they understood that the place where he was at present was not his ordinary residence: his habitation was on the river *Apreuague*, and he was then at his son's house. This *Camiaty* was a man of about sixty, strong and vigorous; his thin and sharp visage shewed him a warrior, and besides somewhat of a barbarian. He stood but very indifferently affected towards strangers, though the present that had been made him had rendered him more tractable than ordinary. But he treated his own people with great mildness and tenderness. He was observed to

go every morning and evening to visit the whole hamlet, and to bid the good morrow and good night to every soul, from the oldest to the youngest. The hatchet procured the missionaries and their three servants a share in his compliments.

Missionaries  
successful  
with Indians.

As the missionaries had need of a canoe to continue their voyage, and could not procure it but by means of *Camiami*, they sought to gain his good will and protection by presents, and mighty complaisance. They had pretty good success; he put them in hopes that he would lend them a canoe, which was on the stocks, and would be finished in ten days, that is, after their manner of speaking, in three months. They must then have waited there all that time, which would have been very tiresome. However they did not tarry there above eight and twenty hours, which they employed in acquiring to a greater perfection the language of the *Nouragues*, which is the same, with a few exceptions, as that of the *Acoques* and *Mercieux*. Father *Bechamel*, who perfectly knew the language of the *Gahbis*, which most of that hamlet understood, had also some tincture of that of the *Nouragues*, which is much more difficult than the other. It has a number of words which must be pronounced with very rough aspirations, others which cannot be spoken but with the teeth closed, others again which must be sounded through the nose. These difficulties did not dismay the good father, he set about the work with so much assiduity and success, that he was able to compose in that tongue a short discourse on the creation of the world, and to recite it before those people, who had never heard speak of their creator. The *Indian Imanon*, chief of that cabin, took delight in it; *Camiami* himself was afterwards brought to relish it; some others followed their example, and you might hear them singing at their work what they had learnt of the missionary. They took a pleasure in hearing sung the prayers of the church, and the litanies of the holy virgin, and when they had been taught their signification, made responses, and never failed to chant *ora pro nobis*. It would have been easy to improve these happy beginnings, could they have been foreseen, and had the fathers been provided with things necessary to fix their abode in that place.

Meet with  
difficulties.

The fathers were convinced, at the end of the twelve days, that there was no dependence on the canoe which *Camiami* had promised; but they knew that there was one five days journey distant, which would serve their turn, if they could get him to send and demand it. They knew so well how to turn him, that he gave his consent, and dispatched two of his people to the place. Another company of his people taking the same route the next day, the fathers missionaries laid hold of that opportunity to make them carry their baggage. Father *Bechamel* accompanied them with one of their servants, and father *Grillet* with the two others abode with *Camiami*. He set out from thence fifteen days afterwards to go and join his companion at the place whither the borrowed or hired canoe was to be brought. The distance is reckoned fifteen leagues by the river, which winds so much that it is but three by land. Captain *Imanon* was willing to accompany them, but the fathers opposed his design, because the canoes were too small for the number of attendants he resolved to take with him. The matter was accommodated; they left in his custody the box, in which were their journals, and took nothing with *them* but what they judged might be necessary for paying their guides, making presents, and buying provisions.

A reasonable  
catast.

On the tenth of *Marib* then, 1674, they set out from *Imanon's* cabin, sixteen in number. The first night they lay in the woods, and the next day in the evening arrived at a cottage of the *Nouragues*, after travelling ten leagues, and a painful passage of several falls which they found in their two days journey on the river. They were well received, rested two days, and set out the third. They surmounted two falls that were very difficult, but found a third that the canoes could not pass. This difficulty obliged the *Nouragues* to make a way in the woods, through which they drew their canoes almost half a league. This fall is 2° 46' N. latitude.

Tenapiribo  
river.

They arrived at last above the fall, where they found the great canoe, which the men sent by *Camiami* had borrowed, and placed themselves in it, sixteen in number. Four leagues higher they found the mouth of the river *Tenapiribo*, and went to lodge in a cottage of the *Nouragues*, which stands also on the *Aprouague*, where they found five travellers of the same nation, who were going to visit the *Mercieux*. *Imanon* was the chief of this company; he was counted the greatest physician of the country, or, to speak more properly, the greatest jongleur, or mountebank, and the most de-

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voted to the superstitious observances of those nations, and especially to the plurality of wives, an invincible obstacle to his conversion.

Departing from this cottage they entered the river *Tenaporibo*, which is very deep, and, tho' it winds much, extremely rapid. They were the first *Frenchmen* that had penetrated so far; they only knew that three *Englishmen*, who had a desire to know the country some years before, had been killed and eaten by those same *Nouragues*. But no disastrous accident happened to the fathers missionaries in this quarter, so fatal to the *English*, because they were under the protection of *Camiat* and *Imanon*, men respected by the whole nation of the *Nouragues*. The *Tenaporibo* is narrow, which is the true reason of the rapidity of its course. What, besides this, renders its navigation dangerous is, that the trees on its banks cross in such a manner, that their tops often touch the opposite bank, so that there is no passing under those arcades without much difficulty and peril.

Dangerous navigation.

Our travellers were forced to lie one night in the woods; and on *April 15, 1674*, they arrived at a cabin, or cottage, where they sojourned till the 18th, which was the last of their navigation on the *Tenaporibo*. In the evening they arrived at the East settlement of the *Nouragues*, situated on the river, four and twenty leagues from its mouth. This settlement consisted of only four cabins, or cottages, containing sixteen persons, of very good natural parts, and so docile, that the missionaries had all the reason to hope to make good Christians of them, if a mission were formed near this place. This settlement lies in  $2^{\circ} 42'$  North latitude, and there is another settlement of the *Nouragues* two leagues further, and both together would find sufficient employment for a missionary.

Missionary settlement among the *Nouragues*.

They left their cabin on *April 27*, in the evening, and went to seek their three guides, who waited for them in a neighbouring cabin. The next morning they set out by land, but could make no more than five leagues, because of three difficult mountains in their way. *April 29*, they travelled two leagues over a more smooth and pleasant road; but they were forced to lodge those two nights in the woods. By the way their guides shewed them two small streams, which they assured them were the *Tenaporibo* and *Camopy*. They were very rapid; six leagues from thence the *Tenaporibo* was forty feet wide, and twelve deep; and at fifteen leagues lower the *Camopy* is as broad as the *Seine* below *Paris*.

*Camopy* river.

*April 30*, they went to take up their lodging on the river *Eiski*, whence two of their *Nouragues* went to the *Nouragues* on the river *Inipi*, to borrow a canoe, promising to meet them at their quarters, for the *Eiski* falls into the *Inipi*; but they were not at the place of rendezvous till *May 1*, in the morning. They brought with them a pretty handsome canoe, with three *Nouragues*, who came out of curiosity to see the *Europeans*, and seemed of a very mild and docile disposition. They returned home on foot, and the missionaries, with their three guides and their servants, embarked, and that night they lay in the woods on the bank of the river *Inipi*. The next day they made ten leagues on that river, which is very rapid, and by its junction with the *Camopy* at this place makes a very great river, which loses itself in the *Oyapok*, at the distance of five days journey from thence. They made four leagues up the *Camopy*, and continued to ascend it *May 13* and *14, 1674*. They lay that last night on a flat rock, where was a ruined cabin, which their people had speedily repaired. They had the same day passed by a cottage of the *Nouragues*, which is the best to be met with of that nation, and its master was a *Morou*. The *Morou*s are an *Indian* nation, which have some intercourse with *Cayenne*. One of the *Morou*s had been hanged at *Cayenne*, a year before, for killing a *Frenchman*, whence there was reason to fear that the master of the cottage would revenge the death of his countryman upon the fathers. It happened luckily for them that one of their guides was a *Morou*, and had espoused the daughter of the master of the cottage. This young man was full of affection for the missionaries, and spoke in their favour to his father-in-law, who received them courteously, and treated them as friends.

*Eiski* and *Inipi* rivers.

*Morou* nation.

On their arrival at this flat rock, where they were to pass the night, their chief guide gave a signal with a kind of flute, audible at a vast distance, to advertise the *Acouas* of the approach of strangers to their frontiers. Such, it seems, is the custom of those people; they give their neighbours notice before they enter upon their bounds. The next day proved rainy, which hindered their setting out so early as they would have done. While they were on the rock they observed, about nine in

the



## A Description of the Island and Colony

the morning, three young *Acquoas* reconnoitring them. The *Indians* fell into discourse with the guides, who spoke all they knew in favour of the fathers, and about noon they departed. About three in the afternoon the fathers arrived at the first cottage of the *Acquoas*, in 2° 25' N. latitude, where the people, who had been some time before informed of their voyage, were pleased at this visit of the missionaries, received them with honour, treated them with the best they had, and so easily accommodated themselves to their manners, that after three days there was not one in that cottage who did not join with them in morning and evening prayers. Their chief guide, who was very well known in that country, where he had many friends, conducted them to the neighbouring cottages, which gave them a hearty welcome. It was soon blazed all over the country, that strangers were come thither, and people came flocking from cottages two or three days journey distant to see them. They beheld them with admiration; they did not so much as offer to touch their hats, cloaks, or even their shoes without reverence, and were not contented if the fathers omitted chaunting several times every day the prayers of the church, and especially the Litanies of the Holy Virgin, to which their guides only at first made responses, but were soon imitated by those of the family, and afterwards by such as came from the neighbouring cottages. They looked upon the pictures of the Breviaries, and asked what they meant. They were never tired with hearing the reverend fathers discourse of the creation of the world, the mysteries of their faith, and the commandments of God and the church. They thought them reasonable, conferred together about them, proposed their doubts, and said, after all, that the *French* were happy in their knowledge of God. They several times intreated the missionaries to tette amongst them, who would have readily granted their request, had they not been obliged to return to *Cayenne*, for reasons to be alligued hereafter.

The missionaries have several times protested, that they never knew any people upon earth better disposed to receive the light of faith, and to submit themselves to its guidance, than the *Acquoas*, and their neighbours the *Nouragues*, whose character is infinitely more gentle and prone to humanity than that of the *Galibis*, and other *Indian* nations nearer the sea. In matters of religion, indeed, they have much the same notions as the *Galibis*; they acknowledge a God, but pay him no worship; he dwells, they say, in heaven, but they know not whether he be a pure spirit, and seem to believe that he has a body. The *Galibis* call him *Tamouicabo*, which is to say, the *Ancient of Heaven*; the *Nouragues* and *Acquoas* name him *Marée*, and sometimes entertain themselves with childish tales and fictions relating to him.

The fathers had conversed with above two hundred of the *Acquoas*, and always found them mild and tractable. It is true, indeed, that they were just come from exterminating a small nation, whose bodies they had eaten; but the blame of that act of inhumanity must be charged on custom, which is every where predominant, as well as among all those nations of cannibals. The missionaries had notice, three days after their arrival, that at half a day's journey from their lodging there was some flesh of a *Magapa*, an enemy to the *Acquoas*. The good men reproved them for that inhuman action, and told them that God was displeas'd with it, and that it was not lawful to kill a prisoner, and eat him. They held down their eyes, and made no answer.

The greatest obstacle to the conversion of those nations, in the opinion of those fathers, is polygamy. They believe, however, that it operates only upon those who are already married to several wives, and that it will have much less influence, it is to be hoped, upon young people.

The married *Galibis* eat separately, each by himself; the unmarried eat all in common, and all the wives, daughters, and little children, place themselves in another quarter to take their repast. The *Nouragues* and *Acquoas* manage otherwise; Husbands eat with their wives and children, except before strangers, whom they have a mind to honour with their company, in which case the women and children eat apart by themselves. They are no drunkards, and are even observed to be little drinkers; but then they are great eaters; and this obliges them to be always on the hunt by land or water. They delight in these exercises, and are very dexterous at them. Their most remarkable sailing, and which they have in common with all *Indians*, is lying. They are bathful, and sneak off when their lyes are discovered, tho' without amendment, but guilty of the same fault the next moment.

Missioners kindly entertained by the *Acquoas*.

Religious notions of *Indians*.

Cannibals by inveterate custom.

Polygamy hinders their conversion.

Their customs in eating.

No drunkards,

but liars.

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This cabin of the *Acoquas* was the last stage of the travels of those zealous missionaries. Two reasons were assigned, which obliged them to return: The first was a feverish disorder, which afflicted both them and their servants; but the most prevailing was the refusal of their three *Neurague* guides to go any farther, and even to attend them in their way back to the place where they had taken them. It was indeed with a very ill will, and solely against the grain, that they had conducted them thus far. They had done all in their power to intimidate them from undertaking this journey; but they contended with men of courage, and of unshaken zeal for proclaiming the gospel. Such ought to be the qualities of true missionaries, on whom zeal, prudence, and intrepidity are inseparable attendants; and such were eminently remarkable in the journal of these two Jesuits.

Return of the missionaries; causes.

Avarice and interest had a great share in the refusal of their three *Neuragues* to conduct them farther, or to wait on them. They were afraid that the fathers would take up their residence with the *Acoquas*, till they had made away with all the commodities they had brought. Wherefore they in a manner forced them to embark before the great captain, who had received notice of their arrival, could have time to come and see them. Then they contrived to prevent the fathers from a perfect knowledge of the number of persons in their own nation, and that of the *Acoquas*, though Father *Bechamel*, by his sagacity and penetration in a great measure frustrated their counsels. He found that the nation of the *Neuragues* consisted of no more than five or six hundred persons, and that the *Mercieux*, to the West of the *Neuragues*, were nearly of the same number. It was impossible to procure a distinct account of the number of the *Acoquas*, or even of their huts, or cabins, which might have given some light into the other. He only learned from an old *Indian* woman, whom he interrogated, and had opened her mouth by a small present, that on one quarter, which he threw her, were ten carpets, or cabins; and when he pointed towards the quarter where the great captain resided, and demanded how many subjects he had, she took up a handful of her hair, which was as much as to say, that the number was beyond computation. This quarter lay on the West, or towards the *Mercieux*. Hence we may conjecture, that this nation is very numerous. He informed himself also, that to the South of the *Acoquas* lives the nation of the *Pirios*, equal to them in number; that the *Pirions* lie on the East and South-east, the *Magapas* and *Pinos* to the East, and the *Moroux* in the midst of all those nations. The *Moroux* are fierce, and almost entirely barbarous. As to the rest, all those sorts of people speak the same language, as do also the *Caranes*, a very great nation, and enemies to the *Neuragues*. He learned also, in discoursing with the *Acoquas*, that the *Maranes*, a very numerous nation, use the same tongue. This would be of considerable advantage to the missionaries who would undertake the conversion of those different nations, because they would have but one language to learn, for rendering themselves useful to all those several sorts of people, whereas the difference of tongues is very often the greatest trouble and embarrassment of the missionaries.

Polity of the guides.

Numbers, and variety of language of Indian nations.

They learned also that, besides those people, there was a very considerable nation towards the North, called *Aramisus*, about forty leagues distant from the *Acoquas*. This discovery obliged the missionaries to inform themselves very exactly whether there was not a great lake in the neighbourhood of those people, and in that lake, or its adjacent parts, quantities of *caraceth*, a general name among the *Indians* for gold, silver, and copper. An *Acoquas*, who had travelled much in that country, assured them, that he had never heard speak of that lake: a new proof, that the lake of *Parime* and the *Dorab* are mere chimeras.

Chimerical lake.

At last, the missionaries, after a residence of thirteen days among the *Acoquas*, finding that the excessive heats of the advancing season had brought upon them violent tertians and diarrhas, and that the strongest of their domestics was very ill, and besides pressed by their three guides, who had resolved to return home without waiting for them, took their leave with regret of those good people, in whom they had observed such good dispositions to open their eyes to the truth. They embarked in two canoes, with a young *Acoquas*, who had a mind to follow them, and to see *Cayenne*, where they arrived on *June 15, 1674*, after an absence of full five months, and a progress of one hundred and seventy leagues Westwards.

Missioners return to Cayenne.

Those zealous missionaries wanted two things; the first was health. Their courage could not be greater, but they were not of a constitution strong enough to support it.

Unprovided with two requisites.

infinite fatigues of this painful voyage; as lodging in the woods, oftentimes eating nothing but cassava, and from time to time fish, or smoked flesh, travelling on foot over rugged countries, and through forests, and rowing, or hauling, in their canoes like gally-slaves. It required a much greater degree of health and vigour to undergo such laborious fatigues. The second thing wanting was a compass, by the help of which they might have marked and computed their several routes and distances. This table would have served to make an exact chart of their voyage, whereas the chart, with which M. de Gomberville has adorned his work, though drawn by that skilful geographer M. Saizon, can give us no manner of clear idea of the countries through which these fathers travelled.

*Arouague*  
river.

But to return to the rivers within the jurisdiction of *Cayenne*, the river *Arouague* is the most considerable. Its source and extent are both unknown, and the discovery requires the zeal and courage of the two fathers; for the *French* who go to traffic with the *Indians* mind nothing but getting off their wares, not concerning themselves about the names of the different people with whom they deal, nor about the situation of their several countries, their numbers, or manners; so that no light is to be expected from their travels.

*Oyac* river  
and county.

We barely know that there is on the west a pretty large river, distinguished by the name of *Ucia*, or *Eaufe*, and more lately of *Oyac*. The count *de Gennes*, formerly admiral of a squadron, and commandant of the island of *St Christopher's*, had obtained a very large grant on this river, which had been erected into a county by the name of *Oyac*, or *Gennes*. I know not, says the author, whether his death has not caused great disorder in the settlement which he had begun.

Remark on  
grantees of  
land.

These large grants are not without their inconveniencies, when those who have obtained them are in no condition to render them valuable. But as they are generally men of substance, they always find means to make advantage and profit of the favour obtained; and when they find themselves quite out of means for compassing this end, they have a ready way of bestowing the superabundance on such inhabitants as want land, and thus make to themselves friends and neighbours, who in time of war help to defend them by defending themselves.

*Maburi* river.

The river *Maburi*, which is a branch of the *Cayenne*, passes to the south of the isle, and separates it from the main land, or continent. All we know of the river *Cayenne* is, that it comes from a great distance South-West to North-East. It is surprising that none hitherto have had the curiosity to ascend its stream, in order to discover its source, and get some knowledge of the people on its banks; for the *Indians* never live remote from rivers, because they procure the best part of their sustenance from them. We know from the *Indian Galibis*, or *Caribbes*, on its banks, or in the neighbourhood, that it receives several rivers traversing that country in several parts. The overflowing of those rivers in the rainy season, renders those countries indeed watery, but never the worse, at least in respect of fertility, though it cannot be denied that they are so in regard to health. It is certain that if they were inhabited, and cleared of the large forests which cover them, they would cease to be marshy and unwholesome, as is manifest from every day's experience in *St Domingo* and the *Caribbee* islands, where the country becomes more healthful in proportion as it is more cleared and inhabited.

*Cayenne*, its  
source undi-  
covered.

Lands ren-  
dered health-  
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ing.

*Macouria*  
river.

West of the *Cayenne* runs the river *Macouria*, which cannot have a very long course. At its mouth is a bank of sand, which runs a great way into the sea, with little water upon it, enough indeed for canoes, but not for barks and vessels; sufficient however for the commerce along the coast, which is well peopled, and enriched with sugar-works and other manufactories.

*Courou* river,  
fort, and co-  
lony.

Five leagues West of the *Macouria*, is the course of the river *Courou*. Here a colony, under the direction of M. de *Bretigny*, had erected a fort, which ran to ruin for want of repairs, after it had been abandoned at the time of the destruction of that colony, and of that which succeeded it. The mouth of this river is spoiled by the same bank of sand, as lies before that of the *Macouria*. It has however the same quantity of water, and consequently is capable of the same commerce.

Farther West are several creeks, where the land rises into mountains, which appear at a distance, and serve to let vessels know where they are arrived. The sand bank, beforementioned, contracts itself very much in this place, and forms a deep creek,

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creek, including five small islands, called the *Devil's Islets*, probably from their up-  
right steepness, and difficulty of approach. Devil's islets.

The next river has two names; for some call it *Sanamari*, and others *Manamari*.  
The long bank of sand runs a considerable way into the sea before its mouth. This Sanamari, or  
Manamari  
river.  
river, they pretend, is much more considerable than those preceding it. The com-  
pany of *Rouen*, or *Bretigny*, had here a fort at the right of its mouth, which under-  
went the same fate as that of *Courou*. The great sand bank closes also the entrance  
of this river, and, as the coast is higher, advances less into the sea. It is a general Geographi-  
cal position.  
rule, that where the land is high, the adjacent sea is deep; and where the land is low,  
the sea is also less deep, or spoiled with banks.

The vast region between the *Sanamari* and *Maroni* is high, without being moun-  
tainous. It consists of nothing but agreeable hillocks, whose banks are a gentle de-  
clivity. They are loaded with large and stout trees; a sure sign of the goodness and  
depth of the soil. Ten thousand inhabitants might live there very comfortably, and  
erect sugar-works of infinite consideration, without reckoning the plantations of cacao-  
trees, cotton-trees, rouncous, and all sorts of fruit-trees, which would thrive here to ad-  
miration if cultivated, since without culture, and left to themselves, they come to per-  
fection, and produce excellent fruit. A good  
country

The *Maroni* deserves the title of *the Great River*, and is such in reality. The force  
of its current has dissipated the bank of sand, which could not but render its entrance  
impracticable to ships. Its rapidness has opened to it a vast canal, four fathom deep,  
which would be more than enough for merchant vessels, were there not banks of  
rocks more impracticable than sand banks. The company of *Rouen* had raised a fort Maroni river,  
and fort.  
in 1644, at a point on the left, between which and that which forms the entrance on  
the same side lies a bay above half a league in breadth, and as much in depth, form-  
ing a natural port, covered from all winds, and the most furious tempests, and of an  
admirable bottom for anchorage. The river *Mana*, which throws itself into it at Mana river.  
the point, where ships may water, has depth enough to carry canoes and shallops.

*Ecclesiastic Government of CAYENNE.*

The reverend fathers the Jesuits have had the sole spiritual charge of this colony,  
at least since it was retaken from the *Dutch* by *M. de la Barre* in 1664. The go-  
vernor and inhabitants have twice attempted to introduce Dominicans, not with a view  
to exclude the Jesuits, but that they might have missionaries of two different orders, as  
there are at *St Domingo* and the windward islands. We are not to enquire into their  
reasons, but they seem to be good, because the court had consented, and assigned  
the Dominicans a district for exercising their functions, and revenues sufficient to main-  
tain them without burdening the public. The thing would have succeeded, and the  
care of the missions been divided between the Jesuits and Dominicans, had not the  
fathers of *Tboloufe* chosen the most improper persons in their province for making that  
establishment. It was attempted twice, because the governor and inhabitants came  
twice to the charge, and the good fathers as often miscarried through their own fault,  
it not appearing that the Jesuits in any manner contributed to their disappointment.  
The Jesuits then are at present, and likely always to continue the sole missionaries. Jesuits: sole  
missioners at  
Cayenne.

In all that vast extent of country between the rivers *Oyapock* and *Maroni*, making a-  
bout eighty leagues of length, they have but three parochial churches, two of which  
are in the title of *Cayenne*, and the third upon the main land, without reckoning that  
of *Courou*, which has not the title of parish, but simply of mission. The king gives  
each parson a yearly pension of 1000 livres out of his own domain; the reverend fa-  
thers have a sugarwork in the quarter called *Loyola*, with above 250 negroes, besides  
what they receive from their masses, which they generally expend in ornaments for  
the church. Every interment in the church pays a duty of 100 livres, which is re-  
ceived by the churchwarden. Christenings, marriages, publishing of banns, licenses,  
and other things of that nature, cost nothing. Vain attempt  
to introduce  
Dominicans.

There is a college founded for the instruction of youth, adjacent to the parochial  
church of the city of *Cayenne*, and under the direction of the Jesuits. The hospital  
for sick is managed by four grey nuns, who have a yearly gratuity from the king of  
2000 livres, which is charged on the royal domain. This sum was formerly applied  
to College and  
hospital.

### *A Description of the Island and Colony*

to the use of a physician botanist, who was found of no utility to the colony. The other revenues of the hospital are under the management of a director, who is to settle accounts yearly with the governor, assisted by the commissary administrator.

#### *Military Government of CAYENNE.*

Governor,  
garrison, salaries.

The governor of *Cayenne* is nominated by the king; his commission is granted under the seal, and lasts as long as his majesty pleases. It must be registered at the office of the superior council of the island. He depends on the governor general of the *French Antilles*, who resides at *Martinica*, and is accountable to the secretary of state for the marine department. The government of *Cayenne* is united to the whole adjacent province of *Guyana*. The garrison consists of six companies detached from the marine, and fifty men, including serjeants and drums. They are maintained and mustered by the king, and commanded by six captains, six lieutenants, and six ensigns. The yearly pay of the captains is 1080 livres, of the lieutenants 750, and of the ensigns 540, which are disbursed by the treasurer of the marine. There is an aid major, who has the pay of a lieutenant, but receives it out of the royal revenue by the king's appointment.

Militia.

Besides these regular troops, the inhabitants form two companies of militia, one of infantry, the other of dragoons, which are more or less numerous according to the number of the colony. These companies may, on occasion, be both dragoons, since there is scarce an inhabitant but keeps a horse, and they may assemble in less than twenty-four hours. Their officers are captains, lieutenants, and ensigns. They had formerly a colonel; but since the death of *M. le Roux*, the richest man in the country, that post has not been filled. Every free man, from the age of seventeen to sixty, must be enrolled in one of those companies. They are exercised from time to time by their captains, and reviewed once in a year by the governor.

Governor's  
house, barracks.

The last governor, under the king's good pleasure, built the mansion-house for the governor, and the barracks for the soldiers; both necessary edifices, especially the last.

Grants and  
conditions.

Those who have no lands for making plantations easily obtain them on the continent; for all those on the island have long since been granted. The governor, assisted by the commissary administrator, makes grants. They receive for this purpose a petition, expressing the quantity of land demanded, with its bounds and situation. These good magistrates make no scruple, but grant all they request without delay or expence. The ordinary grant is fifteen hundred paces for a roucouiry, and three thousand for a sugary, on condition that the grantee shall form on it a solid plantation within a year and a day, in default of which the grant becomes void, and the land reverts to the royal domain, and is ready to be granted to another person on the same articles and conditions.

Grants per-  
manent.

If any person buys a piece of land already begun to be cleared, and through negligence omits to form the designed plantation, the king, at the request of the attorney general, orders it to be sold at an auction to the best bidder, excepting, however, lands belonging to minors. In other respects the grants are permanent, on fulfilling the obligations therein contained, and getting them enrolled in the registry of the jurisdiction.

#### *Civil Government of CAYENNE.*

Alteration in  
the cours of  
justice.

Formerly the governor and board of officers finally determined all differences without appeal. It was then no difficult matter, the settlers, and consequently the contentions, were but few; but the number of inhabitants increasing, the differences became more frequent and considerable. Some people, who came from certain provinces of the kingdom, took care not to leave behind them their love of law-suits, and subtilty of chicanery. That simple and summary manner of ending all differences at once was what shocked them. "What live and not be in law?" said they, "And how can we go to law without officers of justice?" They made such a noise, that the court was obliged to send them a judge, a king's attorney, a register, and some bailiffs, who by degrees rose to the rank of attorneys, and almost of counsellors. Thus was justice taken out of the hands of the board of officers, and put into those of the royal justice, or jurisdiction civil and criminal.

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But this was not enough to content them. " In what place of the world, said they, is any one denied the consolation of a power to appeal from the first judgment?" The court yielded to their importunities, and permitted them to appeal from their judgment to the superior council established at *Martinico*. Its intent in this doubtless was, from the difficulty of pleading at *Martinico*, where the council sits but once in two months, and whence it is very difficult to return to *Cayenne*, to extinguish their ardor for law; but it was entirely frustrated; they were bent on going to law, and they carry it on as well as in *Normandy* itself; and it often happens, that a judgment is followed by a bill of review [in Chancery.]

Litigious disposition.

The ordinary jurisdiction, or royal seat of justice abovementioned, was established in 1700. It serves to try all affairs referred to it for the first suit, saving an appeal to the superior council. The difficulties almost insurmountable, and always ruinous to the parties, which attended a recourse to the council of *Martinico*, determined the king at last to indulge the litigants at *Cayenne* with a superior council for trying appeals from the royal judge. The deed of its establishment bears date 1703, and it is formed on the model of those of *Martinico*, *Guadalupe*, and the two that are in *St Domingo*. This council is composed of the governor, who presides, a commissary administrator, the king's lieutenant, a major, eight counsellors, an attorney general, and chief register. They enjoy the same honours and prerogatives as the officers of the other superior courts of the kingdom. The governor presides, but pronounces not sentence; this part belongs to the commissary administrator, and, in his absence, to the oldest counsellor. They sit with their swords by their sides, because they all belong to the sword. They have no appointments, but an exemption from the capitation of twelve of their slaves. Only the senior of the counsellors has very lately obtained a gratification of three hundred livres *Tournois*, which is settled on the seniority. The council assembles the first *Monday* of every month, and sits as many days as is necessary for trying all the causes brought before it. All the officers of the superior council receive their commissions directly from the court, as do likewise the judge royal, the king's attorney, and the register. This last officer keeps the minutes of the grants of lands, the records of judgments, the registrations of patents, and ordinances of the court, wills, codicils, contracts of marriage, bills of sale, letters of attorney, and other acts. He has no salary of the king, but is paid by the parties, according to the rates settled by the superior council. This is not a bad post, tho' not so honourable as the preceding.

Ordinary court of justice.

Council superior.

There is a board of admiralty, accountable to the superior council, and composed of a lieutenant general, a king's attorney, and a register, which officers are nominated by the admiral, and equipped by his majesty, for taking cognizance of crimes and misdemeanours committed on the sea, and all contracts relating to the marine. This jurisdiction is very ancient in *France*, which established them so long ago as the year 1400, in favour of the admiral. It is true, that in all the isles the judges royal exercised the functions of judges of the admiralty; but by a regulation of *Jan. 12, 1717*, the king has obtained, that there shall be for the future, in all the ports of the *French* islands and colonies, in whatever part of the world situated, judges for trying maritime causes, under the name of officers of the admiralty, and that these jurisdictions shall be composed of a lieutenant, king's attorney, and register, with the functions and prerogatives allotted them by the ordinance of 1681. The fees of these officers are settled by a regulation made at *Versailles* in 1688. They are to follow in their sentences the statutes written in the laws of the *Rhodians*, and the ordinance of the king for the marine, when they shall be found contrary to it. As the *Negro* slaves make a considerable part of the colony, the king has made a particular regulation on their account, which is called the Black cove.

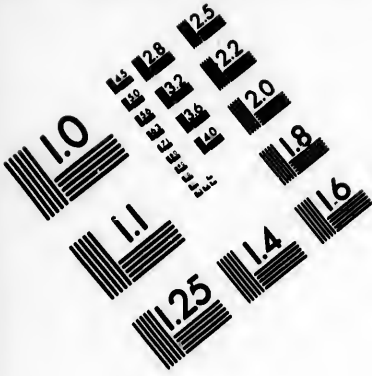
Maritime department.

*The King's Domain at CAYENNE.*

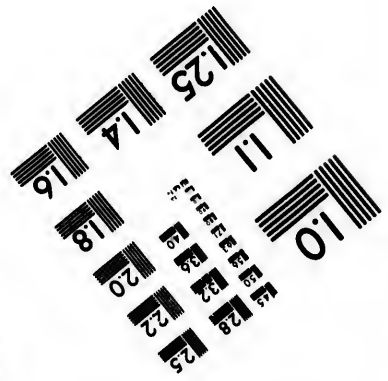
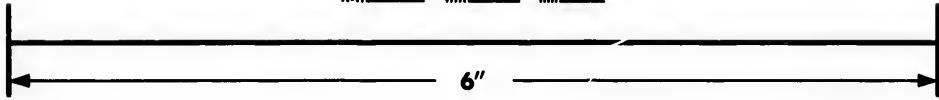
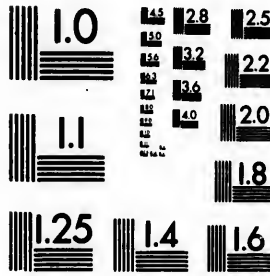
What the king receives from colonies is called *his domain*. It is so inconsiderable at *Cayenne*, that the colony, in its present condition, instead of profitable, is, we are assured, burthentome to him. It costs him yearly sixty thousand livres in salaries to the several boards of officers, to the officers of his troops, to the cloathing and pay of the six companies of the garrison, in pensions to the parsons, and to the *Grey Sisters*, who have the care of the hospital, without reckoning the equipment of

King's expenses in maintaining the colony.





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## A Description of the Island and Colony

a ship, sent thither every year, laden with flour for the soldiers, powder, and other necessary stores of war. We cannot be much mistaken if, instead of sixty thousand livres, we reckon sixty thousand crowns, one year with another.

His revenue. The royal revenue is much easier to be counted. It consists in the capitation tax, or duty of seven livres six sols per head, which masters pay for their slaves from the age of fourteen to sixty. Whites, not born in the country, pay the same duty; Creoles and women pay nothing. Besides this duty the king receives also four per Cent. for merchandize exported to France. Considering the small number of slaves in this colony, and the very little quantity of merchandize therein manufactured, the duties produce but about twenty thousand livres yearly. Moreover, all vessels coming to an anchor in the port of Cayenne are obliged to pay a duty of thirty-seven livres twenty sols for anchorage. This duty was formerly exacted for the admiral, but since the year 1722 the king has annexed it to his own domain. This is sufficient to let us know that this colony has hitherto been expensive to the king; but the methods before hinted for augmenting it very considerably, and setting it on a level with the best of those on *St Domingo*, or the windward islands, give room to hope, or rather assurance, that the king will hereafter receive a revenue from it far exceeding his expences in maintaining it.

Besides the Creoles and Savages, who are both exempt, the king has been pleased to grant a number of exemptions to all his officers military and civil for their slaves. The king's lieutenant has eighteen, the major twelve, the captains eight, the ensigns six, and the sergeants four. All the officers of the militia are treated on the same footing. The counsellors of the superior council have an exemption of twelve slaves, the attorney general of twelve, and the register of eight; the ordinary judge has twelve exempts, the king's attorney eight, and the register six. Parsons of parishes, and those who can prove their noblesse, have also an exemption for twelve of their slaves.

### Commerce and Manufactures of CAYENNE.

Evils from the trade of this colony with foreign-ers. *Milbau* says, that the scarcity of Negroe slaves, and the exorbitant price to which the company has raised them, have obliged the inhabitants of the Leeward islands to have recourse to foreigners for slaves. This commerce turned very well to account; for they commonly purchased for one hundred crowns what would have cost them twelve hundred francs, or livres, from the company. But in whatever manner they paid these foreigners, whether in money, or in goods, the growth of their plantations, it always turned to the great prejudice of the king and the state. First, because the specie which goes out of the kingdom, or any part of it, never returns, and thus occasions a scarcity of it. And yet it is impossible to have it in too great plenty, for money is the sinews of the state, without which it cannot exert itself in peace or war. In the second place, if foreigners be paid for what they bring in merchandize, as sugar, cotton, roucou, indigo, cacao, dye-woods, tobacco, coffee, and other goods of the growth of the country, the king loses his duties of import and export payable in France, or on the spot. Thirdly, considerable damage is done to trade, which, by this means, is deprived of a vent for its commodities. The marine, so necessary to the kingdom, is absolutely ruined; for as long as the colonies neglect taking the goods imported from France, because they supply themselves with them at foreign ports, the French merchants will no longer be able to fit out ships; shipwrights and seamen will go to seek employment among foreigners, and the marine, which has cost so much pains and expence to put it on a respectable footing, will be reduced to nothing; and, in case of a war with the maritime powers, the sea coasts of the kingdom will be exposed to their insults and ravages. The colonies themselves will be the first sufferers; foreigners will discover their weakness, and the places proper for making descents, and, by ceasing to carry to them the necessaries of life, will reduce them to the last extremity, and then have no more to do but come and take possession.

Inconveniences of Cayenne, in respect to the Windward islands. It is certain, that the colony of Cayenne has more need of slaves, on all accounts, than those of the Windward islands and *St Domingo*, because the cleared lands are by no means permanent, at least in the island, and along the banks of the sea and rivers. There is a necessity, at least every five years, to set about new clearings and new fellings of woods. Those clearings give abundance of trouble; at least, the current labours

labours of the sugar-works and other manufactories must be interrupted, without a good number of supernumerary slaves. These new lands produce very bad exhalations, sources of an infinity of disorders, which carry off multitudes of slaves, and very often their masters, who are never of so robust a constitution as Negroes. But in the Windward islands the clearings last always, and if the ground be worn out by too free and frequent productions, the defect is repaired by replanting canes every two or three years, which is a labour incomparably less than what is spent in felling forests, burning the felled trees, planting canes in their room, and waiting 16 or 18 months till they come to maturity for yielding sugar. Besides ground newly cleared, being naturally fat and humid, and its situation rendering it also aqueous, the canes which it produces are indeed thick, large, and full of juice; but this juice is fat and watry, and consequently longer in boiling, and more difficult to purify; whence it will be necessary to cut and put to the mill more canes, and to purify and boil more juice, or liquor, to make one barrel of sugar, than are required in *Martinico* for making four. Hence more sugar is made at *Martinico*, with forty Negroes, than at *Cayenne* with an hundred.

The sugar of *Cayenne* has naturally a very agreeable smell of violet, is pretty white, that is to say, of a pale whiteness, but has never that solidity and brightness of grain which set off the sugar of *Martinico*. The planters cut their forms in three; the top, or head, is blackish or yellowish, and consists of nothing but rough sugar, or muscovade; the middle is a little whiter, and may be compared to the middling moulded sugar of *Martinico*; the bottom is white, and may be called fine sugar. It wants, however, one thing essential, which is to be well dried. It would be easy for the inhabitants to amend this defect by drying it in good stoves, which have quite another effect on the sugar than drying it in the sun, which has been hitherto practised. Sugar dried in the sun is always more susceptible of humidity than what has been dried in a good stove. The ardour of the fire thoroughly penetrates it, so as not to leave the least remains of humidity. Thus when it comes to be beaten in order to be put into the cask, there issues from it dust, which shews that it is thoroughly dry, and quite unsusceptible of moisture, unless it be extreme.

The inhabitants of the *Grande Terre* (so they call the greater part of *Guadaloupe*) were at infinite pains to make sugar of a good degree of whiteness and solidity. The white and rough sugar which came out of their hands was ashy, of a pale white, and of no solidity or brightness of grain. It had these defects because the grounds were but newly cleared, and too rich. These grounds are become impoverished by use, their fatness is exhausted, and now they yield sugar which has all the qualities that can recommend it. The same would succeed at *Cayenne*, did the inhabitants, instead of making new clearings, and new plantations of canes, in new, fat and humid grounds, so often as they do, but imitate those of *Guadaloupe*, and make their grounds serve for a long time. Light and spongy lands, it is true, cannot for many successive years nourish the stumps of canes; but the remedy is easy. It needs only to replant them once in two years, or even every year. It is a labour from which one is exempt in good lands of a deep soil, but it is much less considerable than cutting down forests, and continually changing plantations.

The second merchandise of the colony of *Cayenne* in *Roucou*. The inhabitants press and beat the grain thrice to get the more out of them. The question is whether this roucou be as fine as that where the grains have been pounded but once or twice; I can hardly believe it. The colour of this false red consists in an extremely tender pellicle, which covers the white grain that holds the calyx, or cup of the flower. This excessive trituration can only serve to bruise that useless grain, and detach particles from it, which mix with those of the red pellicle; but those particles, which are white, cannot increase the red colour. Hence, I believe, I may conclude, that the Roucou of *Cayenne* cannot be so red and so good as that of the Windward islands.

The *Roucou* of the *Caribbeans*, who never pound their grains at all, and only take off the pellicle by rubbing them in their hands with oil, is infinitely finer and of a more lively red. It is true, a planter would not find his account in this way of operation, unless he could sell his roucou for nine or ten livres per pound. But we must conclude from hence that, the more the grains are bruised, the less red, and fainter, the roucou appears.

In the whole colony of *Cayenne* are but twenty ingenios, or sugaries, eighty six roudoueries, and six large confectioneries; whence we may judge what a title the commerce of Indigo by ill husbandry neglected.

of that country is, and of what advantage to the state when shared with foreigners. Sugar and roucou there are the only merchandise; but it seems strange that the inhabitants have neglected the culture of indigo, for which their fat and moist lands are very proper, and ought to be appropriated to that use as soon as cleared. Two crops of indigo would impoverish the ground, and render it fitter to bear sugar canes, which being less watry, and less charged with the fatness of the soil, would be less troublesome in nourishing and raising, and produce the finer and firmer sugar.

As also cotton.

As little reason can be given for not cultivating the cotton tree, because it grows there naturally, and without culture in the lands possessed by the *Indians*; it would come to much greater perfection, if cultivated. In the Windward islands it is appropriated to such grounds as are driest and most exhausted, and, in short, such as they know not what to do with else. Whence comes this neglect of a thing which would cost but a trifle to maintain, and from which so considerable profit might be drawn; where the vent is certain, and six Negroes are sufficient to cultivate one hundred thousand cotton trees? Besides, when those trees are suffered to grow to a certain height, they are no obstruction to the growth of grass, nor pasture of cattle. But if it be apprehended that the beasts may injure the trees, which may happen when they are low, one may plant manioc or potatoes between the rows, and make the whole ground turn to account.

And cocoa.

Another piece of negligence, which would be unpardonable, were it not in some measure excusable from the extreme indolence of the inhabitants, is an omission of cultivating cocoa trees. The country is so well adapted to them, that intire forests of those trees are observed to grow on the North of the river of *Amazons*. They are natural to the country, and what a trifle would it cost to raise them! And when once this tree has covered its ground, and prevented by its shadow other vegetables from growing under it, what other labour can it require than that of gathering its fruit twice every year? The continent, which is at the disposal of the colony, affords immense tracts of land for planting those trees. What quantities of fruit might they not expect to gather, and besides assure themselves of a quick sale for them, still remembering that whatever is consumed by the mouth always comes to a good market.

Coffee cultivated in Cayenne.

From the year 1722, the inhabitants of *Cayenne* have applied themselves to the culture of the coffee tree, for which they are obliged to *M. de la Motte Aigron*. This officer was sent to *Surinam*, a *Dutch* colony, eighty leagues from *Cayenne*, to treat about military deserters from the two nations, where he observed those trees to grow which produce coffee-berries. He informed himself of the manner of their culture, but knew at the same time that all the inhabitants of that colony, were forbidden, under pain of death, to sell or give a single berry to foreigners, before it had been dried in the oven, in order to kill the bud, and hinder its sprouting. He would have been obliged to return without getting any, had it not been for one *Mourgues*, formerly an inhabitant of *Cayenne*, but for some years retired among the *Dutch*. *Aigron* discoursed with this man, exhorted him to return, and, to engage him thereto, promised to make him his steward, provided he brought away with him a pound of coffee-berries in pods which had not been put in the oven. Though *Mourgues* ran a great risk of his life in case of a discovery, yet the pleasure of returning among his countrymen, and the promises of a settlement, determined him to comply with *M. Aigron*. He procured him a pound of berries in pods, and they set out together without having their baggage searched, because it was not suspected that they carried coffee.

Teaves and berries well

*M. Aigron* sowed between one thousand and one thousand two hundred of those berries in his own plantation, and distributed the rest to others of the inhabitants, who sowed them in their nurseries. These seeds sprung up at a surprising rate, and in less than three years became trees which bore fruit, so that at present there are above sixty thousand bearing stocks, and they plant more every day. This tree alone is sufficient to enrich the whole colony, considering the consumption of coffee in all parts of *Europe*. It is become so much in vogue that all the world accustom themselves to it, physicians approve it, and recommend it by their own example.

Asian and American coffee.

But the question at present is, which is the best sort of coffee? The company which drives a considerable trade to *Mocha*, and whose interest it is to find vent for their coffee which comes from *Ile Bourbon* and *Ile Royale*, has made representations on that head to the court, and the coffee of *Cayenne* is charged with a duty of twenty sols per pound, when unloaded in any port of *France*; but into *Holland* it is imported

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free from duty. But we are not here to enter into a detail of the pretended differences between the coffee which comes from the *French* colonies of *America*, and what is imported from *Asia*, tho' we cannot omit taking notice that persons of the first rank, who have made experiments at *Paris*, have given the preference to that of *America*. And let us only suppose the coffee of *America* no better in itself than that of *Asia*, yet surely it must be better by accident, or with regard to circumstances. For it may be had much fresher, and consequently while it is still replete with that oil, or balm, in which consists the best part of its virtues. This oil abounds in it to that degree, that you may see it swim on the liquor when poured into the dish; its smell is charming, and the most delicate palates can find no fault, but agree that the famous coffee of *Sultania*, so much extolled by travellers who have been at *Mocha*, is very little, if at all, superior to that of *America*. This we may have quite fresh twice every year, a month, or six weeks, or at most two months after it has been gathered from the tree; whereas the newest from *Asia* always requires a voyage of near two years before it can arrive in any part of *Europe*. And what damage must it not sustain during so long a time and carriage! Besides, the purchase on the spot, and the charge of transportation are much more considerable.

*Asian and American coffee.*

The tree which produces coffee is not at all tender. Poor worn out lands, where nothing else will grow, agree with it. Here it shoots, runs up to an height, and becomes a very fine tree. The berries you are to set must not have been dried in the sun, much less in an oven, for either way would kill the bud. They must be steeped twenty four hours in water, before they are put into the ground. This preparation serves to soften them, and make way for the bud the more easily to break the berry, and to shoot. They are commonly set in a pot filled with good earth, carefully cleaned from small stones, and coarse sand, laid flatways, and but lightly covered with earth, that the bud may the more easily pierce it. They are to be set three inches distant from each other, and watered every day, so as not to uncover them. In seven or eight days the bud appears after breaking the bean, or berry, that incloses it, and shoots forth a tender blade, whose extremity is covered with extravasated parts of the berry. In this state it appears just like a pistil, whose head unfolds itself into leaves, of which but two appear at first. As the blade or stem continues to grow, it sends forth two more blades from its center, and thus the number of leaves, which are always in pairs, increases in proportion to its growth. When the stems are six or seven inches high, and have six or eight leaves, opportunity is taken of rain, or a plentiful dew, to transplant them into earth prepared for them, of a good depth, and well cleared of all sorts of herbs and roots. Let the distance between each plant be seven or eight feet, and take care that they be not exposed to the North wind.

*Culture of the coffee tree.*

The tree is quick enough of growth, if care be taken that it is not suffocated with the grass and herbs which the earth produces abundantly in those hot and moist regions. It grows naturally very round; its branches, or, to speak more properly, its sprays, grow with great regularity, and have a very agreeable effect. In fifteen or eighteen months, the trunk is as thick as one's leg, and has seven or eight feet of height of stem and branches. Now it begins to bear fruit, which cannot be better compared than to a cherry, very adhesive to the bough, and of a good beautiful red. It blackens by degrees as it approaches maturity, which is the mark by which they know when to gather it. The blackish or reddish skin incloses twin berries in coalition, and as yet a little soft and gluey. As this skin dries it becomes like parchment, and is easily taken off, and the two berries appear, the skin between them falls off of itself, and the berries thus cleared are repointed in a granary, or some other place, under shelter from rain, moisture, wind, and sun. This preparation is necessary to consume part of the oil contained in them, which has an acrimony, and disagreeable tartness of taste, when there is too much of it. The flower which precedes the pods so much resembles that of the peach tree, that it is easy to mistake one for the other. The tree bears twice in a year; the winter crop, in countries north of the line, is gathered in *May*, and that of the summer, in *November*. We see coffee trees in *Cayenne* of five years growth, eighteen feet in height, and yielding no less than seven pound of berries at a crop. Such productions are thought excessive, and soon exhaust the tree, and cause it to die. Five pounds at a crop are enough to answer all reasonable expectations.

*Description of the tree and its fruit.*

*A Description of the Island and Colony*

For other vegetable productions of *Cayenne*, and the neighbouring continent of *Guyana*, as woods proper for dying, medicine, or carpentry, with their gums and other fruits, see our account of the *French Antilles* under their respective articles.

*Of Quadrupeds in Cayenne and the neighbouring Continent.*

**Quadrupeds.** There is so little ground cleared and discovered in *Guyana*, that it may be reckoned as a vast and thick forest, and consequently a country of beasts of all kinds. Hence game must be very plentiful; and there is not a planter in tolerable circumstances but keeps his two Negroes to hunt in the field, and two others to fish for him in the sea and rivers.

**Wild beeves.** The largest animals we find in the woods are the wild beeves, under which term I include both bulls and cows. We can say nothing certain of their original; though we are well assured that before the *Spaniards* had discovered the great islands of *St Domingo*, *Cuba*, *Porto Rico*, and others, there were no other four footed beasts on them than lizards, Horses, beeves, and hogs, were transported thither from *Europe* by the *Spaniards*, and have left upon them their descendants to this day. It is certain that horses were quite unknown in *Mexico* and *Peru*; their large sheep served for beasts of burden. And it is not less uncertain whether there were any beeves; whence we may conclude that all the beeves, now found in that vast continent, came originally from *Europe*. The wild beeves of *Guyana* are shorter, thicker, and more compact than in *Europe*, and those bred in the islands and *Terra Firma of America*, where they are tame; their horns are also smaller and less thick, and the creature is wonderfully dexterous in using them, and very mischievous. If he is wounded without bringing him down, he will run upon the hunter. They are not commonly found but in places very remote from habitations, are extremely wild, and as swift as stags, and go cominonly in herds. A good hunter must hit them on the thick vein of the neck, in which case they instantly tumble, and lose all their blood in a moment. Their hide is said to be thicker than that of tame ones, because they are always in the forests, exposed to all the injuries of the seasons. A hunter must not regret his powder and pains when he has brought down one of these wild animals. The marrow of the thick bone of the legs, swallowed quite warm, is a good restorative; taken in the morning, it supplies the want of other food for that day.

**Wild deer.** The wild quadrupeds, next in bigness to the beeves, are the red deer, or hind and stag. These are originally of the country, at least for many ages. They must have come into *America*, since the deluge, by the Northern sea where it joins to *Asia* by the North of *California*, which appears from new discoveries not to be an island but an isthmus joining the two continents. However it be, we find red deer in *Old and New Mexico*, *Brazil*, and *Guyana*. It is remarkable that the red deer of *America*, hind or stag, have no horns; which has induced the *French*, and their neighbours the *Portuguese*, to call them both by the name of hinds; tho' another reason may be, that they are much smaller than in *Europe*; but in every thing else they perfectly resemble them. They are very quick, lively, and swift-footed, and fearful to excess. They are covered with a reddish fallow hair, pretty short and thick; have a small lean head, thin ears, a long and arched neck, a cloven foot, a short tail, and a quick sight. Their flesh is delicate, though very rarely fat. This animal is the quickest of all quadrupeds; he will join his four feet together like goats, on the point of a rock, which one might easily cover with a hand, and spurred by fear, assisted with velocity, make leaps and bounds, and rush headlong and lose himself in places, whence it would be impossible for any other creature to extricate itself. The Negro hunters lie in wait for them in narrow paths, where they have observed their steps. These paths commonly lead to some brook, or natural savanna, or abandoned clearings, whither they go to feed. As soon as they approach an open place, they stop, prick up the ear, and look about on all sides; and the least motion or noise makes them bolt into the woods. Patience is necessary on such occasions, but when a fair mark offers, and they have skill or luck to break the bone of the thigh or hip, they are satisfied, and reckon they have made a good chace. There is nothing useless in this animal; for, besides that his flesh affords very good nourishment, every part of his body is of some use in physic, without reckoning that his skin serves for several purposes.

**Tigers.** Tigers are found in all parts of *America*. The tiger is a ravenous, cruel, fierce, wild beast, difficult to be tamed, always ready for mischief, and by no means to be trusted.

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trusted. He has great resemblance to a cat, but is much larger and stronger. These beasts were formerly very frequent in the isle of *Cayenne*. They would swim thither from the continent, and come and devour the cattle of the inhabitants in their very yards; and sometimes, when pressed by hunger, would fall upon men. The island was greatly incommoded by these creatures when *M. de la Barre* was governor of it in 1666. He engaged the inhabitants to hunt them, and for their encouragement gave the gun with which they had killed a tiger; and if the piece belonged to the hunter, paid him the value of it; besides, the skin fetched a good price, since the governor had brought in vogue the fashion, as it is practised in *France*, of making housings for hories. As for the flesh, it was never much relished; it is commonly lean, and has a smell and flavour not very agreeable. If this animal were more common, perhaps it might be found good for something; and as the use of the flesh of vipers purifies the mass of blood, that of the tiger might be good to excite motion in paralytic members; the fat is said to produce that effect.

The tigers of *Guyana* are no bigger than greyhounds; they have their shape, and are much swifter, leaping and bounding at a surprising rate; some have been found of the size of our largest dogs. They have a head like a cat, a wide mouth, whiskers; strong, sharp, long teeth; yellowish and sparkling eyes, a fierce and treacherous look, broad feet, divided into five toes armed with long sharp talons, which they hide at pleasure. They have a tail like a cat, of a good length, and covered with hair. They have nothing good and beautiful but their skin, which is yellowish, chequered with spots of various dyes. This animal is cruel, and extremely voracious; he attacks all sorts of animals, not sparing even the human species. When he is master of his prey, he devours it, without tearing it abroad. He plunges his head into it, and swallows without ceasing the morsels which he cuts off with his teeth. He cries in the night much like dogs pinched with hunger. They are no more to be seen in the isle of *Cayenne*, whither they no longer pass. There are some on the continent, but their number is much diminished by the care taken to give them a vigorous chase. This creature is afraid of fire; a red-hot poker, or even a lighted match, puts him to flight. The hunters receive a pistole for bringing a fresh tiger-skin.

There is another kind of Tiger called an Ounce, and by the *Indians* named *Jaguar*.<sup>Ounces.</sup> He has black hair, shorter, more wavy and glossy, and is bigger than the common tiger, and more mischievous. The hunters are by no means fond of meeting with these two animals; there is always danger with them, and they have nothing good but their skins; they are grown pretty scarce, especially in inhabited places.

But there is an animal more common, which the *Indians* call *Ab*, from the cry<sup>Ab, or Sluggard.</sup> he utters when obliged to move himself, which he cannot perform without pain and lamentation. The *Europeans* call him *Sluggard*, which name perfectly suits him, for no creature can have more of the sluggard in it. He wants no greyhound to give him chase; a tortoise would be sufficient. He is of the size of an ordinary dog; his head has some resemblance of an ape, and his mouth is pretty wide, and armed with teeth. He has a sad and down-cast look; his fore-legs are longer than the hinder, his feet broad, and armed with three long and pretty sharp claws; he has scarce any thing of a tail. His whole body is covered with an ash-coloured sort of hair, of a good length, under which is another, shorter and thicker, of the same colour. He lives on trees, where he feeds on the fruits, leaves, and tender buds. It costs him an infinite deal of time to ascend a tree, and many piteous cries at every movement he makes; he rests every moment. When he has once clambered up, he never descends till there are no more leaves; then, pressed by hunger, he thinks of removing to another tree. But he employs so much time in descending and seeking out for a fresh tree, that he becomes extremely lean before he can find one fit for his purpose. The time of killing him is when he is found on a tree which he has almost stripped; for then he is fat and tender. If he can be reached with a pole, there needs no pains to drag him; give him but a knock and he tumbles down, and if he be not dead, is soon dispatched with a cudgel. His flesh is accounted good, and indeed he feeds on nothing but good fruit and good leaves. It is tender, and well-tasted; but when lean, it is hard and coriaceous. Some are of opinion that this animal might be easily tamed, and would not offer to leave the yard, if he were supplied with food. They say he never drinks; the juices of leaves and fruits serving him for drink. He is extremely afraid of rain, and yet always exposed to it.

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Tatous, or Armadillas, which are common in all the country, and esteemed of pretty good nourishment, is already described in our account of the *French Antilles*; as also the *Agoutis*, an animal participating of the hare, the hog, and the ape, and of white, tender, and delicate flesh, and scalded like a pig. There is also in *Cayenne* another animal called the *Agouchi*, which is a species of *Agouti*, but smaller, and accounted better and more delicate food.

Agouti, and Agouchi.

Prickle Cat.

The *Indians* call *Cuandu* the animal which the *Portuguese* call *Ourico Cachiero*, and we may call it the *Prickle-Cat*. It is commonly of the shape and size of a good cat, which it pretty well resembles, only it has a sharp head, and its legs and feet are much like an ape's. From the ears to about the middle of the tail, instead of hair, it is covered with prickles, three or four inches long, like quills, hollow, round, strong, and pointed; the part next the body black, and the point white, or bordering on it. The part of the tail without prickles is covered with hair, like hog's bristles. Its legs are also covered with prickles, only shorter. The feet are divided into five claws, which you may call fingers, with the beginning of a thumb: its tail is as long as the whole body, or longer, and is strong and pliant, and serves it, like a monkey's, for suspending itself to the branches of trees. He lives upon fruits and roots, is slow of pace, and ascends trees with difficulty, because his claws, or fingers, being too long, and unsupported by a thumb, he can take no firm hold. He is observed to sleep almost the whole day, and go to feed in the night. He pants in marching, whence he is suspected of some pulmonary infirmity. Though he searches after fruits, he has a greater relish for fowl; and if his prickles were not so incommodious to him, would get into the yards, and make as great havoc among the poultry as a fox or a polecat. He is skinned when taken, and the flesh is commonly fat, tender, and delicious. His asthma and phthisic deter not any from eating him without fear of contracting his infirmities. The best way of dressing is to put him on the spit, from which he will relish better than boiled, or in a ragoo.

Wild Hogs.

Wild hogs, marons, or wild boars, are found in all the vast continent of the two *Americas*. The ordinary sort really came from *Europe*, and in particular, as we are well assured, from *Andalouza*. The resemblance between the hogs of that country and those of *America* is too striking to leave room for doubting on that head. But there is another species, which it is certain was never seen in all *Europe*: this kind they call *Pecaris*. They are nearly of the size of the wild boars of *Europe*, but less corpulent; have a short and cocked snout, great hairs like whiskers, long and arched tuks, small and pointed ears, a short, strait, and hanging tail, with a tuft of bristles at the end. They are high enough on legs, and have but little hair, which is of a blackish red. What they have in particular is a hole in the back, into which you can thrust the top of your little finger, in manner of a vent-hole, through which the animal receives the air that refreshes his lungs, and enables him to run very long and very stoutly; it sends forth a fetid smell. When the hunters have brought him down, they are obliged to cut the vent-hole as deep as they can, as they are to cut the tellicles of the other wild boars, without which precaution the flesh would corrupt in a few moments. This creature is mischievous; he comes to close quarters, and the hunter who wounds him without disabbling him stands a bad chance; he ought to aim as much as possible at breaking his shoulder or thigh-bone. The best dogs are afraid of him, for he is strong, and very furious. His flesh is said to be even more delicious than that of the common wild hogs. This is hard to say, for these animals are extremely delicious. Their flesh has nothing of the unfavourableness or heaviness of the *European* hogs; it is tender, delicious, has a flavour, and is so easy of digestion that it is given to sick persons, preferably to all other meats the most easy of concoction. Those animals live on fruits and roots, and also eat serpents.

Water-Hog.

Besides these two kinds of terrestrial hogs, there is also an aquatic species; we mean not such as always live in the water like fish. He lives on land, and eats grain and fruits; but he finds also wherewith to subsist in rivers. He swims and dives to a miracle, and endures a very long while under water. The *Indians* call him *Capibara*, and *Europeans* Water-hog; he differs not much from the land-hogs; some are of the size of hogs two years old. He has a long head; his lower jaw is much shorter than the upper, and in each he has two hooked, strong, and cutting teeth, an inch and half long. The rest of these two jaws is furnished with eight bones, four on each side; and these bones, which are flat, are cut halfway each into three parts, thus making two

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two rows of four and twenty teeth each, which added to the four prominent fore-teeth amount to fifty-two. I am of opinion that no animal, except the shark, is so well provided with teeth. He is fat, and not without reason; for he eats much, and exercises little. His flesh is tender, and would be excellent, if it favoured less of oil and fish. However, it is not thrown away; it goes down very well with the Negroes. This animal has long and stiff whiskers, oval eyes, small and pointed ears, and nothing of a tail. He is covered with coarse short hair, brown, and pretty thick; has the true feet of a hog, except that the hoof is not only cloven in two, but divided into four digits, or toes, on the fore-feet; and into three on the hinder, and both sorts are armed with strong, sharp nails, one of which on each foot is much longer than the others. The unwieldiness of his bulk is no hindrance to him in catching all sorts of fish in a surprising manner; he seizes them either with his teeth or his nails, and carries his prey to the bank of the river, where he eats it in quiet. Sometimes in the night he sets up a cry like the braying of an ass, which may be heard at a great distance.

*Guyana*, without disparagement to *Asia* or *Africa*, may be called the country of Apes. The *Latins* distinguish them into two sorts; those with a long tail they name *Cercopithecii*, Tailed Apes, properly Marmouts, or Monkeys (from the *Greek* *Κίπρος*, a sail, and *Προπίς*, an Ape) and to those which have none, they give the simple appellation of *Timin*, ape. Both kinds abound in *Guyana*, and may be regarded as two distinct genusses, which are divided into a prodigious number of species, differing from one another in size, colour, and so many other particulars, as would fill whole volumes. All apes however agree, in that they are all alert, stirring, restless, mischievous, malicious, and thievish; and whatever pains are bestowed in breeding and teaching them, there is no way to repress the fallies of their natural viciousness, and prevent them from playing some mischievous prank, but by keeping the whip always in hand. Though they are not commonly very fat, their flesh is good nourishment, and very delicious. Their heads are served up in soups made upon them. It is difficult at first to accustom oneself to the sight of heads resembling those of little infants; but when once that repugnance is overcome, no soup will please better than what is made on apes.

Of the other quadrupeds, natives of *Cayenne*, and its neighbouring continent of *Guyana*, are the Otter, Ant-eater, Wild Cat, Hare, Rabbit, Rat, and Lizard, which our author classes not among reptiles, but quadrupeds, because they have four feet; of these we have spoken at large in our account of the *French Antilles*, as also of such insects as molest these hot regions, and have been left undescribed under this article. We have also, under our accounts of the said islands, given ample descriptions, among other reptiles, of Serpents of every kind. But we cannot omit here observing, that as much as *Guyana* surpasses the Windward Islands in largeness, so much are the Serpents which it produces superior in length and thickness to those found in those isles. In this country have been seen serpents thirty feet long, and as thick in body as a horse. Hence it will not be so difficult to believe the story of a serpent which had swallowed a young woman of eighteen, in her shoes and other apparel; the fact was very possible. *Milbau* says, he has been assured, by Freebooters, that they have killed serpents from sixteen to eighteen feet in length, and above a foot in diameter. These animals are not venomous, but their teeth are to be dreaded. They have two rows in each jaw, which must render them capable of much mischief. They cannot stir their body without great difficulty, whence it is easy to avoid them. When they have seized an animal, they worry him with their teeth, while they twist about him with such force as to suffocate him; after which they have no more to do but to swallow him whole, always beginning at the head.

Monstrous  
Serpents.

#### Of Birds great and small.

*M. Lomery*, in his Dictionary, describes a bird which he calls *Centur*, (*Jonston* names *Condurs*.) "It is, says he, a kind of Eagle, or bird of prey in *America*, which grows to such a prodigious bigness, that its wings expanded reach the space of twelve feet. It differs from an ordinary eagle in that it has no pounces. Its head is adorned with a crest, or comb, in shape of a razor. It is strong, robust, voracious, and greedy of flesh; its feathers are white and black; those of its wings are so large that their

Monstrous  
Eagle.

quills are some of them as big as a man's wrist. Its beak is so strong that it pierces with it a cow, and devours it; and even men themselves are in danger of being eaten. Its feet are like those of hens, and without talons. It breeds in the isle of *Maragnan*, and about the banks of the sea and rivers. It makes so great a noise in flying, as to stun those whom it approaches." This description, says our author, is modest, compared with that in his *Memoirs*, which give the wings of this bird an expansion of above eighteen feet. They make it also to have thick, strong, hooked pounces, with which it trusses a deer, or a young cow, and carries it off as if it were a rabbit. This bird is not common, nor is it necessary it should be so, for it would soon depopulate a whole country. They say that it is in vain to shoot at it in front, for the balls would glance or slide along its feathers, without hurting it; the only way is to aim at it behind, or under the belly. They who have seen these birds tell us, that they are of the bigness of a sheep. Their flesh is coriaceous, and smells of carrion; they have a piercing sight, and a bold, and even cruel look, such as is agreeable to carnivorous animals. They seldom frequent the forests, for want of room to extend their wings; but are observed on the banks of the sea or rivers, and in uncultivated meadows, or savannahs, because in such places they find sustenance.

Common  
Eagles.

About the river *Orenoko*, and in many other places of *Guyana* and *Brasil*, are Eagles, very little different from those in *Europe*. They make war upon all animals without distinction, but were never known to attack men, who however give them no quarter. Their flesh is worth nothing, and was never attempted to be eaten but in extremity of hunger.

Pheasant,  
Painted Hens

Of birds made for food, the first place is due to Pheasants. It is pretended that they are bigger than those in *Europe*, and at least as delicious. The Painted Hens, so called by the *Spaniards* from the beauty of their plumage, which seems to be painted, are not at all inferior to them in deliciousness. These birds are easily tamed, and become very familiar; but they are extremely jealous, and cannot endure any other hens of what kind soever, but violently fall on them with their beaks, and will suffer no rivals. Their flesh is excellent, and they fly tolerably well. It is pretended, that the flesh of those bred in houses, though fatter, has not the taste and flavour of those killed in the woods.

For a description of the Ostrich, Partridges, Parrots, Wood-Pigeons, Turtles, Ortolans, Curiaea, or River-fowl, of the size of a goose, Thrushes, Blackbirds, Pies, Fieldfares, Cuckow, Gallinago, or Marchand, we refer, as before, to our account of the *Antilles* Islands.

#### Fishes of Sea and Rivers.

Fishes.

*Guyana* is one of the provinces of the new world the most intersected by great and small rivers, and all these rivers are so fishy, that swarms of fish, one may say, are to be found every where. The same may be said of the sea, where not only the coasts are stocked with fishes, but infinite species are observed to enter the mouths of rivers, and some of them to ascend very high in following the course of the stream. The first *French* inhabitants must have been very helpless, to suffer hunger in the midst of such a prodigious abundance of fish, which offered themselves for food. At present they have nothing to fear on that account; they take care to have Negro fishers, as well as hunters; and those skilful purveyors furnish their tables with plenty of venison and fish. Some sorts, which are not to be met with in the *Windward* Islands, are found in plenty at *Cayenne*; such as Roach, Soles, and small Thornbacks. Some of these kinds have been caught of ten or twelve feet in breadth; but they are so hard and coriaceous, or tough, that they will go down with none but half-starved Negroes. Their livers serve to make oil for burning, which is all the use that can be made of them.

Great Fish.

Sword Fish.

The sandy creeks are haunted by a prodigious number of Tortoises of all the three kinds. There are two sorts of Sword-fish. One has his prominent weapon quite smooth, like a *Switzer's* broad-sword; the other has it all set with teeth of a considerable length and force. Both are excellent food; their flesh is white, firm, fat, and very well tasted. They are somewhat difficult to be taken; they hoggle a long time before they take the bait, and will not so much as touch it, if they see not a whole fish on it. When they feel themselves caught, they make extraordinary efforts, and

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hurry away with the canoe of fishermen with great swiftness, for a very long time. Sometimes they offer to attack it, as if they were about to pierce it, or leap upon it, as upon a whale. In this case it is only necessary to give them a blow with a harping-iron, and when once blood is drawn, it is easy to dispatch them; and the sport will turn out to advantage; for some of these fishes are above six hundred weight.

The Porpoises never come on the coast between the island and the continent but in stormy weather; these fish always go in shoals. They are extremely fat, and the lard of the young ones is much better than that of the old, and their flesh also is more delicious. They are known also by the name of Blowers, because they throw out abundance of water through their breathing-hole, in manner of a spout.

Sharks are supposed to be found in all seas and rivers. This voracious fish is none of the best; it is always hard and coriaceous; all that is good of it is the belly, as far as the middle of the ribs. But though it be not taken with a design to be eaten, it should not be suffered to live, because of the havock it makes, and the numbers of fishes it destroys.

Besides these, and a multitude of other kinds, found also in the seas about the Antilles, and more amply described under their respective articles relating to these islands, Cayenne affords two sorts of fish peculiar to itself, and found no where else. The first is called Bigbelly, because of a great bladder, on which it rests, and which it blows up at pleasure, and on which he is carried quite above the surface of the sea. The fish is commonly but between fifteen and eighteen inches long, and shaped like a perch. Its flesh is white and delicious; but in order to eat it with safety, as soon as it is out of the water, tear off the bladder, and take out all the intestines; for otherwise the viscous humour inclosed in them would corrupt the flesh, and render it unwholesome.

The other fish is named the Cornot. We cannot well comprehend what connexion this fish can have with that denomination. It is all of a piece, without fins, or other appendages: its head is large and massy: what it has of singularity is two prickles, one on each side, about eight inches in length, and between four and five lines in diameter at their root. These prickles consist of grey transparent horn, and are extremely sharp and strong; and their punctures are said to be very dangerous. This fish, which is commonly but between fifteen and eighteen inches in length, and two inches in diameter, has its mouth covered with nine great bristles of a beard, like the whiskers of a whale, flat at the root, and ending in a point, waving at the will of the fish, or the motion of the water. This fish is lively, and though it be not dangerous, but on account of its tail, it is however to be feared. It is said not to be good to eat, perhaps because all fear to touch it, rather than that it contains any thing bad or unwholesome.

*Of the Inhabitants and Planters of Cayenne.*

M. Milhan thinks himself obliged, before he finishes his description of the colony of Cayenne, to give some idea of the white people who compose it, and of their manner of living.

It is certain that Cayenne was at first peopled by French from all provinces of the kingdom, as chance brought them together. But we must not however imagine, that they were all people of no worth, insolvents, or mechanics. There were among the first planters, persons of birth, parts, and merit, which the mildness of the climate drew thither; and who not having in Europe an estate suitable to their birth, and their numerous children, regarded this new country as a resource against their hard fortune. These people came adorned with politeness, good taste, generosity, and other qualities which distinguish the gentry from the vulgar. And as they became numerous in a short time, they had all the facility and opportunity to shew themselves to all advantage. They have even reformed the other inhabitants, and inspired them with politeness and generosity, in which but few of the planters of the other colonies are worthy to be compared with them.

They live in Cayenne with all the ease and freedom imaginable. If a planter be never so meanly accommodated, he always keeps a good table. He finds all that is necessary to render it plentiful and elegant without going out of his habitation.

Every

*A Description of the Island and Colony*

very one keeps a farm, where he maintains slaves to breed up all kinds of poultry and quadrupeds, as oxen, calves, sheep, goats, and hogs. If the beef is not so fat and well tasted as in *France*, the fault lies in the inhabitants, who, during the rainy season, leave their cattle in the open air, and often in the water, which emaciates them, and spoils all the good taste for which they were remarkable in the dry season. There needs no more to preserve them always in good condition, than to erect stables in their parks well covered, whither they may shelter during the heavy showers of rain. But as the country naturally inclines to indolence, the people are well satisfied with seeing their beasts alive, without troubling themselves whether they are fat or lean, because they are well assured that at the return of the fine season, the abundance given of the tender grass and herbs, will soon restore them to their plumpness and flavour. Hogs thrive there wonderfully, and are very good; the sucking pig is excellent, and no place in the world affords better poultry than *Cayenne*; it is tender, fat, and delicious. *Cayenne* is the country for turkeys and other *Indian* poultry; the capons are exceeding large and fat.

D. medic. animals.

Game.

If we consider further that every inhabitant can take all sorts of game upon his own farm, it must be acknowledged that *Cayenne* is the country of good cheer. There is not an inhabitant in moderate circumstances, but keeps his hunter and fisher. Hunting indeed is troublesome and fatiguing; it scarce agrees with any but Negroes and *Indians*; but the game is very plentiful. You meet with numbers of deer, pacs, agoutis, agouchis, ant-eaters, sluggards, tatous, tamarins, and apes of all kinds, the heads of which last make good soups, and set off the center and brims of a dish, as well as a capon as other fowls. Serpents are eaten for the sake of health; those who have need of choice viands, may find plenty of all kinds in *Cayenne*; only they must remember to use it with moderation; for this sort of aliment by purifying the blood, subtilises it to such a degree, as to endanger a pthitic.

Those who have no estates readily furnish themselves with all sorts of eatables much cheaper than at *Martinico*, and the other *French* colonies. A pound of beef costs six sols, a pound of mutton or pork ten sols, a large fat turkey will fetch an hundred sols, a capon forty, a fat pullet thirty, a duck twenty five, a hen twenty, and a couple of chickens thirty; which are very moderate prices in a country where the gains are considerable. Venison is rarely sold, unless it be bought of the *Indians*; for the inhabitants never sell the produce of the hunting or fishery of their slaves. They find at all times an infinity of birds very good and delicious; those most esteemed are the partridges, ocos, wood-pigeons, pheasants, turtle-doves, thrushes, black-birds, ortolans, flamens, and parrots of all kinds. These birds contract the taste of the grains and berries on which they feed. Such as eat the grains of the *Indian* wood, which seems a composition of cloves, nutmegs, and cinnamon, have a relish and flavour of those spices. But when they feed on wild olives which fatten them exceedingly, they contract a disagreeable bitterness, which is, however, easy to be cured. It is reckoned that this bitterness is only in their intestines; and from thence it is communicated to the rest of the flesh after they are dead. Hence it is necessary to pull out the craw and the intestines as soon as they fall, and the flesh will be intirely free from that ill taste. You find also great multitudes of agamis, thick-bills, calibris, great-throats, egrets, spatulas, frigates, and eagles of different kinds, which we have described in our account of the *Antilles*. But these fowls are not destined to the tables of the masters, they are either too common, or too hard; but they serve well enough for the slaves, for whom any thing is good enough.

Fish.

The sea and the rivers are glutted with fish, and all so good, and so wholesome, that no person was ever known to be disordered by them, unless he had eaten to excess, or not given them the necessary dressing. The fish most valued are the roach, sole, thornback, lunc, great-eyes, mullet, machoran, eel, lamentein, and green tortoise, or turtle, for the other two species are not good to eat; the caouanna is hard, tough, and fibrous, and has an ill scent, though it is sometimes salted for the Negroes for want of other food. The caret has nothing good but his skin, which indeed fetches a good price, especially when it is of a good black. But it is dangerous to eat of its flesh, which, though fat and delicious, is of so purgative a quality, that unless you take but little, or are well assured that you have nothing to fear from its activity, you may expect to see yourself covered with pimples and blotches if there be never so little impurity in the blood and humours. This eruption is sometimes so violent as to cause

a high

a high fever, with a flux of the belly, which becomes dangerous unless the patient be of a very strong constitution. The grand remedy makes not greater evacuations, nor more effectually cleanses an impure body, than this viand. There wants nothing but some skilful *Esculapins* to regulate the doses, and dispense with his patients from using those dangerous applications of mercury, and the nauseous potions which accompany them.

It seems then that there is no want of flesh and fish to maintain a plentiful and delicious table; which is indeed the case. The board is very well decked, and well served, for which the inhabitants spare no cost. They have good cooks, confectioners, and other officers of the kitchen; and though these are but Negroes, they have as fine a taste as the best of that sort in *France*. This truth has been often confirmed by the officers of the *French* king's ships, who go every year to *Cayenne* laden with ammunition and provisions, besides clothes, and money to pay the soldiers. These gentlemen will do justice to the inhabitants, to whom they can give no greater pleasure than to come and sit down with them at meat, where they are sure to be received with all the politeness imaginable, and find tables that may vie with the best in *Europe*. It has already been observed of the islands of *America*, that there are no people in the world who practise hospitality with more greatness of soul; the inhabitants of *Cayenne* are the same with them in principles and practice.

Generous  
hospitality of  
the inhabi-  
tants.

As every housekeeper has his laundresses, the linen is always extremely neat, and of a dazzling whiteness. The Negresses excel in that point all the laundresses in the world. It is supposed the waters contribute thereto; besides, as the table-linen is changed at every repast, it requires not much ado to make it white. They change their other linen yet oftener, excited by the heat; and none can reproach the settlers in the country, or the Creoles, on that head; their spruceness, and the care they take of their persons, are sometimes excessive.

Their neat-  
ness.

Though they make no wine in the country, they consume never the less quantity, nor less good in quality. The delicacy of the inhabitants is very remarkable in this and many other points. They spare nothing to procure the best wines of *France*, *Bordeaux*, *Bayonne*, and other places, famous for wines, and care not how dear they cost, provided they are the best. The inhabitants, in tolerable circumstances, keep in their houses Canary and Madeira wines, with all sorts of liquors, and the best brandy in *Europe*. The *English* import beer in bottles, cyder, and all other liquors which their country or its neighbourhood afford, to the great profit of the physician, and detriment of health. But a planter would pais for a niggard, if his house were not well stored with all that can please the taste, and prevent hunger and thirst.

Plentiful and  
costly tables.

We may be well assured that a hot and moist climate is very proper for gardenage; whence the inhabitants never fail of having their kitchen gardens in good condition. All seasons of the year are proper for this purpose, and with the smallest care they procure crops of excellent green pease every month. *French* and *Spanish* melons, cucumbers, water melons, cabbages, chibbols, and all sorts of herbs come there to perfection, and are even found to be more juicy than in *France*. Happy country, cries our author, which enjoys a perpetual spring, and where one is not obliged to roast himself before a fire, if he would avoid being froze in a moment, as it is with those in *France* above half the year. Hence also there is no consumption of wood but in the sugar-works and the kitchens, and consequently wood costs nothing but the trouble of cutting and carriage.

Plenty of  
garden st. ff.

Wheat might be sown on those lands which are abandoned as not proper for sugar-canes, and would thrive to a wonder, as I have observed before. But the experiment has not been tried, and there is no appearance that it will ever be put in practice. The people like better to purchase *European* flour; all the inhabitants who live tolerably well are never without bread made of wheat; others eat what is made of *Cassavy*. The Creoles, even the richest, prefer this last before the other; and though, for the sake of grandeur, they have always bread made of wheat on their tables, they seldom eat of it, unless when they entertain *European* passengers, or strangers, who would not like *cassavy*.

Bread of  
Cassavy.

There is the most charming cordiality and union between the inhabitants. As none but those who have employments which demand incumbence, reside in the city, the rest live upon their estates in the country. They visit one another very often, eat together, make feasts by turns, and live in a sociable freedom, which one would



not many years since, and are reasonably supposed to continue the same, with little or no alteration, to the present time, it cannot be thought to be improper here to subjoin to what has been already said on this subject in our account of the *French Antilles*, some very material and curious observations from some later memoirs, printed at *Paris* in 1743, under the title of *Nouvelle Relation de la France Equinoctiale*, "A new Account of Equinoctial France," or of those countries lying under or near the Equinoctial Line, which are possessed or claimed by the *French*. By this they would have us understand the whole province of *Guyana*, including *Cayenne*, from the Equator to 9° North latitude, and lying between the river of *Amazons*, erroneously called by some *Maragnon*, and the river *Oronoke*, which separates it from *Brasil*, *Peru*, and the kingdom of *New Grenada*, and by the communication of their branches make it, with the sea, an island, which might be compared to a kind of triangle, if the sea coast, which would represent the greatest side, were a little more in a straight line.

The Savages of the continent of *Guyana* go naked, live dispersed in the woods, are of a reddish complexion, low of stature, and remarkably full-bellied, with black and lank hair. Some *Indian* nations, bordering on the river of *Amazons*, go stark naked, and not only expose to open view those parts which modesty obliges us to conceal, but are firmly persuaded, that whoever among them should once put his nakedness under cover, would be sure to undergo some great misfortune or death before the year's end. On the contrary, others, who think it necessary to hide those parts, the sight of which would offend modesty, wear before them a *camiza*, or band of cotton, painted in squares with roucou, or the juice of some plant. These *camizas* are from four to five feet in length, and seven inches in breadth. They tie them about the waist with a cotton thread, and let them fall between the thighs †. The men imagine themselves very fine, and to look with an air of gallantry, when this sort of truss ‡ reaches down to their heels. The women use a *Couyou*, or apron, almost triangular, woven of *Rassade* \*, or grains of crystal, and near a foot wide at bottom. Remote nations, which have no easy commerce with *Europeans*, cover their nudities with a shell, or a piece of tortoise-shell, tyed with a thread. Though this nakedness be natural to all these Savages, it may, however, be said in their praise, that they let nothing be seen indecent designedly, and that nothing of obscene gestures, or even the least familiarity is to be observed among them.

As to qualities of the mind, all *Indians* are very superstitious, soft, effeminate, and slothful; and yet they are not deficient in cunning and spirit; and, however cold and listless they may appear, there is not perhaps a nation endued with more vivacity. And one may define a *Guyanese* in general a man who appears outwardly in a state of perfect indolence and apathy, or indifference to all things, but one whose passions are lively to the highest degree. In fact, they carry every thing to excess. They are inconstant beyond measure, drunkards above what can be expressed; their hatred is immortal, and their revenge not to be satisfied but with the vital blood of those of whom they have received any ill treatment, and who have the sad misfortune to fall into their hands.

Drunkennes accepted, the *Guyanese Indians* in general, and particularly the *Galibis*, with whom our author was best acquainted, are a tolerably good sort of people. Their manners are not so corrupt as they seem to be. They have a certain natural equity predominant in their actions, and principles of integrity in their conduct. They have even a kind of politeness and affability, notwithstanding the frightful idea we have of a Savage. When they converse together it is always with moderation and reserve; they never contradict, nor grow hot in discourse, unless enraged by wine. Their conversation is uniform, and, in my judgment, says the writer, very tiresome. When two persons are once entered into conference, he to whom the speech is addressed repeats word for word what the other has said to him, adding at the end, "You say, *Baba*," which signifies *my father*; or *Yao*, or *Bameuby*, signifying *my uncle*, *my cousin*, and so on. The other repeats also in his turn what has been just answered him, not forgetting always to add, at the end of each sentence, "You say, *my son*," when, for example, it has been said to him *Baba*, always keeping the relative of the name by which he has been called. Nothing can be milder or more com-

† *Indians*, both men and women, are drawn with this band, or flap, falling down behind as well as before.  
‡ Two *Indians* are drawn carrying a Creole lady in a hammock, suspended to a pole on their shoulders, with the *Camiza* passing between their thighs, and trussed up to the girdle behind.  
\* Small grains of glass, of different colours, an article of commerce with *Indians*.

Indians naked

Covers of the more civilized.

Vices of the Indians.

Good qualities of the Indians.

Their conversation.

plaisant

plaisant than their discourse. They seldom meet and thou one another, and never say any thing shocking. They know not what it is to rail and scold, even when they wish one another ill; besides, they know very well how to dissemble their hatred under the appearance of friendship; or if by chance they discover it in conversation, it is always with the greatest coolness and temper, and without so much as raising the tone of voice. Their mutual civility is no less to be admired. As soon as the whole body of the people are assembled in the morning at the great karbet, or hall of rendezvous, which is in the middle of the village, and where the men usually spend the day when they go not into the field, they never fail of interchanging salutations. The master of the karbet addresses himself to every one in particular, saying *Yarigado*, that is, Good morrow, *my uncle, my cousin, my child, my brother*, and so on, every one answering *Jo*. If there were a thousand, he must salute them all in their turn, and, as we may say, review them. When the evening comes, he must perform the same ceremony before retirement. If there are strangers, he is always mindful to begin with them.

The *Indians* in general are little talkers, especially before strangers, in whose presence they are, as we may say, of an affected modesty. It is not so with the Negroes, who are unmerciful tattlers. The two nations are of very different tempers, though the Creole Negroes are born under the same climate with the *Indians*. You are forced to draw words from these, while you cannot help beating the others to make

them hold their peace, and often to no purpose. There are nations who will suffer cutting in pieces, rather than hold their tongues, when they have once begun their chatter. These poor creatures sacrifice to this idol of prating even their repose by night, which ought to be precious to them, and in which, one would think, they should be glad to lose the memory of their hard labour.

Though the *Indians* are little talkers, and seem very dull and phlegmatic, they want not a spirit of gallantry, and have a genius for satire. They are every moment making songs on the least occasion, and there is not a sarcasm, or biting jest, when once they are in the humour, which they have not in readiness. However hideous they appear to *Europeans*, they look upon themselves as far superior to us, and have a remarkable contempt for the Negroes, both on account of their blackness, and because they are all born slaves. On the other hand, the Negroes by no means come short of the others in setting a value upon themselves, and entertaining as mean an opinion of them. An instance was observed in the mutual reproaches that one day passed between a Negroe and an *Indian*, both slaves. The Negroe said, speaking of himself in his broken language, *Me sugar, me roucou, me silver*; *Thee*, speaking to the *Indian*, *Thee knife, thee hedge-bill, thee rassade, thee clab*. He meant by this, that he was truly sensible of his condition, but that, though he was a slave, he was purchased with money, sugar, or roucou, commodities more valuable, and far beyond rassade, cloth, and a few knives and hedge-bills, which are usually given in traffic for *Indians*.

All the Savages are extremely sensible of the least reproach that carries bitterness in it. They often abandon themselves, in that case, to despair; some of them cannot even bear to survive an affront put upon them; and it is too customary, among certain *Indians*, for people to strangle themselves sometimes for no reason. The author saw a young *Indian* girl, who, for some angry words passed with her sister, whose part was taken by the mother, untied the cords of her *kamak* †, and was going to hang herself in the woods, but was prevented by a missionary, who ran after her the moment he had notice of it.

The *Indian* women are little, and very delicate, have the same complexion as the men, small eyes, and hair as black as jet. In their visage a certain air of sweetness may be perceived, which has nothing of the Savage in it. There are some who appear very agreeable, and carry nothing of the wild and hideous about them but the name. They have no aversion to the *French* traders, but an intrigue with them cannot be managed without much danger; their husbands would sacrifice them without mercy on the least suspicion. These unfortunate women are true slaves to the men: Besides the care of the family, they must work at planting the cleared grounds, weed them, dig up the roots of manioc, tayouc ‡, with yams, and other

† A portable bed, described below.

‡ The great *Egyptian* Arum, commonly called *Colocasia*.



esulent undergrounds, make the cassava and pottery, and go in search of wood, besides looking after the children. In short, they are obliged to put their hands to every thing, except hunting and fishing; nay, sometimes they are forced to go in quest of provisions for the sustenance of their husbands, who lull themselves in great tranquillity, and free from care in the hammock.

The *Indians* spend almost their whole lives in idleness. They are for the most part Indians idle and lazy. plunged in the hammock. This bed agreeably flatters their sloth, and renders them still more lazy. They pass whole days in it, prating, beholding themselves in a small looking-glass, adjusting their hair, pulling out hairs, or the like amusements. Those whose chief delight is in music, please themselves with continually playing on the flute, or rather howling. One cannot find a more proper word; for their big flute makes a noise somewhat like the hellowing of an ox. There is nothing then but hunger that can make them quit their nest, in which they would eternally couch, if they could dispense with eating. It seems as if those wretches took a kind of pride, and gloried in their effeminacy, and one may reasonably conclude, that sloth and idleness are the predominant character of all those sedentary people.

The most laborious, or, to speak more properly, the least slothful, among them, Their employments. who are not very numerous, employ themselves in making *paguavas* §, *Coleuvres* \*, *Grages* †, and bows and arrows, in hunting and fishing, and in building pirogues and canoes. For the construction and use of the two last, we refer to our account of *New France*, only observing, that a canoe is usually two inches thick in bottom, an inch and a half at the sides, and not above an inch at the brims; and that a tree of ten feet in circumference opens into a canoe of five feet and half; one of nine feet opens only four feet and half, and so in proportion.

Their vessels are steered by a rudder, or else by a *pagaye*, a kind of oar, made of a Oar and sail for a canoe. very light wood, five or six feet in length, and resembling a baker's peel. The handle usually terminates in a crescent for the better hold; the other half, which enters the water, is very thin and tapering down to the base. In rough seas the *pagaye* is to be preferred before the common or any other sort of oar, because when the quickest dispatch is necessary for cutting the surge, the *pagaye* does in an instant what the common oar requires two motions to effect. The Savages use also, besides the *pagaye*, a sail, made of pieces of *bacbe* [a date-bearing palm-tree], split lengthwise, cut into laths, then laid in due order one upon another, and stitched together with bits of lian [a kind of osier,] or with thread of *pitte* ‡.

One of the most useful moveables invented by the Southern Savages is the hammock, or portable bed. It is commonly made of cotton, for which purpose they cultivate that shrub. Some are woven of *pitte*, but they are not so commodious, both on account of the hardness of the small strings of which they are composed, as because they are too thin for a defence against the pricks of marangoins [a kind of gnats] and mulkettoes. The *Indians* often colour their hammocks with roucou, or some rosin, dissolved in balm of copau, or some other oil. They also draw upon them all sorts of compartments, made in manner of knots, or embroidery, and with admirable symmetry. There are some very fine and thin; but the best for commodious lodging is a white hammock, well beaten, and seven feet square. Our *Guyanese* make them perfectly beautiful, and of all sizes. The *Brazilians* have a wonderful taste for these sorts of work, in which they succeed to perfection, and even surpass the *Galibis*.

The hammock is very serviceable in hot countries; one is much less sensible of the heat in it, than in a common bed. Sick persons labouring under a fever, after re- Usefulness of the hammock. posing in it some hours, either by day or night, find themselves sensibly relieved. It is not to be doubted but that the *French* would come into the fashion, if they knew the benefit of this *American* bed in *France*, especially during the great heats, when they broil in their beds, without reckoning the vexation of fleas and bugs, from which they would be covered in the hammock, and feel an agreeable coolness. In short, the hammock is of incomparable service to a traveller in *America*, where there is no road,

§ Basket to carry provisions.

\* A kind of *Hippocrati's* sieve, made of palm-tree, for straining the juice of manioc.

† Grates made of small thin setts of wood.

‡ A species of *Ananas*, yielding a silaceous substance, which is spun into a thread stronger and finer than silk. The *Portuguese* make stockings of it, but way inferior in fineness and goodness to silken stockings. It is thought, that if *Pitte* was in request in *Europe*, it would hurt the manufacture of silk. The *Indians* peel this plant as they do hemp, and commonly use it to make cords and hammocks.

no bed, no houses of entertainment, especially if you chance to wander a little out of the way up the country. The hammock may be placed where you please, either in the woods, or in a karbet, and is of commodious carriage. Hence an *Indian* is never known to go into the field without carrying with him his hammock, especially when he thinks to lie abroad. It is a rule, even among the inhabitants of *Cayenne*, never to take a progress without carrying with them their hammock in a pagara. Mats are seldom in use among the people of *Guyana*; the author saw some made of palm-leaves, which served them instead of counterpanes in their hammock, or tapestry, when they had a mind to sit on the ground.

Pagaras.

Their savages are no less ingenious in the form and contrivance of their pagaras. They make them square, cylindrical, round, and some of the figure of a pirogue, and painted in manner of compartments of glass, red and black. Those in most ordinary use are of the figure of a long square, lined throughout; and within the lining they stuff leaves of barolous\*, or ahouai †, to keep out the water from soaking through. This sort of baskete are very serviceable in journeys; they are very light, and besides serve for a pantry, a wardrobe, and a cellar; for they are a repository for the cloaths, the hammock, utensils of the kitchen, and the most necessary provisions during the progress.

Coyues.

But nothing can compare for beauty with the *Coyues*, which the *Indians* inhabiting by the banks of the river of *Amazons* usually make. It is with the fruit of the calabash, which they cut in two, that they make those sorts of utensils which they varnish very neatly, and imprint them with figures of flowers, and other decorations. These sorts of *Coyues* are sometimes round, sometimes oval, and some nearly resemble a melon, which figure they give the fruit by tying it strait with a line while it is green.

Other ingenious works.

The same *Indians* make also balons, or footballs, rings, and syringes, another sort of football, so much in request with the curious. The matter of which these works are made is a lacteous juice distilling from a lian, which, with respect to the structure of its fruit and flower, must be ranged under the genus of apocyns. They collect a certain quantity of the juice, and boil it a full quarter of an hour, to give it a little consistence; after which they range in order the moulds prepared for the several figures. The moulds are commonly made of a little white clay, kneaded with sand, that they might be the more easily broken. The moulds of the syringe have the figure of a pearl, or a large pear, five or six inches in length. Over these moulds they cast several lays of this boiled substance, upon which, with the point of a knife or bodkin, they draw several figured strokes. This done, they dry them carefully by a gentle fire, and finish with blackening them in the smoke; after which they break the moulds. Of the same matter they make boots and buckets, which resist the water better than common leather. The balons are highly elastic, and when thrown on the ground make five or six bounds successively. The rings are still more to be admired; their spring is extraordinary, and they stretch infinitely. They are commonly as thick as the little finger, and an inch and half in diameter. A ring, for instance, which exactly fits the five digits of the hand joined together, may be so widened as to let pass through it not only the arm but also the whole body; after which it contracts itself, and becomes, by its own elasticity, the same as it was before.

Karbets, or Indianhouses.

After all these little amusements, the more serious concerns of the *Indians* consist in building themselves Karbets, both for securing themselves from the injuries of the weather, and from the assaults of fierce beasts. These cottages are sorry cabins, or square huts, though longer than wide. Some of them, which they call *Sura*, are raised one story; the rest, which have nothing but a ground-floor, are called *Konbenya*, signifying, in the *Indian* tongue, a low cottage. These last are constructed of two posts supporting a great pole, which is the stay of the whole edifice. Along this ridge, on both sides, are disposed sloping branches of trees, and the whole is covered with leaves of ahouai. The entrance is by a little door contrived on one of the sides. The high cottage is nothing but a number of sticks fixed in the ground, from eight to ten feet in height, on which they lay a floor of small planks of a palm-tree, called by the *French* *Pineau* ‡, and by the savages *Wassui*. This wood easily cleaves lengthwise. These sorts of laths, which are seven or eight feet in length, and two or three inches

\* *Cannacoru, mysa folio et facie.*† *Palma coccolera humilis, foliis trapezibus emarginatis.*‡ *Palma dactylifera caudice Pistia, vaginas textiles longissimas habens.*

broad,

broad, are laid in a clumsy manner on one side, and disposed in ranks one over against another, and bound across, which makes a floor of sufficient firmness. The roof consists of palm-tree leaves, like those of the low cottages. You ascend those *Sura* by trunks of a tree, which are not much inclined, with notches cut in them, which serve instead of stairs, but so ill secured as to lean on one side or the other, and requiring a world of pains to ascend with shoes, and yet more to descend in them.

The *Galibis* live in common in these little karbets; the greatness of a lodgment determines the number of persons which it can accommodate; there are karbets capable of twenty or thirty families. The security in which the savages live among themselves occasions nothing to be kept under lock. The doors of the karbet are always open, and any one may enter when he pleases. It is not so with the Negroes, who are all great thieves, and consequently distrustful of one another; hence their little cottages, or rather kennels, are always locked for securing their provisions, and little kitchen utensils.

The most spacious of all those *Indian* structures is the *Taboui*, by the *French* commonly called the *Great Karbet*. This place is properly the rendezvous of the Savages of the same nation. Here they hold their assemblies, receive strangers, bury their dead, and, in short, keep their solemn feasts, or rather debauches. The *Taboui* then, or cottage common to those of the same nation, is a kind of little hall, from fifty to sixty feet in length, and ten to fifteen in breadth. At the middle and both ends of the karbet, which are always open, and by which you enter, are placed great forks, on which are laid thick pieces of wood, which serve for cross-beams. To these are fixed rafters, which reach sloping from the top of the building to the bottom, where they rest on small forks four or five feet high, and planted from space to space the whole length. Within side are placed some long cross pieces of timber, designed for stretching the hammocks of the men, for the women have not the same privilege, but usually keep themselves squat on their heels, or sitting on a great form. The roof is of the same materials as that of the other houses.

How great soever these lodgments may be, their carpentry is no less simple, nor better contrived, than that of the little karbets. These *Indian* houses have an air of extreme poverty, and are a perfect image of the primitive times. It needs only to see them for forming an idea of the infancy of the world, and it may well be doubted whether our first ancestors had more simple lodgings than these poor savages. All those cottages, or huts, which are generally built on an eminence, or the bank of some river, in a most irregular manner, present us with a most melancholy and disagreeable scene. The landscape is far from smiling, but every thing looks wild and hideous; and the very silence which reigns in all these quarters, without interruption, except now and then by the noise of birds and fallow deer, is apt to create nothing but horror.

The author here rejects, as fabulous, the relations given by *Raleigh*, and *De la Barre*, of certain people lodging in the air, and building karbets on trees, to secure themselves, it seems, from becoming slaves to the *Portuguese*, or a prey to serpents and tigers. These extraordinary lodgments are quite unknown to the *Indians* of *Guyana*; and, if they formerly existed, nothing remains of them at present. And yet there is reason to think that the like abodes would be continued, since the *Indians* are no less molested by the *Portuguese*, and have as much to fear from wild beasts now as in former times. But though the author had enquired with the utmost curiosity of the *Indians* living near the great rivers of the *Amazons* and *Orenoque*, where the people called by *Raleigh* *Arattes*, are placed by these writers, of these sorts of transmigrations, he was assured by them, that they had never seen any thing like it, nor so much as heard any thing in the country of these habitations.

Clearing of ground is the chief employment of the *Galibis*, to which they are indispensably obliged for procuring sustenance, in spite of that extreme idleness to which they are so habituated from their tenderest infancy, and which would otherwise detain them at home in their beloved hammocks. When they have finished this tiresome work, which has been greatly shortened since they have been furnished with iron tools by the *Europeans*, instead of fire and hatchets of stone\*, formerly used for that pur-

\* These hatchets are four or five inches in length, and made of a very hard black stone, to which they give the figure of our hatchets by rubbing it against a sort of hard free stone. These hatchets are fixed in a cleft of very hard wood, which serves for a helve, and secured with thread of pitte, and *man*, a sort of resin, which they melt, and use instead of pitch and tar.

pose, the labour of burning, planting, weeding, and gathering the fruits is left intirely to the women. How small soever these clearings generally are, they confound a great quantity of ground in a little time, for they never make two plantations in the same place; but when they find no more ground to clear about the karbet, they pack up their baggage, and remove to another quarter.

**Hunting.** In hunting, which also belongs to the men, as well as fishing, our *Indians* usually lie in wait among the bushes, or on a tree, till the game comes within their reach, and then shoot it with arrows. In getting up a tree they form a sort of ladder, by tying lians together, and crossing them with the small boughs, step after step, as they ascend. The *Indians* towards the river of *Amazons* have a kind of hollow trunk, or pipe, between ten and twelve feet in length, and about nine lines in diameter at the mouth, through which they blow, with all their force, small darts not above a foot long, and headed with fish-bones. This sort of hunting is only proper for agoutis, paks \*, and small hogs. They also have an excellent breed of dogs for the chace, and make a kind of traffic of them with the *French*. These dogs, which are the only kind to be found in the country, are always lean, very unsightly, with squalid, nasty hair, and an aspect altogether wild, and much resembling a wolf. The inhabitants of *Coyenne* generally call them *Indian* dogs. They are admirably serviceable for taking agouties, tatous †, stags, and other kind of game. It is remarkable that beasts of the game are not so much afraid of *Indians* as of the Whites; as if all wild animals had in some measure an aversion to persons in cloaths.

**Fishing.** Tho' game be very plentiful in the country, the *Indians* delight most in fishing, either because they best relish fish, or, probably, because the exercise costs less pains. And of all fish, none serves more for food to the savages than crabs, which may on that account be called the nursing mother of several *French* colonies. These animals multiply infinitely, to which also the *Indians* contribute by taking none but the male crabs, and always leaving the females, because of the innumerable eggs of which they are always full. The male is commonly distinguished from the female by the plastron underneath, which in the male is nearly oval, in the other of the figure of a heart. Crabs will live some days without eating, but not so long as tortoises. The savages have the secret of preserving tortoises always as fresh as when first taken. For this purpose they inclose a drowned savanna with a palisade, within which kind of reservoir they put the tortoises as they take them; and those they chuse are generally of two feet in size, and very delicious.

All the savages fish with a line, a harpoon, inebriate the fish, or shoot them with arrows; the use of nets is unknown to them. Experience has taught them the rules of dioptries in a surprising manner, and they take care not to direct the shaft to the place where the fish appears in the water, but at a proper distance. For inebriating or making fish drunk, they shut up a creek of the main sea with a machine made of boards of arrouma, and joined together in manner of a screen, so as to be folded, or rather rolled together, for its more commodious transportation in a small canoe. This done, they stir the water with a chip, or piece of fuddle-wood ‡, bruised at one end, the *Indians* call this wood *Inekou*. The fish no sooner drinks of this poisoned water than it dies, and floats on the surface, whence it is taken up. The *French* take by this method, without much trouble, more fish than they can oftentimes consume, and sometimes, if the fishing be plentiful, load a whole canoe. But, to speak the truth, fish inebriated is not fit to keep, nor has so good a taste, as what is shot, or taken with a line. Besides this wood, they use for the same purpose the fruit of a tree called *Comamy*, and the roots of a species of astragalus, known to the *Indians* by the name of *Sinapou*. They cast these fruits and roots bruised into the water, to make the fish drunk, but the fuddle-wood is much more speedy in its effect. The Savages never use the harpoon except about the great tortoise and the Lamentin, or sea-cow. Of these, and how they are taken, we have spoken elsewhere. We shall only observe that the lamentin is the most nourishing of all fish. The skin, which is about three fingers breadth thick, tastes like a boiled neats-foot, and the flesh like pork. You would imagine that you were feeding on flesh, did you not know that it was fish. The flesh of the lamentin is twice salted, and usually cut into pieces of two or three pounds, and after letting them lie till they are well drained, packed up by the *French*

\* A species of rabbits. † *Tatus, Geomys.* ‡ *Bignonia Canalen, serrata, spicata, purpurea.*

traders into barrels. The *Indians*, w<sup>h</sup> whom salt is very scarce, content themselves with bucaning them as well as other fish, and also feth. Hence you find in every karbet a great bucan, where they broil, or rather dry in the smoke, fish and venison, which they will not take the pains to flay. It is not doubted but that they would prepare their victuals after another manner, were they so well acquainted with salt as the *Europeans*. There are however several nations far within land which have the skill to make salt out of the lye of the ashes of the *maripa*, pineau, and other species of the palm-tree. Some of them, to spare that pains, are content with seasoning their fish with that simple lye, which they take care however to filtrate through a basket of a conic figure, which serves them instead of *Hippocrates's* sleeve.

The frugality natural to the *Indians*, and in which they have been bred from their tendereft infancy, makes them easily endure fasting, and feed on many things as they are prepared to their hand by nature. They find great fault with all those refinements and spiceries which sensuality has introduced among us, and of which we lay ourselves under a kind of necessity. They use therefore no sort of seasoning but pimento, or *Indian* pepper, which they love to distraction; and when they go a journey, bucan it, to make it keep the better. With this fruit and manioc, well boiled together, they make a sort of pickle, in which they put their fish, to give it a high relish, though this detestable ragout burns the tongue and palate with its acrimony, and causes a considerable deprivation of them.

The *Indian* men never eat with the women, who take their repast by themselves, and separate from their husbands, whom they serve with water to wash at the end of every meal. The ordinary posture of the *Indians*, except in the hammock, or when they are on a march, is a continual squatting on their heels, and they also crouch like women when they make water. It is very rare to see an *Indian* take a walk; and they cannot forbear laughing to see the *French* walk to and fro. They never use this sort of exercise but in journeys by land, which also have no other motive than war, commerce, or a dance.

The bravery, so commendable in the people of the North, and the *Mexicans* and the *Peruvians*, will by no means suit the taste of our *Guyanese*. They have no pretensions to that virtue, which they are sure not to dispute with other nations. They are by nature very slothful, and the greatest cowards upon earth, whence they seldom leave their karbets for the sake of fighting. In war, which sometimes they know not how to avoid, their manner is not to march briskly up to the enemy, and shew their courage in the face of danger, but to lay ambuscades, to lie in wait at a pass, and to surprisè their foes by a flight of arrows, when least expected; or else to conceal themselves in the woods, watching an opportunity to surprisè, and carry off the women and children, while the men are employed in hunting and fishing. The *Guyanese* never palisade their villages, and they have no notion of erecting forts; the rests are their ordinary defence, and greatest security.

Though all the Savages of *Guyana*, taken in general, are very cowardly, there are yet some nations which have sufficiently demonstrated their courage, and hazarded their lives on several occasions. The *Arouas* maintain to this day the reputation they gained by their encounters with other *Indians*, and especially with the *Portugueses*. And they are no less respectable for their expertness and valour in naval expeditions; whence they are commonly called the wolves of the sea. The *French* traders think themselves not safe in stormy weather, unless convoyed by that warlike and laborious nation. The *Karannes*, *Palicours*, and *Arikarets* have also distinguished themselves in certain actions. The *Arikarets*, who were the original people of *Cayenne*, were the scourge of the *French* at the first settlement of the colony. They haraned and fatigued them without intermission, by parties, who made incursions to their very doors. There remain to this day in the colony, married to some inhabitants, five or six *Indian* women, the poor remainder of that nation, which the *French* have entirely destroyed.

The ordinary incentives to war are the captivity of their women, a bloody affront offered them, or the murder of one of their people by those of another nation. But there are not always such just motives to furnish them with pretences for a rupture, sometimes a small matter is sufficient to embroil whole nations. For instance, an unkind reception, the refusal of a dance proposed by a foreign nation to another; these and the like punctilios are referred to the highest degree, and give rise to a

war, which is prosecuted with burning, ravishing, plundering, and all sorts of cruelties.

Arms of the  
Guanese.

The ordinary arms of the *Guanese* are bows and arrows, at which they are perfectly dextrous, and the bludgeon. The *Palicours* use also a sponçon, or half-pike, which they call *Serpe*. The half-pike, which is of letter-wood, is a weapon of distinction, and affected, as we may say, only by the chiefs of the nation. For defensive arms, they have a shield, made of a sort of wood, extremely light, and stained on the outside with different colours. Its figure is almost a square, and a little concave within, where it has a handle in the middle, for the more commodious holding it. The bludgeon, otherwise called the *Breakpate*, because its principal use among the *Indians* is to fracture the skull with one blow, is a sort of rule, near an inch thick, two foot long, narrow in the middle, and wide at both ends, which form a very acute angle, with lines of three or four inches. This kind of weapon is usually made of iron-wood, letter-wood, or some other very hard wood. The bow of our *Galibis* is made of the same matter as that of all the Southern Savages. They use the most beautiful wood that can be got, and generally make it five or six feet long; the arrows are very near of the same length. These are made of the upper part of the stalk of a kind of reed, not unlike that which grows in *Languedoc* and *Roussillon*. At the end of each arrow, which they adorn with beautiful feathers, they omit not to affix a piece of wood, which they insert into the pith of the reed, in order to accelerate its motion. The other end is armed with other pieces of hard wood, very sharp-pointed, or shaped like a sabre, or else with fish-bones, and, among others, with those in the fins. Sometimes their arrows have more than one point, even to the number of five. This sort they call *Possireu*, and they serve not only in war, but are of great use in fishing, by taking as many fish at a time as it has darts. They forget not to poison their arrows with the fruit of the *Cururu*, so called by *Piso*, or by the milk of a tree which they name *Pougeuly* \*. This milk is so acrid that it corrodes the skin, and causes surprising inflammations; wherefore the *Indians*, when they clear the ground where these trees grow in plenty, take care to cover themselves well with leaved branches, for a defence against so troublesome an inconvenience. The *French* have given this tree the name of the Wild Fig-tree, because its wood is very soft, and yields plenty of milk like the fig-tree.

Savage barbarities.

Those who get the superiority in war, omit nothing to make themselves terrible to their enemies, and to make them sensible of the weight of their anger by their inhuman treatment of those who could not escape their fury. The *Nouragues*, *Karannes*, and some other nations, know not what it is to give quarter. As soon as their foes turn their backs, they run like fiends into the karbets, and break and bruise whatever comes to hand; and, in short, sacrifice every thing to their rage and barbarous cruelty. The ordinary treatment of those who are made prisoners, is tying them to a stake or a tree, and then, after loading them with all the vile reproaches imaginable, discharging a flight of arrows at different parts of their bodies, and so leaving them to expire in that condition. Those who are impatient to satisfy their revenge with the blood of those unfortunate victims, begin with cutting out pieces of their flesh, which they bucan, or broil, over a small fire. The heads of the principal persons are fixed on the top of the karbet, as a trophy of war, and a monument to posterity of their bravery. Some, with the same spirit of vanity, use the bones of the thighs and arms of their enemies for making flutes. In short, they take a pride and glory in making a parade of all the spoils. When the flesh is broiled, they part it among them to be eaten, rather out of a spirit of revenge, than for any other motive. They find not, by their own confession, the least relish of this sort of flesh, which several among them are in a manner forced to eat against their inclination, in order to inspire terror into their enemies, which a treatment less barbarous might no doubt render still more fierce and audacious. What is more, some of the women, who, to shew their abhorrence of such a spectacle, had absented themselves with their children from the karbet, burn and break, at their return, the *Canaris*, or earthen jars, and the conyes, and every thing used in that feast of inhumanity. Those who treat their prisoners with less cruelty, are satisfied with putting them to death without making them languish; or, what is better, if they are offered any thing in exchange, dispose of them

The insect of  
prisoners.

\* *Fraxinovenata*, *Pougeuly Indiarum* dicitur

to the highest bidder, by which the poor captives escape the punishment destined for them. The most gentle and civilised nations make it their principal aim to take prisoners, with a view to keep them in servitude during life, or to ransom them for the most they can get, and to put off a good number of them in traffic with those nations with whom they hold a friendly correspondence. As soon as an *Indian* is taken in war he is reputed a slave, in token of which his hair is immediately cut off, to let him know that he is really such. The hair indeed is a mark of liberty, and none but freemen let it grow; and those never cut it but in time of mourning.

A war among *Indians*, howsoever kindled, is difficult to be extinguished, because they keep their resentments in eternal remembrance. They even inspire their sons, from their tenderest youth, with hatred and animosity against their enemies. And the only legacy, as we may call it, which they leave their children, when departing this life, is an injunction to revenge their death, and to make war upon the hostile nation. The *Indians*, therefore, are in some manner obliged to all the cruelties inseparable from war; and the ill example of their parents authorises and perpetuates them from father to son in families. Hence it is very rare to see a peace or truce made among the Savages. But in such a case, the particular formality of their concluding a peace, which is almost the same with that of the northern people, is thus described.

One of the parties, whose interest it is to terminate the war, pays a visit to the hostile nation. Generally it is the captain, with the principal men, and all the youth, who march in a body like an army, well equipped with their bows, arrows, bludgeons, hatchets of stone, and other instruments of war. At near a small day's journey from the karbet they halt, and depute some of their people to go and declare to the adverse party that they are willing to become friends with them, and to live for the future in good correspondence together. If the proposal be well received, notice is given of it to those who had encamped, with leave to come. The two nations range themselves in order of battle, and make a shew as if they intended to fight. They fall to railing, and calling of names, and reproaching one another with all the cruelties committed by this and the other party. "You have carried away our women," say those on this side. "You have captivated, killed, shot, broiled, my father, my cousin, my brother:" and so on. At last, after all these pathetic declamations, they cast all at once their arms on the ground, make loud shouts of joy, and after that repair to the great karbet, where, for the better cementing the peace, they make a feast, at which they continue drinking for three or four days without intermission.

The commerce which maintains the good intelligence between all the Savages, and renders common to them certain advantages peculiar to one country, and not to be found in another, is carried on among them by way of exchange. They have the utmost contempt for money, and sell nothing to the *French*, who truck with them for provisions and other merchandize, which consists in slaves, animals, pirogues, hammocks, dried fish, manarets\*, coleuvres, grages, pottery, household utensils, camizas, vesture, girdles, collars, and green stones. With respect to these stones, the *Galibis* have nothing more precious than the *Takouraves* †, as they call them, and prize them more than we do gold and diamonds. Nor are they only valuable among them, but equally prized by all the other nations of *Guyana*, and in request among the *Turks*, *Persians*, and *Polanders*, who use them for ornaments to all sorts of works. This stone is of an olive colour, but of a little paler green, and almost of a pearl grey. The most common figure they give this stone is that of a cylinder, from two to three and four inches long, and six or seven lines in diameter, and its length perforated. I have seen, says our author, some that were square, oval, some cut in the form of a crescent, and imprinted with the figure of a toad, or some other animal. It is of a very good polish, and so hard that it cannot be worked but with powder of diamonds. Some assured the author that it was fictitious, and that a nation called *Tapouyes*, living about 150 leagues from *Para*, was employed in counterfeitling them. The matter of these stones, they say, is a soft slimy substance, which they knead, and give it what figures and impressions they please. After this preparation they lay all the pieces to steep for a certain time in a river, the water of which, we are told, communicates the colour, hardness and polish so remarkable in these stones.

\* Sieves made of the trunks of palm trees.

† A species of that green stone called by *Lapidaries* a *Jade*

Manner of  
travelling.

The distance of places sometimes obliges the *Indians* to take long journeys; but they give themselves little or no concern about it, being all of a rambling spirit. Sometimes they will take a frolick of 100 or 200 leagues to traffic for a single hammock, or assist at some dance. They commonly march with great speed, and clamber up mountains with surprising agility; and they are the lighter and more expeditious, because they take care not to overload themselves, but carry very little with them. A *kourkourou*, in which they put their hammocks, some couyes, with tapano, or vico, baked in crust, to make a sort of drink, is all their equipage, which they carry by turns. They hunt and fish all the way, yet without going much out of their road. Besides, they never trouble themselves with eating, as long as they have something to drink. In dry countries, where sometimes no water is to be had, they cut lians across, and particularly a species of calves-foot, which climbs up trees. From the stalk of this plant distils, in less than two minutes, juice enough to fill a large glass. Their manner of getting fire is no less singular: they take a couple of pieces of wood, two feet long, and an inch thick. On one of these sticks, laid on the ground, they set their foot; the other stick they insert in a small groove which they had before cut in the first; then strongly twirling these two sticks one against another, from this sort of friction, or terebration, the saw-dust issues forth all on fire, and easily kindles dry leaves, stubble, or touchwood, kept in readiness for that purpose. These sorts of firelocks are usually made of wood of cacao, or of roucou, but chiefly of wood of *Mabo*. In the *Indian* tongue, all those woods which serve for this purpose are called *Ouato-Vbebi*, firewood.

Singular method of getting fire.

Indian computation of time.

In journeys, either by land or water, the sun and stars serve the Savages for guides. They know some of the constellations, as the Great Bear, and the Pleiades, which they call *Xerik*. This constellation serves them for an epoch to measure time: they compute, and also begin the year by it. When a free *Indian* enters himself a servant to a *Frenchman* only for a year, he serves during a revolution of the Pleiades, which is the true solar year of the *Indians*. They reckon time also by lunations; yet with the help of these computations not a man among them could ever tell his own age, or that of his children. Besides the sun and stars to direct their course, the trees serve them for a compass. They place the south always on the side to which the top of the tree most inclines. In places where they never have been, and which they design to repass, they make marks, or some kinds of notches on the trunks of trees, to the right and left as they pass along, and also cut the branches. How beaten soever the ways by which the *Indians* pass and repass may be expected, it is very difficult to distinguish those little paths, or furrows, to which they may be compared. The lightness with which they march leaves very faint impressions of their feet: and, besides, every place is so full of lians, and trunks of fallen trees, that one is often obliged to leap from tree to tree, instead of walking a steady pace.

Swift travelling.

Signals

When they make their voyage upon rivers, they commonly follow the course of the stream; and they are never so embarrassed and fatigued as when they are obliged to go by land: wherefore they prefer those voyages before others. If they perceive some pirogue at a distance, they hale it with a sort of speaking trumpet that may be heard a good way off, and is made of two pieces tied together with lians. This phonic instrument, which they call a signal, serves also to give notice of their arrival when they approach a karbet where they design to go ashore. Besides this signal, they have also different kinds of flutes, which serve for the same purposes, and, among the rest, one resembling that of the god *Pan*, or a sow-gelder's whistle.

Lodging on the road.

As soon as the tide will no longer serve, they set about hauling their canoe ashore, choosing a convenient place very near the sea or the river. They adjust some branches of a tree for stretching their hammocks, and every one makes a fire against his lodging; and though he be very often incommoded, and, as one may say, buccanned by the smoke, the *Indians* can never be easy without a fire, and take great care to keep it alive during the night, not so much for driving away the devil, of whom, as travellers report, they are horribly afraid, as to defend themselves from the insupportable vexation of musketoos, maks\*, and maringoins, without which precaution the place would certainly not be tenable. They generally encamp pretty early in the

\* A kind of maringoin, but a little bigger, with two long prominent bristles, very stiff, with which it pierces the skin to the quick, like the point of a lancet.



evening, that they might have time to build a lodgment, especially in rainy weather. They drive into the ground here and there a stake, and join them by interlaying watted branches of trees, which serve as a roof to shelter them during the night, which they are forced to pass under these wretched huts, which are but a poor defence against the heavy rains so common in all the country.

The happy state of health which the *Indians* of *Guyana* generally enjoy, put the author upon observing how physic was practised among them, and to question them often about the virtues and use of plants. But he found that all their knowledge in diseases consisted in confining the patient to a rigid diet, as the taking no more than a single couye, or glass of drink, to wash himself often, and to drink the juice of a certain plant. In short, the *Indians* are very ignorant in matters of physic, and their experience in it goes but a little way. We are however obliged to them for some good remedies, which chance, rather than their own sagacity, discovered to them. Thus, for instance, they cure the dysentery, which makes as great ravages amongst them as in *France*, with the root of *simarouba*. The bark of a tree, which they call *Xourouquoy*, cures the same distemper by exciting a vomit. There are nations about the river of *Amazons* who give clysters with syringes above described; but it is supposed that they have been taught their use by the *Portuguese*. The *Indians* also make use of several sorts of fruits and gums for their relief under their disorders, in which their patience exceeds all proof. An *Indian* never complains, and how much soever he suffers from the disease, he suffers not a single cry, nor even so much as a sigh, to escape him. Their heroism is admirable under distempers, as well as in punishments inflicted on them in war.

Whatever excellent remedies the Savages may have, and whatever good effects they may have experienced from them, on several occasions, they seldom have recourse to them, because they are all superstitious to the last degree, and are persuaded that the devil is the cause of all their maladies. They address themselves therefore with an entire confidence to the *Piayes*\*, who have, they say, the virtue of shooting, or driving the devil out of the bodies of the patients, of which he has taken unjust possession.

The *Indians* have different names for the devil. The *Galibis* call him *Hyorokan*; the *Arrouas*, *Amignao*; those in the more inland parts, *Anbana*; and the *Caraiibes*, *Maboya*. Our Savages also subdivide the devil into several species, and are acquainted with several sorts, whose names it is not material to mention. He whom they most dread is called *Chinay*, whom they verily believe to feed on nothing but *Indians*, to have his whole nourishment from their flesh, and to suck all their blood. "See, say they, the reason why we are so lean when we are sick." The *Hyorokan* strangles some, corrupts the blood of others, covers the body of those with ulcers, and gives these the jaundice. In short, the devil is the sole author of all the evils they suffer. How insatuated soever they may be with the devil, they have no rational idea of him. The most famous *Piayes* among them have been questioned what this *Hyorokan* was of whom they talked so much; but could never give a solution of the difficulty; and have been constrained to acknowledge that they knew nothing of him; and that if they played, it was in compliance with usage. "It is our custom, they say, and what we have seen practised by our elders."

With regard to Religion, all the Savages of *Guyana* are plunged in lamentable ignorance. They have not, in all their language, so much as any term proper to express the Divinity, much less the homage and respect due to him. On that important article it will be sufficient to relate what the author observed himself, and which is confirmed by a virtuous missionary, who resided thirty years successively among several nations, and consequently was very well acquainted with their characters, by whom we are assured that these people are sunk into a perfect brutality, and that they have no idea of a God, as they ought to have. They only imagine him to be the most antient among them, whom the *Galibis*, in their language, call *Tamoussi*, that is, Grandfather, but are not obliged, by any settled form or custom, to render him due worship.

How greatly is it to be lamented, that so many nations overspreading that great part of *America*, should live in darkness, without the light of the Gospel! For, in

\* Magicians, or Jongleurs.

Cure of diseases.

Ascribe them to the devil.

Aburd notions of the evil spirit.

Impossible and ignorance of the Piayes.

Guyane's destitute of religion.

Converts to Christianity.

*A Description of the Island and Colony of Cayenne.*

other respects, all these *Indians* have a fund of docility capable of receiving the truths of the Christian religion, and appear well enough disposed to put them in practice. The *Galibis* and other Savages who lay most convenient to be instructed by the Missionaries, are become very good Catholics: some of them are fervent and zealous, and incapable of renouncing religion, and returning to the life of a Savage, notwithstanding the strong attachment they naturally have to all their superstitions. We are obliged for the conversion of these people to the Reverend Fathers the Jesuits, who have for a long time continued to make painful and dangerous journeys into those remote lands, for the sake of bringing back so many wandering sheep to the fold of the Great Shepherd.

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