

128

RAYNAL
—
HISTORY
OF THE
INDIES

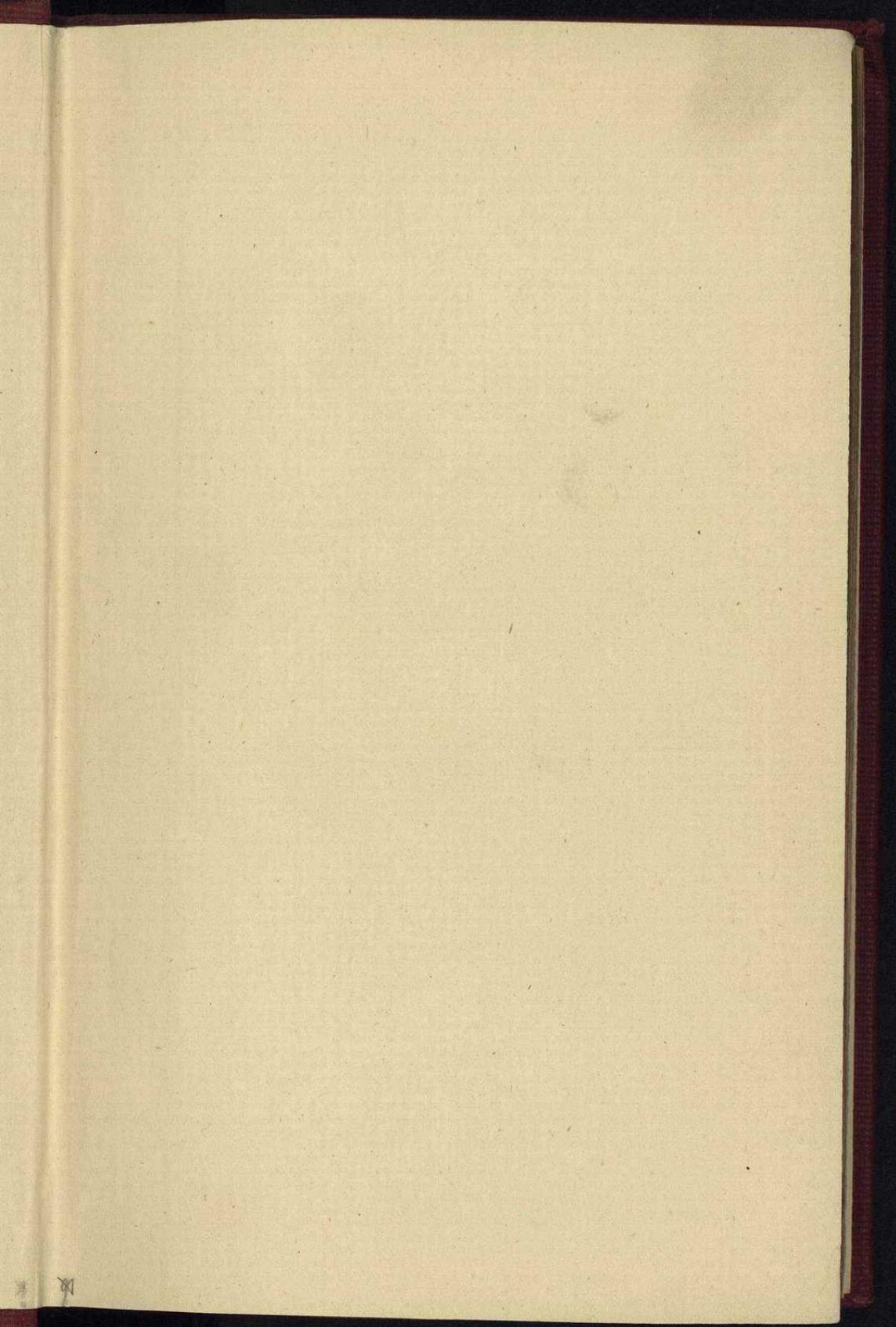
5

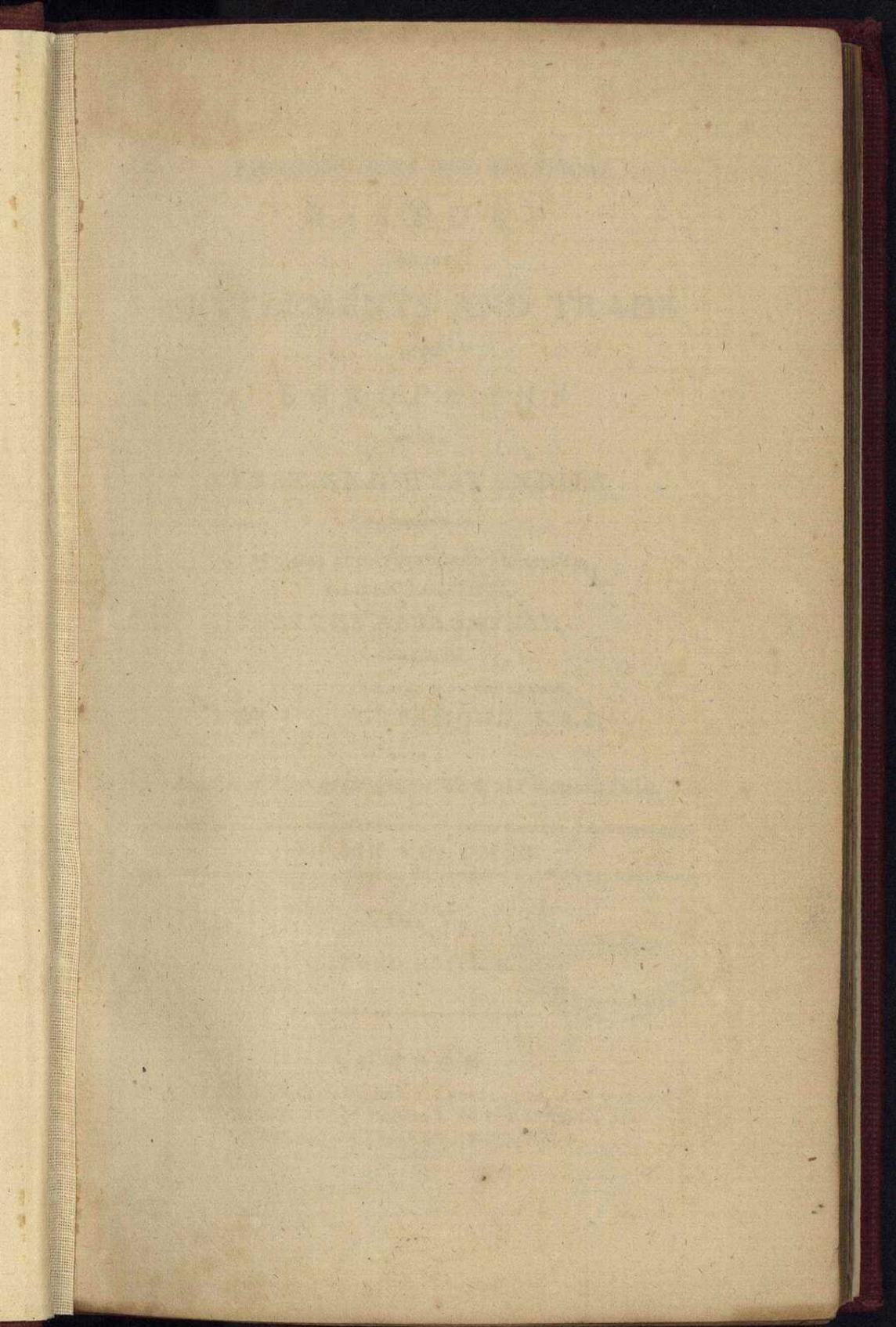
D
22
R33



1798







A
PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL
HISTORY
OF THE
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE
OF THE
EUROPEANS
IN THE
EAST AND WEST INDIES,

REVISED, AUGMENTED, AND PUBLISHED,
IN TEN VOLUMES,
BY THE ABBÉ RAYNAL.

2513
2361
NEWLY TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,
BY J. O. JUSTAMOND, F. R. S.

WITH A
New Set of Maps adapted to the Work, and a copious Index.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

4/5061
VOL. V.

SECOND EDITION.



LONDON:

PRINTED FOR A. STRAHAN; AND T. CADELL, JUN. AND W. DAVIES,
(SUCCESSORS TO MR. CADELL), IN THE STRAND; AND
FOR J. MUNDELL & CO. EDINBURGH.

1798.

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

EUROPEANS

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES

REVISED, AUGMENTED, AND PUBLISHED

IN TEN VOLUMES

BY THE ABBE RAYNAL

NEWLY TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

BY J. O. JUSTAMOND, F.R.S.

WITH A

New Set of Maps added to the Fifth and Sixth Volumes

IN SIX VOLUMES

VOL. V.

SECOND EDITION

LONDON

PRINTED FOR A. MILLAR, AND T. LONGMAN, AND W. BENTLEY, IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD (SUCCESSORS TO MESSRS. KNEELAND AND ALLEN) AND FOR J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD

1788

D 22
R 33

CONTENTS.

VOL. V.

BOOK XIV.

	Page.
<i>SETTLEMENT of the English in the American Islands,</i>	1
The state of England when she began to form settlements in the American islands,	2
Causes which hastened the population of the British islands,	3
By what men the British islands were peopled,	10
Under what form of government the British islands were established,	11
Means employed by the mother-country to secure to itself all the productions of the islands,	14
Diminution of the advantages which England derived from its islands. Cause of it,	16
The English form a settlement at Barbadoes. Great prosperity of this island,	17
Conspiracy formed by the slaves in Barbadoes,	18
Present state of Barbadoes,	19
Is Barbadoes capable of making a good defence,	21
Events that have happened at Antigua. Productions and expences of that island. The importance of it to Great Britain,	22
State of the settlement formed by the English at Montserrat,	25
Ancient manners, and present state of the island of Nevis,	26
St. Christopher's, which is at first divided between the English and French, at last belongs entirely to Great Britain,	27
What St. Christopher's became under the British government,	28
Wretched catastrophes that have happened at St. Christopher's,	29
Particularities concerning Barbuda,	32
The colony of Anguilla is very wretched, and its fate cannot be changed,	33
Tortola is the only one of the Virgin Islands which the English have cultivated. The government censured,	34
Description of Jamaica,	34
The Spaniards discover Jamaica, and settle there some time after,	36
Jamaica is conquered by the English. Events that have happened in the island since they have become masters of it,	38
Cultures established in Jamaica,	45

	Page.
Present state of Jamaica, considered in every point of view,	49
Means which Jamaica hath to preserve herself from invasion,	53
Advantages of Jamaica for war,	61
Its disadvantages for navigation,	62
Revolutions which have happened in the Lucaya islands. State of these islands,	63
Poverty of the Bermudas. Character of the inhabitants,	65
Granada was first occupied by the French. What the first colonists did there,	68
Events which have happened at Granada since it is fallen under the British government,	71
Cultures of Granada, and of the Granadines,	73
The island of Tobago, which was the cause of great disputes between the Dutch and the French, becomes a British possession,	74
Plan for clearing the American islands,	78
Misfortunes which the English have suffered at Tobago, for having deviated from the maxims which we have just laid down,	80
History of the savages of St. Vincent,	ib.
The arrival of the French at St. Vincent raises disputes between the red and black Caribs,	82
St. Vincent falls into the hands of the English. State of the island under their dominion,	85
Great Britain takes possession of Dominica,	88
Disturbances between the English of Dominica and the French of the neighbouring islands,	90
In what consists the importance of Dominica,	92
Laws peculiar to Dominica,	93
Plan conceived by the British ministry, to render flourishing the three islands which were formerly neutral,	95
Obstacles which have prevented the prosperity of the neutral islands,	98
Present state of the English islands,	99
Summary of the riches that Europe draws from the American islands,	106
The best mode to be adopted for increasing the productions of the American Archipelago,	107
What will be the fate of the American islands hereafter,	109

BOOK XV.

<i>Settlements of the French in North America. Upon what Basis was founded the Hope of their Prosperity. Consequence of the Settlements,</i>	113
Reasons which prevented the French for a long time from pursuing the plan of forming settlements in the New World,	ib.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
Errors and misfortunes which rendered memorable the first expeditions of the French in the New Hemisphere,	115
The French turn their views towards Canada,	120
Government, customs, virtues, vices, and wars, of the savages that inhabited Canada,	122
The French imprudently take a part in the wars of the savages,	151
The French settlement makes no progress. The cause of this,	154
The French are roused from their inactivity. Means by which this change was effected,	157
The furs are the foundation of the connections between the French and the Indians,	163
Figure of the beavers. Their disposition and form of government,	167
In what places, and in what manner, the fur trade was carried on,	177
France is compelled to cede part of the provinces that were united to Canada,	184

BOOK XVI.

<i>A new Order of things is established in the French Colonies in North America. Result of these Arrangements,</i>	186
The French, to recover their former losses, people and fortify Cape-Breton; and establish considerable fisheries there,	187
Settlement of the French in the island of St. John. Tendency of this undertaking,	194
Discovery of the Mississippi by the French,	196
The French settle in the country that is watered by the Mississippi, and call it Louisiana,	200
Louisiana becomes very famous in the time of Law's system. Reason of this,	201
Extent, soil, and climate of Louisiana,	207
General character of the savages of Louisiana, and of the Natchez in particular,	211
Settlements formed by the French in Louisiana,	217
France might have derived great advantages from Louisiana. Faults that have impeded this success,	223
The French ministry cede Louisiana to Spain. Had they a right to do it,	233
Conduct of the Spaniards at Louisiana,	236
State of Canada at the peace of Utrecht,	241
Population of Canada, and distribution of its inhabitants,	242
Manners of the French Canadians,	247
Form of government established in Canada. Impediments which cultivation, industry, and fishing, experienced from it,	249

	Page.
Taxes levied in Canada. Expences of the ministry in that country. Manner in which they were paid. To what excess they were carried, and how they were got rid of,	253
Advantages which France might have derived from Canada,	255
Difficulties which France had to overcome, in order to derive advantages from Canada,	260
Origin of the wars between the English and the French in Canada,	262
Conquest of Cape-Breton by the English,	263
The English attack Canada. They at first experience great misfortunes there. Causes of them,	267
Taking of Quebec by the English. The conquest of this capital brings on in time the surrender of the whole colony,	272
Hath the acquisition of Canada been advantageous or prejudicial to England,	276

BOOK XVII.

<i>English Colonies settled at Hudson's Bay, Canada, the Island of St. John, Newfoundland, Nova-Scotia, New-England, New-York, and New-Jersey,</i>	278
First expeditions of the English in North America,	ib.
The continent of America is peopled in consequence of the religious wars that disturb England,	282
Parallel between the Old and the New World,	289
Comparison between civilized people and savages,	297
The state in which the English found North America, and what they have done there,	302
Climate of Hudson's Bay, and customs of its inhabitants.	
Trade carried on there,	303
Whether there be a passage from Hudson's Bay to the East Indies,	310
Hath the passage from Hudson's Bay to the East Indies been properly searched for,	315
State of Canada since it hath been under the dominion of Great Britain,	317
What is become of the islands of St. John, of Magdalen, and of Cape-Breton, since they have been subject to the British government,	323
Description of the island of Newfoundland,	325
At what period, and in what manner, the English and French have settled at Newfoundland,	ib.
It is the cod-fish alone which renders Newfoundland of importance. Present state of this fishery, divided into wandering and stationary fishery,	329
Sketch of Nova Scotia. The French settle there. Their conduct in this settlement,	344

CONTENTS.

vii

	Page.
France is compelled to cede Nova Scotia to England,	347
Manners of the French who remained subject to the English government in Nova Scotia, - -	348
Present state of Nova Scotia, - -	353
Foundation of New England, - -	355
Form of government established at New England, -	357
Fanaticism occasions great calamities in New England,	358
Extent, natural history, fisheries, population, cultures, manufactures, and exportations of New England, -	366
The Dutch found the colony of New Belgia, afterwards called New York, - -	374
At what period, and in what manner, the English make themselves masters of New Belgia, - -	375
The colony is ceded to the Duke of York. Principles upon which he founded its administration,	377
King William gives a government to this colony. Events previous to this new arrangement, -	379
Soil, population, and commerce of the colony, -	381
Ancient and modern manners of New York, -	383
Revolutions which have happened in New Jersey, -	384
Present state of New Jersey, and what it may become,	386

France is compelled to cede Nova Scotia to England. 261

Masters of the French who remained subject to the English government in Nova Scotia. 262

Present state of Nova Scotia. 263

Foundation of New England. 264

Form of government established at New England. 265

Particular occasions great calamities in New England. 266

Recent natural history, fisheries, population, customs, manners, labor, and exportations of New England. 267

The Dutch found the colony of New Belgia, afterwards call'd New York. 268

At what period, and in what manner, the English made them selves masters of New Belgia. 269

The colony is ceded to the Duke of York. Principles upon which it is to be administered. 270

King William gives a government to this colony. Events previous to this new settlement. 271

Self government, and commerce of the colony. 272

Antient and modern manners of New York. 273

Revolutions which have happened in New Jersey. 274

Present state of New Jersey, and what it may become. 275

A
PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL
HISTORY
OF THE
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE
OF THE
EUROPEANS
IN THE
EAST AND WEST INDIES.

BOOK XIV.

Settlement of the English in the American Islands.

A NEW order of things now opens itself to our view. England is, in modern history, the country of great political phenomena. It is there that we have seen liberty the most violently combating with despotism, sometimes trampled under its feet, at other times victorious in its turn. It is there that its triumph has been completed; which every thing, even the fanaticism of religion, hath concurred in bringing about. There it is, that one king, juridically brought to the scaffold, and another deposed, with his whole race, by the decree of the nation, have given a great lesson to the earth. There it is, that in the midst of civil commotions, and in the intervals of momentary tranquillity, we have seen the exact and deep sciences carried to their greatest perfection; we have seen the minds of men accustomed to reason, to reflect, and to turn their attention particularly to government. It is there,

BOOK
XIV.

B O O K in a word, that, after long and violent struggles, that
 XIV. constitution hath been formed, which, if it be not perfect, and free from all inconveniencies, is, at least, the most happily suited to the situation of the country; the most favourable to its trade; the best calculated to unfold genius, eloquence, and all the powers of the human mind; the only constitution, perhaps, since man hath lived in a social state, where the laws have secured to him his dignity, his personal liberty, and his freedom of thought; where, in a word, they have made him a citizen, that is to say, a constituent and integral part of the constitution of the state and of the nation.

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

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

Industry was still less advanced than agriculture. It was confined to woollen manufactures. These had been increased since the exportation of unwrought wool had been prohibited; but these islanders, who seemed to work only for themselves, were ignorant of the method of spreading those elegant ornaments upon their stuffs, which taste contrived, to promote the sale and consumption of them. They sent their cloths over to Holland, where the Dutch gave them their colouring and gloss; from whence they circulated all over Europe, and were even brought back to England.

Navigation scarce employed, at that time, ten thousand sailors. These were in the service of exclusive companies, which had engrossed every branch of trade, not excepting that of woollen cloth, which alone con-

stituted a tenth part of the commercial riches of the nation. These, therefore, were centered in the hands of three or four hundred persons, who agreed, for their own advantage, to fix the price of goods, both at going out and coming into the kingdom. The privileges of these monopolizers were exercised in the capital, where the court sold the provinces. London alone had six times the number of ships that all the other ports of England had.

BOOK
XIV.

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

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

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

Causes
which hastened the
population
of the British
islands.

The kingdom was exhausted by intestine wars, which

BOOK had lasted two hundred years, when Henry VII. assumed the reins of government on the decision of a battle in which the nation, divided into two camps, had fought to give itself a master. That able prince availed himself of the state of depression into which a series of calamities had sunk his subjects, to extend the regal authority, the limits of which, the anarchy of the feudal government, though continually encroaching upon them, had never been able to fix. He was assisted in this undertaking by the faction which had placed the crown upon his head, and which, being the weakest, could not hope to maintain itself in the principal employments to which those who were engaged in it had been raised, unless they supported the ambition of their leader. This plan was strengthened, by permitting the nobility, for the first time, to alienate their lands. This dangerous indulgence, joined to a taste for luxury, which then began to prevail in Europe, brought on a great revolution in the fortunes of individuals. The immense fiefs of the barons were gradually dissipated, and the estates of the commoners increased.

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

alone. The majesty of the throne, the whole lustre of which was centered in him, seemed to be the source of that authority, of which it should only be the visible sign and permanent instrument. BOOK
XIV.

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

Nothing could be more repugnant to the general disposition of the people than this system. All was in commotion both at home and abroad. The discovery of America had hastened the advancement of Europe. Navigation extended round the whole globe. The mutual intercourse of nations would soon have removed prejudices, and opened the door to industry

B O O K and knowledge. The mechanical and liberal arts
XIV. were extended, and were advancing to perfection by
the luxury that prevailed. Literature acquired the ornaments of taste; and the sciences gained that degree of solidity which springs from a spirit of calculation and commerce. The circle of politics was extended. This universal ferment exalted the ideas of men. The several bodies which composed the monstrous colossus of Gothic government, roused from that lethargic state of ignorance in which they had been sunk for many ages, soon began to exert themselves on all sides, and to form enterprises. On the continent, where mercenary troops had been adopted, under pretence of maintaining discipline, most princes acquired an unlimited authority, oppressing their subjects either by force or intrigue. In England, the love of liberty, so natural to every feeling or thinking man, excited in the people by the authors of religious innovations, and awakened in the minds of men, enlightened by becoming conversant with the great writers of antiquity, who derived from their democratic government that sublimity of reason and sentiment by which they are distinguished; this love of liberty kindled in every generous breast the utmost abhorrence for unlimited authority. The ascendant which Elizabeth found means to acquire and to preserve, by an uninterrupted prosperity of forty years, withheld this impatience, or turned it to enterprises that were beneficial to the state. But no sooner did another branch ascend the throne, and the sceptre devolved to a monarch, who, by the very violence of his pretensions, was not much to be dreaded, than the nation asserted its rights, and entertained the ambitious thoughts of governing itself.

It was at this period that warm disputes arose between the court and the parliament. Both powers seemed to be making trial of their strength by continual opposition. The prince pretended, that an entire passive obedience was due to him; and that national assemblies were only the ornaments, not the basis, of

the constitution. The citizens loudly exclaimed against these principles, always weak when they come to be discussed; and maintained, that the people were an essential part of government, as well as the monarch, and, perhaps, in a higher degree. The one is the matter, the other the form. Now, the form may, and must change, for the preservation of the matter. The supreme law is the welfare of the people, not that of the prince; the king may die, the monarchy may be at an end, and society subsist without either monarch or throne. In this manner the English reasoned at the dawn of liberty. They quarrelled, they opposed, and threatened each other. James died in the midst of these debates, leaving his son to discuss his rights, with the resolution of extending them.

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

As soon as the great object, which men only view with fear and trembling, hath been raised up in the midst of the nation, the subjects are divided into two classes. One of them keeps at a distance, from fear; the other approaches this object, from ambition; and the latter flatters itself with security, from the consciousness of its meanness. It forms, between the despot and the rest of the nation, an order of subaltern tyrants, not less suspicious, and more cruel, than their master. One hears nothing from them but these words: The king hath said it; it is the king's pleasure; I have seen the king; I have supped with the king; it is the king's intention. These words are always listened to with astonishment; and they are soon considered as the orders of the sovereign. Should there be any energy remaining, it is among the military,

BOOK
XIV.

whose sense of their own importance only serves to make them more insolent. What part doth the priest act in this conjuncture? If he be in favour, he completes the slavishness and degeneracy of the people by his example and by his discourses: if he be neglected, he grows out of humour, becomes factious, and seeks out some fanatic, who will sacrifice himself to his views. In all parts where there are no fixed laws, no justice, no unalterable forms, no real property, the influence of the magistrate is little or nothing; he waits only for a signal to become whatever one may choose. The great nobleman cringes before the prince, and the people cringe before the great nobleman. The natural dignity of man is eclipsed; and he hath not the least idea of his rights. Around the despot, his agents and his favourites, the subjects are crushed under foot, with the same inadvertence that we crush the insects which swarm among the dust of our fields. The morals are become corrupt. There comes a time when the most inordinate vexations, and the most unheard-of outrages, lose their atrocious character, and no longer excite horror. Any one who should pronounce the names of virtue, of patriotism, and of equity, would only be considered as a man of too much warmth; an expression which always implies an abject indulgence of crimes by which we profit. The body of the nation becomes dissolute and superstitious; for despotism cannot be established without the interference of superstition, nor be maintained without its support; and servitude leads on to debauchery, which affords some relief to the mind, and is never suppressed. Men of information, if there be any of them remaining, have their views; they pay their court to the great, and profess the religion of policy. Tyranny, leading on in its train a number of spies and informers, these are consequently to be found in all states, not excepting the most distinguished of them. The least indiscretion assuming the hue of high treason, enemies are very dangerous, and friends become suspicious. Men think little, say nothing, and are afraid of reasoning: they

are even alarmed at their own ideas. The philosopher keeps his thoughts to himself, as the rich man conceals his treasure. The man who leads the best life is the most unknown. Mistrust and terror form the basis of the general manners. The citizens live separate from each other; and the whole nation becomes melancholy, pusillanimous, stupid, and silent. Such is the series, such the fatal symptoms, or the scale of misery, by which every nation may learn the degree of its own wretchedness.

If, in lieu of the preceding phenomena, we imagine others that are directly contrary, they will indicate that motion of legislative bodies which tends to liberty. It is disorderly, it is rapid, it is violent. It is a fever, more or less ardent, but always attended with convulsions. Every thing announces sedition and murders. Every thing makes the people tremble, lest a general dissolution should take place; and if they be not destined to experience this last evil, it is in blood that their felicity must revive.

England experienced this in the beginning of the reign of Charles I.; who, though not so great a pedant as his father, was equally fond of authority. The division which had begun between the king and the parliament, spread itself throughout the nation. The highest class of the nobility, and the second, which was the richest, afraid of being confounded with the vulgar, engaged on the side of the king, from whom they derived that borrowed lustre, which they returned him by a voluntary and venal bondage. As they still possessed most of the considerable land estates, they engaged almost all the country people in their party; who naturally love the king, because they think he must love them. London, and all the great towns, inspired by municipal government with the republican spirit, declared for the parliament, and drew along with them the trading part of the nation, who, valuing themselves as much as the merchants in Holland, aspired to the same freedom as that democracy.

These divisions brought on the sharpest, the most

B O O K
XIV.

bloody, and the most obstinate civil war ever recorded in history. Never did the English spirit show itself in so dreadful a manner. Every day exhibited fresh scenes of violence, which seemed to have been already carried to the highest excess; and these again were outdone by others, still more atrocious. It seemed as if the nation was just upon the brink of destruction, and that every Briton had sworn to bury himself under the ruins of his country.

By what
men the
British
islands were
peopled.

In this general tumult, the most moderate fought for a peaceable retreat in the American islands, which the English had lately seized upon. The tranquillity they found there, induced others to follow them. While the sedition was spreading in the mother-country, the colonies grew up and were peopled. The patriots who had fled from faction were soon after joined by the royalists, who were oppressed by the republican party, which had at last prevailed.

Both these were followed by those restless and spirited men, whose strong passions inspire them with great desires and vast projects; who despise dangers, hazards, and fatigues, and wish to see no other end to them but death or fortune; who know of no medium between affluence and want; equally calculated to overturn or to serve their country, to lay it waste or to enrich it.

The islands were also the refuge of merchants who had been unfortunate in trade, or were reduced by their creditors to a state of indigence and idleness. Unable as they were to fulfil their engagements, this very misfortune paved the way to their prosperity. After a few years they returned with affluence into their own country, and met with the highest respect in those very places from whence they had been banished with ignominy and contempt.

This resource was still more necessary for young people, who in the first transports of youth had been drawn into excesses of debauchery and licentiousness. If they had not quitted their country, shame and disgrace, which never fail to depress the mind, would have prevented them from recovering either regularity of

manners or public esteem. But, in another country, where the experience they had of vice might prove a lesson of wisdom, and where they had no occasion to attempt to remove any unfavourable impressions, they found, after their misfortunes, a harbour in which they rested with safety. Their industry made amends for their past follies; and men who had left Europe like vagabonds, and who had disgraced it, returned honest men, and useful members of society.

All these several colonists had at their disposal, for the clearing and tilling of their lands, the most profligate set of men of the three kingdoms, who had deserved death for capital crimes; but who, from motives of humanity and good policy, were suffered to live and to work for the benefit of the state. These malefactors, who were transported for a term of years, which they were to spend in slavery, became industrious, and acquired manners, which placed them once more in the way of fortune. There were some of those, who, when restored to society by the freedom they had gained, became planters, heads of families, and the owners of the best plantations; a proof how much it is for the interest of a civilized society to admit this lenity in the penal laws, so conformable to human nature, which is frail, but capable of sensibility, and of turning from evil to good.

The mother-country, however, was too much taken up with its own domestic dissensions, to think of giving laws to the islands under its dominion; and the colonists were not sufficiently enlightened to draw up such a system of legislation as was fit for an infant society. While the civil war was rectifying the government in England, the colonies, just emerging from a state of infancy, formed their own constitution upon the model of the mother-country. In each of these separate settlements, a chief represents the king; a council, the peers; and the deputies of the several districts, the commons. The general assembly enacts laws, regulates taxes, and judges of the administration. The executive part belongs to the governor; who also oc-

BOOK
XIV.

Under what
form of go-
vernment
the British
islands were
established.

BOOK
XIV.

casionally determines upon causes which have not been tried before, but in conjunction with the council, and by the majority of votes. But as the members of this body derive their rank from him, it is seldom that they thwart his designs.

Great Britain, to reconcile her own interests with the freedom of her colonies, took care that no laws should be enacted there which were inconsistent with their own. She hath required that her delegates should take an oath, that, in the places subject to their authority, they would never allow, upon any pretence whatever, any deviation from the regulations established for the prosperity of her trade. This tie of an oath hath been contrived, because, as the islands themselves regulate and pay the greater part of the salaries of their chiefs, it was to be apprehended that some of these commanders might endeavour to excite liberality by their indulgence. Another check hath been put to corruption. It is necessary that the stipend granted to the governor, should extend to the whole duration of his administration; and that it should be the object of the first bill passed on his arrival. These precautions have however appeared insufficient to some persons of a despotic turn of mind. Accordingly, it hath been their opinion, to proscribe a custom, which in some measure made those who issue orders dependent upon men who were subordinate to them; but the parliament have always refused to make this alteration. Justly dreading that spirit of rapaciousness which induces men to cross the seas, they have always kept up a custom which they think proper to check the spirit of cupidity and tyranny. It is with the same view that they have decreed against those governors who should violate the laws of the colonies, the same penalties as are inflicted in England on those who trespass upon the national constitution.

The parliament have likewise empowered the islands, to have in the mother-country deputies appointed to take care of their interests. Their principal duty is to obtain the confirmation of the statutes passed in the

colonies. These acts are executed provisionally ; but they do not pass into a law till they have been approved of by the sovereign. This sanction once obtained, they can only be revoked by an assembly of the colony itself, or by the parliament ; which exercises supreme authority over the whole empire. The business of the agents of the islands at London, is the same as that of the representatives of the people in the British senate. Unhappy will it be for the state, if ever it should disregard the clamours of the representatives, whoever they may be. The counties in England would rise ; the colonies would shake off their allegiance in America ; the treasures of both worlds would be lost to the mother-country, and the whole empire would fall into confusion.

The sources of public felicity have not yet been corrupted by this improper spirit. The settlements formed in the West Indies have been always attached to their own country by the ties of blood, and by those of necessity. Their planters have been constantly looking up to their mother-country, who is ever attentive to their preservation and their improvement. One might say, that as the eagle, who never loses sight of the nest where she fosters her young, London seems to look down upon her colonies, and to see them grow up and prosper under her tender care. Her numberless vessels, covering an extent of two thousand leagues with their proud sails, form, as it were, a bridge over the ocean ; by which they keep up an uninterrupted communication between both worlds. With good laws, which maintain what she has once established, she preserves her possessions abroad without a standing army, which is always an oppressive and ruinous burden. Two very small corps, fixed at Antigua and Jamaica, are sufficient for a nation which thinks, with reason, that maritime forces, well maintained, kept in continual employment, and always directed towards the public good, are the true fortifications of these useful settlements.

By these beneficent regulations, dictated by humani-

B O O K ty and sound policy, the English islands soon grew
 XIV. } happy, though not rich. Their culture was confined
 to tobacco, cotton, ginger, and indigo. Some of the
 enterprising colonists imported sugar canes from Brazil,
 and they multiplied prodigiously, but to no great pur-
 pose. They were ignorant of the art of managing
 this valuable plant, and drew from it such indifferent
 sugar, that it was either rejected in Europe, or sold at
 the lowest price. A series of voyages to Fernambucca
 taught them how to make use of the treasure they had
 carried off; and the Portuguese, who till then had en-
 grossed all the sugar trade, found, in 1650, in an ally,
 whose industry they thought precarious, a rival who
 was one day to supplant them.

Means em-
 ployed by
 the mother-
 country to
 secure to it-
 self all the
 productions
 of the
 islands.

The mother-country, however, had but a very small
 share in the prosperity of her colonies. They them-
 selves sent their own commodities directly to all parts
 of the world, where they thought they would be dis-
 posed of to most advantage; and indiscriminately ad-
 mitted ships of all nations into their ports. This un-
 limited freedom must of course throw almost all their
 trade into the hands of that nation which, in conse-
 quence of the low interest their money bears, the large-
 ness of their stock, the number of their ships, and the
 reasonableness of their duties of import and export,
 could afford to make the best terms, to buy at the
 dearest, and sell at the cheapest rate. These people
 were the Dutch. They united all the advantages of a
 superior army; which, being ever master of the field,
 is free in all its operations. They soon seized upon the
 profits of so many productions, which they had neither
 planted nor gathered. Ten of their ships were seen in
 the British islands to one English vessel.

The nation had paid little attention to this evil
 during the disturbances of the civil wars; but as soon
 as these troubles were composed, and the state restored
 to tranquillity by the very violence of its commotions,
 it began to turn its views towards its foreign posses-
 sions. It perceived that those subjects, who had as it
 were taken refuge in America, would be lost to the

state, if foreign powers, which consumed the fruits of the industry of the colonies, were not excluded. The deliberate and weighty discussion of this point brought on the famous navigation act in 1651, which excluded all foreign ships from entering the harbours of the English islands, and consequently obliged their produce to be exported directly to the countries under the dominion of England. The government, though aware of the inconveniencies of such an exclusion, was not alarmed at it, but considered the empire only as a tree, the sap of which must be turned back to the trunk, when it flows too freely to some of the branches.

However, this restraining law was not then enforced in its utmost rigour. Perhaps the ships belonging to the mother-country were not sufficiently numerous to carry off all the productions of the islands; perhaps, apprehensions might prevail, that the colonists might be exasperated by suddenly depriving their coasts of a competition which increased the price of their commodities. Perhaps, the plantations still required some support, in order to bring their cultures to that degree of perfection that was expected. However this may be, it is certain, that the act of navigation was not rigorously put in execution till 1660. At this period, the English sugars had been substituted to those of Portugal, in all the northern parts of Europe. It is to be supposed, that they would equally have supplanted them to the south, had not the obligation imposed upon all the navigators to stop at the British ports before they passed the Straits of Gibraltar, put an insurmountable obstacle to this trade. It is true, that in order to attain this superiority over the only nation that was in possession of this commodity, the English had been obliged greatly to lower the price of it; but their plentiful crops made them ample amends for this necessary sacrifice. If other nations were encouraged by their success to raise plantations, at least for their own consumption, the English opened other markets, which supplied the place of the former. The only misfortune they experienced in a long series of years,

B O O K was, the seeing many of their cargoes taken by French privateers, and sold at a low price. The planter sustained by this a double inconvenience, that of losing part of his sugars, and being obliged to sell the remainder below their value.

XIV.
 Diminution
 of the ad-
 vantages
 which Eng-
 land deriv-
 ed from its
 islands.
 Cause of it.

Notwithstanding these transient piracies, which always ceased in time of peace, the plantations still continued to increase in the English islands. All the productions peculiar to America were more carefully attended to; but the wealthy proprietors attached themselves more particularly to the culture of sugar, the sale of which was constantly increasing throughout all Europe. This prosperity existed for the space of half a century, when attentive men perceived that the exportations decreased. It was then almost generally believed that the colonies were exhausted; even the national senate adopted this idea, not considering that if the soil no longer had that degree of fertility peculiar to lands newly cleared, it still retained that share of fruitfulness which the earth seldom loses, unless its substance be altered by the calamities or by the irregularities of nature. The truth was soon ascertained, and the English were obliged to acknowledge, that the foreign marts were insensibly shut against Great Britain, and would soon be opened only to France. This kingdom, which, from its natural advantages, and from the active genius of its inhabitants, should be foremost in every undertaking, is so restrained by the nature of its government, that it is the last in becoming acquainted with its own interests. The French first procured their sugars from the English. They afterwards made some for their own consumption, then for sale, till restraints of every kind obliged them to confine themselves merely to what they wanted. It was not till 1716, that their islands began again to supply other nations. The superiority of their soil, the advantage of fresh lands, the frugality of their planters, who were yet poor, all conspired to enable them to sell the production at a lower price than their competitors. It was moreover of a better quality; ac-

Accordingly, as it increased, that which was formerly in so great request, was rejected in all the markets. Towards the year 1740, the sugar of the French plantations became sufficient for general consumption, and at this period the English were reduced to cultivate no more than what they wanted for their own use. The quantity they made was still very trifling at the beginning of the century, but the use of tea, and the habit of other indulgences, soon increased prodigiously the consumption of this article.

Barbadoes was one of the British possessions which furnished most of this commodity. This island, which is situated to windward of all the rest, appeared to have never been inhabited even by savages, when, in 1627, some English families went to settle there, but without any interference of government. It was not till two years after, that a regular colony was established there, at the expence, and by the care of the earl of Carlisle, who, on the tragical death of Charles I. was deprived of a property which had been too imprudently granted him by that weak prince. It was found covered with such large and hard trees, that uncommon resolution and patience were required to fell them and root them up. The ground was soon cleared of this encumbrance, or stripped of this ornament: for it is doubtful whether nature does not decorate her work better than man, who alters every thing for himself alone. Some patriots, tired of seeing the blood of their countrymen spilt, went and peopled this foreign land. While the other colonies were rather ravaged than cultivated by those vagabonds who had been driven from their native country by poverty or licentiousness, Barbadoes daily received new inhabitants, who brought along with them not only their stock of money, but a turn for labour, courage, activity, and ambition; those vices and virtues which are the effect of civil wars.

By these means, an island, which is no more than seven leagues in length, from two to five in breadth, and eighteen in circumference, attained, in less than

BOOK
XIV.

forty years, to a population of more than a hundred thousand souls, and to a trade that employed four hundred ships, of 150 tons burden each. Never had the earth beheld such a number of planters collected in so small a compass, or so many rich productions raised in so short a time. The labours, directed by Europeans, were performed by slaves purchased in Africa, or even stolen in America. This new species of barbarity was but a ruinous kind of prop for a new edifice, and very nearly occasioned the subversion of it.

Conspiracy formed by the slaves in Barbadoes.

Some Englishmen, who had landed on the coasts of the continent to get slaves, were discovered by the Caribs, who were the objects of their search. These savages fell upon them, and put them all to death or to flight. A young man, who had been long pursued, ran into a wood; where an Indian woman meeting him, saved his life, concealed and fed him, and some time after conducted him to the sea-side. His companions were lying at anchor there, waiting for the men they missed, and sent the boat to fetch him. His deliverer insisted on following him on board the ship. They were no sooner landed at Barbadoes, but the monster sold her who had saved his life, and had bestowed her heart, as well as her person upon him. To vindicate the honour of the English nation, one of their poets has recorded this shocking instance of avarice and perfidy, to be abhorred by posterity: it has been told in several languages, and held out to the detestation of all foreign nations.

The Indians, who were not bold enough to undertake to revenge themselves, imparted their resentment to the Negroes, who had stronger motives, if possible, for hating the English. The slaves unanimously vowed the death of their tyrants. This conspiracy was carried on with such secrecy, that, the day before it was to have been carried into execution, the colony had not the least suspicion of it. But, as if generosity was always to be the virtue of the wretched, one of the leaders of the plot informed his master of it. Let-

ters were immediately dispatched to all the plantations, and came in time to prevent the impending destruction. The following night the slaves were seized in their huts; the most guilty were executed at break of day; and this act of severity reduced the rest to obedience.

BOOK
XIV.

They have never revolted since, and yet the colony hath declined considerably from its former prosperity. It still reckons ten thousand white people, and fifty thousand Negroes; but the crops are not answerable to the population. In the most favourable seasons, they do not amount to more than twenty millions weight of sugar, and are very often below ten millions; and yet to obtain this trifling produce, expences are required much more considerable than were necessary for double the produce in the beginning.

Present
state of
Barbadoes.

The soil of the colony, which is no more than a rock of calcareous stone, covered with very little earth, is entirely exhausted. It is necessary to make a deep opening in it every year, and to fill up with manure the holes which have been made. The most ordinary of these manures is the Varec, a sea-weed which is periodically thrown upon the coast by the sea-tide. The sugar-canes are planted in this sea-weed. The natural soil is of little more use in the growth of them, than the chests in which the orange trees are put in Europe.

The sugar which is produced by these cultures, hath generally so little consistence, that it cannot be exported in its raw state, but must previously be earthed; a method which is not followed in the other English settlements, although it be not prohibited there, as several writers have advanced. One great proof of its bad quality is, that it is sooner reduced to molasses than any where else. The droughts, which are so frequent at Barbadoes since the country hath been entirely laid open, serve to complete the misfortunes of the inhabitants of this island, which was formerly in so flourishing a state.

Accordingly, though the taxes do not amount an-

BOOK ^{XIV.} annually to more than 136,291 livres [5678 l. 15 s. 10 d.], paid by a trifling poll-tax upon the Negroes and by some other imposts, the colonists are reduced to a state of mediocrity which approaches to indigence. This situation prevents them from leaving the care of their plantations to agents, in order to go and inhabit milder climates. It even renders them inhuman towards their slaves, whom they treat with a degree of cruelty unknown in the other colonies.

Barbadoes was very lately the only trading possession belonging to the English in the Windward islands. The ships coming from Africa used generally to put in there. They delivered their whole cargo to one single purchaser, and at a settled price, without distinction of either age or sex in the bargain. These Negroes, thus bought in the wholesale way by the merchants, were sold in retail in the island itself, or in the other English settlements, and the refuse of them was either clandestinely or openly introduced in the colonies of the other nations. This great trade hath considerably decreased. Hence most of the other British islands have chosen to receive their slaves directly from Guinea, and have submitted to the established custom of paying for them with bills of exchange at ninety days sight. This credit, which was insufficient, hath since been extended to a twelve-month, and it hath frequently been necessary to prolong it even beyond that term.

Before this revolution, a considerable quantity of specie was in circulation at Barbadoes. The little coin which is at present still found there, is Spanish; it is considered as merchandise, and is only taken by weight. The navy which is appropriated to this settlement consists of a few vessels, which are necessary for its several correspondences, and of about forty sloops, employed in the fishery of the flying-fish.

Barbadoes is generally even, and every where susceptible of cultivation, except in a very small number of hollow ways. It is only at the centre that the territory rises imperceptibly, and forms a kind of moun-

tain, covered up to its summit with plantations equally convenient and agreeable, because they were all established in times of great opulence. The island is not watered with rivers, but springs of water fit for drinking are rather common in it; and it is intersected from one end to another by very fine roads. These all terminate at Bridgetown; a town badly situated but well built, where the commodities destined for exportation are embarked, although it be only a road open to several winds.

The colony, divided into eleven parishes, doth not afford one post where an enemy once landed could be stopped; and the landing, which is not possible in several parts of the coast, is very practicable in others, notwithstanding the redoubts and batteries planted to prevent it. Military men think, that the surest way of succeeding in an attack, would be to make it between the capital and the town of Hole-town.

Is Barbadoes capable of making a good defence?

This enterprize would require more considerable forces than might be imagined, considering that Barbadoes hath no regular troops. It is filled with planters of small stature, brave and active, accustomed to military exercises, and who probably would make scarce less resistance than a mercenary army. The armament destined for this conquest should be dispatched from Europe; if it were formed at Martinico, or at any other settlement situated to leeward, the English squadrons which would be in those latitudes, might block up the port where the expedition was preparing, or might arrive at Barbadoes, time enough to disturb the operations of the besiegers.

This island is to the windward of all the others, and yet no great advantage can be reaped from its position, considered in a military light. It hath only such harbours as are fit to receive vessels that come to trade there; and though it be less exposed to storms and to hurricanes than the neighbouring latitudes, it doth not offer at any time a secure asylum to men of war, and still less during the last six months of the year, when the sea is more tempestuous. The mother-country

B O O K hath therefore formed no naval establishment upon it.
 XIV. The national squadrons are never stationed there; and if any of them sometimes appear, it is only for a little while. Thus it was, that, in 1761 and in 1762, during the fine weather in the months of January and February, the fleets destined for the conquest of Martinico and of the Havannah were assembled there.

Events that have happened at Antigua. Production and expences of that island. The importance of it to Great Britain.

Antigua, which hath a circular form, and is about twenty miles long, was found totally uninhabited by those few Frenchmen who fled thither in 1628, upon being driven from St. Christopher's by the Spaniards. The want of springs, which doubtless was the reason why no savages had settled there, induced these fugitives to return, as soon as they could regain their former habitations. Some Englishmen, more enterprising than either the French or the Caribs, flattered themselves that they should overcome this great obstacle, by collecting the rain-water in cisterns; and they therefore settled there. The year in which this settlement was begun is not exactly known; but it appears that in January 1640 there were about thirty families on the island.

The number was not much increased, when lord Willoughby, to whom king Charles II. had granted the property of Antigua, sent over a considerable number of inhabitants at his own expence in 1666. It is probable they would never have enriched themselves by the culture of tobacco, indigo, and ginger, the only commodities they dealt in, had not colonel Codrington introduced into the island, which was then restored to the dominion of the state, a source of wealth, in the year 1680, by the culture of sugar. This being at first black, harsh, and coarse, was rejected in England, and could only be disposed of in Holland; and in the Hans towns, where it sold at a much lower price than that of the other colonies. By the most assiduous labour, art got the better of nature, and brought this sugar to as great a perfection, and to sell for as high a price, as any other.

Every one was then desirous of extending this cul-

ture. In 1741 it employed three thousand five hundred and thirty-eight white men, and twenty-seven thousand four hundred and eighteen Negroes. Since that period, the number of free men hath been much diminished, and that of the slaves is considerably increased. Their united labours produce eighteen or twenty millions weight of raw sugar, and a proportionate quantity of rum. This income is considerably less in those seasons, which occur too frequently, when the colony is afflicted with drought; and for this reason it is very much indebted.

BOOK
XIV.

All the tribunals are established at St. John's, situated to the West of the island. The greatest part of the trade hath been likewise concentrated in that town. Unfortunately, its port is closed up by a bar, upon which there is no more than twelve feet of water. If the depth of water should still decrease, the navigators will take in their cargoes to the north of the colony, in the road of Parham, which is much preferable to the one they now frequent, but which is infinitely less convenient for the collecting of the commodities.

Motives of great importance should excite England to prevent, by all possible means, the decline of so valuable a settlement. It is the only bulwark of the numerous and small islands which that country possesses in these latitudes. They all depend upon Antigua, and upon the English Harbour, an excellent port, where the naval forces designed for their protection, anchor, and where the squadrons find collected in arsenals, and in well-stocked magazines, the articles necessary to carry on their operations. The maintenance of the small fortifications which surround the two principal harbours; part of the pay of six hundred men, intrusted with their defence; the costs occasioned by the artillery; all these expences are defrayed by the colony, and absorb two-thirds of the 272,582 livres [11,357l. 11s. 8d.] which it is obliged to require annually from its inhabitants.

This is too great a burden. In order to diminish

B O O K
 XIV. the weight of it, the assembly of the island thought of laying a tax upon those proprietors who should reside in Europe: but the mother-country annulled a regulation which was evidently injurious to the liberty of individuals. The colony then ordered, that the planters should for the future have only one white man, or two white women, to every set of thirty Negroes. This law, which was adopted by several other islands, is not much attended to, because it is less expensive to transgress it, than to maintain free men, whose attendance cannot be compelled. The penalties, therefore, which are regulated for punishing the transgression of this law, are become one of the greatest resources of the public treasury of that settlement.

Its legislative body hath sometimes displayed a remarkable share of courage. The English islands have no coin which belongs properly to themselves: that which is circulated there is all foreign. The mother-country thought it necessary to settle the value of it in the beginning of the century. This arrangement was judged to be contrary to the interest of the colony, who themselves settled it upon a higher footing. It was natural to imagine, that parliament would annul an act so repugnant to their authority. The lawyers agreed, if that event should take place, never to lend their assistance to any of those who should have refused to accept the coin at the price fixed by the assembly.

Another occurrence exhibited, in a still stronger light, the kind of spirit which prevailed at Antigua. The governor, colonel Park, setting equally at defiance the laws of morality and decency, was unrestrained and intemperate in all his proceedings. The colony demanded, and obtained, his recal. As he did not seem disposed to depart, several of the most considerable inhabitants went to expostulate with him, in the strongest terms, upon this kind of disobedience. They were repulsed with brutality by his guards. The people took up arms, and the tyrant was attacked in his own house, and massacred. His body was then thrown

naked into the street, and mutilated by those whose bed he had dishonoured. The mother-country, more moved by the sacred rights of nature than jealous of her own authority, overlooked an act which her vigilance ought to have prevented, but which she was too equitable to revenge. It is only the part of tyranny to excite a rebellion, and then to quench it in the blood of the oppressed. Machiavelism, which teaches princes the art of being feared and detested, directs them to stifle the victims whose cries grow importunate. Humanity prescribes to kings, justice in legislation, mildness in government, lenity to prevent insurrections, and mercy to pardon them. Religion enjoins obedience to the people; but God, above all things, requires equity in princes. If they violate it, innumerable witnesses will rise up against a single man at the final judgment.

The council of Antigua doth not extend its jurisdiction over the neighbouring islands, which have all their particular assemblies: but the governor of Antigua is also governor of the other islands, except Barbadoes, which, on account of its position and importance, hath deserved particular distinction. This governor-general must pay an annual visit to the places under his authority; and he usually begins his tour by Montserrat.

This island, discovered in 1493 by Columbus, and occupied in 1632 by the English, is only eight or nine leagues in circumference. The savages, who lived peaceably in it, were expelled, according to custom, by the usurpers. This act of injustice was not at first followed with any very fortunate circumstances. The progress of the new settlement was for a long time so slow, that six and fifty years after its foundation it scarce contained seven hundred inhabitants. It was not till towards the end of the century, that the population, both in white men and Negroes, became as numerous as it could be in so confined a possession. Sugar-canes were then substituted to commodities of little value, which had occasioned their planters to languish in a state of misery. War and the elements over-

B O O K
XIV.

State of the
settlement
formed by
the English
at Mont-
serrat.

BOOK
XIV. } threw, at several intervals, the best-founded expectations, and obliged the colonists to contract debts which are not yet paid off. At the present period, the activity of a thousand free persons, and the labours of eight thousand slaves, produce five or six millions weight of raw sugar, upon plains of little extent, or in valleys which are fertilized by the waters falling from the mountains. One of the disadvantages of this island, the public expences of which do not exceed annually 49,887 livres [2078l. 12s. 6d.], is, that it has not one single harbour where the lading and unlading can easily be made. The ships would even be in danger upon these coasts, if the masters did not take care, when they see a storm approaching, to put out to sea, or to take shelter in some neighbouring harbour. Nevis is exposed to the same inconvenience.

Ancient
manners
and present
state of the
island of
Nevis.

The most generally received opinion is, that the English settled on this island in 1628. It is properly nothing more than a very high mountain, of an easy ascent, and crowned with tall trees. The plantations lie all round, and, beginning at the sea-side, are continued almost to the top of the mountain; but the higher they stand, the less fertile they are, because the soil grows more stony. This island is watered by many streams, which would be so many sources of plenty, if they did not, in stormy weather, swell into torrents, wash away the lands, and destroy the treasures they have produced.

The colony of Nevis was a model of virtue, order, and piety. These exemplary manners have been owing to the paternal care of the first governor. This incomparable man inspired all the inhabitants, by his own example, with a love of labour, a reasonable economy, and innocent recreations. The person who commanded, and those who obeyed, were all actuated by the same principle of the strictest equity. So rapid was the progress of this singular settlement, that, if we may credit all the accounts of those times, it soon contained 10,000 white people and 20,000 blacks. Admitting even that such a population, upon a territory

of two leagues in length and one in breadth, should be exaggerated, still it will show the amazing but infallible effect of virtue, in promoting the prosperity of a well-regulated society.

B O O K
XIV.

But even virtue itself will not secure either individuals or societies from the calamities of nature, or from the injuries of fortune. In 1689 a dreadful mortality swept away half this happy colony. It was ravaged in 1706 by a French squadron, which carried off three or four thousand slaves. The next year the ruin of this island was completed, by the most violent hurricane ever recorded. Since this series of disasters, it has recovered a little. It contains six hundred free men and five thousand slaves, the taxes upon whom do not exceed 45,000 livres [1875l.], and who send to England three or four millions weight of raw sugar, the whole of which is shipped under the walls of the agreeable city called Charlestown. Perhaps those who repine most at the destruction of the Americans and the slavery of the Africans, would receive some consolation if the Europeans were every where as humane as the English have been in this island of Nevis, and if all the islands in America were as well cultivated in proportion; but nature and society afford few instances of such miraculous prosperity.

Saint Christopher's was the nursery of all the English and French colonies in America. Both nations arrived there on the same day, in 1625. They shared the island between them, signed a perpetual neutrality, and entered into a mutual engagement to assist each other against their common enemy the Spaniard, who for a century past had invaded or disturbed the two hemispheres. Unfortunately, by an inconsiderate kind of convention, hunting, fishing, the woods, the harbours, and the salt-pits, had all been left in common. This arrangement mixed too many persons together, who could not be agreeable to each other, and jealousy soon divided those whom a temporary interest had united. This fatal passion created daily quarrels, skirmishes, and devastations; but these were only do-

St. Christopher's, which is at first divided between the English and French, at last belongs entirely to Great Britain.

BOOK
XIV.

domestic animosities, in which the respective governments took no part. Concerns of greater importance having, in 1666, kindled between the two mother-countries a war, which continued almost uninterruptedly during the remainder of the century, their subjects in St. Christopher's fought with a degree of obstinacy that was not to be found elsewhere. Sometimes conquerors and sometimes conquered, they alternately drove each other from their plantations. This long contest, in which both parties alternately had the advantage, was terminated by the total expulsion of the French in 1702; and the peace of Utrecht cut off all their hopes of ever returning thither.

This was no great sacrifice for a people who had never seriously attended to the care of cultivating productions upon their domain. Their population amounted but to 667 white people, of all ages and both sexes, 29 free blacks, and 659 slaves. All their herds consisted only of 265 head of horned cattle; and 157 horses. They cultivated nothing but a little cotton and indigo, and had but one single sugar plantation.

What St. Christopher's became under the British government.

Though the English had for a long time made a greater advantage of this island, yet they did not immediately reap all the benefit they might have done from having the sole possession of it. This conquest was for a long time a prey to rapacious governors, who sold the lands for their own profit, or gave them away to their creatures, though they could only warrant the duration of the sale, or grant, during the term of their administration. The parliament of England at length remedied this evil, by ordering, that all lands should be put up to auction, and the purchase-money paid into the public coffers. After this prudent regulation, the new plantations were as well cultivated as the old ones.

The island, which is in general narrow, but very unequally so, may have an extent of thirty-six leagues square. Mountains, thick set and barren, though covered with verdure, and which occupy one third of

the territory, intersect it almost throughout its whole length. From the foot of these mountains issue an infinite number of springs, which, unfortunately, are for the most part dried up in the dry seasons. Scattered over the plain we meet with a number of agreeable, neat, and convenient habitations, which are ornamented with avenues, fountains, and groves. The taste for rural life, which the English have retained more than any other civilized nation in Europe, prevails in the highest degree at St. Christopher's. They never had the least occasion to form themselves into small societies, in order to pass away the time; and, if the French had not left there a small town, where their manners are preserved, they would still be unacquainted with that kind of social life which is productive of more altercations than pleasures; which is kept up by gallantry, and terminates in debauchery; which begins with convivial joys, and ends in the quarrels of gaming. Instead of this image of union, which is in fact only a beginning of discord, the representatives of the proprietors, who are almost all of them settled in Europe, the number of which amounts to eighteen hundred, live upon the plantations; from whence they gather, by the labour of twenty-four or twenty-five thousand slaves, eighteen millions weight of raw sugar, which is the finest in the New World. This produce enables the colony to provide with ease for the public expences, which do not annually exceed 68,145 livres 10 sols [2839l. 7s. 11d.].

It was at St. Christopher's, that in 1756 was exhibited a scene worthy of being recounted.

A Negro had, from his childhood, partook of the amusements of his young master. This familiarity, which is commonly so dangerous, extended the ideas of the slave, without altering his character. Quazy soon deserved to be chosen overseer over the labours and over the plantations; and he displayed in that important post an uncommon share of understanding and an indefatigable zeal. His conduct and his talents increased his favour, which appeared to be un-

B O O K
XIV.

Wretched
catastro-
phes that
have hap-
pened at
St. Chri-
stopher's.

B O O K
XIV.

alterably fixed, when this director, hitherto so much beloved and so much distinguished, was suspected of having infringed the established laws of the police, and publicly threatened with an humiliating punishment.

A slave who hath for a long time escaped chastisement, inflicted too readily and too frequently upon his equals, is infinitely jealous of that distinction. Quazy, who dreaded shame more than the grave, and who did not flatter himself with being able to avert the sentence pronounced against him by his entreaties, went out in the midst of the night, in order to obtain a powerful mediation. His master unfortunately perceived him, and attempted to stop him. They grappled with each other; and these two dexterous and vigorous champions wrestled for some time with varied success. At length the slave threw down his inflexible master, and kept him in that disagreeable situation; when, putting a dagger to his breast, he addressed him in the following terms:

“ Master, I have been brought up with you. Your pleasures have been mine. My heart hath never known any other interests than yours. I am innocent of the trifling offence of which I am accused; but had I even been guilty of it, you ought to have forgiven me. All my senses are roused with indignation at the recollection of the affront which you are preparing for me; and thus it is that I will avoid it.” On saying these words, he cut his own throat, and fell down dead, without cursing the tyrant, whom he covered with his blood.

In the same island, love and friendship have been signalized by a tragic event, which hath never been paralleled either in fable or in history.

Two Negroes, both young, handsome, robust, courageous, and born with a soul of an uncommon cast, had been fond of each other from their infancy. Partners in the same labours, they were united by their sufferings; which, in feeling minds, form a stronger attachment than pleasures. If they were not happy,

they comforted each other at least in their misery. Love, which generally obliterates the remembrance of all misfortunes, served only to make theirs complete. A Negro girl, who was likewise a slave, and whose eyes sparkled, no doubt, with greater vivacity and fire from the contrast of her dark complexion, excited an equal flame in the hearts of these two friends. The girl, who was more capable of inspiring than of feeling a strong passion, would readily have accepted either; but neither of them would deprive his friend of her, or yield her up to him. Time served only to increase the torments they suffered, without affecting their friendship or their love. Oftentimes did tears of anguish stream from their eyes, in the midst of the demonstrations of friendship they gave each other, at the sight of the too beloved object that threw them into despair. They sometimes swore that they would love her no more, and that they would rather part with life than forfeit their friendship. The whole plantation was moved at the sight of these conflicts. The love of the two friends for the beautiful Negro girl was the topic of every conversation.

One day they followed her into a wood; there each embraced her, clasped her a thousand times to his heart, swore all the oaths of attachment, and called her every tender name that love could suggest; when, suddenly, without speaking or looking at each other, they both plunged a dagger into her breast. She expired, and they mingled their tears and groans with her last breath. They roared aloud, and made the wood resound with their violent outcries. A slave came running to their assistance, and saw them at a distance stifling the victim of their extraordinary passion with their kisses. He called out to some others, who soon came up, and found these two friends embracing each other upon the body of this unhappy girl, and bathed in her blood, while they themselves were expiring in the streams that flowed from their own wounds.

These lovers and these friends were slaves. Is it in so degrading a station that we see such actions as must

B O O K
XIV.

astonish the whole world? If there can be a man who is not struck with horror and compassion at the greatness of this ferocious love, Nature must have formed him, not for the slavery of the Negroes, but for the tyranny of their masters. Such a man must have lived without commiserating others, and will die without comfort; he must never have shed a tear, and none will ever be shed for him.

Particularities concerning Barbuda.

Barbuda, which belongs entirely to the Codrington family, and the circumference of which is six or seven leagues, hath dangerous coasts. This is perhaps the most even of all the American islands. The trees which cover it are weak, and not very high, because there are never more than six or seven inches of earth upon a layer of lime-stone. Nature hath placed great plenty of turtles here; and caprice hath occasioned the sending thither of deer, and several kinds of game; chance hath filled the woods with pintados, and other fowls, escaped from the vessels after some shipwreck. Upon this soil are fed oxen, horses, and mules, for the labours of the neighbouring settlements. No other culture is known there, except that of the kind of corn which is necessary for the feeding of the numerous herds, in those seasons when the pasture fails. Its population is reduced to three hundred and fifty slaves, and to the small number of free men who are appointed to overlook them. This private property pays no tribute to the nation, though it be subject to the tribunals of Antigua. The air here is very pure and very wholesome. Formerly, the sickly people of the other English islands went to breathe it, in order to stop the progress of their diseases, or to recover their strength. This custom hath ceased, since some of them have indulged themselves in parties of destructive chase.

Must men then be suffered to perish, in order that animals should be preserved? How is it possible that so atrocious a custom, which draws down the imprecation of almost all Europe upon the sovereigns and upon the lords of our countries, should be suffered, and should even be established, beyond the seas? I have

asked this question, and I have been answered, that the island belonged to the Codringtons; and that they had a right to dispose of their property at their pleasure. I now ask, Whether this right of property, which is undoubtedly sacred, hath not its limits? Whether this right, in a variety of circumstances, be not sacrificed to public good? Whether the man who is in possession of a fountain, can refuse water to him who is dying with thirst? Whether any of the Codrington family would partake of one of those precious pintados, that had cost his countryman or his fellow-creature his life? Whether the man who should be convicted of having suffered a sick person to die at his door, would be sufficiently punished by the general execration? And whether he would not deserve to be dragged before the tribunals of justice as an assassin? Possessor of Barbuda, thou art the assassin of all those whom thou dost deprive of the salubrity of the air, which would have preserved them; and if this circumstance should not drive thee to despair upon thy death-bed, it is because thine heart will bid defiance to the divine justice! Hasten, therefore, to recal that shameless representative, who, in his concern for a seraglio of Mulatto women, in whom, it is said, all his delights are centered, rigorously pursues the execution of your barbarous prohibition.

Anguilla is seven or eight leagues in length, and is very unequal in its breadth, which never exceeds two leagues. Neither mountains, nor woods, nor rivers, are found upon it, and its soil is nothing more than chalk.

The colony of Anguilla is very wretched, and its fate cannot be changed.

Some wandering Englishmen settled upon this porous and friable rock towards the year 1650. After an obstinate labour, they at length succeeded in obtaining from this kind of turf a little cotton, a small quantity of millet-feed, and some potatoes. Six veins of vegetating earth, which were in process of time discovered, received sugar canes, which, in the best harvest, yield no more than fifty thousand weight of sugar, and sometimes only five or six thousand. Whatever else comes out of the colony hath been introduced into it clandestinely.

B O O K
XIV.

destinely from Santa Cruz, where the inhabitants of Anguilla have formed several plantations.

In seasons of drought, which are but too frequent, the island hath no other resource but in a lake, the salt of which is sold to the people of New England; and in the sale of sheep and goats, which thrive better in this dry climate, and upon these arid plains, than in the rest of America.

Anguilla reckons no more than two hundred free inhabitants, and five hundred slaves. Nevertheless, it hath an assembly of its own, and even a chief, who is always chosen by the inhabitants, and confirmed by the governor of Antigua. A foreigner who should be sent to govern this feeble settlement, would infallibly be driven away by men who have preserved something of the independent manners, and of the rather savage character of their ancestors.

The coast of this island affords but two harbours; and even in these very small vessels only can anchor. They are both defended by four pieces of cannon, which, for half a century past, have been entirely unfit for service.

Tortola is the only one of the Virgin Islands which the English have cultivated. The government censured.

The Virgin Islands are a group of about sixty small islands, most of them mountainous, dry, and arid, where the Spaniards of Porto-Rico were for a long time alone employed in catching turtle, which were very plenty there. The Dutch had just begun a small settlement at Tortola, one of the best of these islands, and that which hath the safest harbour, when, in 1666, they were driven from it by the English; who soon after dispersed themselves over the neighbouring small islands and rocks. There they lived, during near a century, like savages, employed solely in the culture of cotton. It was not till after the peace of 1748 that their industry was turned towards sugar, of which they have since regularly sent to the mother-country four or five millions weight.

Before this period, there had not been any regular form of government, nor any public worship, at Tortola. Both the one and the other have been very recently

established; and what perhaps was more difficult to bring about, the inhabitants have been prevailed upon to pay the treasury four and a half per cent. on the going out of their productions. A prudent administration would have solicited a bill to secure the several properties, all, or almost all, of which have been transmitted in an irregular manner; and if they were juridically attacked, there are few colonists who might not be legally ruined.

B O O K
XIV.

Here then is an instance, at Tortola, of the government being very eager to draw money from the colonists, and caring very little about securing their felicity, although it would have cost them only a little benevolence, without any kind of sacrifice. Is it possible to say to men in a more impudent manner, "You are nothing to us; you have only to continue still to pay us; and when you shall no longer be able to do it, you may perish, you may die; we care very little about the matter? The concern we take in your fate is in proportion to the sums you supply us with." Such inhuman sentiments are never uttered in any place; but still this is the way in which people think and act in all parts. Subjects are every where treated as we do the mines, which we cease to attend to when they yield no more ore. It is every where forgotten, that, with a small share of justice and protection, they would become an inexhaustible fund. Empires in all parts think themselves eternal, and those who govern them conduct themselves as if they had not one day to last. The same danger that threatens Tortola, does not extend itself to Jamaica.

This island, which lies to leeward of the other English islands, and which geographers have ranked among the greater Antilles, may be forty-three or forty-four leagues in length, and sixteen or seventeen in its greatest breadth. It is intersected with several ridges of high, craggy mountains, where dreadful rocks are heaped one upon another. Their barrenness does not prevent their being covered all over with a prodigious quantity of trees of different kinds, that strike their

Description
of Jamaica.

BOOK
XIV.

roots through the clefts of the rocks, and attract the moisture that is deposited there by storms and frequent fogs. This perpetual verdure, kept up and embellished by a multitude of plentiful cascades, makes a constant spring all the year round, and exhibits the most enchanting prospect in nature. But these waters, which fall from the barren summits, and fertilize the plains below, are brackish and unwholesome. The climate is still more dangerous. Of all the American islands, Jamaica is the most destructive. Men perish there very rapidly; and although the lands have been cleared for two centuries past, yet there are still some very fruitful districts, even near the capital, where a free man would not pass the night, unless in a case of extreme necessity.

The Spaniards discover Jamaica, and settle there some time after.

Columbus discovered this great island in 1494, but made no settlement there. Eight years after, he was thrown upon it by a storm. Having lost his ships, and being unable to get away, he implored the humanity of the savages, who gave him all the assistance that natural pity suggests. But these people, who cultivated no more land than what was just sufficient to supply their own wants, soon grew tired of supporting strangers, to the manifest risk of starving themselves, and insensibly withdrew from their neighbourhood. The Spaniards, who had already indisposed the Indians against them by repeated acts of violence, grew outrageous, and proceeded so far as to take up arms against a humane and equitable chief, because he disapproved of their ferocity. Columbus availed himself of one of those natural phenomena, in which a man of genius may sometimes find a resource, which he may be excused for having recourse to in a case of urgent necessity.

From the knowledge he had acquired in astronomy, he knew there would soon be an eclipse of the moon. He took advantage of this circumstance, and summoned all the Caciques in the neighbourhood to come and hear something that nearly concerned them, and was essential to their preservation. He then pronounced

with emphasis, as if he were inspired: *To punish you for the cruelty with which you suffer my companions and me to perish, the God whom I worship is going to strike you with his most terrible judgments. This very evening you will see the moon turn red, then grow dark, and withhold her light from you. This will be only a prelude to your calamities, if you obstinately persist in refusing to give us food.*

B O O K
XIV.

The admiral had scarce done speaking, when his prophecies were fulfilled. The savages were terrified beyond measure; they thought they were all lost; they begged for mercy, and promised to do any thing that should be desired. They were then told, that heaven, moved with their repentance, was appeased, and that nature was going to resume her wonted course. From that moment, provisions were sent in from all quarters; and Columbus was never in want of any during the time he remained there.

It was Don Diego, the son of this extraordinary man, who fixed the Spaniards at Jamaica. In 1509, he sent thither seventy robbers from St. Domingo, under the command of John d'Esquimel; and others soon followed. It seemed as if they all went over to this peaceable island, for no other purpose than to shed human blood. Those barbarians never sheathed their sword while there was one inhabitant left to preserve the memory of a numerous, mild, plain, and hospitable people. It was happy for the earth that these murderers were not to supply their place. They had no inclination to multiply in an island where no gold was to be found. Their cruelty did not answer the purpose of their avarice; and the earth, which they had drenched with blood, seemed to refuse her assistance to second the barbarous efforts they had made to fix there. Every settlement raised upon the ashes of the natives grew unsuccessful, when labour and despair had completed the destruction of a few savages who had escaped the fury of the first conquests. That of St. Jago de la Vega was the only one that supported itself. The inhabitants of that town, plunged in idleness, the

B O O K
XIV.

usual consequence of tyranny after devastation, were content with living upon the produce of some few plantations, and the overplus they sold to the ships that passed by their coasts. The whole population of the colony centered in the little spot that fed this race of destroyers, consisted of 1500 slaves, commanded by as many tyrants, when the English came and attacked the town, took it, and settled there in 1655.

Jamaica is
conquered
by the En-
glish.

Events that
have hap-
pened in the
island since
they have
become ma-
sters of it.

The English brought the fatal sources of discord along with them. At first the new colony was only inhabited by three thousand of that fanatical militia, which had fought and conquered under the standards of the republican party. These were soon followed by a multitude of royalists, who were in hopes of finding rest and peace in America, or comfort after their defeat. The divisions which had prevailed for so long a time, and with so much violence, between the two parties in Europe, followed them beyond the seas. This was sufficient to have renewed in America the scenes of horror and bloodshed which had so often been acted in England, had not Penn and Venables, the conquerors of Jamaica, given the command of the island to the most prudent man among them, who happened to be the oldest officer. This was Dudley, who, although he had submitted to the authority of a conquering fellow-citizen, had not yet lost any of his attachment to the Stuarts. Twice did Cromwell, who had discovered his secret sentiments, appoint some of his own party in his stead, and Dudley was as often restored to his office by the death of his opponents.

The conspiracies that were forming against him were discovered and frustrated. He never suffered the smallest breach of discipline to go unpunished; and always kept the balance even between the faction his heart detested, and the party he was attached to. He excited industry; and encouraged it by his attention, his advice, and his example. His authority was enforced by his disinterested behaviour. He never could be prevailed upon to accept of a salary, being content to live upon the produce of his own plantations.

In private life, he was plain and familiar; in office, BOOK
XIV. an intrepid warrior, a steady and strict commander, and a wise politician. His manner of governing was altogether military, because he was obliged to restrain or to regulate an infant colony, wholly composed of soldiers; and to prevent and repulse any invasion from the Spaniards, who might attempt to recover what they had lost.

But when Charles II. was called to the crown, by the nation that had deprived his father of it, a form of civil government was established at Jamaica, modelled, like those of the other islands, upon that of the mother-country. It was not, however, till the year 1682, that the code of laws was drawn up, which to this day preserves the colony in all its vigour. Three of these wise statutes merit the attention of our political readers.

The design of the first is to excite the citizens to the defence of their country, without prejudice to their private fortunes; which might otherwise divert them from attending to it. It enacts, that whatever mischief is done by the enemy, shall be immediately made good by the state; or at the expence of all the subjects, if the money found in the treasury should prove insufficient.

Another law concerns the means of increasing population. It enacts, that every ship-captain who brings a man into the colony, who is unable to pay for his passage, shall receive a general gratuity of 22 livres 10 sols [18s. 9d.]. The particular gratuity is 168 livres 15 sols [about 7l.] for every person brought from England or Scotland; 135 livres [5l. 11s. 6d.] for every person brought from Ireland; 78 livres 15 sols [about 3l. 5s. 7d.] for every person brought from the continent of America; and 45 livres [1l. 17s. 6d.] for every person brought from the other islands.

The third law tends to the encouragement of agriculture. When a proprietor of land is unable to pay either the interest or capital of the money he has borrowed, his plantation is sold at a price fixed by twelve

B O O K
XIV.

planters. The value of the plantation, whatever it may be, frees the debtor entirely from any further obligation; but if it should exceed his debt, the over-plus must be returned to him. This regulation, though it may be thought partial, yet it hath the merit of abating the rigour of the landlord's and merchant's law-suits against the planter. It is to the advantage of the soil, and of mankind in general. The creditor is seldom a sufferer by it, because he is upon his guard; and the debtor is more obliged to be vigilant and honest, if he means to find credit. Confidence then becomes the basis of all agreements; and confidence is only to be gained by the practice of virtue.

Time hath produced other regulations. It was perceived that the Jews, settled in great numbers in Jamaica, made a jest of deceiving the tribunals of justice. A magistrate imagined that this evil might arise from the circumstance of the Bible, which was presented to them, being in English. It was determined that they should take their oath in future upon the Hebrew text; and after this precaution, perjuries became infinitely less frequent.

In 1761, it was decided, that every man who was not a white man could not inherit more than 13,629 livres 3 sols 4 deniers [about 567l. 17s. 7½d.]. This statute was displeasing to several members of the Assembly, who were incensed at the circumstance of depriving affectionate fathers of the satisfaction of leaving a fortune, purchased by long labours, to their beloved posterity, because they were not of the same colour. Disputes arose, and the parliament of England took part in them. One of the most celebrated orators in the House of Commons declared openly against the Negroes. His opinion was, that they were a set of vile beings, of a species different from ours. The testimony of Montesquieu was the strongest of his arguments, and he read with confidence the ironical chapter of laws upon slavery. None of his hearers suspected the real views of so judicious a writer, and his authority influenced the whole British senate.

The whole British senate! The whole legislative body, assembled to discuss the interests of the nation, and to determine gravely upon a motion, which, from its injustice and unreasonableness, deserved only to be rejected with contempt! And wherefore should it not have been determined that the Blacks should be entirely disinherited? If their colour gave a sanction to deprive them of a portion of their fathers fortunes, why not equally to deprive them of the whole? Opinions so palpably absurd, should have been combated by ridicule, and not by arguments: and if even, contrary to all probability, this had been the sentiment of Montesquieu, of what avail would his authority have been? The English should at least have made themselves certain of the true meaning of the author.

B O O K
XIV.

The bill was going to be extended to the Indians, when one man, less blinded than the rest, observed, that it would be a horrible piece of injustice to confound the ancient proprietors of the island with the Africans; and that, moreover, there were not above five or six families of the former remaining.

The colony had already acquired some degree of fame before these laws had been made. Some adventurers, as well from hatred and national jealousy, as from a restless disposition and want of fortune, attacked the Spanish ships. These pirates were seconded by Cromwell's soldiers, who, retaining nothing after his death, except that public aversion which their former successes had drawn upon them, went into America in quest of promotion, which they could never expect in Europe. These were joined by a multitude of Englishmen of both parties, accustomed to blood by the civil wars which had ruined them. These men, eager for rapine and carnage, plundered the seas, and ravaged the coasts of America. Jamaica was the place where the spoils of Mexico and Peru were always brought by the English, and frequently by foreigners. They found in this island more ease, a better reception, protection, and freedom, than any where else,

BOOK whether for landing, or for spending, as they chose, XIV. the spoils arising from their plunder. Here extravagance and debauchery soon plunged them again into indigence. This only incitement to their sanguinary industry made them hasten to commit fresh depredations. Thus the colony reaped the benefit of their perpetual vicissitudes of fortune, and enriched itself by the vices which were both the source and the ruin of their wealth.

When this destructive race became extinct, by reason of the frequency of the murders they committed, the funds they had left behind, and which, indeed, had been taken from usurpers still more unjust and cruel than themselves, proved a fresh source of opulence, by facilitating the means of opening a clandestine trade with the Spanish settlements. This vein of riches, which had been opened about the year 1672, gradually increased, and with great rapidity, towards the end of the century. Some Portuguese, with a capital of three millions [125,000l.], of which the sovereign had advanced two thirds, engaged, in 1696, to furnish the subjects of the court of Madrid with five thousand blacks, each of the five years that their treaty was to last. This Company drew a great many of those slaves from Jamaica. From that time the colonists had constant connections with Mexico and Peru, either by means of the Portuguese agents, or by the captains of their own ships employed in this trade. But this intercourse was somewhat slackened by the war which broke out on account of the succession to the throne of Spain.

At the peace, the Assiento treaty alarmed the people of Jamaica. They were afraid that the South Sea Company, which was appointed to furnish the Spanish colonies with Negroes, would entirely exclude them from all access to the gold mines. All the efforts they made to break this regulation, could not produce any alteration in the measures of the English ministry. They wisely foresaw that the activity of the Assientists

would prove a fresh motive of emulation for increasing the contraband trade formerly carried on; and these views were found to be just. BOOK
XIV.

The illicit trade of Jamaica was carried on in a very simple manner. An English vessel pretended to be in want of water, wood, or provisions; that her mast was broken; or that she had sprung a leak, which could not be discovered or stopped without unloading. The governor permitted the ship to come into the harbour to refit: but, for form sake, and to exculpate himself to his court, he ordered a seal to be affixed to the door of the warehouse where the goods were deposited; while another door was left unsealed, through which the merchandise that was exchanged in this trade was carried in and out by stealth. When the whole transaction was ended, the stranger, who was always in want of money, requested that he might be permitted to sell as much as would pay his charges; and it would have been too cruel to refuse this permission. It was necessary that the governor, or his agents, might safely dispose in public of what they had previously bought in secret; as it would always be taken for granted, that what they sold could be no other than the goods that were allowed to be bought. In this manner were the greatest cargoes disposed of.

The court of Madrid thought to put a stop to these practices, by prohibiting the admission of all foreign ships into the Spanish harbours, on any pretence whatever. But the people of Jamaica calling in force to the assistance of artifice, supported themselves in this trade under the protection of the English men of war, by allowing them five per cent. upon every article, to the fraudulent introduction of which they gave a sanction.

To this open violation of public order, succeeded a more private and less alarming one. The ships dispatched from Jamaica repaired to those ports of the Spanish coast which were least frequented, especially to that of Brew, five miles from Carthagena, and to that of Grout, four miles from Porto-Bello. A man

B O O K
XIV.

who spoke the language of the country was immediately put ashore, to give notice in the adjacent country of the arrival of the ships. The intelligence was propagated with amazing speed to the most distant parts; the merchants hastened to the place, and the trade began; but with such precautions as experience had taught them. The ship's company was divided into three parties. While the first was entertaining the purchasers, and treating them with great civilities, at the same time keeping a watchful eye to prevent them from exercising their inclination and dexterity in stealing, the second was employed in receiving the vanilla, indigo, cochineal, gold and silver of the Spaniards, in exchange for slaves, quicksilver, silks, and other commodities. The third division was, in the meanwhile, under arms upon deck, to provide for the safety of the ship, and to take care not to admit at once a greater number of men than could be kept in order.

When the transactions were finished, the Englishman returned with his stock, which he had commonly doubled, and the Spaniard with his purchase, of which he hoped to make as great a profit, or greater. To prevent a discovery, he avoided the high-roads, and went through by-ways, with the Negroes he had bought, who were loaded with the merchandise, which was divided into parcels of a convenient form and weight for carriage.

This manner of trading had been carried on successfully for a long time, to the great emolument of the colonies of both nations; when, as Spain intended, it was greatly obstructed by substituting register-ships to the galleons. It has gradually diminished, and of late years was reduced to a very low ebb. The British ministry, wishing to revive it, judged, in 1766, that the best expedient to repair the losses of Jamaica was to make it a free port.

Immediately the Spanish ships in America flocked thither from all parts, to exchange their gold and silver, and their commodities, for the manufactures of

England. This eagerness was attended with this convenience, that the profit, of which it was the source, was acquired without risk, and could not occasion any disputes: but it was to be expected that the court of Madrid would soon put a stop to an intercourse so prejudicial to their interests. This was the opinion of Great Britain; and in order to preserve the riches of the neighbouring continent, they laid the foundation of a colony upon the Mosquito coasts.

Whatever may one day be the fate of this new settlement, it is certain that the attention of Jamaica was for too long a time, and too much engaged in a smuggling trade, while its cultures were too much neglected. The first of these which the English devoted themselves to was that of cocoa, which they found established by the Spaniards. It prospered as long as those plantations lasted, which had been cultivated by a people who made this their principal food and their only traffic. The trees grew old, and it became necessary to renew them; but, either for want of care or of skill, they did not succeed. Indigo was substituted to them.

Cultures
established
at Jamaica.

This production was increasing considerably, when the parliament laid a duty upon it which it was not able to bear, and which occasioned the fall of this culture in Jamaica, as well as in the other English islands. This imprudent tax hath been since suppressed, and even the encouragement of gratifications hath been substituted to it; but this tardy generosity hath only occasioned abuses. In order to obtain the bounty, the Jamaica people contracted the habit of procuring this valuable dye from St. Domingo, and of introducing it into Great Britain as the growth of their own plantations.

The expence the government is at on this account cannot be looked upon entirely as a loss, since it is of use to the nation. But it keeps up that mistrust, and we may say, that propensity to fraud, which the spirit of finance has given rise to in all our modern forms of legislation, between the state and the citizens. Ever

B O O K
XIV.

BOOK
 XIV. } since the magistrate has been incessantly contriving means to appropriate to himself the money of the people; these have been studying artifices to elude the avidity of the magistrates. When there has been on one side no moderation in the expences, no limit to taxations, no equity in the repartition, no lenity in the recovery, there have been no longer any scruples about the violation of pecuniary laws on the other, nor any honesty in the payment of the duties, nor probity in the engagements of the subject with the prince. Oppression hath prevailed on one hand, and plunder on the other; the finance hath extorted from commerce, and commerce hath eluded or defrauded the finance. The treasury hath pillaged the planters, and the planters have imposed upon the treasury by false entries. Such are the manners of both hemispheres.

In the New one there still existed a few plantations of indigo at Jamaica, when the culture of cotton began to be attended to. This production had a rapid success, which continued, because it was advantageously, and without delay, disposed of in England, where it was manufactured with a degree of dexterity which hath been rather imitated than equalled by the rival nations.

Ginger hath been less useful to the colony. The savages who were found by the Europeans in the American islands, most generally made use of it; but their consumption in this, as in every other article, was so small, that nature afforded them a sufficient quantity without the assistance of cultivation. The usurpers grew passionately fond of this spice; they ate it in the morning to sharpen their appetite; they served it up at table, preserved in several different ways; they used it after meals to facilitate digestion, and at sea as an antidote against the scurvy. The Old World adopted the taste of the New; and this lasted till the price of pepper, which had for a long while been extremely high, was reduced. Ginger then fell into a kind of contempt; and its culture was dropped almost everywhere, except at Jamaica.

This island produces and sells another spice, improperly called Jamaica pepper. The tree which bears it is a kind of myrtle, which commonly grows upon the mountains, and rises to the height of more than thirty feet. It is very straight, moderately thick, and covered with a grayish, smooth, and shining bark. Its leaves, which have a pleasant smell, resemble, in form and disposition, those of the laurel; and the branches are terminated by clusters of flowers entirely similar to those of the common myrtle. The fruit by which they are succeeded is a small berry, somewhat larger than that of the juniper. These berries are gathered green, and spread in the sun to dry. They turn brown, and acquire a spicy smell, which in England hath given the name of *all-spice* to this pimento. It is very useful to strengthen cold stomachs; but what is this advantage compared with all those that are obtained from sugar?

The art of managing this culture was unknown in Jamaica till the year 1668. It was brought thither by some inhabitants of Barbadoes. One of them was possessed of every requisite for that kind of produce that depends on man. His name was Thomas Modiford. His capital, together with his skill and activity, enabled him to clear an immense tract of land, and raised him in time to the government of the colony; yet neither could the view of his fortune, nor his urgent solicitations, prevail upon men, who were most of them accustomed to the idleness of a military life, to apply to the labours of cultivation. Twelve hundred unfortunate men, who arrived in 1760 from Surinam, which had just been ceded to the Dutch, proved more tractable. Necessity inspired them with resolution; and their example excited emulation, which was kept up by the quantity of money constantly poured into the island by the Freebooters. Great part of it was employed in erecting buildings, purchasing slaves, implements of husbandry, and furniture necessary for the rising plantations. In process of time, Jamaica exported great quantities of sugar, of an inferior

BOOK kind, indeed, to that which was made in most of the
 XIV. other colonies, but the rum of which was exceedingly
 superior.

The coffee-tree prospered in the Dutch and French settlements in the New World, before the English thought of appropriating it to themselves; and, indeed, Jamaica was the only British island which thought proper to adopt it, but it never carried the cultivation of it as far as the rival nations.

It was a generally received opinion in 1756, that Jamaica had attained the greatest degree of prosperity of which it was susceptible. An island, inhabited during a whole century by an active and enlightened people, into which the riches of Mexico and Peru had been conveyed without interruption, by piracy, and by a fraudulent commerce, and in which no circumstance necessary for cultivation had ever been wanting: an island, to which navigators must have been constantly attracted, by the safety of the coasts, and by the excellence of the harbours; and the productions of which had always been in great request throughout all Europe: such a settlement must have appeared, even to the most thinking persons, to have made all the progress of which nature had rendered it susceptible.

This illusion, so reasonably adopted, was dissipated by a war, which will for ever render this period memorable. A calamity, which sometimes overturns states, and always exhausts them, became a source of wealth to Jamaica. The English merchants, enriched with the spoils of an enemy, conquered and fugitive on all sides, found themselves enabled to advance considerable sums, and to grant a long credit to the planters. The colonists themselves, animated by the discouragement of the French colonists, whose labours had till that time been so fortunate, eagerly availed themselves of the means which were put in their hands by these unexpected events. Peace did not check the impulse they had received. This rapid increase of activity hath continued, and the productions of the co-

lony are nearly one-third more considerable than they were thirty years ago.

BOOK
XIV.

Present
state of Ja-
maica, con-
sidered in
every point
of view.

The whole island may contain about three millions eight hundred thousand acres of land, of which, according to the information of a judicious and studious man, who hath for a long time governed the colony, one million seven hundred twenty-eight thousand four hundred and thirty-one acres are taken up by mountains, rocks, lakes, morasses, rivers, and other places, which are unavoidably lost to the purposes of every useful labour. Government hath successively granted one million six hundred and seventy-one thousand five hundred and sixty-nine acres, which are cleared, or capable of being so. There still remain four hundred thousand to be disposed of, which want nothing but men and means to cultivate them.

In 1658 Jamaica reckoned four thousand five hundred white persons, and fourteen hundred slaves; in 1670, seven thousand five hundred white men, and eight thousand slaves; in 1734, seven thousand six hundred and forty-four white men, and eighty-six thousand five hundred and forty-six slaves; in 1746, ten thousand white men, and one hundred and twelve thousand four hundred and twenty-eight slaves; in 1768, seventeen thousand nine hundred and forty-seven white men, and one hundred and sixty-six thousand nine hundred and fourteen slaves; in 1775, eighteen thousand five hundred white persons, three thousand seven hundred blacks, or free Mulatoes, and one hundred and ninety thousand nine hundred and fourteen slaves. One hundred and ten thousand of these unfortunate people are placed on six hundred and fourscore sugar plantations; the remainder is employed in less valuable cultures, carried on in fourteen hundred and sixty habitations, in navigation, in domestic services, and in other labours of primary necessity.

The public expences of the colony amount annually to 817,750 livres [34,073l. 8s. 4d.] These expences are supplied by duties upon houses, upon the several productions of the soil, upon foreign liquors, and by

BOOK
XIV. a poll-tax upon the Negroes, which, in extraordinary cases, is doubled. The persons appointed, in the nineteen parishes, to levy these taxes, which are decreed by the general assembly, have obtained two and a half per cent. as a reward for their trouble; and the receiver-general retains five per cent. for himself.

The specie which is commonly circulated in the island doth not exceed 954,041 livres [39,751l. 14s. 2d.]. This is more than sufficient, since it is only used in the more minute details of trade. The slaves brought from Africa, the merchandise sent from Europe, all things which are of great value, are paid by bills of exchange payable in London, or in some other British port, where the colonists send their commodities on their own account.

The profit arising from these productions is not defined entirely for the incessant wants of Jamaica. A great part of it is intended for the discharge of the debts, which an immoderate luxury, and accumulated misfortunes, have obliged the inhabitants successively to contract. These engagements, as far as we can judge of them, amount to two-thirds of the apparent riches of the colony. The greatest number of the creditors are settled in England; the others are merchants temporarily settled in the island, among whom are reckoned a great many Jews. May these people, who were slaves at first, afterwards conquerors, and then disgraced for the space of twenty centuries, one day attain the legal possession of Jamaica, or of some other rich island in the New World! May they collect all their children there, and bring them up in peace to culture and commerce, sheltered from that fanaticism which rendered them odious to the world, and from that persecution which hath punished their errors with too much rigour! May the Jews live free, unmolested, and happy, in some corner of the world; since, by the ties of humanity, they are our brethren, and our fathers in the tenets of religion!

The colony, at present, sends annually to the mother country eight hundred thousand quintals of sugar,

which, at the rate of 40 livres [1l. 13s. 4d.] the quintal, produce 32,000,000 livres [1,333,333l. 6s. 8d.]; BOOK
XIV.
 four million gallons of rum, which, at the rate of 1 livre 10 sols [1s. 3d.] the gallon, produce 6,000,000l. livres [250,000l.]; three hundred thousand gallons of molasses, which, at the rate of 10 sols [5d.] the gallon, produce 150,000 livres [6250l.]; six thousand quintals of cotton, which, at the rate of 150 livres [6l. 5s.] the quintal, produce 900,000 livres [37,500l.]; six thousand quintals of pimento, which, at the rate of 42 livres [1l. 6s. 8d.] the quintal, produce 252,000 livres [10,500l.]; eighteen thousand quintals of coffee, which, at the rate of 50 livres [2l. 1s. 8d.] the quintal, produce 900,000 livres [37,500l.]; three thousand quintals of ginger, which, at the rate of 70 livres [2l. 18s. 4d.] the quintal, produce 210,000 livres [8750l.]; and to the amount of 400,000 livres [16,666l. 13s. 4d.] in wood for inlaying. All these sums united, make the produce of Jamaica amount to 40,812,000 livres [1,700,500l.].

The vessels destined for their exportation are very numerous, but are only of the burden of one hundred and fifty, or two hundred tons.

A small number of these vessels take up their cargoes at the harbour of Morant Point, which might be considered as a good harbour, were it more easy of access. This road, situated in the southern part of the island, is only defended by an ill-constructed battery, improperly placed. Twelve men, commanded by a serjeant, are continually on guard there. Not far off is a bay of the same name, more convenient, and more frequented by navigators.

The coast affords no other anchorage, unless for very small boats, till the ships arrive at Port Royal, where half of the productions of the colony destined for Europe are embarked.

At a greater distance is the old harbour, which is commonly well frequented. The neighbouring planters have often resolved to construct some works there, to protect the vessels which may take in their cargoes

BOOK at this place, against small privateers. This expensive
 XIV. project appears to be entirely laid aside. It hath been
 at length understood that the difficulty of entrance
 would always be the best defence.

The bay of the Black River would require a good battery. It might be erected without much expence, and would ensure the safety of a great number of small ships that frequent it.

Savanna la Mar hath never much water, and its entrance is every where embarrassed with shoals and sunken rocks. It is the worst harbour of the colony; and yet it is become the staple of a considerable trade, since the neighbouring territory hath been cleared. Formerly its inhabitants were desirous of surrounding themselves with fortifications. These works were forsaken, after more than one thousand crowns [12,500.] had been expended upon them. Nothing remains of these labours but a heap of ruins.

The island hath upon its western coast, which is very narrow, only one harbour, and that is Port Orange, where seven or eight vessels take in their cargoes annually.

The first harbour to the north is that of St. Lucia. It is spacious and safe, and defended by a fort, capable of making some resistance, if it were repaired, and if the artillery were put into a state fit for service. A small garrison is always kept there.

Eight or nine leagues further, is the excellent bay of Montego. The fifth part of the productions of the colony is embarked in the small town of Barnet-town, defended by a battery of ten guns.

The entrance of Port St. Ann is rendered difficult by shoals. It scarce receives annually fifteen or sixteen vessels.

Port Antonio is one of the safest harbours, but not one of the most frequented, of the island. Its fort is guarded by a detachment commanded by an officer.

The eastern coast hath no other harbour than the Manchineel. Its anchorage is good, but in the neighbouring latitudes the sea is always violently agitated

by the easterly winds. This is the spot most exposed to invasions, and the battery of ten guns, which hath been constructed there, would not shelter it from danger, if its riches were more considerable. The whole defence of the colony is properly fixed at Port Royal.

The English had no sooner made themselves masters of Jamaica, than they attended to the rendering of this conquest useful, and to the securing of the possession of it. The cultures undertaken by the Spaniards, and the advantages of a safe, immense, and convenient harbour, prudently inclined them to fix their views upon Port Royal. The town they built there, though placed in the midst of sands, upon a very narrow neck of land, though deprived by nature of water fit for drinking, and of all the other supports of life, became a famous city in less than thirty years.

BOOK
XIV.
Means which Jamaica hath to preserve herself from invasion.

This splendour was owing to a constant and quick circulation of trade, formed by the commodities of the island, the captures of the freebooters, and the trade opened with the neighbouring continent. There have been few staples upon the face of the globe, where the thirst of wealth and pleasure had united more opulence and more corruption.

One moment destroyed, on the 27th of June 1692, this beautiful appearance. The sky, which was clear and serene, grew obscured and red throughout the whole extent of Jamaica. A rumbling noise was heard under ground, spreading from the mountains to the plain; the rocks were split; hills came close together; infectious lakes appeared on the spots where whole mountains had been swallowed up; immense forests were removed several miles from the place where they stood; the edifices disappeared, being either sunk into the caverns of the earth, or overturned. Thirteen thousand lives were lost by this dreadful earthquake, and three thousand by a contagious distemper that broke out soon after. It is said, that since this catastrophe, the climate is not so fine, the air not so pure, nor the soil so fruitful, as it was before. This

B O O K
XIV.

terrible phenomenon should have taught the Europeans not to trust to the possession of a world that trembles under their feet, and seems to slip out of their rapacious hands.

In this general overthrow, Port Royal beheld buried in the incensed waves, or thrown at a distance upon desolate coasts, the numerous ships, the proud flags which rendered her so vain. The city itself was destroyed and overflowed. In vain was it attempted to rebuild the town upon its ruins; these labours were all fruitless. The rising walls were again blown down by a hurricane. Port Royal, like Jerusalem, could never be rebuilt. The earth seemed only digged to swallow it up anew. By a singularity which baffles all human efforts and reasonings to account for, the only houses that were left standing, after this fresh subversion, were situated at the extremity of a point of land extremely narrow, which advances several miles in the sea; as if the inconstant ocean had afforded a solid foundation to edifices which the firm ground seemed to cast off.

The inhabitants of Port Royal, discouraged by these repeated calamities, retired to Kingston, which is situated in the same bay. By their industry and activity, this town, which till then had been obscure, soon became a pleasant and flourishing city. Trade is even gradually become more animated here, than it ever was at any period in any of the marts to which it hath succeeded; because the colony hath gained more by the increase of its cultures, than it hath lost by the decrease of its smuggling trade.

Yet Port Royal had never been, and Kingston did not become, the capital of the island. St. Yago de la Vega, which the English have named Spanish-town, continued still to enjoy this useful prerogative. This town, built by the Spaniards, at the distance of some leagues from the sea, upon the river Cobra, the most considerable one of the country, though not navigable, was the seat of the legislative body, the residence of the governor-general, the place where the

courts of justice were holden, and, consequently, that where the richest planters dwelt.

Admiral Knowles judged that this arrangement was contrary to the public good; and in 1756, he caused it to be decided by the general assembly, that all the affairs, and all the powers of administration, should be united at Kingston. Personal hatred against the projector of this plan; the harshness of the measures he employed to carry it into execution; the attachment most people are apt to take for places as well as things; numberless private interests that must necessarily be affected by this alteration: all these causes raised in the minds of several of the colonists, unsurmountable objections to a plan, which was indeed liable to some inconveniencies, but which was founded on unanswerable reasons, and offered great advantages. The obstacles with which the opponents embarrassed the new system, did not put a stop to the measures of government. This was even the time they chose for repairing Fort Charles, which serves as a citadel to Port Royal, and for increasing, on the other side of the bay, the very well executed fortifications of Mosquito Point, which command the canal through which the vessels destined for Kingston must pass. If, instead of entering the bay, the enemy should wish to land to the north of the new capital, they would be stopped in their march by Zock, a fort constructed with skill, and maintained with care, in a very narrow defile, at the distance of a league from the city. Among these different works, and in some other less important posts, two regiments are usually distributed. They receive pay from the mother-country: but the colony adds to it a daily gratuity of 12 sols [6d.] for every soldier, and a double gratuity for every officer. If these troops were as well as they are ill disciplined, they would not preserve the island from invasion, and would soon be reduced to capitulate to a naval force superior to that which might be destined to support them.

If Jamaica could even be preserved from the cala-

B O O K ^{XIV.} mities of a foreign invasion, it would no less be exposed to domestic dangers, still more alarming.

When the Spaniards were compelled to cede Jamaica to the English, they left there a number of Negroes and Mulattoes, who, tired of their slavery, took a resolution to retire into the mountains, there to preserve that liberty which they had recovered by the expulsion of their tyrants. Having entered into some agreements necessary to preserve their union, they planted maize and cocoa, in the most inaccessible places of their retreat; but the impossibility of subsisting till harvest, obliged them to come down into the plain to pillage for sustenance. The conquerors bore this plunder the more impatiently, as they had nothing to spare; and declared war against them. Many were massacred; the greater part submitted; and only fifty or sixty fled back to the rocks, there to live or die in freedom.

Policy, which sees every thing, but is never moved by compassion, thought it necessary utterly to exterminate or reduce this handful of fugitives, who had escaped from slavery or carnage; but the troops, who were either perishing or exhausted with fatigue, were averse from this destructive scheme, which must have occasioned the effusion of more blood. It was therefore dropt, for fear of a revolt. This condescension was attended with fatal consequences. All the slaves, grown desperate by the hardships they underwent, or by the dread of punishment, soon sought an asylum in the woods, where they were sure of meeting with companions ready to assist them. The number of fugitives increased daily. In a short time they deserted by troops, after having massacred their masters, and plundered and set fire to the habitations. In vain were active partizans sent out against them; to whom a reward of 900 livres [37l. 10s.] was offered for the head of every Negro they should bring. This severity produced no alteration, and the desertion only became the more general.

The rebels grew more daring as their numbers increased. Till the year 1690, they had only fled; but,

when they thought themselves strong enough to at-
 tack, they fell upon the English plantations, in sepa-
 rate bands, and committed horrid ravages. In vain
 were they driven back to their mountains with loss;
 in vain were forts erected and garrisoned at proper di-
 stances, to prevent their inroads; notwithstanding
 these precautions, they renewed their depredations
 from time to time. The resentment which the viola-
 tion of the rights of nature by barbarous policy excited
 in these Blacks, inspired them with such fury, that the
 white people who had bought them, in order, as they
 said, to cut off the root of the evil, resolved, in 1735,
 to employ all the forces of the colony, to destroy a
 justly implacable enemy.

Immediately the military law took place of all civil
 government. All the colonists formed themselves in-
 to regular bodies of troops. They marched towards
 the rebels by different roads. One party undertook to
 attack the town of Nauny, which the Blacks them-
 selves had built in the Blue Mountains. With cannon,
 a town built without regularity and defended without
 artillery, was soon destroyed; but the success of the
 other enterprises was frequently doubtful, sometimes
 attended with much loss. The slaves, more elated
 by one triumph than discouraged by ten defeats, were
 proud of considering their former tyrants merely as
 enemies they were to contend with. If they were
 beaten, they had at least some revenge. Their blood
 was at least mixed with that of their barbarous masters.
 They rushed against the sword of the European, to
 plunge a dagger into his breast. At last, overpowered
 by numbers, or by the dexterity of their antagonists,
 the fugitives intrenched themselves in inaccessible
 places, where they dispersed in small bands, fully de-
 termined never to stir out; and well assured that they
 should never be conquered there. At length, after
 various contests and excursions, that lasted nine months,
 the English gave up all thoughts of subduing them.

Thus, sooner or later, will any people, made despe-
 rate by tyranny, or the oppression of conquerors, al-

BOOK ways get the better of numerous, experienced, and
 XIV. even well-disciplined armies; if they have but resolu-
 tion enough to endure hunger rather than the yoke; to die rather than live in bondage; and, if they choose, rather to see their nation extinct than enslaved. Let them abandon the field to the multitude of troops; to the train of war; to the display of provisions, ammunition, and hospitals: let them retire into the heart of the mountains, without baggage, without covering, without stores; nature will provide for them and defend them. There let them remain for years, till the climate, idleness, and intemperance, have destroyed those swarms of foreign invaders, who have no booty to expect, nor any laurels to gather. Let them pour down upon them at intervals, like the torrents of their own mountains, surprize them in their tents, and ravage their boundaries. Lastly, let them despise the opprobrious names of robbers and murderers, which will be lavished upon them by a great people, base enough to arm themselves against a handful of huntsmen, and weak enough to be unable to conquer them.

Such was the conduct of the Blacks with the English. These, weary of excursions and fruitless armaments, fell into universal despondency. The poorest among them would not venture to accept the lands which the government offered them in the vicinity of the mountains. Even the settlements at a greater distance from these rebels, inured to war, were either neglected or forsaken. Many parts of the island, which from their appearance seemed likely to become the most fruitful, were left in their uncultivated state.

In this situation was the colony, when Trelawney was appointed governor. This prudent and humane commander was sensible, that a set of men, who for near a century past lived upon wild fruits, went naked, and exposed to the inclemency of the weather; who, ever at war with an assailant stronger than themselves, and better armed, never ceased fighting for the defence of their liberty; that such a set of men would never be subdued by open force. He, therefore, had recourse

to conciliating measures. He offered them not only lands as their own property, but likewise liberty and independence. BOOK
XIV.

These overtures were favourably received. The treaty concluded with them in 1739, decided, that the chief, whom they themselves should choose, should receive his commission from the English government; that he should come every year to the capital of the colony, if required; that two white men should constantly reside with him, in order to maintain a harmony advantageous to both nations; and if the colony were ever attacked, he and all his people should take up arms.

While Trelawney was negotiating this accommodation in the name of the crown, the general assembly of the colony proposed their separate plan. In this second agreement, the new people engaged to harbour no more fugitive slaves; and they were promised a stipulated sum for every deserter whom they should inform against, and a more considerable reward for those whom they should bring back to their plantations. Since this shameful contract, this small republic hath been constantly declining. It now reckons no more than thirteen hundred individuals, men, women, and children, distributed in five or six villages.

Whether these events inspired them with boldness, or whether they were exasperated at the ill usage they met with from the English, the Negro slaves resolved to be free likewise. While the flames of war, kindled in Europe, were spreading in America, these miserable men agreed, in 1760, to take up arms all in one day, murder their tyrants, and seize upon the government. But their impatience for liberty disconcerted the unanimity of the plot, by preventing the timely execution of it. Some of the conspirators stabbed their masters, and set fire to their houses before the appointed time; but finding themselves unable to resist the whole force of the island, which their premature exploit had collected in a moment, they fled to the mountains. From this impenetrable recess they were incessantly making

B O O K
XIV.

destructive inroads. The English, in their distress, were reduced to solicit the assistance of the wild Negroes, whose independence they had been obliged to acknowledge by a solemn treaty. They even bribed them, and promised a considerable sum for every slave they should kill with their own hands. Those base Africans, unworthy of the liberty they had recovered, were not ashamed to sell the blood of their brethren: they pursued them, and killed many of them by surprise. At last the conspirators, weakened and betrayed by their own nation, remained a long time silent and inactive.

The conspiracy was thought to be effectually extinguished, when the rebels, reinforced by deserters from the several plantations, appeared again with redoubled fury. The regular troops, the militia, and a large body of sailors, all marched in pursuit of the slaves; they fought and beat them in several skirmishes; many were slain, or taken prisoners, and the rest dispersed into the woods and rocks. All the prisoners were shot, hanged, or burnt. Those who were supposed to be the chief promoters of the conspiracy, were tied alive to gibbets, and there left to perish slowly, exposed to the scorching sun of the torrid zone; a far more painful and more terrible death than that of being burnt alive. Yet their tyrants enjoyed the torments of these miserable wretches, whose only crime was an attempt to recover by revenge, those rights of which avarice and inhumanity had deprived them.

The measures that were taken to prevent future insurrections were dictated by the same spirit of barbarity. A slave is whipped in the public places, if he plays at any game whatsoever; if he presumes to go a-hunting, or to sell any thing but milk or fish. He cannot stir out of his master's plantation, unless attended by a white man, or with an express permission in writing. If he should beat a drum, or make use of any other noisy instrument, his master is condemned to pay a fine of 225 livres [9l. 7s. 6d.] Thus do the English, who are so jealous of their own liberty, sport

with that of other men. To this excess of barbarity B O O K
 the Negro trade must necessarily have brought these XIV.
 usurpers. Such is the progress of injustice and violence. To conquer the New World, its inhabitants must doubtless have been slaughtered. To replace them, Negroes must be bought, as they alone are able to endure the climate and the labours of America. To remove these Africans from their native country, who were designed to cultivate the land without having any possessions in it, it was necessary to seize them by force, and to make them slaves. To keep them in subjection, they must be treated with severity. To prevent their revolt, the natural consequence of severity and servitude, these men, whom we have made desperate, must be restrained by capital punishments, by hard usage, and atrocious laws.

But cruelty itself has a period in its own destructive nature. In an instant it may cease. An enemy who should be so fortunate as to land at Jamaica, would soon convey arms to these men, who are full of rancour against their oppressors, and only wait a favourable opportunity to rise against them. The French, not considering that the revolt of the Blacks in one colony would probably occasion it in all the rest, will hasten such a revolution in time of war. The English, finding themselves between two fires, will be dismayed; their strength and courage will fail them; and Jamaica will fall a prey to slaves and conquerors, who will contend for dominion with fresh enormities. Such is the train of evils that injustice brings along with it! It attaches itself to man so closely, that the connection cannot be dissolved but by the sword. Crimes beget crimes; blood is productive of blood; and the earth becomes a perpetual scene of desolation, tears, misery, and affliction, where successive generations rise to imbrue their hands in blood, to tear out each other's bowels, and to lay each other in the dust.

The loss of Jamaica, however, would be a heavy Advantages of Jamaica for
 one for England. Nature has placed this island at

B O O K the entrance of the gulf of Mexico, and made it a
XIV. kind of key to that rich country. All ships going
 from Carthagena to the Havannah, are obliged to pass
 by its coasts; it is more within reach of the several
 trading ports on the continent, than any other island;
 the many excellent roads with which it is surrounded,
 facilitate the launching of men of war on all sides of
 the island. These several advantages are balanced by
 some inconveniencies.

war. Its
 disadvantages for
 navigation.

If it be easy to get at Jamaica by the trade-winds, by taking a view of the Less Antilles, it is not so easy to get away from thence, whether we go through the Straits of Bahama, or determine for the Leeward Passage.

The first of these two ways gives the full advantage of the wind for two hundred leagues; but as soon as Cape St. Anthony is doubled, we meet the same wind against us that before was favourable: so that more time is lost than was gained; and there is also a risk of being taken by the guarda costas of the Havannah. This danger is succeeded by another, which is the shoals on the coast of Florida, towards which the winds and currents drive with great violence. The Elizabeth, an English man of war, would infallibly have been lost there in 1746, had not Captain Edwards ventured into the Havannah. It was during the height of the war, and the port belonged to the enemy. "I come," said the captain to the governor, "to deliver up my ship, my sailors, my soldiers, and myself, into your hands; I only ask the lives of my men." "I will not be guilty of any dishonourable action," replied the Spanish commander. "Had we taken you in fight, in open sea, or upon our coasts, your ship would have been ours, and you would have been our prisoners. But as you are overtaken by a storm, and are driven into this port from the fear of being shipwrecked, I do, and ought to forget that my nation is at war with yours. You are men, and so are we; you are in distress, and have a right to our pity. You are at liberty to unload and refit your vessel; and if

“ you want it, you may trade in this port to pay your
 “ charges ; you may then go away, and you will have
 “ a pass to carry you safe beyond the Bermudas. If
 “ after this you should be taken, you will be a lawful
 “ prize ; but, at this moment, I see in Englishmen,
 “ only strangers for whom humanity claims our assist-
 “ ance.”

Spaniards ! incomprehensible race of men, tell me, since such are your feelings, and since you can speak thus to an enemy, delivered into your power by the winds, why have you not known how to respect the innocent savage, prostrate at your feet, who adored you ? The reason of this I conceive to be, that Captain Edwards's ship was not loaded with that yellow dust, the sight of which changes you into wild beasts. Perhaps I have calumniated you : but I have seen you so frequently below your own species, that I have had good reason for doubting of your virtues ; especially when you display them to me with a character of heroism which affects and astonishes me. I oppose suspicions, perhaps unjust ones to my admiration and to my tears which are ready to flow.

The other way is attended with no less difficulty and danger. It terminates at a small island, that the English call Crooked Island, which lies eighty leagues off Jamaica. Ships that come this way must commonly strive against the easterly wind through the whole passage, coast along close under St. Domingo, in order to keep clear of the flats of Cuba, and then pass the straits, between the points of these two great islands, where it is very difficult to escape being intercepted by their privateers or their men of war. The navigators coming from the Lucays do not meet with these obstructions.

It is reckoned that there are about two hundred of these islands, all of them situated to the north of Cuba, and most of which are nothing more than rocks just rising above water. Columbus, who discovered them on his arrival in the New World, and who gave the name of San Salvador to that on which he landed,

Revolutions which have happened in the Lucaya islands. State of these islands.

BOOK did not make any settlement there. Neither did the
 XIV. Castilians afterwards fix upon it; but, in 1507, they
 carried off all the inhabitants, who soon perished in
 the mines, or in the pearl fishery. This small Archi-
 pelago was entirely desert, when, in 1672, some En-
 glishmen took possession of Providence Island; they
 were driven from thence seven or eight years after-
 wards, by the orders of the court of Madrid, but re-
 turned in 1690, and were again expelled in 1703 by
 the Spaniards and French united. The island was
 peopled again by a particular event.

In 1714, some ships richly laden were swallowed up
 by a storm upon the coasts of Florida. The treasures
 which they contained belonged to the Spaniards, who
 caused them to be dived for. So rich a prey tempted
 some of the inhabitants of Jamaica. The Spaniards
 refused to share with them, and Jennings, the boldest
 among them, had recourse to arms, to support what
 he called a natural and undeniable right. The dread
 of being severely punished, for having disturbed the
 peace which Europe had for so long a time been anx-
 ious to obtain, obliged him to turn pirate. His com-
 panions were soon numerous enough to make it neces-
 sary to multiply his armaments. The Lucays became
 their place of retreat. It was from thence that these
 robbers sallied forth to attack all vessels without di-
 stinction, English as well as others. The nations were
 apprehensive of seeing renewed, in the New World,
 those scenes of horror which had been displayed there
 by the ancient freebooters, when George I. roused by
 the clamours of his people and by the wishes of his
 parliament, sent out, in 1719, a sufficient force to sub-
 due these pirates. The most determined of them re-
 fused the amnesty which was offered them, and went
 to infest the coasts of Asia and Africa with their rob-
 beries. The rest increased the colony which Woods
 Rogers brought with him from Europe.

This colony may at this day consist of three or four
 thousand persons, half of whom are settled at Provi-
 dence, where Fort Nassau hath been constructed, and

which hath a harbour sufficient for small vessels; the rest are distributed in the other islands. They send annually to England to the value of forty or fifty thousand crowns [from 5000l. to 6250l.] of cotton, wood for dyeing, and live turtle; and with their salt they pay for the provisions which North America supplies them with.

BOOK
XIV.

Although the soil of the Lucays cannot be compared to that of several of the other colonies, yet it would be sufficient to afford plenty of subsistence, by labour, to a population much more considerable than that which is at present found there, in free people or in slaves. The great neglect of its cultures must be attributed to the first manners, and present propensities, of the inhabitants. These islands, which on one side are separated from Florida by the channel of Bahama, form on the other a long chain, which terminates at the point of Cuba. It is there that begin the islands called Turk's Islands, or Caicos, which continue the chain as far as towards the middle of the northern coast of St. Domingo. So favourable a position for piracy hath turned the views of the inhabitants towards a cruizing life. They are ever eager to engage in hostilities, which may put the Spanish and French productions into their hands. The Bermudas exhibit a more tranquil scene.

This small Archipelago, about three hundred leagues distant from that of the Antilles, was discovered, in 1527, by the Spaniard John Bermudas, who gave his name to it, but did not land there. Ferdinand Camello, a Portuguese, obtained in 1572, of Philip II. a grant of it, which did not take effect. The French navigator Barbotiere was shipwrecked there in 1593, but thought no more of it after he had quitted it. The ship of George Sommers was broken to pieces there in 1609. With the wrecks of this ship a small vessel was constructed, which had the good fortune to arrive safe in England.

Poverty of
the Ber-
mudas.
Character
of the inhab-
itants.

Three years after, a company was formed in London to people the Bermudas, which were entirely un-

B O O K
XIV. } inhabited. Sixty men were sent there, and they were soon followed by many more. They occupied at first St. George, the one of these islands which had the best harbour; and in process of time they took possession of all those which were susceptible of culture. The land was exactly measured, and distributed among the inhabitants, in proportion as their families were more or less numerous.

The accounts that were propagated of the salubrity and mildness of the climate, attracted colonists from all parts of the British empire. Inhabitants resorted thither from the Antilles for the recovery of their health, and from the northern colonies to enjoy their fortune in peace. Many royalists retired there, in expectation of the death of their oppressor Cromwell. Waller, among the rest, that charming poet, who was an enemy to that tyrannical deliverer, crossed the seas, and celebrated those fortunate islands, inspired by the influence of the air, and the beauty of the country, which are always favourable to the poet. He imparted his enthusiasm to the fair sex. The English ladies never thought themselves handsome or well dressed, unless they had small Bermuda hats made with palm leaves.

But at last the charm was broken, and these islands fell into that contempt which their insignificance deserved. They are very numerous, and their whole compass is but six or seven leagues. The soil is very indifferent, and there is not a single spring to water it. There is no water to drink but what is taken from wells and reservoirs. Maize, vegetables, and excellent fruits, afford plenty of wholesome food; but there are no superfluous commodities for exportation; yet chance has collected under this pure and temperate sky four or five thousand inhabitants; poor, but happy in being unobserved. Their connections with England do not annually exceed 120,000 livres [5000l.], and those which they have formed with the American continent are scarcely more extensive.

In order to render the circumstances of this weak

colony more easy, it hath been successively proposed to cultivate silk, vines, and cochineal there; but none of these projects have been carried into execution. Industry hath been confined to the manufacturing of sail-cloth, an occupation which is naturally connected with the construction of those small vessels made of cedar or acajou wood, which have never been equalled upon the globe, either for their sailing or for their duration.

B O O K
XIV.

The principal inhabitants of the Bermuda islands formed a society in 1765, the statutes of which are, perhaps, the most respectable monument that ever dignified humanity. These virtuous citizens engaged themselves to form a library of all books of husbandry, in whatever language they had been written; to procure to all capable persons of both sexes an employment suitable to their disposition; to bestow a reward on every man who had introduced into the colony any new art, or contributed to the improvement of any one already known; to give a pension to every daily workman, who, after having assiduously continued his labour, and maintained a good character for forty years, should not have been able to lay by a stock sufficient to allow him to pass his latter days in quiet; and lastly, to indemnify every individual who should have been oppressed either by the minister or the magistrate.

May these advantages ever be preserved to those industrious, though indigent people; happy in their labour and in their poverty, which keeps their morals untainted! They enjoy, in a state of innocence, the benefits of a pure and serene sky, and preserve tranquillity of mind with health. The poison of luxury has never infected them. They are not themselves addicted to envy, nor do they excite it in others. The rage of ambition and war is extinguished upon their coasts, as the storms of the ocean that surround them are broken. The virtuous man would willingly cross the seas to enjoy the sight of their frugality. May the winds never convey to them the account of the events

BOOK of the world in which we live! They then learn—
 XIV. but, alas!—my imagination wanders, the pen drops
 from my hand, and they shall receive no information
 from me.

Such were the possessions of the English in the American Archipelago, when the successes of the war which ended in 1763 gave to the domains of that power a considerable increase of extent, of which Granada was the richest part.

Granada
 was first oc-
 cupied by
 the French.
 What the
 first colo-
 nists did
 there.

This island hath twenty-one leagues in circumference, six in its greatest breadth, which is from north to south, and four from east to west. Its territory, though very uneven, is in general fertile, and susceptible of some kind of culture, according to its quality, and to its exposure, which is not sufficiently attended to. The soil, however, becomes less productive, in proportion to its distance from the coasts. The cause of this, perhaps, may be, that the rains, which are too frequent at the foot of the mountains, even in those seasons when the rest of the island is afflicted by droughts, keep the neighbouring grounds, which are almost all clayey, in a state of freshness and moisture, which destroys their richness, and consequently their fertility.

The western part of the island is watered by ten rivers, the northern part by three, the eastern part by eight, and the southern part by five. Beside these springs, which are all considerable enough to work sugar-mills, there are several others less considerable, but very useful to the coffee plantations.

The neighbouring continent shelters Granada from those fatal hurricanes which carry desolation in so many other islands; and nature hath multiplied the creeks, the bays, and the harbours, which are favourable for the exportation of provisions. Its principal port is called Basse-Terre, or St. George, which would furnish a safe retreat to sixty men of war.

Though the French, acquainted with the fertility of Granada, had formed, as early as the year 1638, the project of settling there, yet they never carried it into

execution till the year 1651. At their arrival they gave a few hatchets, some knives, and a barrel of brandy, to the chief of the savages they found there; and imagining they had purchased the island with these trifles, assumed the sovereignty, and soon acted as tyrants. The Caribs, unable to contend with them by open force, took the method which weakness always inspires to repel oppression; they murdered all whom they found alone and defenceless. The troops that were sent to support the infant colony, found no safer or more expeditious way than to destroy all the natives. The remainder of these miserable savages took refuge upon a steep rock, preferring rather to throw themselves down alive from the top of it, than to fall into the hands of an implacable enemy. The French inconsiderately called this rock *le mont des sauteurs*, the hill of the leapers; and it still retains that name.

How was it possible that these frivolous people could lose, in distant countries, that vein of pleasantry which they preserve in their own, even in the midst of the greatest calamities! They are not a cruel people; but the natural cheerfulness which accompanies the Frenchman in tents, in the midst of camps, upon the field of battle, upon a mattrafs in an hospital, where he may have been laid, covered with wounds, and of which he is expiring, will suggest to him some ridiculous expression, which will produce a smile in the companions of his misfortunes; and this contrast of character with situation will manifest itself in the same manner among all Frenchmen, and among some persons of a singular turn in all the countries in the world.

They were justly punished for all these cruelties, by a rapacious, violent, and inflexible governor. Most of the colonists, no longer able to endure his tyranny, retired to Martinico, and those who remained on the island condemned him to death. In the whole court of justice that formally tried this miscreant, there was only one man who could write, and his name was Archangeli. A farrier was the person that impeached, who, instead of the signature, sealed with a horse-

shoe; and Archangeli, who performed the office of clerk, wrote gravely round it, *Marque de Monsieur de la Brie, conseiller rapporteur*: MARK OF MR. DE LA BRIE, COUNSEL FOR THE COURT.

B O O K
XIV.

It was apprehended that the court of France would not ratify this extraordinary sentence, passed with such unusual formalities, though dictated by common sense. Most of the judges of the crime, and witnesses of the execution, disappeared from Granada. None remained, except those whose obscurity screened them from the pursuit of the laws. The estimate taken in 1700 shows, that there were on the island no more than 251 white people, 53 free savages or mulattoes, and 525 slaves. The useful animals were reduced to 64 horses, and 569 head of horned cattle. The whole culture consisted of three plantations of sugar, and fifty-two of indigo.

The face of things was totally changed towards the year 1714; and this alteration was effected by Marti- nico. That island was then laying the foundation of a splendour that was to astonish all nations. It sent immense productions to France, and received valuable commodities in return, which were most of them sent to the Spanish coasts. Its ships touched at Granada in their way, to take in refreshments. The trading privateers, who undertook this navigation, taught the people of that island the value of their soil, which only required cultivation. The execution of every project is facilitated by commerce. Some traders furnished the inhabitants with slaves and utensils to erect sugar plantations. An open account was established between the two colonies. Granada was clearing its debts gradually by its rich produce; and the balance was on the point of being closed, when the war in 1744 interrupted the communication between the two islands, and at the same time stopped the progress of the most important culture of the New World. At that time, cotton, cacao, and particularly coffee trees, were planted; and during the continuance of hostilities, they acquired a sufficient growth to yield plenti-

fully. These useful trees were not abandoned after the peace of 1748; but the culture of the sugar-canes was then pushed with an eagerness proportioned to their importance. A series of misfortunes, too much merited, soon deprived the mother-country of the great advantages it flattered itself with from this colony.

The passionate desire of premature and unbounded enjoyment, that malady which hath tainted the government of a nation which yet deserves the affection of her masters; that prodigality which reaps when it should sow, which destroys the past with one hand, and the future with the other, which exhausts and consumes the stock by anticipating the income; that confusion which results from the distresses any state must necessarily be reduced to, that has neither principles nor experience, that has power without views, and means without conduct; that anarchy that prevails at the helm; that precipitation, that caballing among inferiors; the impropriety, or total want of projects; on one hand, the audacity of doing any thing with impunity; on the other, the fear of speaking even for the public good: this concurrence of long succeeding evils has thrown Granada into the hands of Great Britain, which is confirmed in the possession of this conquest by the treaty of 1763.

The English did not make a fortunate beginning. A great number of them resolved to have plantations upon an island, of which the highest opinion had previously been formed; and, in their enthusiasm, they purchased them for much more than their real value. This passion, which expelled the ancient colonists, who were inured to the climate, drew thirty-five or thirty-six millions of livres [from 1,458,333l. 6s. 8d. to 1,500,000l.] out of the mother-country. This imprudence was followed by another. The new proprietors, misled, no doubt, by national pride, have substituted new methods to those of their predecessors. They attempted to alter the mode of living among their slaves. The Negroes, who from their ignorance are more at-

Events which have happened at Granada since it is fallen under the British government.

BOOK XIV. tached to their old customs than other men, revolted. It was found necessary to send out troops, and to shed blood. The whole colony was filled with suspicions. Masters, who had been under the necessity of using violent methods, were afraid of being burnt or massacred in their own habitations. The labours declined, and were even totally suspended. Tranquillity was at length restored, but it was soon succeeded by a new storm.

Throughout the whole extent of the British empire, the Roman Catholics are rigorously deprived of the least influence in public affairs. When the ministry established the English government at Granada, they thought proper to deviate from these generally received principles; and they permitted all the ancient inhabitants, of whatever religion they might be, to give their vote in the assemblies of the colony. This innovation met with the most obstinate resistance; but at last parliament, which had got rid of some of its prejudices, declared in favour of the administration, and Catholics, as well as others, were allowed to attend to the common interests of the colony.

The predilection which George III. had shown for the French, who were become his subjects, made him imagine that his commands would meet with no opposition in a settlement of which they still formed the greatest number. In this persuasion, he ordered that the duty of four and a half per cent. upon productions on their exportation, which, in an excess of zeal, all the British islands, except Jamaica, had very anciently granted, should be levied at Granada. The power of doing this was disputed with him. The cause was formally tried, and the decision was not favourable to the monarch.

This triumph elated the minds of the colonists. In order to accelerate the cultures, they had borrowed large sums from the monied people of the mother-country. These debts, which amounted to 50,000,000 of livres [2,083,333l. 6s. 8d.], were not paid at the appointed time. The creditors had recourse to the rigour of the law, which authorized them to seize the

plantations that had been mortgaged to them, to put them up to public sale, and to exact the full value of them eight months after. This severity spread universal consternation. The legislative body of the island, in their despair, passed a bill on the 6th of June 1774, which divided the value of the acquisition into five payments, and which protracted the last payment to the term of thirty-two months. The secret motive of this singular act was undoubtedly to put it in the power of the debtors to bid for their own estates, and by this contrivance to procure them delays, which they would in vain have expected from the commiseration of their creditors.

BOOK
XIV.

A measure so bold excited a tumult throughout England. It was generally thought an injurious thing, that a very small part of the empire should arrogate to itself a right of annihilating engagements contracted under the sanction of a law universally established, in the good faith of trade. This indignation was communicated even to the islands of America, which understood clearly, that no further credit could be expected, if confidence were not settled upon a firm basis. The Britons of the Old and of the New World united in urging the supreme power to repair without delay this great breach made in the important and imprescriptible right of property.

The parliament, whatever might be the distress of this valuable acquisition, thought in the same manner as the people.

Cultures of
Granada,
and of the
Grana-
dines.

In 1771 and 1775, St. George was reduced to ashes by dreadful fires. The colony experienced other calamities; and notwithstanding this, its productions have increased threefold since it came out of the hands of the French. It is become, under the other hemisphere, the second of the English islands. Its new mother-country receives from it annually eighteen millions weight of sugar, which, at 40 livres [1l. 13s. 4d.] the quintal, produce in Europe 7,200,000 livres [300,000l.]; one million one hundred thousand gallons of rum, which, at one livre ten sols [1s. 3d.] the

BOOK
 XIV. } gallon, produce 1,650,000 livres [68,750l.]; thirty thousand quintals of coffee, which, at 50 livres [2l. 1s. 8d.] the quintal, produce 1,500,000 livres [62,500l.]; three thousand quintals of cacao, which, at 50 livres [2l. 1s. 8d.] the quintal, produce 150,000 livres [6250l.]; three hundred quintals of indigo, which, at 800 livres [33l. 6s. 8d.] the quintal, produce 240,000 livres [10,000l.]; thirteen thousand quintals of cotton, which, at 150 livres [6l. 5s.] the quintal, produce 1,950,000 livres [81,250l.]: this makes in all 12,690,000 livres [528,750l.]: but in this revenue is included that which the Granadines produce.

These are a dozen of small islands, from three to eight leagues in circumference. They do not afford a single river, and yet the climate is very wholesome. The ground, covered only with thin bushes, has not been screened from the sun for many centuries, and it may be cultivated without its exhaling at any time those noxious vapours which generally attack the planters perpetually elsewhere.

Cariacou, the only one of these islands which the French have occupied, was at first frequented by turtle fishermen, who, in the intervals of leisure afforded them by their occupation, attempted some kinds of culture. Their small number was soon increased by several of the inhabitants of Guadalupe, who had been driven from their habitations by mischievous insects. These good people, assisted by eight or nine hundred slaves, employed themselves with success in the culture of cotton. This shrub was conveyed by the English to the other Granadine islands, and they even formed a sugar plantation at Bequia, and two at Cariacou.

The island of Tabago, which was the cause of great disputes between the Dutch and the French, becomes a

Tabago, which was acquired by Great Britain at the same period and by the same treaty, is separated from the Spanish island of Trinidad only by a channel of nine leagues over. This possession hath ten leagues in length and four in its greatest breadth. It hath a harbour upon its eastern coast, in which there are twenty-five or thirty feet of water, and another on its

northern coast, which hath no more than twenty or twenty-five. They are both sheltered from most of the winds, an advantage which that on the south side doth not enjoy. Among the small mountains which occupy the centre of the island, there is one more elevated, the black and reddish colour of which seems to indicate the ruins of an ancient volcano. It is not exposed to those dreadful hurricanes that are so destructive in other parts. Possibly it owes this inestimable advantage to the vicinity of the continent.

B O O K
XIV.
British possession.

Tabago has formerly been exceedingly populous, if we may credit some traditional accounts. The inhabitants long withstood the fierce and frequent attacks of the savages from the continent, who were stubborn and irreconcilable enemies. At length, wearied out with these inroads, which were incessantly renewed, they dispersed into the adjacent islands.

That which they had forsaken lay open to invasion from Europe, when two hundred natives of Fleffingen landed there in 1632, to lay the foundation of a Dutch colony. The neighbouring Indians joined with the Spaniards of the island of Trinidad, to oppose an establishment that gave umbrage to both. Whoever attempted to stop their fury, was murdered or taken prisoner; and the few who escaped into the woods soon deserted the island.

For twenty years the Dutch forgot a settlement which was only noted for the disasters of its origin. In 1654 a fresh colony was sent there, which was driven away in 1666. The English were soon deprived of this conquest by the French; but Lewis XIV. satisfied with having conquered it, restored it to his ally the republic of Holland. This settlement succeeded no better than the other colonies of that commercial nation that were engaged in agriculture. The motives that determine so many persons from other countries to go to America, ought never to have influenced the Dutch. Their own country affords every possible advantage for trade, and they have no need to go abroad to make their fortune. A

B O O K
XIV.

happy toleration, purchased, like their liberty, with rivers of blood, hath at length left the consciences of all men free; so that no religious scruples can induce timorous minds to banish themselves from their native country. The government makes such ample provision for the relief and employment of the poor, that none are driven by despair to go and clear a foreign land, which usually destroys the first cultivators. Tabago, therefore, never had more than 1200 men, employed in the culture of a little tobacco, cotton, and indigo, and of six sugar plantations.

The colony was confined to this scanty exertion of industry, when it was attacked by the very same nation that had restored it to its former rights of possession and property. In the month of February 1677, a French fleet, destined to seize upon Tabago, fell in with the Dutch fleet that was sent out to oppose this expedition. They engaged in one of the roads of the island, which became famous for this memorable action in an age abounding with great events. The obstinacy and valour on both sides were such, that the fight still continued, when every ship was dismasted and unrigged, and no sailors left to work them. The engagement did not cease till twelve vessels were burnt, and a great number were sunk. The assailers lost the fewest men, and the defendants kept possession of the island.

But d'Estrées, who was determined to take it, landed there the same year in the month of December. There was then no fleet to obstruct or retard his progress. A bomb thrown from his camp, blew up their powder magazine. This proved, as it generally does, a decisive stroke; and the enemy, unable to resist, surrendered at discretion. The conquerors availed themselves to the utmost of the right of war: not content with razing the fortifications, they burnt the plantations, seized upon all the ships in the harbour, and transported the inhabitants from the island. The conquest of this place was secured to France by the peace that soon followed an action, in which defeat

was attended with no marks of disgrace, and victory with no advantage.

The court of Versailles neglected this important island to such a degree, as not to send a single man thither. Perhaps, in the intoxication of false grandeur, they beheld with indifference whatever was merely useful. They even entertained an unfavourable opinion of Tabago, and imagined it was only a barren rock. This error gained ground from the behaviour of the French, who, finding themselves too numerous at Martinico, went over to the islands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica. These were precarious possessions, and the soil of which was of an indifferent quality. Could they possibly have been preferred to an island where the land was better, and the property incontestable? Such was the reasoning of a government, which was not then sufficiently enlightened concerning the trade and plantations of the colonies, to discern the true motives of this dislike the subjects had to Tabago.

An infant colony, especially when it is founded with slender means, cannot subsist without immediate assistance. It cannot make any progress but in proportion as it finds consumption for its first productions. These are generally of a common sort, are not worth the expences of exportation to any distance, and therefore will scarce sell but in the neighbourhood, and ought insensibly, and by moderate profits, to lead to the undertaking of those great cultures which are the object of commerce between Europe and the Leeward Islands. But Tabago was too remote from the French settlements, to attract inhabitants by such a gradation of success. Less fruitful islands, that were nearer to their resources, were preferred.

The low condition into which it was fallen, did not prevent it from attracting the attention of England. That proud island, which thinks herself the queen of all others, because she is the most flourishing, pretended to have an undoubted right to that of Tabago, because it had once been in her possession for six months.

B O O K Her forces have confirmed her pretensions; and the
 XIV. peace of 1763 has justified the success of her arms, by
 ceding to her a possession, which she will turn to better
 account than the French ever did.

Plan for
 clearing the
 American
 islands.

Almost all the settlements in the Antilles have proved fatal to the first colonists, who, acting by chance in times of little experience, without the concurrence of the mother-country, committed perpetual blunders. Their avidity would not suffer them to follow the method of the natives, who, to abate the influence of a constant scorching sun, used to separate the small parcels of land which they were forced to clear, with large spaces covered with trees and shady thickets. These savages, instructed by experience, fixed their dwellings in the middle of the woods, to preserve themselves from the quick and dangerous exhalations of a ground newly turned up.

The destroyers of this prudent people, being too eager after their profits, neglected this method as too slow; and being impatient to cultivate all, precipitately cut down whole forests. Thick vapours immediately arose from the ground, which was heated, for the first time, by the rays of the sun. These increased as the earth was stirred up for sowing and planting. Their malignant particles insinuated themselves into every pore and every organ of the husbandman; who, by hard labour, was constantly kept in a profuse perspiration. The circulation of the fluids was stopped, all the viscera were dilated, the body swelled, the stomach could no longer perform its functions, and death ensued. Those who escaped these pestilential influences by day, lost their lives by sleeping in huts hastily run up upon a fresh soil, where vegetation was too active, and so unwholesome, that it consumed the men before it could nourish the plants.

From these observations it appears, that the following would be the best plan which could be pursued in the establishing of a new colony. At our first arrival, it should be observed what winds are most prevalent in the Archipelago of America, and it will be

found that they blow regularly from the south-east and the north-east. If we were at liberty to choose, and met with no obstacle from the nature of the ground, we should take care not to fix on the leeward side, lest the wind should be continually bringing to us the vapours of the new-tilled grounds, and infect, from the exhalations of the new plantations, a piece of land that might have been purified in time. Our colony should therefore be founded on the windward side of whatever country we mean to cultivate. First, all the habitations should be built in the woods, and not a tree be suffered to be felled about them. The woods are wholesome; the refreshing shade they afford, and the cool air we breathe in them, even in the heat of the day, are a preservative against that excessive perspiration, which is the destruction of most Europeans, by the dryness and acrimony of an inflammable blood, deprived of its fluid parts. Fires should be kept in the huts all night, to dispel any noxious air that might have entered. This custom, which is constantly practised in some parts of Africa, would be as successful in America, considering the analogy between the two climates.

After having taken these precautions, we might begin to cut down the woods; but it should be at least at fifty toises distance from the huts. When the ground is laid bare, the slaves should not be sent out to their work till ten o'clock in the morning, when the sun has had time to divide the vapours, and the wind to drive them away. The four hours lost after sun-rise, would be fully compensated by sparing the strength of the labourers, and by the preservation of the human race. This attention should be continued as long as any lands are clearing or sowing, till the ground was thoroughly purged and settled; when the colonists might be allowed to fix upon it, and be employed without the least apprehensions at all hours in the day. Experience has already justified the necessity of all these measures.

B O O K

XIV.

Misfortunes
which the
English
have suffer-
ed at Taba-
go, for hav-
ing deviat-
ed from the
maxims
which we
have just
laid down.

The English and their slaves not having followed the plan we have been tracing, perished in great numbers at Tabago, though most of them came there together from the neighbouring colonies. Enlightened by this disaster, they settled to windward of the island, and death ceased its ravages. The custom which the British government have of felling the soil of the islands, and the formalities inseparable from such a system, retarded the formation of a settlement, which by pursuing other maxims, perhaps less prudent, might have been begun immediately after the peace. It was not till 1766, that fourteen thousand acres of ground were allotted and divided into shares of five hundred acres each. New allotments were afterwards made, but no planter was ever allowed to purchase more than one share.

The island, the soil of which hath been found too sandy, is yet inhabited only by four hundred white people and eight thousand Negroes. They were stopped in the beginning of their career by ants, who have devoured the greatest part of the sugar canes which have been already planted. The forty thousand quintals of sugar which were gathered from thirty plantations have been reduced to one half. This void hath been filled up by cotton, the crop of which is eight hundred thousand pounds weight, and by indigo, which yields twelve thousand pounds. St. Vincent hath not experienced a similar calamity.

History of
the savages
of St. Vin-
cent.

When the English and French, who for some years had been ravaging the Windward Islands, began to give some consistence to their settlements, in the year 1660 they agreed that Dominica and St. Vincent should be left to the Caribs as their property. Some of these savages, who till then had been dispersed, retired into the former, and the greater part into the latter. There these mild and moderate men, lovers of peace and silence, lived in the woods, in scattered families, under the guidance of an old man, whom his age alone had advanced to the dignity of ruler. The

dominion passed successively into every family, where the oldest always became king, that is to say, the guide and father of the nation. These ignorant savages were still unacquainted with the sublime art of subduing and governing men by force of arms; of massacring the inhabitants of a country to get possession of their lands; of granting to the conquerors the property, and to the conquered the labours of the conquered country; and, in process of time, of depriving both of the rights and the fruit of their toil by arbitrary taxes.

The population of these children of nature was suddenly augmented by a race of Africans, whose origin was never positively ascertained. It is said, that a ship carrying Negroes for sale, foundered on the coast of St. Vincent, and the slaves who escaped the wreck were received as brethren by the savages. Others pretend that these Negroes were deserters, who ran away from the plantations of the neighbouring colonies. A third tradition says, that this foreign race comes from the blacks whom the Caribs took from the Spaniards in the first wars between those Europeans and the Indians. If we may credit Du Tertre, the most ancient historian who has written an account of the Antilles, those terrible savages, who were so inveterate against their masters, spared the captive slaves, brought them home, and restored them to liberty, that they might enjoy life, that is, the common blessings of nature, which no man has a right to withhold from any of his fellow-creatures.

Their kindness did not stop here: for, by whatever chance these strangers were brought into the island, the proprietors of it gave them their daughters in marriage; and the race that sprang from this mixture were called Black Caribs. They have preserved more of the primitive colour of their fathers than of the lighter hue of their mothers. The red Caribs are of a low stature; the black Caribs tall and stout; and this doubly savage race speak with a vehemence that seems to resemble anger.

B O O K
XIV.

The arrival
of the
French at
St. Vincent
raises dif-
ferences be-
tween the
red and the
black Ca-
ribs.

In process of time, however, some differences arose between the two nations. The people of Martinico perceiving this, resolved to take advantage of their divisions, and raise themselves on the ruins of both parties. Their pretence was, that the black Caribs gave shelter to the slaves who deserted from the French islands. Imposture is always productive of injustice. Those who were falsely accused were afterwards attacked without reason. But the smallness of the numbers sent out against them; the jealousy of those who were appointed to command the expedition; the defection of the red Caribs, who refused to supply such dangerous allies with any of the succours they had promised them to act against their rivals; the difficulty of procuring subsistence; the impossibility of coming up with enemies who kept themselves concealed in woods and mountains: all these circumstances conspired to disconcert this rash and violent enterprise. It was obliged to be given up, after the loss of many valuable lives; but the triumph the savages obtained did not prevent them from suing for peace as suppliants. They even invited the French to come and live with them, swearing sincere friendship and inviolable concord. The proposal was agreed to; and the next year, 1719, many of the inhabitants of Martinico removed to St. Vincent.

The first who came thither settled peaceably, not only with the consent, but by the assistance of the red Caribs. This success induced others to follow their example; but these, whether from jealousy, or some other motive, taught the savages a fatal secret. That people, who knew of no property but the fruits of the earth, because they are the reward of labour, learnt with astonishment that they could sell the earth itself, which they had always looked upon as belonging to mankind in general. This knowledge induced them to measure and fix boundaries; and from that instant peace and happiness were banished from their island. The partition of lands occasioned divisions amongst

men. The following were the causes of the revolution produced by the system of usurpation. BOOK
XIV.

When the French came to St. Vincent, they brought slaves along with them, to clear and till the ground. The black Caribs, shocked at the thoughts of resembling men who were degraded by slavery, and fearing that some time or other their colour, which betrayed their origin, might be made a pretence for enslaving them, took refuge in the thickest parts of the forest. In this situation, in order to imprint an indelible mark of distinction upon their tribe, that might be a perpetual token of their independence, they flattened the foreheads of all their children as soon as they were born. The men and women, whose heads could not bend to this strange shape, dared no longer appear in public without this visible sign of freedom. The next generation appeared as a new race. The flat-headed Caribs, who were nearly of the same age, tall, proper men, hardy and fierce, came and erected huts by the sea-side.

They no sooner knew the price which the Europeans set upon the lands they inhabited, than they claimed a share with the other islanders. This rising spirit of covetousness was at first appeased by some presents of brandy, and a few sabres. But not content with these, they soon demanded fire-arms, as the red Caribs had; and at last they were desirous of having their share in all future sales of land, and likewise in the produce of past sales. Provoked at being denied a part in this brotherly repartition, they formed into a separate tribe, swore never more to associate with the red Caribs, chose a chief of their own, and declared war.

The numbers of the combatants might be equal, but their strength was not so. The black Caribs had every advantage over the red, that industry, valour, and boldness, must soon acquire over a weak habit and a timorous disposition. But that spirit of equity, which is seldom deficient in savages, made the conqueror consent to share with the vanquished all the

BOOK territory lying to the leeward. It was the only one
 XIV. which both parties were desirous of possessing, because
 there they were sure of receiving presents from the
 French.

The black Caribs gained nothing by the agreement which they themselves had drawn up. The new planters who came to the island always landed and settled near the red Caribs, where the coast was most accessible. This preference roused that enmity which was but ill extinguished. The war broke out again. The red Caribs, who were always beaten, retired to windward of the island. Many took to their canoes, and went over to the continent, or to Tabago; and the few that remained lived separate from the blacks.

The black Caribs, conquerors and masters of all the leeward coast, required of the Europeans that they should again buy the lands they had already purchased. A Frenchman attempted to show the deed of his purchase of some land which he had bought of a red Carib; *I know not*, says a black Carib, *what thy paper says; but read what is written on my arrow. There you may see, in characters which do not lie, that if you do not give me what I demand, I will go and burn your house to night.* In this manner did a people, who had not learnt to read, argue with those who derived such consequence from knowing how to write. They made use of the right of force, with as much assurance, and as little remorse, as if they had been acquainted with divine, political, and civil right.

Time, which brings on a change of measures with a change of interests, put an end to these disturbances. The French became, in their turn, the strongest. They no longer spent their time in breeding poultry, and cultivating vegetables, cassava, maize, and tobacco, in order to sell them at Martinico. In less than twenty years, more important cultures employed eight hundred white men and three thousand Blacks. Such was the situation of St. Vincent when it fell into the hands of the English; and was secured to them by the treaty of 1763.

This island, which may have forty leagues in circumference, is mountainous, but intersected by excellent valleys, and watered by a few rivers. It was in the western part of it that the French had begun the culture of cacao and of cotton, and had made considerable advances in that of coffee. The conquerors formed there some sugar plantations. The impossibility of multiplying them upon an uneven soil, which is full of ravines, made them desirous of occupying the plains towards the East. The savages, who had taken refuge there, refused to quit them; and recourse was had to arms to compel them to it. The resistance which they opposed to the thunders of European tyranny, was not, and could not possibly be maintained without great difficulty.

B O O K
XIV.
St. Vincent falls into the hands of the English. State of the island under their dominion.

An officer was measuring out the ground which had just been taken possession of, when the detachment that accompanied him was unexpectedly attacked, and almost totally destroyed, on the 25th of March 1775. It was generally believed that the unfortunate persons who had just been deprived of their possessions, were the authors of this violence; and the troops put themselves in motion to destroy them.

Fortunately, it was determined in time, that the Caribs were innocent; that they had taken or massacred several fugitive slaves who had been guilty of such cruelties; and that they had sworn not to stop till they had purged the island of those vagabonds, whose enormities were often imputed to them. In order to confirm the savages in this resolution, by the allurements of rewards, the legislative body passed a bill to ensure a gratuity of five moides, or 120 livres [5l.], to any one who should bring the head of a Negro, who should have deserted within three months.

Great Britain hath not hitherto gained any great advantage from these barbarities. St. Vincent still reckons no more than five hundred white men, and seven or eight thousand Negroes. Their labours yield no more than twelve hundred quintals of cotton, six millions weight of very fine sugar, and three hundred and sixty

B O O K thousand gallons of rum. These productions grow
 upon a very light kind of soil, and which for that reason, it is thought, will be soon exhausted. This is an opinion generally received in America; and it will be proper to examine whether it be well founded.

XIV.
 Undoubtedly, the rains which fall in torrents upon a broken country, must more readily carry away a sandy soil than a clayey one, the particles of which shall adhere more strongly to each other. But is it understood in what manner a soil can be exhausted? Can it be by the loss of those earthy particles, into which the plants it produces are at length reduced, and of which it seems to be deprived, when the plants do not rot upon the spot where they have been cultivated? In answer to this, it is proved from the experiments of Van Helmont, that plants do not take away any sensible weight from the soil; and that it is the moisture with which the earth is watered, that is the only cause of vegetation. If this exhausting of the soil be supposed to arise from the loss of the salts which it furnishes for the successive growth of the plants, it is equally proved, by the numerous experiments of M. Tillet, and of several other natural philosophers, that the ground is nothing more than a matrix, in which the germina of plants receive their growth, which they seem only to derive from heat and moisture. All these experiments collected, seem also to prove, that the water alone, whether conveyed by natural or artificial means, contains all the salts and all the principles that are to concur in producing this growth.

Let us therefore content ourselves with saying, that such or such a species of earth may be more or less easily put into a state fit to receive and to preserve the quantity of water necessary for completing vegetation. The most trifling labour stirs up a light soil: it is then easily penetrated by the slightest rain: but a hard rain presses it together, and the sun easily raising the moisture, which in this state of compression it could only imbibe to a very little depth, deprives it of the only species of nourishment which it furnished to the plant,

and without which the plant could not subsist. Nevertheless, the season is not called in question; and much less the ignorance of him who knows not how to moderate its effects. Prejudice determines the soil to be exhausted and ruined. In future, it is worked only with regret, and consequently very ill. It is abandoned, while nothing more was wanting than a proper species of culture to enrich the proprietor who neglects it.

B O O K
XIV.

A somewhat less degree of friability constitutes what is called a strong soil, which requires more tillage, and of a more laborious nature; but when once it is prepared, manured, and watered, the stiff soil preserves for a much longer time its moisture, which is a necessary vehicle of the salts, whether they be continually conveyed, and successively renewed by the rains, or by artificial watering.

Of what use then, it will be said, is dung? It serves to raise up more easily, and more generally, the soil, by the fermentation which it excites in it, and to keep it for a longer time raised and supplied, either by its active particles, which can only unfold themselves gradually in the compact soils, such as those of the second species, which are divided by heating them, or by its oily particles, which fattening the soil of the first species, retain in it, for a longer time, the moisture which its too great laxity, and the incoherence of its particles, would soon allow to escape.

Dung, therefore, properly applied, and according to its quality, partly supplies the place of tillage; but can tillage supply the place of dung? We are inclined to think it would not for light soils, which, fortunately, require but little dunging; but we believe it would in strong soils, and these require a great deal of dung. But nothing can supply the place of rain; which, in America, when it is plentiful, renders all the soils nearly equal. Some fruits brought forward by the season, rot in the most excellent soils: but almost all of them arrive at perfection in the most ordinary soils. In America there is no rainy season which is not fruitful;

BOOK while, in a dry season, the income diminishes sometimes
 XIV. by one half.

The only object that deserves the attention of the inhabitants of St. Vincent's, as well as of all persons who are in possession of a light soil, in whatever zone it may be situated, must therefore be, to fix their plantations upon their lowest mountains, to prefer the culture of such plants as will cover the soil soonest, and will leave it less exposed to the immediate shock of heavy rains, which compress it more and more when it is not tilled, and which drag it away when it is prepared; to choose especially that plan of cultivation, which, while it shall not counteract the efforts of the plant too much, shall supply it with a degree of growth necessary to defend the soil, at the time when it stands most in need of it, in that season when it would be in danger of being stripped, in process of time, down to the sand. While the soil shall remain covered with any kind of earth, we need not fear its being barren. The soil which hath once been sufficient for the nutrition of any plant, when brought into its primitive state by the care of the cultivator, will for ever be sufficient for the same purposes.

Great Britain takes possession of Dominica.

Dominica was inhabited by its own children. In 1732 nine hundred and thirty-eight Caribs were found there, distributed in thirty-two carbets; and three hundred and forty-nine Frenchmen occupied a part of the coast, which the savages had left to them. These Europeans had no other assistance, or rather companions of their labours, except twenty-three free Mulattoes, and three hundred and thirty-eight slaves. They were all employed in breeding poultry, in raising provisions for the consumption of Martinico, and in cultivating seventy-two thousand two hundred cotton shrubs. These trifling productions were afterwards increased by the addition of coffee. At length the island, at the peace of 1763, when it became an English possession, reckoned six hundred white people, and two thousand Negroes.

Since the end of the last century, Great Britain,

which was advancing towards the dominion of the seas, while she accused France of aspiring to the monarchy of the continent, had showed as much eagerness for Dominica, as she had in the late negotiations, when victory gave her a right to choose. Nine parishes have successively been established upon this island, where, on the first of January 1778, the population consisted of fifteen hundred and seventy-four white people, men, women, and children; five hundred and seventy-four Mulattoes, or free Negroes, and fourteen thousand three hundred and eight slaves.

BOOK
XIV.

The cattle of the island did not exceed two hundred and eighty-eight horses, seven hundred and seven mules, thirty-four asses, eighteen hundred and thirty head of horned cattle, nine hundred and ninety-nine hogs, and two thousand two hundred and twenty-nine sheep, or goats.

Its cultures consisted of sixty-five sugar plantations, which occupied five thousand two hundred and fifty-seven acres of ground; three thousand three hundred and sixty-nine acres planted with coffee, at the proportion of one thousand feet per acre; two hundred and seventy-seven acres planted with cacao, at the proportion of five hundred feet per acre; fourscore and nine acres planted with cotton, at the proportion of one thousand feet per acre; sixty-nine acres of indigo, and sixty trees of black cassia.

Its provisions consisted of twelve hundred and two acres of banana trees, sixteen hundred and forty-seven acres of yams or potatoes, and two thousand seven hundred and twenty nine trenches of manioc.

Nineteen thousand four hundred and seventy-eight acres were taken up by the woods; four thousand two hundred and ninety-six by pasturages and savannas; three thousand six hundred and fifty-five acres were reserved for the crown, and three thousand four hundred and thirty-four were entirely barren.

This was all that fifteen years of labour had been able to effect upon a soil which was exceedingly hilly, and not very fertile.

B O O K
XIV.

Disturb-
ances be-
tween the
English of
Dominica,
and the
French of
the neigh-
bouring
islands.

This settlement was exposed in its infancy to a most flagrant act of dishonesty. Several of the planters had obtained considerable advances from trade. To avoid paying their debts, they took refuge, with their slaves, in the French islands, where an open protection was granted them. In vain they were claimed; in vain was it required that they should be compelled to satisfy their creditors: every solicitation was useless. The legislative body then made a law, which secured to all French emigrants the advantage of enjoying, without molestation, all the riches they should bring into Dominica.

Let us examine without partiality the conduct of the two nations, and we shall find it faulty on both sides.

And first, with respect to the French, let me ask them, if these refugees were not at the same time thieves? Why therefore did they grant them an asylum? Why did they refuse to give them up, when they were claimed? Let us even suppose that the requisition had been made in an imperious manner; the business was to examine the justice of the claim, not the manner in which it was made. This was not an occasion in which it was proper to give a petulant answer to a haughty demand. An action which we are urged to by justice, can never be humiliating. Let the French, for a moment, put themselves in the place of the creditors, and tell me, whether they would not have sent to the court of London the same representations, and the same complaints? and whether they would not have been equally exasperated by its silence, or by its refusal? There cannot be two systems of justice.

On the other hand, when by way of reprisal the English offered an asylum to the French emigrants, did they not double the same fault? Did they not excite to robbery and to desertion those fraudulent debtors who were inclined to escape from the legal pursuit of their creditors? If the nations, who divided the New World among themselves, had adopted, in imitation of them, the same measures, who would have

advanced to their colonists the sums they might have wanted? What would have become of America, if this pernicious system had manifested itself at the origin of the conquests? What would still become of it if it were universally adopted? Let us reflect a moment, and we shall be convinced, that a general suspension of justice would become one of the most dreadful calamities that could possibly afflict mankind. We shall perceive, that so fatal an agreement among nations would bring the world back to that state of plundering and barbarism of which we have not even an idea. What advantage will the English find, in infesting themselves with our villains, and in sending theirs to us? What concern can we have, or what confidence can we repose, in men who are destitute of faith towards their fellow-citizens? Do the English expect more honesty from ours? If they receive them, why should a third nation expel them? Is it intended that perfidy should wander, with impunity, from one country to another, and spread itself over the whole surface of the globe? I may perhaps exaggerate the consequences of this proceeding: but in order to judge properly of an action, we must consider the utmost extent of its effects. This is a certain way of impressing the mind more forcibly with them.

But I may be asked, in what manner should the English have acted? In the first instance, they were right in making the demand. Afterwards, they should have gone down sword in hand into the asylums of their deserters, and should have laid them waste. Thus it is that they would have shown themselves brave and upright men. The blood that would have been spilt would not have been imputed to them; and they would have been applauded by all the people of Europe, interested in the same cause.

We need not however be surpris'd that both the English and French should reciprocally grant a retreat to their malefactors, when we daily see them arrogating to themselves the right of sending them to each other, by banishing them from their own country; a

B O O K law, which is as contrary to the common right, as that
 XIV. which should authorise a citizen, whose dog should run
 mad, to let him loose in the house of his neighbour,
 would be contrary to the right of individuals.

But a man who has two hands, is always a species of valuable property.—He ought therefore not to be concealed.—It may also be urged, that we have some reason to expect, since there are a few instances of it, that a wicked man may amend.—It is true, there may be one instance in a hundred of such an amendment.—But the question is, whether, for the chance of having one bad man who may forsake his evil ways, it be prudent to keep a hundred incorrigible villains?

In what
 consists the
 importance
 of Domi-
 nica?

There was however another distant object, exclusive of the care of settling plantations, which entered into the extensive views of the English. They wished to attract the productions of the French colonies to Dominica, in order that they might secure the trade of them to themselves. It was to carry this great project into execution, that, in 1766, all the ports of the island were made free. A number of active and enterprising men immediately came from Europe and from North America. Immense stores of corn, salt fish, and slaves, were formed at Roseau. This town supplied the wants of Martinico, of Guadalupe, and of St. Lucia; and received in payment, commodities of greater or less value. These exchanges would have been even more considerable, if by an ill-judged avidity of the treasury, Great Britain had not herself put a restraint upon these fraudulent connections.

The events which have detached the American continent from England, and the efforts which the French are making to extend their connections in Africa, must soon reduce the staple of Dominica to nothing, or to a trifle; but it can never be deprived of the advantage of its position. Situated between Guadalupe and Martinico, at only seven leagues distance from each, it threatens them equally. At both its extremities, to the North and to the South, are two excellent harbours, from whence the privateers and the fleets may

intercept the navigation between the mother-country and its colonies, and even the communication between the two settlements. What would be the consequence if the northern port, known by the name of Prince Rupert, were changed, as it might easily be, into a harbour, and surrounded with fortifications? This plan, it is said, hath been determined upon in the council of George III. Every circumstance induces us to believe that it will never be carried into execution; the nation hath too much confidence in its naval forces, ever to incur such an expence.

Dominica, in these latter times, hath drawn the attention of all America, by an event, the causes of which may almost be traced as far back as the discovery of the New World.

Laws peculiar to
Dominica.

Scarce had the Europeans marked the soil of the other hemisphere with their sanguinary steps, than it became necessary to procure slaves from Africa, in order to clear it. Women were found among this degraded race, whom the scarcity of females rendered agreeable to the first colonists. From this alliance, which seemed to be reprobated by nature, there arose a mixed generation, whose chains were often broken by paternal tenderness. A sentiment of goodness, innate in man, gave liberty, on some occasions, to other slaves; and a still greater number of captives purchased their freedom. In vain did a suspicious and provident system of policy exclaim, with vehemence, against this custom, applauded by humanity: the bestowing of freedom upon slaves was still continued; and even became more frequent.

The freedmen, however, were not put upon an entire equality with their former masters. The laws generally imprinted a mark of inferiority on this class of men. They were still more degraded by prejudice, in the frequent occurrences of civil life. Their situation was never any thing more than an intermediate state between slavery and original liberty.

Distinctions so humiliating filled the minds of these freedmen with rage. The slave is commonly in so ab-

BOOK XIV. }ject a state, that he doth not dare to defy his tyrant; he can do nothing more than hate him. But the heart of a man whose chains have been shaken off, hath a greater degree of energy; he both hates, and bids defiance to the white men.

The dangerous effects of these sinister dispositions should have been prevented. In the societies of Europe, where all the members are equals, where the interest of each individual is the interest of the whole community; we are not allowed to suppose that a citizen would intentionally do any thing injurious to the general good, unless there are strong proofs of it. But in America, where an enormous and singular body of men, divided in opinions, is composed of three different classes, it is thought right to sacrifice the two last to the security of the former. The slaves are kept in a perpetual state of oppression, and the freedmen are thrown into prison upon the slightest suspicion. Their aversion for the white people is considered as a delinquency of a very serious nature, and justifies, in the eyes of authority, all the precautions that are taken against them. It is to this strange severity that most of the nations have wished to attribute the kind of tranquillity which they have enjoyed in their settlements in the New World.

In the English colonies alone the free Negro is upon the same footing as the white man. The strongest presumptions are not sufficient to authorise an attack upon the liberty of the one, any more than of the other. Hence it happens that the law, which is very cautious, for fear of a mistake, in fixing upon the criminal, sometimes remains inactive for a longer time than is consistent with the public advantage. The freedmen have sometimes abused these indulgences in the British islands; and their seditious commotions have obliged Dominica to alter its system.

It was determined, by a bill passed in the month of September 1774, that no colonist should, for the future, be allowed to grant liberty to any slave, before he had paid 100 pistoles [41l. 13s. 4d.] into the pub-

lic treasury. But if the freedman could afterwards prove that he could not gain a subsistence by his labour, he was to receive 80 livres [3l. 6s. 8d.] every six months, till he should be enabled, by more favourable circumstances, to do without this assistance.

Every freedman, convicted by the deposition of two witnesses, either free or slaves, before two justices of the peace, of being guilty of any offence that is not capital, is to be whipped, or to pay a fine, or to be imprisoned, according as the magistrates shall determine. The same punishments are to be inflicted upon him for having disturbed the public peace, or for having insulted, threatened, or beaten a white man.

A freedman who shall have assisted a slave to desert, who shall have granted an asylum to him, or accepted of his services, shall be condemned to a fine of 2000 livres [83l. 6s. 8d.], to be applied to public use. If the culprit should be unable to pay the sum, he shall undergo three months imprisonment, or be whipped, according to the decision of the justices of the peace.

No free Negro, Mulatto, or Mestee, shall be allowed to vote at the election of a representative of his parish, in the general assembly of the colony. Neither protection nor fortune can ever efface this mark of reprobation.

After having given a separate account of each of the three neutral islands which England acquired by the treaty of 1763, it is incumbent upon us to state the means which that power hath thought proper to employ, in order to derive solid advantages from their prosperity.

At first, government thought proper to sell the different portions of the extensive soil which the success of the war had given to them. Had they been gratuitously bestowed, they would have been obtained by favour and intrigue, and they would not have been useful for a long time. But the nation was well convinced, that every citizen who should have employed part of his capital in the acquisition of an estate, would

Plan conceived by the British ministry to render flourishing the three islands which were formerly neutral.

BOOK not fail to lay out upon it what was necessary for him
 XIV. to make the most of his property.

It might, however, be improper to exact the immediate payment of the ceded lands, because the new plantations require such great expences in buildings, in cattle, and in slaves. On this account, it was settled, that the purchaser should not be obliged to pay more than twenty per cent. in the first instance, ten per cent. the two following years, and afterwards twenty per cent. every year after, till the payment was completed. He was to be divested of all his privileges, if he did not fulfil his engagements at the stated periods.

In order to soften what might appear too severe in this law, the planter was allowed to change this debt into a perpetual annuity; and even the first payment was not to begin till a twelvemonth after the clearing of the land.

As the vast extent of the estates had visibly diminished the mass of the productions in the islands, which England had possessed for a long time, it was thought proper to take measures to avoid this inconvenience in the new acquisitions. It was decreed, that no person should be allowed to purchase more than one plantation; and that the largest of them should not exceed five hundred acres. It was even limited to three hundred for Dominica, the position and destination of which required a greater number of Europeans. Government also decreed, that five of every hundred acres should be annually cleared, till half the plantation should be cultivated; and that those who should not have fulfilled this obligation should pay a fine of 112 livres 10 sols [4l. 13s. 9d.] annually, for every acre of ground which should not have been cultivated in the limited time. Every colonist was obliged also to put one white man, or two white women, upon every hundred acres of his territory, under the penalty of paying every year to the treasury 900 livres [37l. 10s.] for every man, and half of that sum for every

woman, that should be wanting to make up the number he ought to have.

BOOK
XIV.

This last precaution might give some consistence to the new settlements; but it was thought they would one day stand in need of further assistance. In order to procure it for them in time, gratuitous concessions of land, from ten to thirty acres, have been granted in favour of the poor who choose to settle in those islands. This was a sufficient portion of land to enable them to live by their labour, in those easy circumstances which they would never have experienced in the Old Hemisphere. From an apprehension that they might lend their name to some rapacious man, or might afterwards sell their property to him, it was ordained, that they should themselves take possession of the land three months after it had been granted to them; that they should dwell upon it for twelve months consecutively; and that they should keep it for seven whole years. After this time, they were to pay a fine of 12 sols [6d.] for every acre which should be cultivated, and one of 12 livres 5 sols [11s. 8d.] for those which should remain uncultivated.

The English islands had for a long while complained of the want of rain, because all their forests had been levelled. In order to prevent this inconvenience in the new possessions, the commissaries were ordered to preserve for the crown a sufficient quantity of the woods to attract the clouds, and to keep up that degree of moisture which is more or less necessary for all the plants peculiar to America.

Lastly, None of the sums acquired by the sale of the lands were to belong to government. They were all to be consecrated to the harbours, to the fortifications, and to other objects of use in those islands.

The fate of the French, residing in great numbers at Dominica and at St. Vincent, remained still to be settled. These planters were under no kind of apprehension for their property. They had obtained or purchased it from the Indians, and had been confirmed in their possession by the government of Martinico,

B O O K who required of them a slight duty in return. The
XIV. first of these titles could be of no weight in the eyes
 of a conquering power; and the second was manifestly
 contrary to the conventions between the courts of
 London and of Versailles, who had engaged them-
 selves not to allow their respective subjects to settle in
 the neutral islands.

The expectations, therefore, of those active men, who would have accelerated the progress of the two colonies which they themselves had founded, were entirely frustrated. Whether the British ministry were apprehensive of disgusting the English, in obliging them to pay for a territory, which their ancient rivals continued to possess gratuitously, or whether a wish prevailed of getting rid of those foreigners, who, by their religion and their habits, might be too strongly attached to their former country, it was regulated, that the French should, for the future, enjoy their plantations only upon perpetual leases.

This hard restraint, so contrary to the maxims of sound policy, dispersed them. The emigration was not, however, universal. After the first effects of dissatisfaction, the wisest of them became sensible that they should still gain more by repurchasing the lands which they already enjoyed, than if they were to settle upon a fresh spot that would cost them nothing.

Obstacles
 which have
 prevented
 the prosper-
 ity of the
 neutral
 islands.

Great Britain entertained great expectations from the measures which she had taken for the prosperity of her conquests. The success hath not been answerable; and the causes of this singular disappointment are well known.

The three neutral islands were no sooner secured to England by the treaties, than it became a general passion to form settlements upon them. This epidemical madness made the lands which were sold by government rise to an extravagant price. As a bold spirit of enterprise was the only fortune most of the purchasers had, credit became their only resource. They found it in London, and in some other trading places, the merchants of which, misled by the same illusion, bor-

rowed considerable sums at a low interest, in order to lend them to these enterprising speculators at an advanced interest.

B O O K
XIV.

The new proprietors, most of whom had purchased a soil, without taking the trouble of examining it, proceeded with the same levity in the formation of their plantations. The coasts, and the interior parts of the islands, were soon covered with masters and slaves, equally inexperienced in the laborious and difficult art of clearing the lands. This occasioned numberless faults and misfortunes. The evil became extreme, and soon broke out.

The colonists had borrowed at eight per cent. in 1766, or about that period, and the loan was to be paid five years after. The impossibility they found of fulfilling these engagements alarmed their European creditors. Disappointed of the remittances they expected, these rapacious lenders were at length undeceived; and the greater their credulity had been, the more active did their anxiety become. Having recourse to the authority of the law, they expelled from their plantations the unhappy men who had been unfortunately seduced by rash expectations. Thus ended the delusive prospect of the new English colonies.

But this great commotion must be attended with favourable consequences. The manures undertaken by men without powers, and who are reduced to their original poverty, will procure to the nation the same advantages that usually result from an irregular and disorderly ferment in the state. A soil which languished in the hands of the first possessors will be cultivated with better means, with more intelligence and economy. While we are expecting the effects of this new effort of industry and activity, let us resume the account of the English possessions in the American Archipelago. To ascertain the value of the colonies of a maritime and commercial power, is to make an estimate of its strength.

The British islands in the West Indies are in general more extensive than they are fertile. Mountains, Present state of the English islands.

BOOK which cannot be cultivated, occupy a great space in
 XIV. some of them; and others are entirely, or partly, formed of a chalky soil, which produces but very little. The best have been cleared for a long time, and require the assistance of manures, which are imperfect and scarce in this part of the New World. Most of them have been stripped of the forests, by which they were originally sheltered, and are exposed to droughts, which often ruin the labours undertaken with the strictest attention, and carried on at a great expence.

Accordingly, the increase of provisions hath not been proportioned to the number of hands employed in obtaining them. There are at this time in those colonies four hundred thousand slaves, who by their labours scarce produce two thirds of the income that is collected from a richer soil with the same means.

The number of white people hath generally diminished in proportion to the increase of the Negroes. Not but that there were as many idle or indigent men in England to replace those who perished, or who disappeared with the fortunes they had acquired, as at the time of the first emigration; but the spirit of adventure, which the novelty of the object, and the concurrence of circumstances had excited, was either checked or annihilated. On one hand, the space which was occupied by the smaller cultures hath been successively filled with sugar plantations, which require an immense extent of territory; and on the other, the proprietors of these great plantations have reduced, as much as possible, the number of their agents, whose salaries were become a heavy burden.

Since this revolution, the British islands have still greater reason than ever to be apprehensive of plunder and of invasion. Their colonists, who are all enlisted, were formerly strong enough at least to repel a weak and ill-armed enemy. Most of them might at present be taken by surprise, should the navy of the mother-country cease one moment to protect them. It is a great point, if in the present state the militia are able to contain the Negroes, who are more unfortunate un-

der the English dominion than under any other: for it should seem, that the hardships of slavery were so much the greater among free nations, in proportion as it is more unjust, and more foreign to the constitution. Such is the progress of man towards independence, that, after having shaken off the yoke, he wishes to impose it upon others; and that those who are the most impatient of servitude become the fondest of dominion!

B O O K
XIV.

The West Indies were never subjected to any impost by Great Britain. But in 1663, Barbadoes, and the other islands, except Jamaica, voluntarily engaged to pay a perpetual tax of four per cent. upon all their productions which should be exported. So great an act of generosity hath since appeared burdensome, and the weight of it was alleviated as much as possible. As this obligation is paid in commodities, there are scarce any delivered to government, except such as are in some respect faulty; and the colonists are not more scrupulous with regard to their weight than to their quality. Thus it is that the treasury receives only two-thirds of the gift which was formerly granted to them.

This is still too much for settlements that are obliged to defray their internal expences themselves. These were very considerable when those colonies regulated all their own affairs, or erected the fortifications judged necessary for their security. The taxes were multiplied at this period; and every disagreeable event brought on fresh ones, because it was thought more prudent to require contributions of the citizens, than to have recourse to public engagements. Time hath diminished the wants, and it has been found necessary to provide for those which remained with more economy, because the planters have not the same resources. The taxes are at present inconsiderable, and they might still be reduced, if those who fill the posts of administration, in manifest contradiction to the republican spirit, which is that of disinterestedness, did not require large salaries.

BOOK
XIV.

But this is an unavoidable inconvenience attending a commercial nation. Whether free or not, they ultimately love or value nothing but wealth. The thirst of gold being more the work of imagination than of necessity, we are not satiated with riches, as we are with the objects that gratify our other passions. The latter are distinct and transient; they either counteract or succeed each other; whereas the thirst of gold feeds and satisfies all the other passions, at least it supplies their place, in proportion as it exhausts them, by the means it contributes towards the gratification of them. There is no habit which is more confirmed by custom than that of amassing riches. It seems equally to be excited by the enjoyments of vanity, and by the self-denial of avarice. The rich man always wants to fill or to increase his treasure. This is a constant observation, which extends from individuals to nations.

Since large fortunes have been raised in England by trade, the desire of wealth is become the universal and ruling passion. Such citizens as have not been able, or did not choose to follow this lucrative profession, have still turned their views to that gain which the manners and opinion of the times have made necessary. Even in aspiring to honours, they hunt after riches. In following the career of those laws and virtues, which ought ever mutually to assist each other, even in obtaining the honour of a seat in parliament, they have found out the way of aggrandizing their fortune. In order to be chosen members of this powerful body, they have bribed the votes of the people; and have not been more ashamed of selling these very people to the court, than they were of having bought them. Every vote in the senate of the empire is become venal. A celebrated minister had a book of rates of the probity of each member, and openly boasted of it, to the disgrace of the English. It was the duty of his office, he said, to buy off the representatives of the nation, in order that they should vote, not against, but according to their conscience. But what can conscience avail against the allurements of gain?

If the mercantile spirit hath been able to diffuse in the mother-country the contagion of personal interest, how is it possible that it should not have infected the colonies, of which it is the principal and the support? Is it then true, that, in proud Albion, a man who should be generous enough to serve his country for the mere love of glory would be considered as a man of another world, and of the last age? Vain-glorious island, may thine enemies renounce this fordid spirit of interest, and thou wilt one day restore to them all they have lost!

Nevertheless, opulence seems to prevail in the English settlements in the West Indies. This is because the proceedings of arbitrary authority, which afflict so many other countries, are unknown here: because there are none of those vile instruments of the treasury, who destroy the basis of property, in order to establish the forms of it: because the culture of sugar hath been substituted there, to that of productions of little value: because the plantations belong in general to rich men, or to powerful associations, which never suffer them to want the necessary means for their improvement: because if some unfortunate casualty should reduce the colonist to the necessity of borrowing, he obtains the loan easily, and at a cheap rate; for his possessions are mortgaged to his creditor, and the payment is secured at the stated times: because these islands are less exposed to devastation and invasion than the possessions of other powers, that are rich in productions, and poor in ships: because the events of the most obstinate and most destructive wars never prevent, and seldom retard, the exportation of their commodities: in a word, it is because the British ports always open to their principal crops a more advantageous mart than their rivals can expect anywhere else. Accordingly, the lands constantly bear a very high price in the English islands, both the Europeans and the Americans being equally eager to purchase them.

These lands would still have been in greater request,

B O O K
XIV.

if the access to the West Indies had been less rigidly prohibited to foreign navigators; if they had been at liberty to choose their own purchasers throughout the globe. But a set of laws, the regulations of which it hath never been possible to elude, have concentrated their connections within the limits of their own empire, with the national provinces of both hemispheres.

These colonies do not find upon their own territory, either provision for their own subsistence, or beasts of burden for their labours, or woods for their buildings. They were supplied with these objects of primary necessity by North America, which received in payment rum and other productions, to the amount of three or four millions of livres [from 125,000l. to 166,666l. 13s. 4d.] every year. The troubles which have divided Old and New England have interrupted this communication, to the great detriment of the islands. Till necessities of an urgent nature shall cause it to be opened again, or till other connections shall be formed, to be substituted to it, the West Indies will have no other vent for their productions than that which Great Britain will furnish them.

At the present period, England receives annually from the islands she occupies in the West Indies, to the amount of about ninety-three millions of livres [3,875,000l.] in commodities, including sixteen or seventeen millions [from 666,666l. 13s. 4d. to 708,333l. 6s. 8d.] which they pay to government, and the rum which Ireland receives directly in payment for the salt provisions which it furnishes to the colonies.

Almost all the sugar, which forms three-fourths of the produce of the islands, is consumed in the kingdom itself, or is carried to Ireland. It is seldom that any of it is sent to Hamburgh or to other markets.

The exports which Great Britain makes of the production of the islands do not annually exceed seven or eight millions of livres [from 291,666l. 13s. 4d. to 333,333l. 6s. 8d.]. If we add to this sum what she must gain upon her cottons, which she manufactures

with so much success, and which are diffused throughout a great part of the globe, we shall have a tolerably exact idea of the advantages which this empire derives from the West Indies. B O O K
XIV.

The islands receive in payment their furniture and clothing, the utensils necessary for their manufactures, a great deal of hardware, and slaves for the working of their lands. But the things that are sent to them are infinitely inferior in value to those which are received from them. We must deduct the expences of navigation and of insurance, the commission, or the profit of the merchant. We must deduct the interest of sixteen millions Sterling, which these colonies owe to the mother-country. We must deduct what the rich proprietors of the plantations spend in England, where they habitually reside. If we except the possessions acquired or secured by the treaties of 1763, the infant plantations of which are still in want of advances, the other possessions of the West Indies scarce receive in their harbours the fourth part of the value which they send out from them.

It was the capital of the empire, which formerly sent out almost all the exports, and received almost all the returns. Men of enlightened understanding were very properly incensed at this evil. But London is at least the finest port in England. It is there that ships are built, and manufactures are carried on. London furnishes seamen for navigation, and hands for commerce. It stands in a temperate, fruitful, and central country. Every thing has a free passage in and out of it. It may be truly said to be the heart of the body politic, from its local position. That city is not filled with proud and idle men, who only encumber and oppress the laborious people. It is the seat of the national assembly. There the king's palace is neither vast nor empty. He reigns in it by his presence, which animates every thing. There the senate dictates the laws, agreeable to the sense of the people it represents. It neither fears the eye of the monarch, nor the frowns of the ministry. London has not arrived to its pre-

B O O K sent greatness by the influence of government, which
 XIV. frains and over-rules all natural causes; but by the ordinary impulse of men and things, and by a kind of attraction of commerce. It is the sea, it is England, it is the whole world, that makes London rich and populous.

Nevertheless, this immense staple hath lost, in process of time, something of that species of monopoly which it exercised over the colonies and over the provinces. Bristol, Liverpool, Lancaster, and Glasgow, have taken a considerable share in this great circulation. A more general competition would even have been established, if a new system of manners, a dislike for a retired life, the desire of approaching the throne, and an effeminacy and corruption which have exceeded all bounds, had not collected at London, or within its district, a third part of the population of the whole kingdom, and especially the great consumers.

Summary
 of the
 riches that
 Europe
 draws from
 the American
 islands.

The history of the great American Archipelago cannot be better concluded, than by a recapitulation of the advantages it procures to those powers which have successively invaded it. It is only by the impulse which the immense productions of this Archipelago have given to trade, that it must ever hold a distinguished place in the annals of nations; since, in fact, riches are the spring of all the great revolutions that disturb the globe. The colonies of Asia Minor occasioned both the splendour of that quarter of the earth, and the downfall of Greece. Rome, which was at first desirous of subduing nations only to govern them, was stopped in the progress of her greatness, when she acquired the possession of the treasures of the East. War seemed to slumber for a while in Europe, in order to invade a New World: and has since been so often renewed there, merely to divide the spoils. Poverty, which will always be the lot of the greater part of mankind, and the choice of a few wise men, makes no disturbance in the world. History, therefore, can only treat of massacres or riches.

The islands of the other hemisphere yield annually fifteen millions of livres [625,000l.] to Spain; eight millions [333,333l. 6s. 8d.] to Denmark; thirty millions [1,250,000l.] to Holland; eighty-two millions [3,416,666l. 13s. 4d.] to England; and one hundred and twenty-six millions [5,250,000l.] to France. The productions therefore gathered in fields that were totally uncultivated within these three centuries, are sold in our continent for about two hundred and sixty-one millions of livres [10,875,000l.]

This is not a gift that the New World makes to the Old. The people who receive this important fruit of the labour of their subjects settled in America, give in exchange, though with evident advantage to themselves, the produce of their soil and of their manufactures. Some consume the whole of what they draw from these distant possessions; others make the overplus the basis of a prosperous trade with their neighbours. Thus every nation that is possessed of property in the New World, if it be truly industrious, gains still less by the number of men it maintains abroad, without any expence, than by the population which those procure it at home. To subsist a colony in America, it is necessary to cultivate a province in Europe; and this additional labour increases the inward strength and real wealth of the nation. The whole globe is sensible of this impulse.

The labours of the people settled in those islands are the sole basis of the African trade: they extend the fisheries and the cultures of North America, afford a good market for the manufactures of Asia, and double, perhaps treble, the activity of all Europe. They may be considered as the principal cause of the rapid motion which now agitates the universe. This ferment must increase, in proportion as cultures, that are so capable of being extended, shall approach nearer to their highest degree of perfection.

Nothing would be more likely to hasten this happy period, than to give up the exclusive trade, which every nation has reserved to itself in its own colonies. An

The best mode to be adopted for increasing

BOOK XIV. }
 the produc- }
 tions of the }
 American }
 Archipela- }
 go. }

unlimited freedom to trade with all the islands would be productive of the greatest efforts, by exciting a general competition. Men who are inspired with the love of humanity, and are enlightened by that sacred fire, have ever wished to see every obstacle removed that intercepts a direct communication of all the ports of America with all those of Europe. The several governments, which, being almost all corrupt in their origin, cannot be influenced by this principle of universal benevolence, have imagined that associations, mostly founded on the separate interest of each nation, or of one single individual, ought to be formed, in order to confine all the connections of every colony to its respective mother-country. The opinion is, that these restraining laws secure to each commercial nation in Europe the sale of its own territorial productions, the means of procuring such foreign commodities as it may stand in need of, and an advantageous balance with all the other trading nations.

This system, which was long thought to be the best, has been vigorously opposed, when the theory of commerce had once shaken off the fetters of prejudice. It has been alleged, that no nation can supply all the real or imaginary wants of its colonies out of its own property. There is not one that is not obliged to get some articles from abroad, in order to complete the cargoes destined for America. From this necessity arises at least an indirect communication of all nations with those distant possessions. Would it not be more eligible to convey each article to its destination in a direct line, than by this indirect way of exchange? This plan would be attended with less expence; would promote both culture and consumption, and bring an increase of revenue to the public treasury: an infinite number of advantages would accrue to the mother-countries, which would make them full amends for the exclusive right they all claim, to their reciprocal injury.

These maxims are true, solid, and useful, but they will not be adopted. The reason is this: A great re-

volution is preparing in the trade of Europe, and is already too far advanced not to be completed. Every government is endeavouring to do without the assistance of foreign industry. Most of them have succeeded, and the rest will not be long before they free themselves from this dependence. Already the English and the French, who are the great manufacturers of Europe, see their master-pieces of workmanship refused on all sides. Will these two nations, which are at the same time the greatest planters in the islands, open their ports to those who force them, as it were, to shut up their manufactures at home? The more they lose in the foreign markets, the less they will consent to a competition in the only market they have left. They will rather strive to extend it, that they may have a greater demand for their commodities, and a greater supply of American productions. It is by these returns that they will preserve their advantage in the balance of trade, without being apprehensive that the plenty of these productions will lower their value. The progress of industry in our continent must increase population and wealth, and of course the consumption and value of the productions of the Antilles.

But what will become of this part of the New World? Will the settlements that render it so flourishing, always remain in the hands of their original possessors; or will the masters of them be changed? If a revolution should take place in them, by what means will it be brought about, and what people will reap the advantage of it? These are questions that afford much room for conjecture, which may be assisted by the following reflections.

The islands depend totally upon Europe for a supply of all their wants. Those which only respect wearing apparel and implements of husbandry will admit of delay; but the least disappointment, with regard to provisions, spreads a general alarm, and causes universal desolation, which rather tempts the people to wish for, than to fear the approach of an enemy. And, indeed, it is a common saying in the colonies, that they will

B O O K
 XIV.

What will
 be the fate
 of the Ame-
 rican islands
 hereafter?

BOOK never fail to capitulate with a squadron stored with
 XIV. barrels of flour instead of gunpowder. If we pretend
 to obviate this inconvenience, by obliging the inhabitants to cultivate for their own subsistence, we defeat the very end of these settlements, without any real advantage. The mother-country would deprive herself of a great part of the rich produce of her colonies, and would not preserve them from invasion.

In vain should we hope to repulse an invasion by the help of Negroes, born in a climate where effeminacy stifles the seeds of courage, and who are still more enervated by slavery, and, consequently, but little concerned in the choice of their tyrants. In such hands, the best weapons must be useless. It might even be apprehended that they would turn them against their merciless oppressors.

The white people appear to be better defenders of the colonies. Beside the courage which liberty naturally inspires, they must also be animated with that which exclusively belongs to great proprietors. They are not men debased by coarse labours, by obscure occupations, or by indigence. The absolute sway which they exercise in their plantations, must have inspired them with pride and greatness of soul. But, dispersed as they are among vast possessions, what can their small number avail? And would they even prevent an invasion, were they able to do it?

All the colonists hold it as a maxim, that their islands are to be considered as those great cities in Europe, which, lying open to the first-comer, change their dominion without an attack, without a siege, and almost without being sensible of the war. The strongest is their master. The inhabitants exclaim, *God save the conqueror!* in imitation of the Italians, who have passed and repassed from one yoke to another in the course of a campaign. Whether the city should return, at the time of peace, under its former government, or should remain in the hands of the victor, it has lost nothing of its splendour; while towns, that are defended by ramparts, and difficult to be taken, are always depopulated

and reduced to a heap of ruins. Accordingly, there is scarce, perhaps, one inhabitant in the American islands, who does not consider it to be a fatal prejudice to expose his fortune for the sake of his country. Of what importance is it to this rapacious calculator whose laws he obeys, if his crops are left standing? Is it to enrich himself that he has crossed the seas? If he preserves his treasure, his purpose is answered. Can the mother-country that forsakes him, and frequently after having tyrannized over him; that is ready to give him up, or, perhaps, to sell him, at the conclusion of a peace, have any claim to the sacrifice of his life? It is no doubt a glorious thing to die for one's country. But a state, where the prosperity of the nation is sacrificed to forms of government; where the art of imposing upon men is the art of training up subjects; where slaves are wanted instead of citizens; where war is declared, and peace concluded, without consulting the opinion or the wishes of the people; where evil designs are always countenanced by the intrigues of debauchery, or the practices of monopoly; and where useful plans are only adopted with such restrictions as prevent their being carried into execution: is this the country for which our blood should be sacrificed?

The fortifications erected for the defence of the colonies, will secure them no better than the efforts of the inhabitants. Even if they were stronger, and better guarded and stored than they have ever been, they must always surrender unless they are succoured. Should the resistance hold out above six months, that circumstance would not discourage the besiegers, who, being within reach of a constant supply of refreshments, both by land and by sea, could better endure the severity of the climate, than a garrison could resist the duration of a siege.

There is no other way to preserve the colonies but by a formidable navy. It is on the docks and in the harbours of Europe, that the bastions and ramparts of the American colonies must be raised. While the mother-country shelters them, as it were, under the wings

BOOK of her ships; so long as she shall fill up with her fleets
 XIV. the vast interval that separates her from these islands,
 the offspring of her industry and power, her parental
 attention to their prosperity will secure their attach-
 ment to her. In future, therefore, the maritime forces
 will be the great object that will attract the attention
 of all proprietors of land in America. European policy
 generally secures the frontiers of states by fortified
 towns; but for maritime powers, there ought, per-
 haps, to be citadels in the centre, and ships on the cir-
 cumference. A commercial island, indeed, wants no
 fortified towns. Her rampart is the sea, which consti-
 tutes her safety, her subsistence, her wealth; the winds
 are at her command, and all the elements conspire to
 promote her glory.

In this respect, Great Britain might lately have un-
 dertaken any thing, with the greatest hopes of success.
 Her islands were secure, while those of her rivals were
 open to invasion. The opinion which the English had
 conceived of their own valour; the terror which their
 arms had inspired; the fruits of a fortunate experience
 acquired by their admirals; the number and the ex-
 cellence of their fleets; all these several modes of ag-
 grandizement must have been annihilated during the
 calm of a long peace. The pride of past success; the
 very restlessness inseparable from prosperity; even the
 burden of conquests, which seems to be the punish-
 ment of victory; all these circumstances were so many
 incitements to war. The projects formed by their
 active ambition, have been annihilated by the revolu-
 tion which hath detached North America from their
 empire: but is the possession of the islands, which
 are become very wealthy, and have been placed by
 nature in the vicinity of that great continent, which is
 still in a state of poverty, better secured to the nations
 that have cultivated them? It is in the position, in the
 interests, in the spirit of the new republics, that we
 must endeavour to explore the secret of our future
 destiny.

BOOK XV.

Settlements of the French in North America. Upon what Basis was founded the Hope of their Prosperity. Consequence of these Settlements.

HITHERTO we have visited those regions where the rays of the sun are perpendicular. We shall now pass on to those where they are oblique. It is no longer gold which our rapacious and cruel Europeans are going in search of at so great a distance from their country. If they again cross the seas, it will be for a less extravagant motive; it will be to withdraw themselves from the calamities of their own regions; it will be to find rest and liberty; to clear uncultivated lands; to cast their nets on shores abounding with fish; to go in search of animals upon the tops of mountains, and in the midst of forests, in order to strip them of their valuable furs.

BOOK
XV.

The savage possessors of the regions we are going to pervade are not a race of degenerate men, without strength of body, or elevation of soul: but we shall find them huntsmen, warriors, inured to labour, brave, eloquent, jealous of their independency; men, in a word, who alternately display instances of the most unheard-of ferociousness, of the most heroic magnanimity, and of the most absurd superstition.

Superstition, that fatal plant, is then indigenous in all climates: it grows equally in the plains, and upon the rocks; under the ardour of the line, under the snows of the pole, and in the temperate interval which divides them. Doth the generality of this phenomenon point out in all parts a tendency of the ignorant and timid man towards the Author of his existence, and the Disposer of good and evil? Doth it indicate the anxiety of a child seeking his father in the dark?

Spain was mistress of the rich empires of Mexico and Peru, of the gold of the New World, and of almost all South America. The Portuguese, after a long

Reasons
which pre-
vented the
French, for

B O O K
XV.

a long time,
from pur-
suing the
plan of
forming
settlements
in the New
World.

series of victories, defeats, enterprizes, mistakes, conquests, and losses, had kept the most valuable settlements in Africa, in India, and in the Brazils. The French government had not even conceived it possible to establish colonies, or imagined that any advantage could be derived from having possessions in those distant regions.

Their ambitious views were turned entirely towards Italy. Some ancient claims on the Milanese and the two Sicilies had involved them in expensive wars, in which they had been engaged for a long time. Their internal commotions diverted them still more from the great object of establishing a distant and extensive commerce, and from the idea of increasing their dominions by acquisitions in the East and West Indies.

The authority of kings, though not openly contested, was opposed and eluded. Some remains of the feudal government were still subsisting, and many of its abuses had not yet been abolished. The prince was continually employed in restraining the restless spirit of a powerful nobility. Most of the provinces that composed the monarchy were governed by distinct laws and forms of their own. Every society, every order in the state, enjoyed peculiar privileges, which were either perpetually contested, or carried to excess. The government was a complicated machine, which could only be regulated by the management of a variety of delicate springs. The court was frequently under a necessity of having recourse to the shameful resources of intrigue and corruption, or to the odious means of oppression and tyranny; and the nation was continually negotiating with the prince. Regal authority was unlimited, without having received the sanction of the laws; and the people, though frequently too independent, had yet no security for their liberty. Hence arose continual jealousies, apprehensions, and struggles. The whole attention of the government was not directed to the welfare of the nation, but to the means of enslaving it. The people were sensible of their wants, but ignorant of their powers and resources.

They found their rights alternately invaded or trampled upon by their nobles or their sovereigns.

France, therefore, suffered the Spaniards and Portuguese to discover new worlds, and to give laws to unknown nations. Their attention was at length excited by Admiral Coligny, a man of the most extensive, steady, and active genius, that ever flourished in that powerful empire. This great politician, attentive to the interests of his country, even amidst the horrors of a civil war, sent John Ribaud to Florida, in 1562. This vast tract of North America then extended from Mexico to the country which the English have since cultivated under the name of Carolina. The Spaniards had passed over it in 1512, but without settling there. The motives that engaged them to make this discovery, and those which induced them to relinquish it, are equally unaccountable.

BOOK
XV.

Errors and misfortunes which rendered memorable the first expeditions of the French in the New Hemisphere.

All the Indians of the Caribbee islands believed, upon the credit of an ancient tradition, that nature had concealed a spring, or fountain, somewhere on the continent, the waters of which had the property of restoring youth to all old men who were so fortunate as to taste of them. The notion of immortality was always the passion of mankind, and the comfort of old age. This idea delighted the romantic imagination of the Spaniards. The loss of many, who were the victims of their credulity, did not discourage the rest. Far from suspecting that the first had perished in an attempt, of which death would prove the most certain consequence, they concluded that they did not return, because they had found the art of enjoying perpetual youth, and had discovered a spot so delightful, that they did not choose to leave it.

Ponce de Leon was the most famous of the navigators who were infatuated with this chimerical idea. Fully persuaded of the existence of a third world, the conquest of which was reserved to advance his fame, but thinking that the remainder of his life was too short for the immense career that was opening before him, he resolved to endeavour to renew it, and recover

BOOK that youthful vigour so necessary to his designs. He
 {
 XV.
 } immediately bent his course towards those climates where fable had placed the Fountain of Youth, and discovered Florida; from whence he returned to Porto-Rico, visibly more advanced in years than when he set out. Thus chance immortalized the name of an adventurer, who made a real discovery, merely by being in pursuit of an imaginary one. His fate was the same as that of the alchemist, who, while he is searching for gold which he does not find, discovers some valuable thing which he was not seeking after.

There is scarce any useful and important discovery made by the human mind, that has not been rather the effect of a restless imagination, than of industry excited by reflection. Chance, which is the imperceptible course of nature, is never at rest, and assists all men without distinction. Genius grows weary, and is soon discouraged; it falls to the lot only of a few, and exerts itself merely at intervals. Its utmost efforts frequently serve only to throw it in the way of chance, and invite its assistance. The only difference between a man of genius and one of common capacity is, that the former anticipates and explores what the latter accidentally hits upon. But even the man of genius himself more frequently employs the advantages which chance presents to him. It is the lapidary who gives the value to the diamond, which the peasant has digged up without knowing its worth.

The Spaniards had neglected Florida, because they did not discover there, either the fountain that was to make them all grow young, or gold, which hastens the period of old age. The French found there a more real and valuable treasure; a clear sky, a fruitful soil, a temperate climate, and savages who were lovers of peace and hospitality; but they themselves were not sensible of the worth of these advantages. Had they followed the directions of Coligny; had they tilled the ground, which only wanted the assistance of man to call forth its treasures; had a due subordination been maintained among the Europeans; had not the rights

of the natives of the country been violated; a colony B O O K
might have been founded, which in time would have XV.
become flourishing and permanent. But such prudent
measures were not to be expected from the levity of
the French. The provisions were lavished; the fields
were not sown; the authority of the chiefs was disre-
garded by untractable subalterns; the passion for
hunting and war engrossed all their attention; in a
word, every duty was neglected.

To complete their misfortune, the civil disturbances
in France diverted the subjects from an undertaking
which had never engaged the attention of govern-
ment. Theological disputes alienated the minds, and
divided the hearts, of all ranks of people. Govern-
ment had violated that sacred law of nature, which en-
joins all men to tolerate the opinions of their fellow-
creatures; and the rules of policy, which are incon-
sistent with an unseasonable exertion of tyranny. The
reformed religion had made great progress in France,
when it was persecuted; a considerable part of the na-
tion was involved in the proscription, and took up
arms.

Spain, though not less intolerant, had prevented re-
ligious disturbances, by suffering the clergy to assume
that authority which has been continually increasing,
but which, for the future, will be constantly on the
decline. The inquisition, always ready to oppose the
least appearance of innovation, found means to pre-
vent the Protestant religion from making its way into
the kingdom, and by this means spared itself the trou-
ble of extirpating it. Philip II. wholly taken up with
America, and accustomed to consider himself as the
sole proprietor of it, being informed of the attempts
made by some Frenchmen to settle there, and of their
being neglected by their own government, fitted out
a fleet from Cadiz to destroy them. Menendez, who
was the commander of it, landed in Florida, where he
found the enemies he went in search of settled at Ca-
rolina fort. He attacked all their intrenchments, car-
ried them sword in hand, and made a dreadful mas-

BOOK XV. *facre.* Those who escaped the rage of the sword were hanged on a tree, with this inscription: *Not as Frenchmen, but as heretics.*

Far from seeking to revenge this insult, the ministry of Charles IX. secretly rejoiced at the miscarriage of a project, which, though they had approved it, was not countenanced by them; because it had been contrived by the head of the Huguenots, and might reflect honour on their party. The indignation of the public only confirmed them in their resolution of showing no resentment. It was reserved for a private man to execute what the state ought to have done.

Dominic de Gourgues, born at Mount Marfan in Gascony, a skilful and intrepid seaman, an enemy to the Spaniards, from whom he had received personal injuries; passionately fond of his country, of hazardous expeditions, and of glory; sold his estate, built some ships, and with a select band of his own stamp, embarked to attack the murderers in Florida. He drove them from all their posts with incredible valour and activity, defeated them in every rencounter, and, by way of retaliation for the contemptuous insult they had shown, hung them up on trees; with this inscription: *Not as Spaniards, but as assassins.*

Had the Spaniards been content with massacring the French, the latter would never have had recourse to such cruel reprisals; but they were offended at the inscription, and were guilty of an atrocious act, in revenge for the derision to which they had been exposed. This is not the only instance in history which may lead one to imagine, that it is not the thing that has made the word, but the word that has made the thing.

The expedition of the brave de Gourgues was attended with no further consequences. He blew up the forts he had taken, and returned home, either for want of provisions sufficient to enable him to remain in Florida, or because he foresaw that no succours were to be expected from France, or thought that friendship with the natives would last no longer than the means of purchasing it, or that he would be attacked

by the Spaniards. He was received by all true patriots with the applause due to his merit; but neglected by the court, which was too despotic and superstitious, not to stand in awe of virtue.

From the year 1567, when this intrepid Gascon evacuated Florida, the French neglected America. Bewildered in a chaos of unintelligible doctrines, they lost their reason and their humanity. The mildest and most sociable people upon earth became the most barbarous and sanguinary. Scaffolds and stakes were insufficient; as they all appeared criminal in each other's eyes, they were all mutually victims and executioners. After having condemned one another to eternal destruction, they assassinated each other at the instigation of their priests, who breathed nothing but the spirit of revenge and bloodshed. At length, the generous Henry softened the minds of his subjects; his compassion and tenderness made them feel their own calamities; he revived their fondness for the sweets of social life; he prevailed upon them to lay down their arms; and they consented to live happy under his parental laws.

In this state of tranquillity and freedom, under a king who possessed the confidence of his people, they began to turn their thoughts to some useful projects, and undertook the establishment of colonies abroad. Florida was the first country that naturally occurred to them. Except Fort St. Augustine, formerly built by the Spaniards, at the distance of ten or twelve leagues from the French colony, the Europeans had not a single settlement in all that vast and beautiful country. The inhabitants were not a formidable set of men; and the soil had every promising appearance of fertility. It was likewise reported to be rich in gold and silver mines, both those metals having been found there; whereas, in fact, they came from some ships that had been cast away upon the coasts. The remembrance of the great actions performed by some Frenchmen could not yet be erased. Probably the French themselves were rather afraid of irritating

BOOK
XV.

Spain, which was not yet disposed to suffer the least settlement to be made on the Gulf of Mexico, or even near it. The danger of provoking a nation, so formidable in those parts, determined them to keep at a distance as much as possible, and therefore they gave the preference to the more northern parts of America: that road was already chalked out.

The French
turn their
views to-
wards Ca-
nada.

Francis I. had sent out Verazani, a Florentine, in 1523, who only took a view of the island of Newfoundland, and some coasts of the continent, but made no stay there.

Eleven years after, James Cartier, a skilful navigator of St. Malo, resumed the projects of Verazani. The two nations, which had first landed in America, exclaimed against the injustice of treading in their footsteps. *What!* said Francis I. pleasantly, *shall the kings of Spain and Portugal quietly divide all America between them, without suffering me to take a share as their brother? I would fain see the article of Adam's will that bequeaths that vast inheritance to them.*

Cartier proceeded further than his predecessor. He went up the river St. Lawrence; but, after having bartered some European commodities with the savages for some of their furs, he re-embarked for France, where an undertaking, which seemed to have been entered upon merely from imitation, was neglected from levity.

It happened fortunately that the Normans, the Britons, and the Biscayans, continued to carry on the cod-fishery on the great sand-bank along the coasts of Newfoundland, and in all the adjacent latitudes. These intrepid and experienced men served as pilots to the adventurers, who, since the year 1598, have attempted to settle colonies in those desert regions. None of those first settlements prospered, because they were all under the direction of exclusive companies, which had neither abilities to choose the best situations, nor a sufficient capital to wait for their returns. One monopoly followed another in a rapid succession without any advantage; they were pursued with gree-

diness, without a plan, or any means to carry them in-
 to execution. All these different companies succes-
 sively ruined themselves; and the state was no gainer
 by their loss. These numerous expeditions had cost
 France more men, more money, and more ships, than
 other states would have expended in the foundation of
 great empires. At last Samuel de Champlain went a
 considerable way up the river St. Lawrence; and, in
 1608, upon the borders of that river laid the founda-
 tion of Quebec, which became the origin, centre, and
 capital of New France, or Canada.

The unbounded track, that opened itself to the view
 of this colony, discovered only dark, thick, and deep
 forests, the height of which alone was a proof of their
 antiquity. Numberless large rivers came down from
 a considerable distance to water these immense regions.
 The intervals between them were full of lakes. Four
 of these measured from two to five hundred leagues in
 circumference. These sort of inland seas communicat-
 ed with each other; and their waters, after forming
 the great river St. Lawrence, considerably increased
 the bed of the ocean. Every thing in this rude part
 of the New World appeared grand and sublime. Na-
 ture here displayed such luxuriance and majesty as
 commanded veneration, and a multitude of wild graces,
 far superior to the artificial beauties of our climates.
 Here the imagination of a painter or a poet would
 have been raised, animated, and filled with those ideas
 which leave a lasting impress on the mind. All
 these countries exhaled an air fit to prolong life. This
 temperature, which, from the position of the climate,
 must have been extremely pleasant, lost nothing of its
 wholesomeness by the severity of a long and intense
 winter. Those who impute this merely to the woods,
 springs, and mountains, with which this country ab-
 bounds, have not taken every thing into consideration.
 Others add to these causes of the cold, the elevation
 of the land, a pure aerial atmosphere, seldom loaded
 with vapours, and the direction of the winds, which
 blow from north to south over seas always frozen.

B O O K
XV.

Government, customs, virtues, vices, and wars, of the savages that inhabited Canada.

Notwithstanding this, the inhabitants of this sharp and bleak climate were but thinly clad. Before their intercourse with us, a cloak of buffalo or beaver skin, bound with a leathern girdle, and stockings made of a roe-buck's skin, was the whole of their dress. The additions they have since made give great offence to their old men, who are ever lamenting the degeneracy of their manners.

Few of these savages knew any thing of husbandry; they only cultivated maize, and that they left entirely to the management of the women, as being beneath the dignity of independent men. Their bitterest imprecation against an enemy, was the same as the curse pronounced by God against the first man, that he might be reduced to till the ground. Sometimes they would condescend to go a-fishing; but their chief delight, and the employment of all their life, was hunting. For this purpose, the whole nation went out as they did to war, every family marched in search of sustenance. They prepared for the expedition by severe fasting, and never stirred out till they had implored the assistance of their gods; they did not pray for strength to kill the beasts, but that they might be so fortunate as to meet with them. None staid behind except infirm and old men; all the rest sallied forth; the men to kill the game, and the women to dry and bring it home. The winter was with them the finest season of the year: the bear, the roe-buck, the stag, and the elk, could not then run with any degree of swiftness through snow that was four or five feet deep. The savages, who were stopped neither by the bushes, the torrents, the ponds, nor the rivers, and who could outrun most of the swifter animals, were seldom unsuccessful in the chase. When they were without game, they lived upon acorns; and, for want of these, fed upon the sap or inner skin that grows between the wood and the bark of the aspen tree and the birch.

In the interval between their hunting parties, they made or mended their bows and arrows, the rackets for running upon the snow, and the canoes for cross-

ing the lakes and rivers. These travelling implements, BOOK
XV. and a few earthen pots, were the only specimens of art among these wandering nations. Those who were collected in towns, added to these the labours requisite for their sedentary way of life, for the fencing of their huts, and securing them from being attacked. The savages, at that period, gave themselves up to total inaction, in the most profound security. The people, content with their lot, and satisfied with what nature afforded them, were unacquainted with that restlessness which arises from a sense of our own weakness, that loathing of ourselves and every thing about us, that necessity of flying from solitude, and easing ourselves of the burden of life by throwing it upon others.

Their stature in general was beautifully proportioned; but they had more agility than strength, and were more fit to bear the fatigues of the chase than hard labour. Their features were regular; and there was a kind of fierceness in their aspect, which they contracted in war and hunting. Their complexion was of a copper colour; and they derived it from nature, by which all men who are constantly exposed to the open air are tanned. This complexion was rendered still more disagreeable by the absurd custom that prevails among savages, of painting their bodies and faces, either to distinguish each other at a distance, to render themselves more agreeable to their mistresses, or more formidable in war. Beside this varnish, they rubbed themselves with the fat of quadrupeds, or the oil of fish, a custom common and necessary among them, in order to prevent the intolerable stings of gnats and insects, that swarm in uncultivated countries. These ointments were prepared and mixed up with certain red juices, supposed to be a deadly poison to the mosquitoes. To these several methods of anointing themselves, which penetrate and discolour the skin, may be added, the fumigations they made in their huts against those insects, and the smoke of the fires they kept all the winter to warm themselves, and to dry their meat. This was sufficient to make them appear frightful to

BOOK XV. our people, though beautiful, without doubt, or at least not disagreeable to themselves. Their sight, smell, and hearing, and all their senses, were remarkably quick, and gave them early notice of their dangers and wants. These were few, but their diseases were still fewer. They hardly knew of any but what were occasioned by too violent exercise, or eating too much after long abstinence.

They were not a very numerous people; and, possibly, this might be an advantage to them. Polished nations must wish for an increase of population, because, as they are governed by ambitious rulers, who are the more inclined to war from not being personally engaged in it, they are under a necessity of fighting, either to invade or repulse their neighbours; and because they never have a sufficient extent of territory to satisfy their enterprising and expensive way of life. But unconnected nations, who are always wandering, and guarded by the deserts which divide them; who can fly when they are attacked, and whose poverty preserves them from committing or suffering any injustice; such savage nations do not feel the want of numbers. Perhaps nothing more is required, than to be able to resist the wild beasts, occasionally to drive away an insignificant enemy, and mutually to assist each other. Had they been more populous, they would the sooner have exhausted the country they inhabited, and have been forced to remove in search of another; the only, or, at least, the greatest misfortune attending their precarious way of life.

Independent of these reflections, which possibly did not occur so strongly to the savages of Canada, the nature of things was alone sufficient to check their increase. Though they lived in a country abounding in game and fish, yet in some seasons, and sometimes for whole years, this resource failed them: and famine then occasioned a great destruction among people who were at too great a distance to assist each other. Their wars, or transient hostilities, the result of former animosities, were very destructive. Men constantly ac-

customed to hunt for their subsistence, to tear in pieces the animal they had overtaken, to hear the cries of death, and see the shedding of blood, must have been still more cruel in war, if possible, than our own people, who live partly on vegetables. In a word, notwithstanding all that has been said in favour of inuring children to hardships, which misled Peter the Great to such a degree that he ordered that none of his sailors children should drink any thing but seawater (an experiment which proved fatal to all who tried it); it is certain, that a great many young savages perished through hunger, thirst, cold, and fatigue. Even those whose constitution was strong enough to bear the usual exercises of those climates, to swim over the broadest rivers, to go two hundred leagues on a hunting party, to live many days without sleep, to subsist a considerable time without any food; such men must have been exhausted, and totally unfit for the purposes of generation. Few were so long-lived as our people, whose manner of living is more uniform and tranquil.

The austerity of a Spartan education, the custom of inuring children to hard labour and coarse food, has been productive of dangerous mistakes. Philosophers, desirous of alleviating the miseries incident to mankind, have endeavoured to comfort the wretched who have been doomed to a life of hardships, by persuading them that it was the most wholesome and the best. The rich have eagerly adopted a system, which served to render them insensible to the sufferings of the poor, and to dispense them from the duties of humanity and compassion. But it is an error to imagine, that men, who are employed in the more laborious arts of society, live as long as those who enjoy the fruit of their toil. Moderate labour strengthens the human frame; excessive labour impairs it. A peasant is an old man at sixty; while the inhabitants of towns, who live in affluence, and with some degree of moderation, frequently attain to fourscore and upward. Even men of letters, whose employments

B O O K are by no means favourable to health, afford many instances of longevity. Let not then our modern writings propagate this false and cruel error, to seduce the rich to disregard the groans of the poor, and to transfer all their tenderness from their vassals to their dogs and horses.

Three original languages were spoken in Canada, the Algonquin, the Sioux, and the Huron. They were considered as primitive languages, because each of them contained many of those imitative words which convey an idea of things by sound. The dialects derived from them were nearly as numerous as their towns. No abstract terms were found in these languages, because the infant mind of the savages seldom extends its view beyond the present object and the present time; and, as they have but few ideas, they seldom want to represent several, under one and the same sign. Besides, the language of these people, almost always animated by a quick, simple, and strong sensation, excited by the great scenes of nature, contracted a lively and poetical cast from their strong and active imagination. The astonishment and admiration which proceeded from their ignorance, gave them a strong propensity to exaggeration. They expressed what they saw; their language painted, as it were, natural objects in strong colouring; and their discourses were quite picturesque. For want of terms agreed upon to denote certain compound or complex ideas, they made use of figurative expressions. What was still wanting in speech, they supplied by their gestures, their attitudes, their bodily motions, and the modulations of the voice. The boldest metaphors were more familiar to them in common conversation, than they are even in epic poetry in the European languages. Their speeches in public assemblies, particularly, were full of images, energy, and pathos. No Greek or Roman orator ever spoke, perhaps, with more strength and sublimity than one of their chiefs. It was thought necessary to persuade them to remove at a distance from their native soil. *We were born, said he, on this*

spot, our fathers lie buried in it. Shall we say to the bones of our fathers, Arise, and come with us into a foreign land?

BOOK
XV.

It may easily be imagined, that such nations could not be so gentle nor so weak as those of South America. They showed that they had that degree of activity and strength which the people of the northern nations always possess, unless they are, like the Laplanders, of a very different species from ours. They had but just attained to that degree of knowledge and civilization, to which instinct alone may lead men in the space of a few years; and it is among such people that a philosopher may study man in a state of nature.

They were divided into several small nations, whose form of government was nearly similar. Some had hereditary chiefs; others elected them; the greater part were only directed by their old men. They were mere associations, formed by chance, and always free; and though united, they were bound by no tie. The will of individuals was not even overruled by the general one. All decisions were considered only as matter of advice, which was not binding, or enforced by any penalty. If, in one of these singular republics, a man was condemned to death, it was rather a kind of war against a common enemy, than an act of justice exercised against a subject or a fellow-citizen. Instead of coercive power, good manners, example, education, a respect for old men, a parental affection, maintained peace in these societies, where there was neither law nor property. Reason, which had not been misled by prejudice, or corrupted by passion, as it is with us, served them instead of moral precepts and regulations of police. Harmony and security were maintained without the interposition of government. Authority never encroached upon that powerful instinct of nature, the love of independence; which, enlightened by reason, produces in us the love of equality.

Hence arises that regard which the savages have for each other. They lavish their expressions of esteem, and expect the same in return. They are obliging, but

B O O K

XV.

reserved; they weigh their words, and listen with great attention. Their gravity, which appears like a kind of melancholy, is particularly observable in their national assemblies. Every one speaks in his turn, according to his age, experience, and services. No one is ever interrupted, either by indecent reflections or ill-timed applause. Their public affairs are managed with such disinterestedness as is unknown in our governments, where the welfare of the state is hardly ever promoted but from selfish views or party spirit. It is no uncommon thing to hear one of these savage orators, when his speech has met with universal applause, telling those who agreed to his opinion, that another man is more deserving of their confidence.

This mutual respect among the inhabitants of the same place, prevails between the several nations, when they are not in actual war. The deputies are received and treated with that friendship that is due to men who come to treat of peace and alliance. Wandering nations, who have not the least notion of increasing their territory, never negotiate for conquest, or for any interests relative to dominion. Even those who have fixed settlements, never contend with others for coming to live in their district, provided they do not molest them. The earth, say they, is made for all men; no one must possess the share of two. All the politics, therefore, of the savages, consist in forming leagues against an enemy who is too numerous or too strong, and in suspending hostilities that become too destructive. When they have agreed upon a truce or league of amity, it is ratified by mutually exchanging a belt, or string of beads, which are a kind of snail-shells. The white ones are very common; but the purple ones, which are rare, and the black, which are still more so, are much esteemed. They work them into a cylindrical form, bore them, and then make them up into necklaces. The branches are about a foot long, and the beads are strung upon them one after another in a straight line. The necklaces are broad belts, on which the beads are placed in rows, and neatly tacked down with little

flips of leather. The size, weight, and colour of these shells, are adapted to the importance of the business. They serve as jewels, as records, and as annals. They are the bond of union between nations and individuals. They are the sacred and inviolable pledge which is a confirmation of words, promises, and treaties. The chiefs of towns are the keepers of these records. They know their meaning; they interpret them; and by means of these signs, they transmit the history of the country to the succeeding generation.

As the savages possess no riches, they are of a benevolent turn. A striking instance of this appears in the care they take of their orphans, widows, and infirm people. They liberally share their scanty provision with those whose crops have failed, or who have been unsuccessful in hunting or fishing. Their tables and their huts are open night and day to strangers and travellers. This generous hospitality, which makes the advantages of a private man a public blessing, is chiefly conspicuous in their entertainments. A savage claims respect, not so much from what he possesses, as from what he gives away. The whole stock of provisions collected during a chase that has lasted six months, is frequently expended in one day; and he who gives the entertainment enjoys more pleasure than his guests.

None of the writers who have described the manners of the savages have reckoned benevolence among their virtues. But this may be owing to prejudice, which has made them confound the antipathy arising from resentment, with natural temper. These people neither love nor esteem the Europeans, nor are they very kind to them. The inequality of conditions, which we think so necessary for the well-being of society, is, in their opinion, the greatest folly. They are shocked to see, that among us, one man has more property than several others collectively, and that this first injustice is productive of a second, which is, that the man who has most riches is on that account the most respected. But what appears to them a meanness be-

BOOK
XV.

low the brute creation, is, that men who are equal by nature should degrade themselves so far as to depend upon the will or the caprice of another. The respect we show to titles, dignities, and especially to hereditary nobility, they call an insult, an outrage to human nature. Whoever knows how to guide a canoe, to beat an enemy, to build a hut, to live upon little, to go a hundred leagues in the woods, with no other guide than the wind and sun, or any provision but a bow and arrows; he acts the part of a man, and what more can be expected of him? That restless disposition, which prompts us to cross so many seas in quest of fugitive advantages, appears to them rather the effect of poverty than of industry. They laugh at our arts, our manners, and all those customs which inspire us with a greater degree of vanity, in proportion as they remove us further from the state of nature. Their frankness and honesty are roused to indignation by the tricks and cunning which have been practised in our dealings with them. A multitude of other motives, some founded on prejudice, but frequently on reason, have rendered the Europeans odious to the Indians. They have made reprisals, and are become harsh and cruel in their intercourse with us. The aversion and contempt they have conceived for our manners, have always made them avoid our society. We have never been able to reconcile any of them to our indulgent manner of living; whereas we have seen some Europeans forego all the conveniencies of civil life, retire into the forests, and take up the bow and the club of the savage.

An innate spirit of benevolence, however, sometimes brings the savages back to us. At the beginning of the winter a French vessel was wrecked upon the rocks of Anticosti. The sailors who had escaped the rigour of the season and the dangers of famine in this desert and savage island, built a bark out of the remains of their ship, which, in the following spring, conveyed them to the continent. They were observed in a languid and expiring state, by a hut filled with savages. *Brethren,*

said the chief of this lonely family, addressing himself affectionately to them, *the wretched are entitled to our pity and our assistance. We are men, and the misfortunes incident to any of the human race affect us in the same manner as if they were our own.* These humane expressions were accompanied with every token of friendship these generous savages had it in their power to show.

Europeans, who are so proud of your government, of your laws, of your institutions, of your monuments, of every thing that you call your wisdom, suffer me to engage your attention for a moment. I have just described, in a plain and artless way, the life and manners of the savages. I have not concealed from you their vices, nor have I exaggerated their virtues. I entreat you to preserve the sensations which my narrative hath raised in you, till the man of the first genius and of the greatest eloquence among you, shall have prepared himself to describe to you, with all the strength and with all the magic of his colouring, the good and the evil of your civilized countries. His picture will undoubtedly transport you with admiration; but do you imagine that it will leave in your minds that delicious emotion which you experience at present? Will the writer inspire you with those sentiments of esteem, love, and veneration, which you have just granted the savages? You would only be miserable savages if you were to live in the forests, and the lowest of the savages would be a respectable man in your cities.

One thing only was wanting to complete the felicity of the Americans, and that was the happiness of being fond of their wives. Nature hath in vain bestowed on their women, a good shape, beautiful eyes, pleasing features, and long black hair. All these accomplishments are no longer regarded than while they remain in a state of independence. They no sooner submit to the matrimonial yoke, but even their husband, who is the only man they love, grows insensible to those charms they were so liberal of before marriage. The state of life, indeed, to which this condition subjects

B O O K them, is by no means favourable to beauty. Their
XV. features alter, and they lose at once the desire and the
 power of pleasing. They are laborious, indefatigable,
 and active. They dig the ground, sow, and reap;
 while their husbands, who disdain to stoop to the
 drudgeries of husbandry, amuse themselves with hunt-
 ing, fishing, shooting with the bow, and asserting the
 dominion of man over the earth.

Many of these nations allow a plurality of wives;
 and even those that do not practise polygamy, have
 still reserved to themselves the liberty of a divorce. The
 very idea of an indissoluble tie never once entered the
 thoughts of a people who are free till death. When
 those who are married disagree, they part by consent,
 and divide their children between them. Nothing ap-
 pears to them more repugnant to nature and reason,
 than the contrary system which prevails among Chri-
 stians. The Great Spirit, say they, hath created us all
 to be happy; and we should offend him, were we to
 live in a perpetual state of constraint and uneasiness.
 This system agrees with what one of the Miamis said
 to one of the missionaries, *My wife and I were con-
 tinually at variance. My neighbour disagreed equally
 with his. We have exchanged wives, and are both satis-
 fied.*

A celebrated writer, whom we cannot but admire,
 even when we differ from him in opinion, has observ-
 ed, that love among the Americans is never productive
 of industry, genius, and character, as it is among the
 Europeans; because the former, says he, have a sixth
 sense, weaker than it is among the latter. The savages,
 it is said, are neither acquainted with the torments nor
 the delights of this most violent of all passions. The
 air and the climate, the moisture of which contributes
 so powerfully to vegetation, does not bestow upon
 them any great warmth of constitution. The same sap
 which covers the countries with forests, and the trees
 with leaves, occasions among men, as among women,
 the growth of long, smooth, thick, strong, and sturdy
 hair. Men who have little more beard than eunuchs

have, cannot abound in generating principles. The blood of these people is watery and cold; the males have sometimes milk in their breasts. Hence arises their tardy inclination to the sex; their aversion for them at certain periods, and in times of pregnancy; and that feeble and transient ardour, which is excited only at certain seasons of the year. Hence arises that quickness of imagination, which renders them superstitious, fearful as children in the dark, and as much prone to revenge as women; which makes them poets, and figurative in their discourse; men of feeling, in a word, but not of strong passions. Hence, in short, hath proceeded that want of population which hath always been observed in them. They have few children, because they are not sufficiently fond of women. And this is a national defect, with which the old men were incessantly reproaching the young people.

But may it not be said, that the passion of the savages for women is less languid from the nature of their constitution, than from their moral character? The pleasures of love are too easily indulged among them, to excite any strong desires. Accordingly, among ourselves, it is not in those ages, where luxury encourages incontinence, that we see the men most attached to the women, and the women bear the most children. In what country hath love ever been a source of heroism and virtue, when the women have not encouraged their lovers to these pursuits by chaste refusals, and by the shame they had affixed to the weakness of their sex? It is at Sparta, at Rome, and even in France, in the ages of chivalry, that love hath given rise to great undertakings, and hath occasioned the enduring of great hardships. There it is, that, uniting itself to public spirit, it assisted patriotism, or supplied the place of it. As it was a more difficult thing always to please one woman, than to seduce several, the sway of moral love prolonged the power of natural love, by suppressing it, by directing it to proper objects, by deceiving it even with hopes which kept up desires, and maintained the passion in all its

BOOK strength. But this love, though stinted in enjoy-
 XV. ments, was productive of great effects. To love was
 not then an art, but a passion, which being engen-
 dered in innocence itself, was kept alive by sacrifices,
 instead of being extinguished in voluptuousness.

With respect to the savages, if they should not be so fond of women as civilized people are, it is not, perhaps, for want of powers or inclination to population. But the first wants of nature may, perhaps, restrain in them the claims of the second. Their strength is almost all exhausted in procuring their subsistence. Hunting and other expeditions leave them neither the opportunity nor the leisure of attending to the increase of their species. No wandering nation can ever be numerous. What must become of women obliged to follow their husbands a hundred leagues, with children at their breast or in their arms? What would become of the children themselves, if deprived of the milk that must necessarily fail during the fatigues of the journey? Hunting prevents, and war destroys, the increase of mankind. A savage warrior resists the seducing arts of young women, who strive to allure him. When nature compels this tender sex to make the first advances, and to pursue the men that avoid them, those who are less inflamed with military ardour than with the charms of beauty, yield to the temptation. But the true warriors, who have been early taught that an intercourse with women enervates strength and courage, do not surrender. It is not, therefore, owing to natural defects that Canada is unpeopled, but to the tract of life pursued by its inhabitants. Though they are as fit for procreation as our northern people, all their strength is employed for their own preservation. Hunger does not permit them to attend to the passion of love. If the people of the south sacrifice every thing to this latter desire, it is because the former is easily satisfied. In a country where nature is very prolific, and man consumes but little, all the strength he has to spare is entirely turned to population; which is likewise assisted by the

warmth of the climate. In a climate where men consume more than nature affords them without pains, the time and the faculties of the human species are exhausted in fatigues that are detrimental to population.

B O O K
XV.

But a further proof, that the savages are not less inclined to women than we are, is, that they are much fonder of their children. Their mothers suckle them till they are four or five years old, and sometimes till six or seven. From their earliest infancy, their parents pay a regard to their natural independence, and never beat or chide them, lest they should check that free and martial spirit, which is one day to constitute their principal character. They even forbear to make use of strong arguments to persuade them, because this would be in some measure a restraint upon their will. As they are only taught what they want to know, they are the happiest children upon earth. If they die, the parents lament them with deep regret; and will sometimes go six months after, to weep over the grave of their child: and the mother will sprinkle it with her own milk.

The ties of friendship among the savages are more lasting than those of nature. Friendship is not absolutely a duty, since it cannot be commanded: but it is a more agreeable, a more tender, and even a stronger union, than those which are formed by nature, or by social institutions. All persons who are connected by that delightful sentiment, agree in giving mutual advice to each other in difficult conjunctures; in administering comfort in misfortunes; in granting assistance in undertakings, and succours in adversity. Imagination, far from seeking to diminish the obligations incumbent upon this virtue, delights in exaggerating them. It is thought that it cannot subsist without an entire neglect of one's self, a total renunciation of all personal interests in favour of the friend truly beloved.

It is not given to all men to enjoy the sweets of friendship. Several can neither feel it themselves, nor inspire it to others, on account of the coldness and

BOOK XV. stiffness of their character. How is it possible that it should enter into the heart of the rich? They have no other concern but their present opulence, the desire of increasing it, and the dread of losing it. The powerful man requires none but flatterers, who scarce can venture to raise their timid looks up to him; and mean souls, who servilely implore his protection. What pleasure could he find in an intimate friendly connection, which the lowest class of citizens might enjoy as well, or better, than he? The dissipated man is equally incapable of strong or lasting affection; he is wholly absorbed in show, and in a variety of pleasures. His enjoyments are external, and his heart totally unconnected with his attachments.

Friendship among savages is never broken by that variety of clashing interests, which in our societies weaken even the tenderest and the most sacred connections. When a man hath once made his choice, he deposits in the breast of his associate his inmost thoughts, his sentiments, his projects, his sorrows, and his joys. The two friends share every thing in common; their union is for life; they fight side by side; and if one should fall, the other certainly expires upon the body of his friend. Even then they cherish the flattering persuasion, that their separation will be only momentary, and that they shall rejoin each other in another world, where they shall never part, and where they shall perpetually render each other the most important services. An Iroquois, who was a Christian, but who did not live according to the maxims of the gospel, was threatened with eternal punishments. He asked whether his friend, who had been buried a few days, was in hell? I have strong reasons to believe, replied the missionary, that he hath not been sent to that place of torment. If that be the case, replied the savage, I will not go there either. He immediately promised to alter his manners, and after this, always led a very exemplary life.

The savages show a degree of penetration and sagacity, which astonishes every man who has not observed

how much our arts and methods of life contribute to render our minds dull and inactive: because we are seldom under a necessity of thinking, and have only the trouble to learn. If however they have never improved any thing, any more than those animals, in which we observe the greatest share of sagacity, it is probably because, as they have no ideas but such as relate to their present wants, the equality that subsists between them lays every individual under a necessity of thinking for himself, and of spending his whole life in acquiring this common stock of knowledge; hence it may be reasonably inferred, that the sum total of ideas in a society of savages is no more than the sum of ideas in each individual.

Instead of abstruse meditations, the savages delight in songs. They are said to have no variety in their singing; but it is uncertain whether those who have heard them had an ear properly adapted to their music. When we first hear a foreign language spoken, the whole seems one continued sound, and appears to be pronounced with the same tone of voice, without any modulation or prosody. It is only by continued habit that we learn to distinguish the words and syllables, and to perceive that the sound of some is dull, and that of others sharp, and that it is more or less lengthened out. Would it not require at least as much time to enable us to determine any thing certain with regard to the music of any nation, which must always be subordinate to their language?

Their dances are generally an emblem of war, and they usually dance with their weapons in their hands. There is something so regular, rapid, and terrible, in these dances, that an European, when first he sees them, cannot help shuddering. He imagines that the ground will in a moment be covered with blood and scattered limbs, and that none of the dancers or the spectators will survive. It is somewhat remarkable, that in the first ages of the world, and among savage nations, dancing should be an imitative art, and that it should have lost that characteristic in civilized coun-

B O O K tries, where it seems to be reduced to a set of uniform
 XV. steps without meaning, But it is with dances as with
 languages, they grow abstracted like the ideas they
 are intended to represent. The signs of them are
 more allegorical, as the minds of the people become
 more refined. In the same manner as a single word,
 in a learned language, expresses several ideas; so, in an
 allegorical dance, a single step, a single attitude, is
 sufficient to excite a variety of sensations. It is owing
 to want of imagination, either in the dancers, or the
 spectators, if a figured dance be not, or do not appear
 to be, expressive. Besides, the savages can exhibit
 none but strong passions and ferocious manners, and
 these must be represented by more significant images
 in their dances, which are the language of gesture, the
 first and simplest of all languages. Nations living in
 a state of civil society, and in peace, have only the
 gentler passions to represent, which are best expressed
 by delicate images, fit to convey refined ideas. It
 might not, however, be improper sometimes to bring
 back dancing to its first origin, to exhibit the old sim-
 plicity of manners, to revive the first sensations of na-
 ture by motions which represent them, to depart from
 the antiquated and scientific mode of the Greeks and
 Romans, and to adopt the lively and significant images
 of the rude Canadians.

These savages, always totally devoted to the pursuit
 of the present passion, are extravagantly fond of gam-
 ing, as is usual with all idle people, and especially of
 games of chance. The same men, who are common-
 ly so sedate, moderate, and disinterested, and have such
 a command of themselves, are outrageous, greedy, and
 turbulent at play; they lose their peace, their senses,
 and all they are possessed of. Destitute of almost eve-
 ry thing, coveting all they see, and when they like it,
 eager to have and enjoy it, their attention is entirely
 turned to the most speedy and readiest way of acquir-
 ing it. This is a consequence of their manners, as well
 as of their character. The prospect of present happi-
 ness always prevents them from discerning the evils

that may ensue. Their forecast does not even reach from day to night. They are alternately silly children and violent men. Every thing depends with them on the present moment.

Gaming alone would lead them to superstition, even if they were not naturally subject to that scourge of the human race. But as they have few physicians or empirics of this kind to have recourse to, they suffer less from this distemper of the mind than more polished nations, and are better disposed to attend to the suggestions of reason, which abate the violence of it. The Iroquois have a confused notion of a first Being who governs the world at pleasure. They never repine at the evil which this Being permits. When some mischance befalls them, they say, *the man above will have it so*; and there is, perhaps, more philosophy in this submission, than in all the reasonings and declamations of our philosophers. Most other savage nations worship those two first principles of good and evil, which occur to the human mind as soon as it has acquired any conception of invisible substances. Sometimes they worship a river, a forest, the sun or the moon; in short, any beings in which they have observed a certain power and motion; because, wherever they see motion, which they cannot account for, they suppose there is a soul.

They seem to have some notion of a future state; but, having no principles of morality, they do not think the next life is a state of reward for virtue and punishment for vice. They believed that the indefatigable huntsman, the fearless and merciless warrior, who has slain or burnt many enemies, and made his own town victorious, will after death pass into a country, where he will be supplied with plenty of all kinds of animals to satisfy his hunger; whereas those who are grown old in indolence, and without glory, will be for ever banished into a barren land, where they will be eternally exposed to famine and sickness. Their tenets are suited to their manners and their wants. They believe in such pleasures and such sufferings as

BOOK XV. they are acquainted with. They have more hopes than fears, and are happy even in their delusions. They are, however, often tormented with dreams.

Ignorance is naturally prone to connect something mysterious with dreams, and to ascribe them to the agency of some powerful being, who takes the opportunity, when our faculties are suspended and lulled asleep, of watching over us in the absence of our senses. It is, as it were, a soul, distinct from our own, that glides into us, to inform us of what is to come, when we cannot yet see it; though futurity be always present to that Being who created all things.

In the bleak and rough climates of Canada, where the people live by hunting, their nerves are apt to be painfully affected by the inclemency of the weather, and by fatigue and long abstinence. Then these savages have melancholy and troublesome dreams: they imagine they are surrounded with enemies; they see their town surpris'd, and deluged in blood; they receive injuries and wounds; their wives, their children, their friends, are carried off. When they awake, they take these visions for a warning from the gods; and that fear which first inspir'd them with this idea adds to their natural ferocity, by the melancholy cast it gives to their thoughts, and their gloomy complexions. The old women, who are useless in the world, dream for the safety of the commonwealth. Some weak old men also, like them too, dream on public affairs, in which they have no share or influence. Young men who are unfit for war or laborious exercises, will dream too, that they may bear some part in the administration of the clan. In vain hath it been attempted, during two centuries, to remove illusions so deeply rooted. The savages have constantly replied, *You Christians laugh at the faith we have in dreams, and yet require us to believe things infinitely more improbable.* Thus we see in these untutored nations the seeds of priestcraft, with all its train of evils.

Were it not for these melancholy fits and dreams, there would scarce ever be any contentions among

them. Europeans, who have lived long in those coun-
tries, assure us they never saw an Indian in a passion.
Without superstition, there would be as few national
as private quarrels.

Private differences are most commonly adjusted by the majority of the people. The respect shown by the nation to the aggrieved party soothes his self-love, and disposes him to peace. It is more difficult to prevent quarrels, or to put an end to hostilities between two nations.

War often takes its rise from hunting. When two companies, which were separated by a forest a hundred leagues in extent, happen to meet, and to interfere with each other's sport, they soon quarrel, and turn those weapons against one another which were intended for the destruction of bears. This slight skirmish is a source of eternal discord. The vanquished party vows implacable vengeance against the conquerors; a national hatred which will be maintained by their posterity, and be rekindled from their ashes. The mutual wounds which both parties suffer in skirmishes of this kind sometimes put a stop to these contentions; when on each side they happen to be occasioned by some impetuous young men, who in the heat of youth may have been tempted to remove to a considerable distance, in order to make a trial of their military skill. But the contentions between whole nations are not easily excited.

The declaration of war, when it appears necessary, is not left to the judgment and decision of one man. The nation meets, and the chief speaks. He states the nature of the injury, and causes of complaint. The matter is considered; the dangers and the consequences of a rupture are weighed. The orators speak directly to the point, without hesitation, without digression, or without mistaking the case. The arguments are discussed with a strength of reasoning and eloquence that arises from the evidence and simplicity of the matter in dispute; and even with an impartiality which is less affected by their strong passions, than it is among us by

BOOK XV. a combination of ideas. If war be unanimously determined by their giving a general shout, the allies are invited to join in it, which they seldom refuse, as they always have some injury to revenge, or some slain to replace by prisoners.

The savages next proceed to the election of a chief. When a certain number of men assemble to execute an enterprize, in which common interest is concerned, one person among them must be appointed to guide the motions of the multitude, of whom he must be the common soul; a soul which must command them all as imperiously as its orders are issued to the members of the body which it inhabits, and which must be obeyed with as much dispatch and punctuality. Whenever this identity ceases, disorder is introduced. It is no longer an army which hath the same object in view; it is a set of distinct officers and soldiers who have each of them their particular designs. That subordination which connects one hundred thousand men with all their powers to one commander, is the chief circumstance of distinctions between modern and ancient warriors. Among the latter, every man used to single out his enemy, and bid him defiance in the midst of the throng. An engagement was nothing more than a great number of duels fought at the same time upon a field of battle. It is not so at present: our armies consist of deep, large, and close bodies of men, placed upon a line, pressed together, and moving in all directions as one single body. Formerly an engagement was a duel between man and man; at present, it is a duel of one body of men against another. The least want of subordination would bring on confusion, and confusion would occasion a horrid massacre and a humiliating defeat.

The dislike which the savages of Canada have for whatever may restrain their independence, hath not prevented them from perceiving the necessity of having a military chief. They have always been led to action by commanders, and physiognomy hath been always attended to in the choice they have made of

them. This might be a very fallacious, and even ridiculous, way of forming a judgment of men, where they have been trained up from their infancy to disguise their real sentiments, and where, by a constant practice of dissimulation and artificial passions, the countenance is no longer expressive of the mind. But a savage, who is solely guided by nature, and is acquainted with its workings, seldom mistakes in the judgment he forms at first sight. The chief requisite, next to a warlike aspect, is a strong voice; because, in armies that march without drums or clarions, in order more effectually to surprize the enemy, nothing is so proper to sound an alarm, or to give the signal for the onset, as the terrible voice of a chief, who shouts and strikes at the same time. But the best recommendations for a general are his exploits. Every one is at liberty to boast of his victories, in order that he may be the first to expose himself to march foremost to meet danger; to tell what he has done, in order to show what he will do: and the savages think self-commendation not unbecoming a hero who can show his scars.

He who is chosen to be chief, and to lead on the rest in the path of glory, never fails to harangue them. "Comrades," says he, "the bones of our brethren are still uncovered. They cry out against us; we must satisfy them. Young men, to arms; fill your quivers; paint yourselves with gloomy colours that may strike terror. Let the woods ring with our war-songs. Let us sooth the dead with the shouts of vengeance. Let us go and bathe in the blood of our enemies, take prisoners, and fight as long as water shall flow in the rivers, and as long as the sun and moon shall remain fixed in the firmament."

At these words, those brave men who are eager for war, go to the chief, and say, *We will share the danger with thee.* So you shall, replies the chief; *we will share it together.* But as no persuasions are made use of to induce any one to join the army, lest a false point of honour should compel men of no courage to take the

BOOK field, a man must undergo many trials before he can
 {
 XV.
 } be admitted as a soldier. If a young man, who has never yet faced the enemy, should betray the least impatience, when, after long abstinence, he is exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, the intense frosts of the night, or the stings of insects, he would be declared incapable and unworthy to bear arms. Are the soldiers of our militias and armies formed in this manner? On the contrary, what a mournful and ominous ceremony is ours! Men who have not been able to escape being pressed into the service, or could not procure an exemption by purchase, or by virtue of some privilege, march heavily along, with downcast looks, and pale dejected faces, before a magistrate, whose office is odious to the people, and whose honesty is doubtful. The afflicted and trembling parents seem to be following their son to the grave. A black scroll, issuing from a fatal urn, points out the victims which the prince devotes to war. A distracted mother in vain presses her son to her bosom, and strives to detain him; he is torn from her arms, and she bids him an eternal farewell, cursing the day of her marriage, and that of her delivery. It is not certainly by such sacrifices that good soldiers are to be acquired. It is not with such scenes of distress and consternation that the savages go to meet victory. They march out in the midst of festivity, singing, and dancing. The young married women follow their husbands for a day or two, without showing any signs of grief or sorrow. These women, who do not even utter a groan in the pangs of childbirth, would scorn to soften the minds of the defenders and avengers of their country, by the tears even of tenderness and compassion.

The weapons of these savage nations are a kind of spear, armed with sharp bones, and a small club of very hard wood, of a round figure, and with one cutting edge. Instead of these last, since their acquaintance with the Europeans, they make use of a hatchet, which they manage with amazing dexterity. Most of them have no instrument of defence: but if they at-

tack the palliades that furround a town, they cover their body with a thin plank. Some of them used to wear a kind of cuirafs, made with plaited reeds; but they left it off, on finding it was not proof againft fire-arms.

B O O K
XV.

The army is followed by dreamers, who affume the name of jugglers, and are too often fuffered to determine the military operations. They march without any colours. All the warriors, who are almoft naked, that they may be the more alert in battle, rub their bodies with coal, to appear more terrible, or with mould, that they may not be fo eafily feen at a diftance, and by that means may be better able to furprife the enemy. Notwithftanding their natural intrepidity and averfion for all difguife, their wars are carried on with artifice. Thefe stratagems, common to all nations, whether favage or civilized, are become neceffary to the petty nations of Canada. They would have totally destroyed one another, had they not made the glory of their chiefs to confift in bringing home all their companions, rather than in fhedding the blood of their foes. Honour, therefore, is to be gained by falling upon the enemy before he is prepared. Thefe people, whofe fenfes have never been impaired, are extremely quick in their fmell, and can difcover the places where men have trode. By the keennefs of that and of their fight, it is faid they can trace footfteps that are made upon the fhorteft grafs, upon the dry ground, and even upon ftone; and from the nature of the footfteps can difcover to what nation the adventurers belong. Perhaps they may do this by the leaves from the forefts, which always cover the ground.

When they are fo fortunate as to furprife the enemy, they difcharge a whole volley of arrows, and fall upon them with their clubs or hatchets. If they are upon their guard, or well intrenched, they retreat if they can; if not, they fight till they conquer or die. The victorious party difpatch the wounded whom they cannot carry off, fealp the dead, and take fome prifoners.

BOOK
XV.

The conqueror leaves his hatchet upon the field of battle, having previously engraven upon it the mark of his nation, that of his family, and especially his own picture; that is to say, an oval with the figures marked on his own face. Others paint all these ensigns of honour, or rather trophies of victory, on the stump of a tree, or on a piece of the bark, with coal mixed up with several colours. To this they add the history, not only of the battle, but of the whole campaign, in hieroglyphic characters. Next to the picture of the general, the number of his soldiers is marked by so many lines, that of the prisoners by so many little images, and that of the dead by so many human figures without heads. Such are the expressive and technical signs which, in all original societies, have preceded the art of writing and printing, and the voluminous libraries which fill the palaces of the rich and idle, and embarrass the minds of the learned.

The history of an Indian war is but a short one; they make haste to describe it, for fear the enemy should rally and fall upon them. The conqueror glories in a precipitate retreat, and never stops till he reaches his own territory and his own town. There he is received with the warmest transports of joy, and finds his reward in the applauses of his countrymen. A debate then ensues, how the prisoners, who are the only advantage of their victory, shall be disposed of.

The most fortunate of the captives are those who are chosen to replace the warriors who fell in the late action, or in former battles. This adoption has been wisely contrived, to perpetuate nations, which would soon be destroyed by frequent wars. The prisoners being once incorporated into a family, become cousins, uncles, fathers, brothers, husbands; in short, they succeed to any degree of consanguinity in which the deceased stood, whose place they supply; and these affectionate titles convey all their rights to them, at the same time that they bind them to all their engagements. Far from being averse for attaching themselves with all proper affection to the family that has

adopted them, they will not refuse even to take up arms against their own countrymen. Yet this is surely a strange inversion of the ties of nature. They must be very weak men, thus to shift the object of their regard with the vicissitudes of fortune. The truth is, that war seems to cancel all the bonds of nature, and to confine a man's feelings to himself alone. Hence arises that union between friends among the savages, which is observed to be stronger than that which subsists between relations. Those who are to fight and die together, are more firmly attached than those who are born together, or under the same roof. When war or death has dissolved that consanguinity which is cemented by nature, or has been formed by choice, the same fate which loads the savage with chains, gives him new relations and friends. Custom and common consent have authorised this singular law, which undoubtedly sprang from necessity.

BOOK
XV.

But it sometimes happens that a prisoner refuses this adoption; sometimes that he is excluded from it. A tall handsome prisoner had lost several of his fingers in battle. This circumstance was not noticed at first. *Friend*, said the widow to whom he was allotted, *we had chosen you to live with us; but in the condition you appear, unable to fight and to defend us, of what use is life to you? Death is certainly preferable. I am of the same opinion*, answered the savage. *Well then*, replied the woman, *this evening you shall be tied to the stake. For your own glory, and for the honour of your family, who have adopted you, remember to behave like a man of courage.* He promised he would, and kept his word.

For three days he endured the most cruel torments, with a constancy and cheerfulness that set them all at defiance. His new family never forsook him, but encouraged him by their applause, and supplied him with drink and tobacco in the midst of his sufferings. What a mixture of virtue and ferociousness! Every thing is great in these people who are not enslaved. This is the sublime of nature, in all its horrors and its beauties.

The captives whom none choose to adopt, are soon condemned to death. The victims are prepared for it by every thing that may tend to inspire them with a fondness for life. The best fare, the kindest usage, the most endearing names, are lavished upon them. They are even sometimes indulged with women to the very moment of their sentence. Is this compassion, or is it a refinement of barbarity? At last a herald comes, and acquaints the wretch that the pile is ready. *Brother, says he, be patient, you are going to be burnt. Very well brother, says the prisoner, I thank you.*

These words are received with general applause; but the women are the most violent in their expressions of the common joy. She to whom the prisoner is delivered up, instantly invokes the shade of a father, a husband, a son, the dearest friend, whose death is still unrevenged. *Draw near, she cries, I am preparing a feast for thee. Come and drink large draughts of the broth I intend to give thee. This warrior is going to be put into the cauldron. They will apply hot hatchets all over his body: they will scalp him: they will drink out of his skull: thou shalt be avenged and satisfied.*

This furious woman then rushes upon her victim, who is tied to a post near the fiery pile, and by striking or maiming him, she gives the signal for the intended cruelties. There is not a woman or child in the clan whom this sight has brought together, who does not take a part in torturing and slaying the miserable captive. Some pierce his flesh with firebrands; others cut it in slices; some tear off his nails; while others cut off his fingers, roast them, and devour them, before his face. Nothing stops his executioners but the fear of hastening his end: they study to prolong his sufferings for whole days, and sometimes they make him linger for a week.

In the midst of these torments, the hero sings, in a barbarous but heroic manner, the glory of his former victories: he sings the pleasure he formerly took in slaying his enemies. His expiring voice is raised, to express the hope he entertains of being revenged;

and to tell his persecutors that they know not how to
 avenge their ancestors, whom he hath massacred. He
 chooses to bid defiance to his executioners, the mo-
 ment when their rage appears rather slackened; and
 he endeavours to excite it anew, in order that the ex-
 cess of his sufferings may display the excess of his cou-
 rage. It is a conflict between the victim and his tor-
 mentors; a dreadful challenge between constancy in
 suffering and obstinacy in torturing. But the sense of
 glory predominates. Whether this intoxication of en-
 thusiasm suspends, or wholly benumbs, all sense of
 pain; or whether custom and education alone pro-
 duce these prodigies of heroism; certain it is, that the
 sufferer dies without ever shedding a tear or heaving
 a sigh. Let fanatics of all false religions no longer
 boast the constancy of their martyrs: the savage of
 nature goes beyond all their miraculous accounts.

How shall we account for this insensibility? Is it
 owing to the climate, or to the manner of life? Colder
 blood, thicker humours, a constitution rendered more
 phlegmatic by the dampness of the air and the ground,
 may doubtless blunt the irritability of the nervous sys-
 tem in Canada. Men who are constantly exposed to all
 the inclemencies of the weather, the fatigues of hunt-
 ing, and the perils of war, contract such a rigidity of
 fibres, such a habit of suffering, as makes them in-
 sensible to pain. It is said, the savages are scarce ever
 convulsed in the agonies of death, whether they die
 of sickness or of a wound. As they have no appre-
 hensions, either of the approaches or the consequences
 of death, their imagination does not suggest that arti-
 ficial sensibility against which nature has guarded them.
 Their whole life, whether considered in a natural or
 moral view, is calculated to inspire them with a con-
 tempt for death, which we so much dread; and to
 enable them to overcome the sense of pain, which is
 increased by our indulgences.

But a circumstance still more astonishing in the cha-
 racter of the Indians than their resolution in support-
 ing tortures, is the rancour that appears in their re-

BOOK XV. {venge. It is dreadful to think that man may become the most cruel of all animals. In general, revenge is not prosecuted with cruelty either among nations, or between individuals who are governed by good laws; which, at the same time that they protect the subject, restrain him from committing injuries. Vengeance is not a very lively principle in wars that are carried on between great nations, because they have but little to fear from their enemies. But in those petty nations, where a considerable share of the power of the state belongs to each individual, where the loss of one man endangers the whole community, war is nothing else than a spirit of revenge that actuates the whole body. Among independent men, who entertain a degree of esteem for themselves, which can never be felt by men who are under subjection; among savages whose affections are very lively, and confined to a few objects, injuries must necessarily be resented to the greatest degree, because they affect the person in the most sensible manner: the assassination of a friend, of a son, of a brother, or of a fellow-citizen, must be avenged by the death of the assassin. These beloved shades are continually calling out for vengeance from their graves. They wander about in the forests, amidst the mournful accents of the birds of night; they appear in the phosphorus and in the lightning; and superstition pleads for them in the afflicted or incensed hearts of their friends.

When we consider the hatred which the hordes of these savages bear to each other; the hardships they undergo; the scarcity they are often exposed to; the frequency of their wars; the small number of inhabitants; the numberless snares we lay for them; we cannot but foresee that, in less than three centuries, the whole race will be extinct. What judgment will posterity form of this species of men, who will exist only in the descriptions of travellers? Will not the accounts given of the savages appear to them in the same light as the fables of antiquity do to us? It will speak of them, as the Centaurs and Lapithæ are spoken

of by us. How many contradictions will not posterity discover in their customs and manners! Will not such of our writings as may then have escaped the destructive hand of time, pass for romantic inventions, like those which Plato has left us concerning the ancient Atlantic?

B O O K
XV.

The character of the North Americans, as we have described it, had singularly displayed itself in the war between the Iroquois and the Algonquins. These two nations, the most numerous in Canada, had formed a kind of confederacy. The former, who tilled the ground, imparted their productions to their allies, who in return shared with them the fruits of their chase. Connected by their reciprocal wants, they mutually defended each other. During the season when all the labours of agriculture were interrupted by the snow on the ground, they lived together. The Algonquins went a-hunting; and the Iroquois staid at home, to skin the beasts, cure the flesh, and dress the hides.

The French imprudently take a part in the wars of the savages.

It happened one year that a party of Algonquins, who were not very dexterous, or much used to the chase, proved unsuccessful. The Iroquois, who attended them, desired leave to try whether they should succeed better. This request, which had sometimes been complied with, was not granted. Irritated at this unseasonable refusal, they went out privately in the night, and brought home a great number of animals. The Algonquins greatly mortified, to blot out the very remembrance of their disgrace, waited till the Iroquois huntsmen were asleep, and put them all to death. This massacre occasioned a great alarm. The offended nation demanded justice, which was haughtily refused; and they were given to understand that they must not expect the smallest satisfaction.

The Iroquois, enraged at this contemptuous treatment, vowed that they would either be revenged, or that they would perish in the attempt. But not being powerful enough to venture to attack their haughty adversaries, they removed to a greater distance in order to try their strength, and improve their military

BOOK skill, by making war against some less formidable
 XV. nations. As soon as they had learnt to approach like
 foxes, to attack like lions, and to fly like birds, as
 they express themselves, they were no longer afraid
 to encounter the Algonquins; and, therefore, carried
 on a war against them with a degree of ferociousness
 proportionable to their resentment.

It was just at the time when these animosities were kindled throughout Canada, that the French made their first appearance in that country. The Montagnez, who inhabited the lower parts of the river St. Lawrence; the Algonquins, who were settled upon its banks, from Quebec to Montreal; the Hurons, who were dispersed about the lake that bears that name; and some less considerable nations, who wandered about in the intermediate spaces; were all inclined to favour the settlement of the strangers: these several nations combined against the Iroquois, and, unable to withstand them, imagined that they might find in their new guest an unexpected resource, which would ensure them success. From the opinion they entertained of the French, which seemed as if it were formed upon a thorough knowledge of their character, they flattered themselves they might engage them in their quarrel, and were not disappointed. Champlain, who ought to have availed himself of the superior knowledge of the Europeans to effect a reconciliation between the Americans, did not even attempt it. He warmly espoused the interests of his neighbours, and accompanied them in pursuit of their enemy.

The country of the Iroquois was near eighty leagues in length, and more than forty in breadth. It was bounded by the lake Erie, the lake Ontario, the river St. Lawrence, and the celebrated countries since known by the names of New York and Pennsylvania. The space between these vast limits was watered by several fine rivers, and was inhabited by five nations, which could bring about twenty thousand warriors into the field, though they are now reduced to less than fifteen hundred. They formed a kind of league or association,

not unlike that of the Swifs or the Dutch. Their de-
 puties met once a-year, to hold their feaft of union,
 and to deliberate on the interefts of the common-
 wealth.

Though the Iroquois did not expect to be again at-
 tacked by enemies who had fo often been conquered,
 they were not unprepared. The engagement was be-
 gun with equal confidence on both fides; one relying
 on their ufual fuperiority; the other on the affiftance
 of their new ally, whofe fire-arms could not fail of en-
 furing the victory. And, indeed, no fooner had Cham-
 plain, and the two Frenchmen who attended him, fired
 a fhot, which killed two chiefs of the Iroquois, and
 mortally wounded a third, than the whole army fled in
 the utmoft amazement and confternation.

This alteration in the mode of attack induced them
 to think of changing their mode of defence. In the
 next campaign, they judged it neceffary to intrench
 themfelves, to elude the force of weapons they were
 unacquainted with. But their precaution was ineffec-
 tual. Notwithftanding an obftinate refiftance, their
 intrenchments were forced by the Indians, fupported
 by a brisker fire from a greater number of Frenchmen,
 than appeared in the firft expedition. The Iroquois
 were almoft all killed or taken. Thofe who had efca-
 ped from the engagement were precipitated into a river,
 and drowned.

This nation would probably have been deftroyed, or
 compelled to live in peace, had not the Dutch, who in
 1610 founded the colony of New Belgia in their neigh-
 bourhood, furnifhed them with arms and ammunition.
 Poffibly too they might fecretly foment their divifions,
 the furs taken from the enemy during the continuance
 of hoftilities being a greater object than thofe they
 could procure from their own chafe. However this
 may be, this connection reftored the balance between
 both parties. Various hoftilities and injuries were com-
 mitted by each nation, which weakened the ftrength
 of both. This perpetual ebb and flow of fuccefs,
 which, in governments aétuated by motives of intereft

B O O K rather than of revenge, would infallibly have restored tranquillity, served but to increase animosities, and to exasperate a number of little clans, bent upon each other's destruction. The consequence was, that the weakest of these petty nations were soon destroyed, and the rest were gradually reduced to nothing.

XV.
 The French settlement makes no progress. The cause of this.

These destructive events did not however contribute to advance the power of the French. In 1627, they had only three wretched settlements, surrounded with pales. The largest of these contained but fifty inhabitants, including men, women, and children. The climate had not proved destructive to the people sent there: though severe, it was wholesome, and the Europeans strengthened their constitutions without endangering their lives. The little progress they made was entirely owing to an exclusive Company, whose chief designs were not so much intended to create a national power in Canada, as to enrich themselves by the fur trade. This evil might have been immediately removed, by abolishing this monopoly, and allowing a free trade; but it was not then time to adopt so simple a theory. The government, however, chose only to employ a more numerous association, composed of men of greater property and credit.

They gave them the disposal of the settlements that were or should be formed in Canada, together with a power of fortifying and governing them as they thought proper, and of making war or peace, as should best promote their interest. The whole trade by sea and land was allowed them for a term of fifteen years, except the cod and whale fisheries, which were left open to all. The beaver and all the fur trade was granted to the Company for ever.

To all these were added further encouragements. The king made a present of two large ships to the Company, which consisted of seven hundred proprietors. Twelve of the principal were raised to the rank of nobility. Gentlemen, and even the clergy, already too rich, were invited to share in this trade. The Company were allowed the liberty of sending and export-

ing all kinds of commodities and merchandise, free of any duty whatsoever. A person who exercised any trade in the colony for the space of six years, was entitled to the freedom of the same trade in France. The last favour granted them was the free entry of all goods manufactured in those distant regions. This singular privilege, the motives of which it is not easy to discover, gave the manufacturers of New France an infinite advantage over those of the mother-country, who were encumbered with a variety of duties, letters of mastership, charges for stamps, and with all the impediments which ignorance and avarice had multiplied without end.

In return for so many marks of partiality, the Company, which had a capital of a hundred thousand crowns [12,500l.], engaged to bring into the colony, in the year 1628, which was the first year they enjoyed their charter, two or three hundred artificers of such trades as were fittest for their purpose; and sixteen thousand men before the year 1643. They were to provide them with lodging and board, to maintain them for three years, and afterwards to give them as much cleared land as would be necessary for their subsistence, with a sufficient quantity of grain to sow it the first year.

Fortune did not second the endeavours of government in favour of the new Company. The first ships they fitted out were taken by the English, who were lately at variance with France, on account of the siege of Rochelle. Richelieu and Buckingham, who were enemies from jealousy, from personal character, from state interest, and from every motive that can excite an irreconcilable enmity between two ambitious ministers, took this opportunity to spirit up the two kings they governed, and the two nations they were endeavouring to oppress. The English, who fought for their interests, gained the advantage over the French; and the latter lost Canada in 1629. The council of Lewis XIII. were so little acquainted with the value of this settlement, that they were inclined not to demand the

BOOK XV. restitution of it; but the pride of the leading man, who, being at the head of the Company, considered the encroachments of the English as a personal insult, prevailed with them to alter their opinion. They met with less difficulty than they expected; and Canada was restored to the French, with peace, in 1631, by the treaty of St. Germain en Laye.

The French were not taught by adversity. The same ignorance, the same negligence, prevailed after the recovery of Canada as before. The monopolizing Company fulfilled none of their engagements. This breach of faith, far from being punished, was in a manner rewarded by a prolongation of their charter. The clamours of all Canada were disregarded at such a distance; and the deputies sent to represent its wretched situation were denied access to the throne, where timid truth is never suffered to approach, but is awed into silence by threats and punishments. This behaviour, equally repugnant to humanity, private interest, and good policy, was attended with such consequences as might naturally be expected from it.

The French had formed their settlement improperly. In order to have the appearance of reigning over an immense track of country, and to draw nearer to the furs, they had placed their habitations at such a distance from each other, that they had scarce any communication, and were unable to afford each other any assistance. The misfortunes which were the result of this imprudence had not produced any alteration in their conduct. The interest of the moment made them always forget the past, and prevented them from foreseeing the future. They were not properly in a social state, since the magistrates could not superintend their morals, nor government provide for the safety of their persons and property.

The audacious and ardent Iroquois soon perceived the defect of this constitution, and pursued measures to avail themselves of it. The weak bands of savages which had been sheltered from their fury, deprived of that support which constituted their security, soon fled

before them. This first success inspired the Iroquois with the hopes of compelling their protectors to cross the sea again, and even of being able to deprive these foreigners of their children, that with them they might fill the place of those warriors they had lost in the preceding wars. To avoid these calamities and humiliations, the French were obliged to erect, in each of the districts which they occupied, a kind of fort, where they took refuge, and where they sheltered their provisions and their cattle, at the approach of these irreconcilable foes. These palifadoes, commonly supported by some indifferent guns, were never forced, and perhaps even never blocked up; but whatever was found on the outside of the intrenchments was either destroyed or carried off by these barbarians. Such was the misery and deplorable state of the colony, that it was reduced to subsist upon the charitable contributions which the missionaries received from Europe.

The French ministry, at length awakened from their lethargy by that general commotion which at that time agitated every nation, sent a body of four hundred well-disciplined troops to Canada in 1662. This corps was reinforced two years after. The French gradually recovered an absolute superiority over the Iroquois. Three of their nations, alarmed at their losses, made proposals for an accommodation; and the other two were so much weakened, that they were induced to accede to it in 1668. At this time the colony first enjoyed a profound peace, which paved the way for its prosperity; and a freedom of trade contributed to secure it. The beaver trade alone continued to be monopolized.

This revolution in affairs excited industry. The former colonists, whose weakness had till then confined them within their settlements, now ventured to extend their plantations, and cultivated them with greater confidence and success. All the soldiers who consented to settle in the New World obtained their discharge, together with a grant of some property. The officers had lands given them in proportion to their

BOOK
XV.
The French are roused from their inactivity. Means by which this change was effected.

BOOK XV. rank. The former settlements were improved; and new ones established, wherever the interest or safety of the colony required it. This spirit and activity occasioned an increase of traffic with the Indians, and revived the intercourse between both continents. This prosperity seemed likely to receive additional advantages from the care taken by the superintendants of the colony, not only to preserve friendship with the neighbouring nations, but likewise to establish peace and harmony among themselves. Not a single act of hostility was committed throughout an extent of four or five hundred leagues; a circumstance, perhaps, unheard of before in North America. It should seem that the French had kindled the war at their arrival, only to extinguish it the more effectually.

But this concord could not continue among people who were always armed for the chase, unless the power that had effected it should preserve it by the superiority of its forces. The Iroquois, finding this precaution was neglected, resumed that restless disposition arising from their love of revenge and dominion. They were, however, careful to continue on good terms with all who were either allies or neighbours to the French. Notwithstanding this moderation, they were told that they must immediately lay down their arms, and restore all the prisoners they had taken, or expect to see their country destroyed, and their habitations burnt down. This haughty summons incensed their pride. They answered, that they should never suffer the least incroachment on their independence; and that they should make the French sensible, that they were friends not to be neglected, and enemies not to be despised. But, as they were staggered with the air of authority that had been assumed, they complied in part with the terms required of them; and the affair was thus compromised.

But this kind of humiliation rather increased the resentment of a people more accustomed to commit than to suffer injuries. The English, who in 1664 had dispossessed the Dutch of New Belgia, and remained ma-

sters of the territory they had acquired, which they had called New York, availed themselves of the dispositions of the Iroquois. They not only excited the spirit of discord, but added presents to induce them to break with the French. The same artifices were used to seduce the rest of their allies. Those who adhered to their allegiance were attacked. All were invited, and some compelled to bring their beaver and other furs to New York, where they sold at a higher price than in the French colony.

Denonville, who had lately been sent to Canada to enforce obedience to the authority of the proudest of monarchs, was impatient of all these insults. Though he was in a condition not only to defend his own frontiers, but even to encroach upon those of the Iroquois; yet, sensible that this nation must not be attacked without being destroyed, it was agreed that the French should remain in a state of seeming inaction, till they had received from Europe the necessary reinforcements for executing so desperate a resolution. These succours arrived in 1687; and the colony had then 11,249 persons, of whom about one-third were able to bear arms.

Notwithstanding this superiority of forces, Denonville had recourse to stratagem, and dishonoured the French name among the savages by an infamous perfidy. Under pretence of terminating their differences by negotiation, he basely abused the confidence which the Iroquois reposed in the Jesuit Lamberville, to allure their chiefs to a conference. As soon as they arrived, they were put in irons, embarked at Quebec, and sent to the galleys.

On the first report of this treachery, the old men sent for their missionary, and addressed him in the following manner: "We are authorized by every motive
 " to treat you as an enemy, but we cannot resolve to
 " do it. Your heart has had no share in the insult
 " that has been put upon us; and it would be unjust
 " to punish you for a crime you detest still more than
 " ourselves. But you must leave us. Our rash young

BOOK
 XV. "men might consider you in the light of a traitor,
 " who has delivered up the chiefs of our nation to
 " shameful slavery." After this speech, these savages,
 whom the Europeans have always called barbarians,
 gave the missionary some guides, who conducted him
 to a place of safety; and then both parties took up
 arms.

The French presently spread terror among the Iroquois bordering upon the great lakes; but Denonville had neither the activity nor the expedition necessary to improve these first successes. While he was taken up in deliberating, instead of acting, the campaign was closed without the acquisition of any permanent advantage. This increased the boldness of the Iroquois who lived near the French settlements, where they repeatedly committed the most dreadful ravages. The planters, finding their labours destroyed by these depredations, which deprived them of the means of repairing the damages they had sustained, ardently wished for peace. Denonville's temper coincided with their wishes; but it was no easy matter to pacify an enemy rendered implacable by ill usage. Lamberville, who still maintained his former ascendant over them, made overtures of peace, which were listened to.

While these negotiations were carrying on, a Machiavel, born in the forests, known by the name of Le Rat, the bravest, the most resolute, the most intelligent savage ever found in the wilds of North America, arrived at Fort Frontenac with a chosen band of Hurons, fully determined upon exploits worthy of the reputation he had acquired. He was told that a treaty was actually on foot; that the deputies of the Iroquois were upon the road to conclude it at Montreal; and that it would be an insult upon the French governor, if hostilities should be carried on against a nation with which they were negotiating a peace.

Le Rat, piqued that the French should thus enter into negotiations without consulting their allies, resolved to punish them for their presumption. He lay in wait for the deputies, some of whom were killed,

and the rest taken prisoners. When the latter told him the purport of their voyage, he feigned the greater surprize, as Denonville, he said, had sent him to intercept them. In order to carry on the deceit more successfully, he immediately released them all, except one, whom he pretended to keep, to replace one of his Hurons who had been killed in the fray. He then hastened to Michillimakinac, where he presented his prisoner to the French commandant, who, not knowing that Denonville was treating with the Iroquois, caused the unhappy savage to be put to death. Immediately after this, Le Rat sent for an old Iroquois, who had long been a prisoner among the Hurons, and gave him his liberty to go and acquaint his nation, that, while the French were amusing their enemies with negotiations, they continued to take prisoners and murder them. This artifice, worthy of the most infamous European policy, succeeded as the savage Le Rat desired. The war was renewed with greater fury than ever, and lasted the longer, as the English, who about that period were engaged in a contest with France, on account of the deposition of James II. thought it their interest to make an alliance with the Iroquois.

An English fleet, which sailed from Europe in 1690, appeared before Quebec in October, to lay siege to the place. They had reason to expect but a faint resistance, as the savages were to make a powerful diversion, to draw off the principal land-forces of the colony. But they were compelled shamefully to relinquish the enterprize, after having sustained great losses. The causes of this disappointment merit some discussion.

When the British ministry projected the reduction of Canada, they determined that the land and sea forces should arrive there at the same time. This wise plan was executed with the utmost exactness. As the ships were sailing up the river St. Lawrence, the troops marched by land, in order to reach the scene of action at the same instant as the fleet. They were nearly arrived, when the Iroquois, who conducted and supported them, recollected the hazard they ran in lead-

BOOK XV. ing their allies to the conquest of Quebec. Situated as we are between two European nations, said they in a council which they held, each powerful enough to destroy us, both interested in our destruction, when they no longer stand in need of our assistance; what better measure can we take, than to prevent the one from being victorious over the other? Then will each of them be compelled to court our alliance, or to bribe us to a neutrality. This system, which seemed to be dictated by the same kind of deep policy as that which directs the balance of Europe, determined the Iroquois to return to their respective homes under various pretences. Their defection obliged the English to retreat; and the French, now in security on their lands, united all their forces with as much unanimity as success for the defence of their capital.

The Iroquois, from motives of policy, stifled their resentment against the French, and were attached rather to the name than to the interests of England. These two European powers, therefore, irreconcilable rivals to each other, but separated by the territory of a savage nation, equally apprehensive of the superiority of either, were prevented from doing each other so much injury as they could have wished. The war was carried on merely by a few depredations, fatal to the colonists, but of little consequence to the several nations concerned in them. During the scene of cruelties exercised by the several parties of English and Iroquois, French and Hurons, whose ravages extended one hundred leagues from home, some actions were performed, which seemed to render human nature superior to such enormities.

Some French and Indians having joined in an expedition that required a long march, their provisions began to fail. The Hurons caught plenty of game, and always offered some to the French, who were not such skilful huntsmen. The latter would have declined accepting this generous offer; *You share with us the fatigues of war*, said the savages; *it is but reasonable that we should share with you the necessaries of life;*

we should not be men if we acted otherwise with men. If similar instances of magnanimity may have sometimes occurred among Europeans, the following is peculiar to savages. BOOK
XV.

A party of Iroquois being informed that a party of the French and their allies were advancing with superior forces, they fled with precipitation. They were headed by Onontague, who was a hundred years old. He scorned to fly with the rest, and chose rather to fall into the hands of the enemy; though he had nothing to expect but exquisite torments. What a spectacle to see four hundred barbarians eager in tormenting an old man; who far from complaining, treated the French with the utmost contempt, and upbraided the Hurons with having stooped to be the slaves of those vile Europeans! One of his tormentors, provoked at his invectives, stabbed him in three places to put an end to his repeated insults. *Thou dost wrong,* said Onontague calmly to him, *to shorten my life; thou wouldst have had more time to learn to die like a man.* And are these the men whom the French and English have been conspiring to extirpate for a century past? But, perhaps, they would be ashamed to live among such models of heroism and magnanimity.

The peace of Ryfwick put a sudden end to the calamities of Europe and the hostilities in America. The Hurons and the Iroquois, as well as the French and English, were sensible that they required a long continuance of peace, to repair the losses they had sustained in war. The Indians began to recover themselves; the Europeans resumed their labours; and the fur trade, the first that could be entered into with a nation of hunters, was more firmly established.

Before the discovery of Canada, the forests with which it was over-run were little more than the extensive haunt of wild beasts, which had multiplied prodigiously; because the few men who lived in those deserts having no flocks or tame animals, left more room and more food for such as were wandering and free like themselves. If the nature of the climate did not afford an infinite vari-

The furs are the foundation of the connections between the French and the Indians.

B O O K
XV.
 ety, each species produced, at least, a multitude of individuals. But they at last paid tribute to the sovereignty of man, that cruel power which hath always been exercised in a manner so fatal to every living creature. Having neither arts nor husbandry to employ them, the savages fed and clothed themselves entirely with the wild beasts they destroyed. As soon as luxury had led us to make use of their skins, the natives waged a perpetual war against them; which was the more active, as it procured them plenty, and a variety of gratifications which they were unaccustomed to; and the more destructive, as they had adopted the use of our fire arms. This fatal industry exercised in the woods of Canada, occasioned a great quantity and prodigious variety of furs to be brought into the ports of France; some of which were consumed in the kingdom, and the rest disposed of in the neighbouring countries. Most of these furs were already known in Europe; they came from the northern parts of our hemisphere, but in too small quantities to supply a general demand. Caprice and novelty have made them more or less in fashion, since it has been found to be for the interest of the American colonies that they should be valued in the mother countries. It may not be improper to give some account of those that are still in request.

The otter is a voracious animal, which runs or swims along the banks of the lakes or rivers, commonly lives upon fish, and, when that fails, will feed upon grass, or the rind of aquatic plants. From his manner and place of living he has been ranked amongst amphibious animals, who can equally live in the air and under water; but improperly, since the otter, like all other land animals, cannot live without respiration. He is found in all those countries which abound in water, and are temperate, but is more common and much larger in the northern parts of America. His hair is nowhere so black or so fine; a circumstance the more fatal to him, as it exposes him more to the pursuits of man.

The pole-cat is in equal estimation among the Ca-

nadian huntsmen. There are three species of this animal: the first is the common pole-cat; the second is called the mink; and the third, the stinking pole-cat, because his urine, which he voids in his fright when he is pursued, is so offensive, that it infects the air at a great distance. Their hair is darker, more glossy, and more silky than in Europe.

Even the rat in North America is valuable for his skin. There are two sorts especially whose skin is an article of trade. The one, which is called the Opossum, is twice as large as an European rat. His hair is commonly of a silver grey, sometimes of a clear white. The female has a bag under her belly, which she can open and shut at pleasure. When she is pursued, she puts her young ones into this bag, and runs away with them. The other, which is called the Musk-rat, because his testicles contain musk, has all the characteristic qualities of the beaver, of which he seems to be a diminutive; and his skin is employed for the same purposes.

The ermine, which is about the size of a squirrel, but not quite so long, has the same lively eyes, keen look, and his motions are so quick that the eye cannot follow them. The tip of his long and bushy tail is as black as jet. His hair, which is yellow as gold in summer, turns as white as snow in winter. This lively and light animal is one of the beauties of Canada; but, though smaller than the fable, is not so common.

The martin is only to be met with in cold countries, in the centre of the forests, far from all habitations, is a beast of prey, and lives upon birds. Though it is but a foot and a half long, it leaves prints on the snow that appear to be the footsteps of a very large animal; because it always jumps along, and leaves the marks of both feet together. Its fur is much esteemed, though far inferior to that species which is distinguished by the name of the Sable. This is of a shining black. The finest among them are those whose skin is the most brown, and reaches along the back quite to the tip of the tail. The martins seldom quit

B O O K
XV.

B O O K ^{XV.} the inmost recesses of their impenetrable woods more than once in two or three years. The natives think it portends a good winter; that is, a great quantity of snow, and consequently good sport.

The animal which the ancients called Lynx, known in Siberia by the name of the Ounce, is only called the Wild-cat in Canada, where it is smaller than in our hemisphere. This animal, to whom vulgar error would not have attributed very piercing eyes, if he were not endowed with the faculty of seeing, hearing, and smelling at a distance, lives upon what game he can catch, which he pursues to the very tops of the tallest trees. His flesh is known to be very white and well flavoured; but he is hunted chiefly for the sake of his skin; the hair of which is very long, and of a fine light grey, but less esteemed than that of the fox.

This carnivorous and mischievous animal is a native of the frozen climates, where nature, affording few vegetables, seems to compel all animals to eat one another. In warmer climates he has lost much of his original beauty, and his fur is not so fine. In the north, it has remained long, soft, and full, sometimes white, sometimes brown, and often red or sandy. The finest of any is that which is black; but this is more scarce in Canada than in Muscovy, which lies further north, and is not so damp.

Beside these smaller furs, North America supplies us with skins of the stag, the deer, and the roe-buck; of the moose-deer, called there Caribou; and of the elk, which is called Orignal. These two last kinds, which in our hemisphere are only found towards the polar circle, the elk on this side, and the moose-deer beyond, are to be met with in America in more southern latitudes. This may be owing to the cold being more intense in America, from singular causes, which make an exception to the general law of nature; or it may possibly arise from these fresh lands being less frequented by destructive man. Their strong, soft, and warm skins, make excellent garments, which are very light. All these animals are hunted by the Eu-

ropeans; but the savages have reserved the chase of the bear to themselves, it being their favourite sport, and best adapted to their warlike manners, their strength, and their bravery, and especially to their wants. BOOK
XV.

In a cold and severe climate, the bear is most commonly black. As he is rather shy than fierce, instead of a cavern, he chooses for his lurking-place the hollow rotten trunk of an old tree. There he fixes himself in winter, as high as he can climb. As he is very fat at the end of autumn, very much covered with hair, takes no exercise, and is almost always asleep, he must lose but little by perspiration, and consequently must seldom want to go abroad in quest of food. But he is forced out of his retreat by its being set fire to; and as soon as he attempts to come down, he falls under a shower of arrows before he can reach the ground. The Indians feed upon his flesh, rub themselves with his grease, and clothe themselves with his skin. Such was the design of their pursuit after the bear, when a new interest directed them towards the beaver.

This animal possesses all the friendly dispositions fit for society, without being subject, as we are, to the vices or misfortunes attendant upon it. Formed by nature for social life, he is endowed with an instinct adapted to the preservation and propagation of his species. This animal, whose tender plaintive accents, and whose striking example, draw tears of admiration and pity from the humane philosopher, who contemplates his life and manners; this harmless animal, who never hurts any living creature, neither carnivorous nor sanguinary, is become the object of man's most earnest pursuit, and the one which the savages hunt after with the greatest eagerness and cruelty: a circumstance owing to the unmerciful rapaciousness of the most polished nations of Europe.

Figure of
the beavers.
Their dis-
position,
and form of
government.

The beaver is about three or four feet long, but his weight amounts to forty or sixty pounds, which is the consequence of the largeness of his muscles. His head, which he carries downwards, is like that of a

B O O K XV. rat, and his back raised in an arch above it like that of a mouse. Lucretius has observed, not that man has hands given him to make use of them, but that he had hands given him, and has made use of them. Thus the beaver has webs at his hinder feet, and he swims with them. The toes of his fore-feet are separate, and answer the purpose of hands; the tail, which is flat, oval, and covered with scales, he uses to carry loads and to work with; he has four sharp incisors or cutting teeth, which serve him instead of carpenter's tools. All these instruments, which are in a manner useless while he lives alone, and do not then distinguish him from other animals, are of infinite service when he lives in society, and enable him to display a degree of ingenuity superior to all instinct.

Without passions, without a desire of doing injury to any, and without craft, when he does not live in society, he scarcely ventures to defend himself. He never bites unless he be caught. But in the social state, in lieu of weapons, he has a variety of contrivances to secure himself without fighting, and to live without committing or suffering any injury. This peaceable and even tame animal is nevertheless independent: he is a slave to none, because all his wants are supplied by himself: he enters into society, but will not serve, nor does he pretend to command: and all his labours are directed by a silent instinct.

It is the common want of subsistence and propagation that calls the beavers home, and collects them together in summer to build their towns against winter. As early as June or July, they come in from all quarters, and assemble, to the number of two or three hundred; but always by the water side, because these republicans are to live on the water, to secure themselves from invasion. Sometimes they give the preference to still lakes in unfrequented districts, because there the waters are always at an equal height. When they find no pools of standing water, they make one in the midst of rivers or streams, by means of a causeway or dam. The very plan of this contrivance im-

plies such a complication of ideas, as our short-sighted reason would be apt to think above any capacity but that of an intelligent being. The first thing to be erected is a pile a hundred feet long, and twelve feet thick at the basis, which shelves away to two or three feet in a slope answerable to the depth of the waters. To save work, or to facilitate their labour, they choose the shallowest part of the river. If they find a large tree by the water-side, they fell it, so that it falls across the stream. If it should be larger in circumference than a man's body, they saw it through, or rather gnaw the foot with their four sharp teeth. The branches are soon lopped off by these industrious workmen, who want to fashion it into a beam. A number of smaller trees are felled and prepared for the intended pile. Some drag these trees to the river-side, others swim over with them to the place where the causeway is to be raised. But the question is, how these animals are to sink them in the water with the assistance only of their teeth, tail, and feet: their contrivance is this. With their nails they dig a hole in the ground, or at the bottom of the water. With their teeth they rest the large end of the stake against the bank of the river, or against the great beam that lies across. With their feet they raise the stake, and sink it with the sharp end downwards into the hole, where it stands upright. With their tails they make mortar, with which they fill up all the vacancies between the stakes, which are bound together with twisted boughs; and thus the pile is constructed. The slope of the dam is opposite to the current, to break more effectually the force of the water by a gradual resistance, and the stakes are driven in obliquely, in proportion to the inclination of the plane. The stakes are planted perpendicularly on the side where the water is to fall; and, in order to open a drain which may lessen the effect of the slope and weight of the causeway, they make two or three openings at the top of it, by which part of the waters of the river may run off.

B O O K

XV.

When this work is finished by the whole body of the republic, every member considers of a lodging for himself. Each company builds a hut in the water upon the pile. These huts are from four to ten feet in diameter, upon an oval or round spot. Some are two or three stories high, according to the number of families or households. Each hut contains at least two or three, and some ten or fifteen. The walls, whether high or low, are about two feet thick, and are all arched at the top, and perfectly neat and solid both within and without. They are varnished with a kind of stucco, impenetrable by the water and by the external air. Every apartment has two openings; one on the land side, to enable the beavers to go out and fetch provisions; the other on the side next the stream, to facilitate their escape at the approach of the enemy, that is, of man, the destroyer of cities and commonwealths. The window of the house opens to the water. There they take the fresh air in the day-time, plunged into the river up to their middle. In winter it serves to fence them against the ice, which collects to the thickness of two or three feet. The shelf, intended to prevent the ice from stopping up this window, rests upon two stakes that slope so as to carry off the water from the house, and leave an outlet to escape, or to go and swim under the ice. The inside of the house has no other furniture than a flooring of grass, covered with the boughs of the fir-tree. No filth of any kind is ever seen in these apartments.

The materials for these buildings are always to be found in their neighbourhood. These are alders, poplars, and other trees, delighting in watery places, as these republicans do who build their apartments of them. These citizens have the satisfaction, at the same time that they fashion the wood, to nourish themselves with it. Like certain savages of the frozen ocean, they eat the bark. The savages, indeed, do not like it till it is dried, pounded, and properly dressed; whereas the beavers chew it, and suck it when it is quite green.

Provisions of bark and tender twigs are laid up in separate storehouses, for every hut, proportionable to the number of its inhabitants. Every beaver knows his own storehouse, and not one of them steals from that of his neighbour. Each party live in their own habitation, and are contented with it, though jealous of the property they have acquired in it by their labour. The provisions of the community are collected and expended without any contest. They are satisfied with that simple food which their labour prepares for them. The only passion they have, is that of conjugal affection, the basis and end of which is the increase of their species.

Two of these animals, matched together and united by inclination and reciprocal choice, after being acquainted with each other by being mutually employed in the public labours during the summer-months, agree to pass the winter together. They prepare for this by the stock of provisions they lay up in September. The happy couple retire into their hut in the autumnal season, which is not less favourable to love than the spring. If the season of flowers invite the birds of the sky to propagate in the woods, the season of fruits, perhaps, excites the inhabitants of the earth as powerfully to the reproduction of their species. The winter at least gives leisure for amorous pursuits, and in this circumstance compensates the advantages of other seasons. The couple then never quit each other. Their whole time is consecrated to love; from which neither labour nor any other object can divert them. The females conceive, and bear the endearing pledges of this universal passion of nature. If some sunshiny day should chance to enliven this melancholy season, the happy couple go out of their hut, to walk on the borders of the lake or the river, there to eat some fresh bark, and to breathe the salutary exhalations of the earth. Towards the end of winter, however, the mothers bring forth their young ones, which have been conceived in autumn; and while the father ranges all the woods, allured by

B O O K
XV.

the sweets of the spring, leaving to his little family the room he took up in his narrow cell, the mother suckles and nurses them, to the number of two or three; then she takes them out along with her in her excursions, in search of cray and other fish, and green bark, to recruit her own strength, and to feed them, till the season of labour returns.

Thus doth this republic live in societies, which might distantly be compared to a large Carthusian convent. But they have only the appearance of it; and if happiness may be said to dwell in these two sorts of communities, it must be acknowledged that it is by very opposite means; since, in the former, happiness consists in following nature; while in the latter, it consists in thwarting and destroying her. But man, in his folly, thinks he has found out the path of wisdom. A number of persons live together in a kind of society, which precludes for ever all intercourse between the two sexes. The men and the women are placed in distinct cells, where, to make them happy, nothing more would be required than that they should live together. There they consume their best days, in stifling, or in execrating the propensity that attracts them to each other, even through the prisons and grates of iron, which have been raised to prevent them from indulging every tender and innocent emotion of the heart. Can any thing be more injurious, as well as inhuman, than these gloomy and ferocious institutions, which deprive man of his nature, and render him stupid and silly, under pretence of making him similar to angels? God of Nature! It is at thy tribunal that we must appeal against all those laws which injure the most beautiful among thy works, by condemning them to a state of sterility, contrary to thine own institutions! For art thou not a truly plastic and fruitful Being; thou who hath created man from nothing, and taken him out of chaos; thou, who doth continually cause life to be renewed even from death itself? Who is it that best sings forth thy praises, the solitary being who disturbs the silence of the night to cele-

brate thee among the tombs, or the happy people who glorify thee, in perpetuating the wonders of thy works? BOOK
XV.

Such is the system of the republican, industrious, intelligent beaver, skilled in architecture, provident and systematical in its plans of police and society, whose gentle and instructive manners we have been describing. Happy, if his coat did not tempt merciless and savage man to destroy his buildings and his race. It has frequently happened, when the Americans have demolished the settlements of the beavers, that those indefatigable animals have had the resolution to rebuild them in the very same situation for several summers successively. The winter is the time for attacking them. Experience then warns them of their danger. At the approach of the huntsmen, one of them strikes a hard stroke with his tail upon the water: this signal spreads a general alarm throughout all the huts of the commonwealth, and every one tries to save himself under the ice. But it is very difficult to escape all the snares that are laid for this harmless tribe.

Sometimes the huntsmen lie in wait for them: but as these animals see and hear at a great distance, it seldom happens that they are shot by the water-side; and they never venture so far upon land as to be caught by surprise. If the beaver be wounded before he takes to the water, he has always time enough to plunge in; and, if he dies afterwards, he is lost, because he sinks, and never rises again.

A more certain way of catching beavers is, by laying traps in the woods, where they eat the tender bark of young trees. These traps are baited with fresh slips of wood; and as soon as the beavers touch them, a great weight falls, and crushes their loins. The man, who is concealed near the place, hastens to it, seizes the animal, and having killed it, carries it off.

There are other methods more commonly and successfully practised. The huts are sometimes attacked, in order to drive out the inhabitants, who are watched at the edges of the holes that have been bored in the

BOOK XV. ice, where they cannot avoid coming to take in fresh air. The instant they appear, they are killed. At other times, the animal, driven out of his retreat, is entangled in the nets, spread for some toises round his hut, the ice being broken for that purpose. If the whole colony is to be taken at once, instead of breaking down the sluices to drown the inhabitants, a scheme that might, perhaps, be tried with effect in Holland, the causeway is opened, in order to drain off the water from the pool where the beavers live. When they are thus left dry, defenceless, and unable to escape, they may be caught at pleasure, and destroyed at any time; but care is always taken to leave a sufficient number of males and females to preserve the breed; an act of generosity which in reality proceeds only from avarice. The cruel foresight of man only spares a few, in order to have the more to destroy. The beaver, whose plaintive cry seems to implore his clemency and pity, finds in the savage, rendered cruel by the Europeans, only an implacable enemy, whose enterprises are undertaken, not so much to supply his own wants, as to furnish superfluities to another world.

If we compare the manners, the police, and the industry of the beavers, with the wandering life of the savages of Canada, we shall be inclined to admit, making allowance for the superiority of man's faculties above those of animals, that the beaver was much further advanced in the arts of social life than his pursuer, when the Europeans first brought their talents and improvements to North America.

The beaver, an older inhabitant of that world than man, and the quiet possessor of regions so well adapted to his species, had employed that tranquillity he had enjoyed for many ages, in the improvement of his faculties. In our hemisphere, man has seized upon the most wholesome and fertile regions, and has driven out or subdued all other animals. If the bee and the ant have preserved their laws and government from the jealous and destructive dominion of tyrant man, it has been owing to the smallness of their size. It is thus

we see some republics in Europe, without splendour or strength, maintain themselves by their very weakness, in the midst of vast monarchies, which must sooner or later swallow them up. But the social quadrupeds, banished into uninhabited climates, unfit for their increase, have been unconnected in all places, incapable of uniting into a community, or of improving their natural sagacity; while man, who has reduced them to that precarious state, exults in their degradation, and sets a high value on that superior nature, and those rational powers, which constitute a perpetual distinction between his species and all others.

Brutes, we are told, bring nothing to perfection: their operations, therefore, can only be mechanical, and do not imply any principle similar to that which actuates man. Without examining in what perfection consists; whether the most civilized being be in reality the most perfect; whether he does not lose in the property of his person what he acquires in the property of things; or, whether what is added to his enjoyments is not so much subtracted from his duration: it must be acknowledged, that the beaver, which in Europe is a wandering, solitary, timorous, and stupid animal, was in Canada acquainted with civil and domestic government, knew how to distinguish the proper seasons for labour and rest, was acquainted with some rules of architecture, and with the curious and learned art of constructing dikes; yet he had attained to this degree of improvement with feeble and imperfect tools. He can hardly see the work he performs with his tail. His teeth, which answer the purposes of a variety of tools, are circular, and confined by the lips. Man, on the contrary, with hands fit for every purpose, hath in this single organ of the touch all the combined powers of strength and dexterity. Is it not to this advantage of organization, that he owes the superiority of his species above all others? It is not because his eyes are turned toward heaven, as those of all birds are, that he is the lord of the creation; it is because he is provided with hands, capable of every exertion,

BOOK and of adapting themselves to every species of industry; hands, ever ready to strike terror into his enemies, to defend or to assist him. His hand is his sceptre, that arm which he lifts up to heaven, to find out, as it were, his origin; he, at the same time, marks his dominion with it over the earth, by destroying and ravaging the face of the globe. The surest sign of the population of mankind is the depopulation of other species. That of the beavers gradually decreases and disappears in Canada, since the Europeans have been in quest of their skins.

Their skins vary with the climate, both in colour and quality. In the same district, however, where the colonies of civilized beavers are found, there are some that are wild and solitary. These animals, who are said to be expelled the society for their ill behaviour, live in a subterraneous retreat, and have neither lodging nor storehouse. They are called earth beavers. Their coat is dirty, and the hair on their backs is worn off by rubbing against the cave which they dig for their habitation. The hole they make, and which commonly opens into some pond or ditch full of water, sometimes extends above a hundred feet in length, and rises gradually in a slope, to facilitate their escape from inundations when the waters swell. Some of these beavers are so wild as to disclaim all communication with their natural element, and live entirely on land. In this they resemble our otters in Europe. These wild beavers have not such sleek hair as those that live in societies; their furs are answerable to their manners.

Beavers are found in America from the thirtieth to the sixtieth degree of north latitude. There are but few towards the south; but they increase in number, and grow darker, as we advance towards the north. In the country of the Illinois, they are yellow and straw-coloured; higher up in the country, they are of a light chestnut; to the north of Canada, of a dark chestnut; and some are found that are quite black, and these are reckoned the finest. Yet, in this cli-

mate, the coldest that is inhabited by this species, some among the black tribes are quite white; others white, speckled with grey, and sometimes with sandy spots on the rump; so much does nature delight in showing the gradations of warmth and cold, and their various influences, not only on the figure, but on the very covering of animals. The value that is set upon them depends upon the colour of their skins. Some of them are so little in esteem, that it is not thought worth while to kill them; but these are not commonly found.

BOOK
XV.

The fur trade was the first which the Europeans carried on in Canada. It was begun by the French colony at Tadoussac, a port situated thirty leagues below Quebec. About the year 1640, the town of Les Trois Rivieres, at the distance of twenty-five leagues above the capital, became a second mart. In process of time, all the fur trade centered in Montreal. The skins were brought thither on canoes made of the bark of trees in the month of June. The number of Indians who resorted to that place increased, as the fame of the French spread further. The account of the reception they had met with, the sight of the things they had received in exchange for their goods, all contributed to increase this traffic. Whenever they returned with a fresh supply of furs, they always brought a new nation along with them. Thus a kind of fair was opened, to which the several tribes of that vast continent resorted.

In what
places, and
in what
manner, the
fur trade
was carried
on.

The English grew jealous of this branch of wealth; and the colony they had founded at New York soon found means to divert the stream of this great circulation. As soon as they had secured a subsistence, by bestowing their first attention upon agriculture, they began to think of the fur trade, which was at first confined to the country of the Iroquois. The five nations of that name would not suffer their lands to be traversed, in order to give an opportunity of treating with other savage nations, who were at constant enmity with them; nor would they allow those nations to come up-

BOOK XV. on their territories, to share in competition with them the profits of the trade they had opened with the Europeans. But time having extinguished, or rather suspended, the national hostilities between the Indians, the English spread themselves over the country, and the savages flocked to them from all quarters. This nation had infinite advantages to give them the preference to their rivals the French. Their voyages were carried on with greater facility, and consequently they could afford to undersell them. They were the only manufacturers of the coarse cloths that were most suitable to the savages. The beaver trade was free among them; whereas, among the French, it was, and ever has been, subject to the tyranny of monopoly. It was by this freedom, and these privileges, that they engrossed most of the trade that rendered Montreal so famous.

At this time the French in Canada indulged themselves more freely in a custom, which at first had been confined within narrow bounds. Their inclination for frequenting the woods, which was that of the first colonists, had been wisely restrained within the limits of the territory belonging to the colony. Permission was, however, granted every year to twenty-five persons to go beyond these limits, in order to trade with the Indians. The superiority which New York was acquiring, was the cause of increasing the number of these permissions. They were a kind of patents, which the patentees might make use of either in person or by proxy, and continued a year or more. The produce of the sale of these patents was assigned, by the governor of the colony, to the officers, or their widows and children, to hospitals and missionaries, to such as had distinguished themselves by some great action, or some useful undertaking; and sometimes even to the creatures of the governor, who sold the patents himself. The money he did not give away, or did not choose to keep, was put into the public coffers; but he was not accountable to any one for the management of it.

This custom was attended with fatal consequences. Many of these traders settled among the Indians, to defraud their partners, whose goods they had disposed of. A greater number settled among the English, where the profits were greater. The immense lakes, frequently agitated with violent storms; the cascades, which render navigation so dangerous up the broadest rivers in the whole world; the weight of the canoes, the provisions, and the bales of goods, which they were forced to carry upon their shoulders at the *carrying places*, where the rapidity or shallowness of the water obliged them to quit the rivers, and pursue their journey by land, proved the destruction of several persons. Some perished in the snow and on the ice, by hunger, or by the sword of the enemy. Those who returned to the colony with a profit of six or seven hundred per cent. were not always on that account more useful members, as they gave themselves up to the greatest excesses, and by their example produced in others a dislike to attention and industry. Their fortunes were dissipated as suddenly as they were amassed, like those moving mountains which a whirlwind raises and destroys at once, on the sandy plains of Africa. Most of these travelling traders, exhausted with the excessive fatigues which their avarice prompted them to undergo, and the licentiousness of a wandering and dissolute life, dragged on a premature old age in indigence and infamy. The government took cognizance of these irregularities, and changed the manner of carrying on the fur trade.

The French had for a long time been incessantly employed in erecting a number of forts, which were thought necessary for the preservation and aggrandizement of their settlements in North America. Those built on the west and south of the river St. Lawrence were large and strong, and were intended to restrain the ambition of the English. Those which were constructed on the several lakes in the most important positions, formed a chain which extended northward to the distance of a thousand leagues from Quebec; but

BOOK XV. they were only miserable palliades, intended to keep the Indians in awe, to secure their alliance, and the produce of their chase. There was a garrison in each, more or less numerous, according to the importance of the post, and of the enemies who threatened it. It was thought proper to intrust the commandant of each of these forts with the exclusive right of buying and selling in the whole district under his dominion. This privilege was purchased; but as it was always advantageous, and sometimes was the means of acquiring a considerable fortune, it was only granted to officers that were most in favour. If any of these had not a stock sufficient for the undertaking, he could easily prevail with some monied men to join with him. It was pretended that this system, far from being detrimental to the service, was a means of promoting it, as it obliged the military men to keep up more constant connections with the natives, to watch their motions, and to neglect nothing that could secure their friendship. It was not foreseen, or at least pretended not to be so by any, that such an arrangement must necessarily prevail over every principle, except that of interest, and would be a source of perpetual oppression.

This tyranny, which soon became universal, was severely felt at Frontenac, at Niagara, and at Toronto. The farmers of those three forts, making an ill use of their exclusive privilege, set so low a value upon the merchandise that was brought them, and rated their own so high, that, by degrees, the Indians, instead of stopping there, resorted in great numbers to Chouaguen, on the lake Ontario, where the English traded with them upon more advantageous terms. The French court, alarmed at the account of these new connections, found means to weaken them, by taking the trade of these three posts into their own hands, and treating the Indians still better than they were treated by their rivals the English.

In consequence of this step, the refuse of all those furs that were not saleable became the sole property of the king; and all the skins of those beasts that were

killed in summer and autumn were readily given him; in a word, all the most ordinary furs, the thinnest, and most easily spoiled, were reserved for the king. All these damaged furs, bought without examination, were carelessly deposited in warehouses, and eaten up by the moths. At the proper season for sending them to Quebec, they were put into boats, and left to the discretion of soldiers, passengers, and watermen, who, having had no concern in those commodities, did not take the least care to keep them dry. When they came into the hands of the managers of the colony, they were sold for one half of the small value they had. Thus the returns were rather less than the sums advanced by the government in support of this losing trade.

But though this trade was of no consequence to the king, it is still a matter of doubt, if it were advantageous to the Indians, though gold and silver were not the dangerous medium of their traffic. They received, indeed, in exchange for their furs, saws, knives, hatchets, kettles, fish-hooks, needles, thread, ordinary linen, and coarse woollen stuffs; all which may be considered as the means or pledges of intercourse with them. But articles were likewise sold them that would have proved prejudicial to them, even as a gift or a present; such as guns, powder and shot, tobacco, and especially brandy.

This liquor, the most fatal present the Old World ever made to the New, was no sooner known to the savages, than they grew passionately fond of it. It was equally impossible for them to abstain from it, or to use it with moderation. It was soon observed that it disturbed their domestic peace, deprived them of their judgment, and made them furious; and that it occasioned husbands, wives, children, brothers, and sisters, to abuse and quarrel with one another. In vain did some worthy Frenchmen expostulate with them, and endeavour to make them ashamed of these excesses. It is you, answered they, who have taught us to drink this liquor; and now we cannot do without it. If you refuse to give it us, we will apply to the En-

BOOK XV. English. You have done the mischief, and it admits not of a remedy.

The court of France, upon receiving contradictory information with respect to the disorders occasioned by this pernicious trade, hath alternately prohibited, tolerated, and authorised it, according to the light in which it was represented to the ministry. Notwithstanding all these various alterations, the interest of the merchants was nearly the same. The sale of brandy was seldom decreased. It was, however, considered by judicious people as the principal cause of the diminution of the human race, and consequently that of the skins of beasts; a diminution which became every day more evident.

This decline of the fur trade was not yet so remarkable as it has been since, when the promotion of the duke of Anjou to the throne of Charles V. spread an alarm over all Europe, and plunged it once more into the horrors of a general war. The conflagration extended beyond the seas, and was advancing even to Canada, had not the Iroquois put a stop to it. The English and French had long been contending to secure an alliance with that nation. These marks of esteem or fear had so far increased their natural pride, that they considered themselves as the umpires of the two rival nations, and pretended that the conduct of both was to be regulated by their interest. As they were inclined to peace at that time, they haughtily declared that they would take up arms against either of the two nations, which should commence hostilities against the other. This resolution was favourable to the situation of the French colony, which was ill prepared for a war, and expected no assistance from the mother-country. The people of New York, on the contrary, whose forces were already considerable, and received daily reinforcements, wished to prevail upon the Iroquois to join with them. Their insinuations, presents, and negotiations, were, however, ineffectual till 1709; at which period they succeeded in seducing four of the five nations; and their troops, which till

then had remained inactive, marched out, supported by a great number of Indian warriors. BOOK
XV.

The army was confidently advancing towards the centre of Canada with the greatest probability of success, when one of the chiefs of the Iroquois, who had never approved of their proceedings, plainly said to his people, "What will become of us, if we should succeed in driving away the French?" These few words, uttered with a mysterious and anxious look, immediately recalled to the minds of all the people their former system, which was to keep the balance even between the two foreign nations, in order to secure their own independence. They instantly resolved to relinquish a design they had been too precipitately engaged in, contrary to the public interest; but as they thought it would be shameful openly to desert their associates, they imagined that secret treachery might serve the purpose of open defection. The lawless savages, the virtuous Spartans, the religious Hebrews, the wise and warlike Greeks and Romans; all people, whether civilized or not, have always made what is called the right of nations consist either in craft or violence.

The army had halted on the banks of a little river to wait for the artillery and ammunition. The Iroquois, who spent their leisure hours in hunting, flayed all the beasts they caught, and threw their skins into the river, a little above the camp. The waters were soon infected. The English, who had not any suspicion of such an instance of treachery, continued unfortunately to drink of the waters that were thus rendered poisonous; in consequence of which, such considerable numbers of them immediately died, that it became necessary to suspend the military operations.

A still more imminent danger threatened the French colony. A numerous fleet, destined against Quebec, and which had five or six thousand troops on board, entered the river St. Lawrence the following year, and would probably have succeeded, had it reached the place of its destination. But the rashness of the admiral, joined to the violence of the elements, was the

BOOK XV. } cause of its being lost in the passage. Thus was Canada at once delivered from its fears both by sea and land, and had the glory of maintaining itself, without succours and without loss, against the strength and policy of the English.

France is compelled to cede part of the provinces that were united to Canada.

France, in the mean time, which for forty years had singly withstood the combined efforts of all Europe, vanquished or repulsed all the nations united against her, gained that point under Lewis XIV. which Charles V. had not been able to do with the innumerable troops of his several kingdoms; France, which had at that period produced as many great men as would have rendered immortal a series of twenty reigns, and under one in particular had signalized herself by as many great actions as might have raised the glory of twenty different nations, was then upon the point of crowning all her glorious successes by placing a branch of the house of Bourbon on the throne of Spain. She had then fewer enemies, and a greater number of allies, than she ever had in the most brilliant periods of her prosperity. Every thing concurred to promise her an easy success, a speedy and decisive superiority.

It was not fortune, but nature itself, that changed her destiny. Proud and flourishing under a king endowed with the graces and vigour of youth, after having risen with him through the several degrees of glory and grandeur, she sank with him through all the periods of decay incident to human nature. The spirit of bigotry, which had been introduced into the court by an ambitious woman, determined the choice of ministers, generals, and governors; and this choice was always blind and unfortunate. Kings, who, like other men, have recourse to heaven when they are ready to quit the earth, seem in their old age to seek for a new set of flatterers, who sooth them with hopes, at the time when all realities are disappearing. It is at this time that hypocrisy, always ready to avail itself of the first and second childhood of life, awakens in the mind of princes the ideas that had been early implanted in it; and, under pretence of guiding him to

the only happiness that remains for him, assumes an absolute empire over his will. But as this last age, as well as the first, is a state of weakness, a continual fluctuation must, therefore, prevail in the government. Cabals grow more violent and more powerful than ever; the expectations of intriguing men are raised, and merit is less rewarded; men of superior talents are afraid to make themselves known; solicitations of every kind are multiplied; places are casually bestowed upon men all equally unfit to fill them, and yet presumptuous enough to think they deserve them; men who rate the estimation of themselves by the contempt they entertain for others. The nation then loses its strength with its confidence, and every thing is carried on with the same spirit it was undertaken; that is, without design, vigour, or prudence.

To raise a country from a state of barbarism, to maintain it in the height of its glory, and to check the rapidity of its decline, are three objects very difficult to accomplish; but the last is certainly the most arduous task of them all. A nation rises out of barbarism by sudden efforts exerted at intervals; it supports itself at the summit of its prosperity by the powers it has acquired; it declines in consequence of an universal languor, which has been brought on by almost imperceptible gradations. Barbarous nations require a long-continued reign; but short reigns are best calculated to maintain a state in its prosperity. But the long dotage of a declining monarch lays the foundation of evils for his successor, which it is almost impossible to remedy.

Such was the latter part of the reign of Lewis XIV. After a series of defeats and mortifications, he was still happy that he could purchase peace by sacrifices which made his humiliation evident. But he seemed to wish to conceal these sacrifices from his people, by making them chiefly beyond sea. It is easy to judge how much his pride must have suffered, in giving up to the English Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, and Acadia, three possessions, which, together with Canada, form-

BOOK XV. **ED** that immense tract of country known by the glorious name of New France. We shall see in the next book by what means this power, accustomed to conquest, endeavoured to repair its losses.

BOOK XVI.

A new Order of Things is established in the French Colonies in North America. Result of these Arrangements.

BOOK XVI. **THE** war carried on for the Spanish succession had raised a ferment in the four quarters of the world, which for the two last centuries have felt the effects of that restless spirit with which Europe hath been agitated. All kingdoms were shaken by the contests excited on account of one, which, under the dominion of Charles V. had stricken terror into them all. The influence of a house whose sovereignty extended over five or six states, had raised the Spanish nation to a pitch of greatness which could not but be extremely flattering to her. At the same time another house, whose power was still superior, because with a less extent of territory it had a greater degree of population, was ambitious of giving the law to that haughty nation. The names of Austria and Bourbon, which had been rivals for two hundred years, were now exerting their last efforts to acquire a superiority, which should no longer be considered as precarious or doubtful between them. The point of contest was, which should have the greatest number of crowns, to boast the possession of. Europe, divided between the claims of the two houses, which were not altogether groundless, was inclined to allow them to extend their branches, but would not permit that several crowns should centre in one house, as they formerly did. Every power took up arms to disperse or divide a vast inheritance; and resolved to dismember it, rather than suffer it to be attached to one, which, with this additional weight of

strength, must infallibly destroy the balance of all the rest. As the war was supported by each party with numerous forces and great skill, with warlike people and experienced generals, it continued a long time: it desolated the countries it should have succoured, and even ruined nations that had no concern in it. Victory, which should have determined the contest, was so variable, that it served only to increase the general flame. The same troops that were successful in one country were defeated in another. The people who conquered by sea were routed on land. The news of the loss of a fleet and the gaining of a battle arrived at the same time. Success alternately favoured each party, and by this inconstancy served only to complete the mutual destruction of both. At length, when the blood and treasure of the several states were exhausted, and after a series of calamities and expences that had lasted twelve years, the people who had profited by their misfortunes, and were weakened by their contests, were anxious of recovering the losses they had sustained. They endeavoured to find in the New World the means of peopling and re-establishing the Old. France first turned her views towards North America, to which she was invited by the similarity of soil and climate, and the island of Cape-Breton became immediately the object of her attention.

The English considered this possession as an equivalent for all the French had lost by the treaty of Utrecht; and not being entirely reconciled to them, strongly opposed their being allowed to people and fortify it. They saw no other method of excluding them from the cod-fishery, and making the entrance into Canada difficult for their ships. The moderation of Queen Anne, or, perhaps, the corruption of her ministers, prevented France from being exposed to this fresh mortification: and she was authorised to make what alterations she thought proper at Cape-Breton.

This island is situated at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, between the 45th and 47th degrees of north latitude. Newfoundland lies to the east, on

BOOK
XVI.

The French, to recover their former losses, people and fortify Cape-Breton; and establish considerable fisheries there.

BOOK the same gulf, and is only 15 or 16 leagues distant
 XVI. from it; and to the west, Acadia is only separated
 from the island by a strait not more than three or four
 leagues over. Cape-Breton, thus situated between the
 territories ceded to its enemies, threatened their posses-
 sions, while it protected those of France. The island
 measures about 36 leagues in length, and 22 in its
 greatest breadth. It is surrounded with little sharp-
 pointed rocks, separated from each other by the waves,
 above which some of their tops are visible. All its
 harbours open to the east, turning towards the south.
 On the other parts of the coast there are but a few
 anchoring-places for small vessels, in creeks, or be-
 tween islets. Except in the hilly parts, the surface of
 the country has but little solidity, being every where
 covered with a light moss and with water. The damp-
 ness of the soil is exhaled in fogs, without rendering
 the air unwholesome. In other respects, the climate
 is very cold, which is owing either to the prodigious
 quantity of lakes, which cover above half the island,
 and remain frozen a long time, or to the number of
 forests, that totally intercept the rays of the sun, the
 effect of which is besides decreased by perpetual clouds.

Though some fishermen had long resorted to Cape-
 Breton every summer, not more than twenty or thirty
 had ever fixed there. The French, who took posses-
 sion of it in August 1713, were properly the first in-
 habitants. They changed its name into that of Isle
 Royale, and fixed upon Fort Dauphin for their prin-
 cipal settlement. This harbour was two leagues in
 circumference. The ships, which came to the very
 shore, were completely sheltered from winds. Forests
 affording oak sufficient to build and fortify a large city,
 were near at hand; the ground appeared less barren
 than in other parts; and the fishery was more plenti-
 ful. This harbour might have been made impreg-
 nable at a trifling expence; but the difficulty of ap-
 proaching it (a circumstance that had at first made a
 stronger impression than the advantages resulting from
 it), occasioned it to be abandoned after great labour

had been bestowed upon it. The French then turned their views to Louisbourg, the access to which was easier, and convenience was thus preferred to security. BOOK
XVI.

The harbour of Louisbourg, situated on the eastern coast of the island, is at least a league in depth, and above a quarter of a league broad in the narrowest part. Its bottom is good, the soundings are usually from six to ten fathom, and it is easy to tack about in it either to sail in or out even in bad weather. It includes a small gulf, very commodious for refitting ships of all sizes, which may even winter there, with proper precautions. The only inconvenience attending this excellent harbour is, that it is frozen up from November till May, and frequently continues so till June. The entrance, which is naturally narrow, is also guarded by Goat Island; the cannon of which playing upon a level with the surface of the water, would sink ships of any size, that should attempt to force the passage. Two batteries, one of thirty-six, the other of twelve twenty-four pounders, erected on the two opposite shores, would support and cross this formidable fire.

The town is built on a neck of land that runs into the sea, and is about half a league in circuit. The streets are broad and regular. Almost all the houses are made of wood. Those that are of stone were constructed at the expence of the government, and are destined for the reception of the troops. A number of wharfs have been erected, that project a considerable way into the harbour, and are extremely convenient for loading and unloading the ships.

The fortification of Louisbourg was only begun in 1720. This undertaking was executed upon very good plans, and is supplied with all the works that can render a place formidable. A space of about a hundred toises only was left without ramparts on the side next the sea, which was thought sufficiently defended by its situation. It was closed only with a simple dyke. The sea was so shallow in this place, that it made a kind of narrow canal, inaccessible, from

BOOK XVI. the number of its reefs, to any shipping whatever. The fire from the side bastions completely secured this spot from any attack.

The necessity of bringing stone from Europe, and other materials proper for these great works, sometimes retarded their progress, but never made them be discontinued. Thirty millions [1,250,000l.] were expended upon them. This was not thought too great a sum for the support of the fisheries, for securing the communication between France and Canada, and for obtaining a security or retreat to ships in time of war coming from the southern islands. Nature and sound policy required that the riches of the south should be protected by the strength of the north.

In the year 1714, the French fishermen, who till then had lived in Newfoundland, arrived in this island. It was expected that their number would soon have been increased by the Acadians, who were at liberty, by the treaties, to remove with all their effects, and even to dispose of their estates. But these hopes were disappointed; the Acadians chose rather to retain their possessions under the dominion of England, than to give them up for any precarious advantage they might derive from their attachment to France. Their place was supplied by some distressed adventurers from Europe, who came over from time to time to Cape-Breton, and the inhabitants of the colony gradually increased to the number of four thousand. They were settled at Louisbourg, Fort Dauphin, Port Toulouse, Nericka, and on all the coasts, where they found a proper beach for drying the cod.

The inhabitants never applied themselves to agriculture, the soil being unfit for it. They have often attempted to sow corn, but it seldom came to maturity; and when it did thrive so much as to be worth reaping, it had degenerated so considerably, that it was not fit for seed for the next harvest. They have only continued to plant a few pot-herbs that are tolerably well tasted, but the seed of which must be renewed every year. The poorness and scarcity of pas-

tures has likewise prevented the increase of cattle. In a word, the soil of Cape-Breton seemed calculated to invite none but fishermen and soldiers.

BOOK
XVI.

Though the island was entirely covered with forests before it was inhabited, its wood has scarce ever been an object of trade. A great quantity, however, of soft wood was found there fit for firing, and some that might be used for timber; but the oak has always been very scarce, and the fir never yielded much resin.

The peltry trade was a very inconsiderable object. It consisted only in the skins of a few lynxes, elks, musk rats, wild cats, bears, otters, and foxes, both of a red and silver grey colour. Some of these were procured from a colony of Mickmac Indians, who had settled on the island with the French, and never could raise more than sixty men able to bear arms. The rest came from St. John's, or the neighbouring continent.

Greater advantages might possibly have been derived from the coal mines which abound in the island. They lie in a horizontal direction, and being no more than six or eight feet below the surface, may be worked without digging deep, or draining off the waters. Notwithstanding the prodigious demand for this coal from New-England, from the year 1745, to the year 1749, these mines would, probably, have been forsaken, had not the ships which were sent out to the French islands wanted ballast.

The whole industry of the colony has constantly been exerted in the cod fishery. The less wealthy inhabitants employed yearly two hundred boats in this fishery, and the richest, fifty or sixty vessels from thirty to fifty tons burden. The small craft always kept within four or five leagues of the coast, and returned at night with their fish, which, being immediately cured, was always in the utmost degree of perfection it was capable of. The larger smacks went to fish further from shore, kept their cargo for several days, and as the cod was apt to be too salt, it was less valu-

BOOK ^{XVI.} able. But this inconvenience was compensated by the advantage it gave them of pursuing the fish, when the want of food compelled it to leave the island; and by the facility of carrying, during the autumn, the produce of their labours to the southern islands, or even to France.

Beside the fishermen settled on the island, others came every year from France to dry their fish, either in the habitations, in consequence of an agreement made with the owners, or upon the beach, which was always reserved for their use.

The mother-country regularly sent them ships laden with provisions, liquors, wearing apparel, household goods, and all things necessary for the inhabitants of the colony. The largest of these ships, having no other concern but this trade, returned to Europe as soon as they had bartered their lading for cod. Those from fifty to a hundred tons burden, after having landed their little cargo, went a-fishing themselves, and did not return till the season was over.

The people of Cape-Breton did not send all their fish to Europe. They sent part of it to the French southern islands, on board twenty or twenty-five ships, from seventy to a hundred and forty tons burden. Beside the cod, which made at least half their cargo, they exported to the other colonies, timber, planks, thin oak boards, salted salmon and mackarel, train oil, and sea-coal. All these were paid for in sugar and coffee, but chiefly in rum and molasses.

The island could not consume all these commodities. Canada took off but a small part of the overplus: it was chiefly bought by the people of New-England, who gave in exchange fruits, vegetables, wood, brick, and cattle. This trade of exchange was allowed; but a smuggling trade was added to it, consisting of flour, and a considerable quantity of salt fish.

Notwithstanding this circulation, which was all carried on at Louisbourg, most of the colonies were extremely poor. This was owing to the dependence their indigence had subjected them to on their first ar-

rival. Unable to procure the necessary implements for the fishery, they had borrowed some at an excessive interest. Even those who were not at first reduced to this necessity, were soon obliged to submit to the hard terms of borrowing. The dearness of salt and provisions, together with the ill success of their fishery, soon compelled them to it; and they were inevitably ruined by being obliged to pay twenty or five and twenty per cent. a year for every thing they borrowed.

Such is, at every instant, the relative situation of the indigent man, who solicits assistance, and of the opulent citizen, who grants it only on terms so hard, that they become, in a short time, fatal to the borrower and to the creditor; to the borrower, because the profit he reaps from the sum borrowed cannot yield as much as it hath cost him; and to the creditor, because in the end he can no longer be paid by a debtor, whom his usury soon renders insolvent. It is a difficult matter to find out a remedy to this inconvenience; for the lender must finally have his securities, and it is necessary that the interest of the sum lent should increase in proportion to the risk of the security.

There is on both sides an error of calculation, which a little justice and benevolence on the part of the lender might remedy. The lender should say to himself: The unhappy man who applies to me is skilful, laborious, and economical; I will assist him, in order to raise him from misery. Let us see what his industry, turning out to the best advantage, will yield, and let us not lend to him; or if we should resolve to lend to him, let the interest we require upon the sum borrowed be less than the produce of his labour. If the interest and the produce were equal, the debtor would always remain in a state of misery; and the least unexpected accident would bring on his bankruptcy, and the loss of my capital. If, on the contrary, the produce should exceed the interest, the fortune of the debtor will be annually increasing, and consequently the security of the capital I have intrusted to him will become greater.

B O O K
XVI.

But, unfortunately, a rapacious spirit doth not argue in the same manner as a spirit of prudence and humanity. There are scarce any contracts and leases between the rich and the poor, to which those principles are not applicable. If a man should wish to be paid by his farmer, in good as well as bad seasons, he must not rigorously exact from him all that his land can yield; otherwise, if his barns should be set on fire, it is at the landlord's expence that they are consumed. A desire to prosper alone often makes prosperity escape from us. It is seldom that the profit of one man can be totally separated from that of another. A man will always be the dupe of him who knowingly promises more than he can perform; while the latter will be the dupe of the former, should he be ignorant of the event. He who unites prudence with honesty, will neither deceive others, nor be deceived himself.

Settlement
of the
French in
the island
of St. John.
Tendency
of this un-
dertaking.

All the French colonies of New France were not from their first establishment destined to such distress. The island of St. John, more favourably situated, has been more favourable to its inhabitants. It lies further up the gulf of St. Lawrence, is twenty-two leagues long, and not much above a league at its greatest breadth. It bends in the form of a crescent, both ends terminating in a sharp point. Though the right of this island had never been disputed with France, yet she seemed to pay no regard to it till the peace of Utrecht. The loss of Acadia and Newfoundland drew their attention to this small remaining spot, and the government began to inquire what use could be made of it.

It appeared that the winters were long there, the cold extreme, with abundance of snow, and prodigious quantities of insects; but that these defects were compensated by a healthy coast, a good sea-port, and commodious harbours. The country was flat, enriched with fine pastures, watered by an infinite number of rivulets and springs; the soil exceedingly diversified, and fit for the culture of every kind of grain. There was plenty of game, and multitudes of wild

beasts; amazing shoals of fish of all sorts; and a greater number of savage inhabitants than were found on any other of the islands. This circumstance alone was a proof how much it was superior to the rest.

The report that was spread of this in France gave rise to a Company in 1619, which formed the design both of clearing this fertile island, and of establishing a great cod fishery there. Unfortunately, interest, which had brought the adventurers together, set them at variance again, before they began to execute the plan they had projected. St. John was again forgotten, when the Acadians began to remove to that island in 1749. In process of time they increased to the number of three thousand one hundred and fifty-four. As they were for the most part husbandmen, and particularly accustomed to the breeding of cattle, the government thought proper to confine them to this employment; and the cod fishery was only allowed to be carried on by those who settled at Tracadia and St. Peter.

Prohibitions and monopolies, while they are a restraint upon industry, are equally detrimental to the labours that are permitted, and to those that are forbidden. Though the island of St. John does not afford a sufficient extent of sea-shore fit for drying the vast quantities of cod that come in shoals to the coasts, and though the fish is too large to be easily dried, yet it was incumbent upon a power whose fisheries are not sufficient for the consumption of its own subjects, to encourage this kind of employment. If there were too few drying places for the quantity that could be caught, that which is called green cod might easily have been prepared, which alone would have made a valuable branch of commerce.

By confining the inhabitants of St. John to agriculture, they were deprived of all resource in those unfortunate seasons that happen frequently on the island, when the crops are devoured by the field mice and grasshoppers. The exchanges which the mother-country could and ought to have made with her colony

B O O K were reduced to nothing. Lastly, in attempting to
XVI. favour agriculture, its progress was obstructed, by laying the inhabitants under an impossibility of procuring the necessary articles for extending it.

Only one or two small vessels came annually to the island from Europe, and landed at Port la Joie, where they were supplied with all they wanted from Louisbourg, and paid for it in wheat, barley, oats, pulse, oxen, and sheep. A party of fifty men served rather to regulate their police, than to defend them. Their commanding officer was dependent on Cape Breton, which was itself under the controul of the governor of Canada. The command of this last officer extended to a great distance, over a vast continent, the richest part of which was Louisiana.

Discovery
of the Mis-
sissippi by
the French.

This extensive and beautiful country, which the Spaniards formerly comprehended under the name of Florida, was for a long time unknown to the inhabitants of Canada. It was not till 1660 that such a country was supposed to exist. At this period they were told by the savages, that to the west of the colony there was a great river, which flowed neither to the north nor to the east; and they concluded that it must therefore empty itself into the gulf of Mexico, if its course were southward, or into the South Sea, if it were westward. The care of ascertaining these two important facts was committed, in 1673, to Joliet, an inhabitant of Quebec, a very intelligent man, and to the Jesuit Marquette, whose mild and benevolent manners had secured to him the general affection of all the inhabitants.

These two men, equally disinterested, equally active, and equally zealous for their country, immediately set out together from the lake Michigan, entered the river of the Foxes, which empties itself into that lake, and went up almost to the head of the river, notwithstanding the currents, which render that navigation difficult. After some days march, they again embarked on the river Ouisconsin, and, keeping always westward, came to the Mississippi, and sailed down that river as far as

the Akanfas, about the 33d degree of latitude. Their zeal would have carried them further, but they were in want of provisions; they were in an unknown country, and they had only three or four men along with them: besides, the object of their voyage was fulfilled, since they had discovered the river they had been in search of, and were certain of its course. These considerations determined them to return to Canada, across the country of the Illinois, a numerous people, who were well inclined to a friendly intercourse with the French nation. Without concealing or exaggerating any particular, they communicated to the chief of the colony all the information they had procured.

Among the inhabitants of New France at that time, was a Norman, named La Salle, who was equally desirous of making a great fortune, and of establishing a brilliant reputation. This man had spent his younger years among the Jesuits, where he had contracted that activity, enthusiasm, and firmness, which those fathers so well know how to instil into their disciples, when they meet with young men of quick parts, with whom they are fond of recruiting their order. La Salle, who was a bold and enterprising man, fond of availing himself of every opportunity to distinguish himself, and anxious even to seek out such opportunities, beheld in the discovery that had been made a vast career open to his ambition and to his genius. In concert with Frontenac, governor of Canada, he embarked for Europe, went to the court of Versailles, was listened to, almost even with admiration, at a time when both the prince and the people were inspired with a passion for great actions. He returned loaded with favours, and with orders to complete what had been so fortunately begun.

This was a great project: but in order to render the execution of it useful and permanent, it was necessary, by forts placed at different distances, to secure the possession of the countries that separated the Mississippi from the French settlements; and to gain the affection

BOOK of the colonists, either wandering or sedentary, that
 XVI. were contained in this vast space. These operations,
 flow in their nature, were still retarded by unexpected incidents, by the malevolence of the Iroquois, and by the repeated mutinies of the soldiers, who were continually irritated by the despotism and restlessness of their chief. Accordingly, La Salle, who had begun his preparatives in the month of September 1678, could not sail till the second of February 1682, on the great river, which was the end of his wishes and expectations. On the 9th of April he discovered the mouth of it; which, as it had been conjectured, was in the gulf of Mexico: and he returned to Quebec in the spring of the following year.

He immediately set out for France, to propose the discovery of the Mississippi by sea, and the establishment of a great colony upon the fertile shores watered by that river. He persuaded the court by his eloquence or by his arguments; and four small vessels were given to him, with which he set sail towards the Gulf of Mexico. This small fleet missed the place of their destination, by steering too far westward, and arrived, in the month of February 1685, in the bay of St. Bernard, distant a hundred leagues from the mouth of the river where it was intended to enter. The irreconcilable hatred which was conceived between La Salle and Beaujeu, commander of the ships, rendered this error infinitely more fatal than it ought to have been. These two haughty men, impatient of separating from each other, resolved to land the whole of their embarkation upon the very coast where they had been conducted by chance. After this desperate measure the ships went away, and there only remained upon these unknown coasts one hundred and seventy men, most of them very corrupt, and all of them displeased, not without reason, with their situation. They had but few tools, a small quantity of provisions, and little ammunition. The remainder of what was to serve for the foundation of the new state, was swal-

lowed up by the waves, from the perfidy or wickedness of the sea-officers intrusted with the landing of them.

The proud and unshaken soul of La Salle was not, however, depressed by these misfortunes. Suspecting that the rivers, which discharged themselves in the bay where he had entered, might be some of the branches of the Mississippi, he spent several months in clearing up his doubts. Undeceived in these expectations, he neglected the object of his expedition. Instead of looking for guides among the savages, who would have directed him to the place of his destination, he chose to penetrate into the inland countries, and to inform himself of the famous mines of St. Barbe. He was wholly taken up with this absurd project, when he was massacred by some of his companions, who were incensed at his haughtiness, and the violence of his disposition.

The death of La Salle soon occasioned the rest of his company to disperse. The villains who had murdered him fell by each others hand. Several incorporated with the natives. Many perished by hunger and fatigue. The neighbouring Spaniards loaded some of these adventurers with chains, and they ended their days in the mines. The savages surprised the fort which had been erected, and sacrificed every thing to their fury. Seven men only escaped these numerous disasters; and these, wandering as far as the Mississippi, came to Canada by the Illinois country. These distresses soon made the French lose sight of a region which was still but little known.

The attention of the ministry was again roused in 1697, by Yberville, a gentleman of Canada, who had distinguished himself by some very bold and fortunate attempts at Hudson's Bay, in Acadia, and Newfoundland. He was sent out from Rochfort with two ships, and discovered the Mississippi in 1699. He sailed up the river as far as the country of the Natchez; and after having ascertained, by his own observation, every advantageous circumstance that had been reported

B O O K of it, he constructed, at the mouth of it, a small fort, **XVI.** which did not continue more than four or five years, and proceeded to another spot to settle his colony.

The French settle in the country that is watered by the Mississippi, and call it Louisiana.

Between the river and Pensacola, a settlement newly erected by the Spaniards in Florida, is a coast of about forty leagues in extent, where no vessel can land. The soil is sandy, and the climate burning. Nothing grows there but a few scattered cedars and fir-trees. In this large track there is a district called Biloxi. This situation, the most barren and most inconvenient upon the whole coast, was made choice of for the residence of the few men whom Yberville had brought thither, and who had been allured by the most sanguine expectations.

Two years after a new colony arrived. The first was removed from the parched sands on which it had been settled, and they were both united upon the banks of the Mobile. This river is navigable only for Indian boats, and the lands that are watered by it are not fertile. These were sufficient motives for giving up the idea of such a settlement; which, however, was not done. It was determined that these disadvantages would be compensated by the facility of communication with the neighbouring savages, with the Spaniards, with the French islands, and with Europe. The harbour which was to form these communications was not attached to the continent. It was placed, by chance, either fortunately or otherwise, at some leagues distance from the coast, in a desert, barren, and savage island, which was decorated with the great name of Dauphin Island.

A colony settled on such bad foundations could not possibly prosper. The death of Yberville at sea, who perished gloriously before the Havannah in 1706, in the service of his country, put an end to the small remaining hopes of the most sanguine colonists. France was so deeply engaged in an unhappy war, that no assistance could be expected from her. The colonists thought themselves totally forsaken; and those who entertained some hopes of finding a settlement in ano-

ther place, hastened to go in search of it. The colony was reduced to twenty-eight families, each more wretched than the other, when, to the astonishment of every one, Crofat petitioned for and obtained the exclusive trade of Louisiana in 1712.

BOOK
XVI.

This was a famous merchant, who by his vast and prudent undertakings had raised an immense fortune. He had not given up the thoughts of increasing his wealth, but he was desirous that his new projects should contribute to the prosperity of the monarchy. This noble ambition made him turn his views towards the Mississippi. The clearing of its fertile soil was not his aim. His intention was to open communications, both by land and sea, with Old and New Mexico, to pour all kinds of merchandise into those parts, and to draw from thence as much ore as he could. The place he asked for appeared to him to be the natural and necessary mart for his vast operations; and all the steps taken by his agents were regulated upon this noble plan. But being undeceived by several unsuccessful attempts, he relinquished his scheme, and in 1717 resigned his charter to a company whose success astonished all nations.

This Company was formed by Law, that celebrated Scotchman, of whom no settled judgment could be formed at the time he appeared, but whose name now stands between the crowd of mere adventurers and the short list of great men. This daring genius had made it his business, from his infancy, to observe attentively the several powers of Europe, to examine their various springs, and to calculate the strength of each. The state into which the inordinate ambition of Louis XIV. had plunged the kingdom of France, particularly attracted his attention, which was now fixed upon a heap of ruins. An empire, which, during the space of forty years, had excited so much jealousy and so much anxiety among all its neighbours, no longer displayed any degree of vigour or animation. The nation was exhausted by the demands of the treasury, and the treasury by the enormity of their engagements. In

Louisiana becomes very famous in the time of Law's system. Reason of this.

BOOK
XVI.

vain had the public debts been reduced, in hopes of enhancing the value of those that still remained. This bankruptcy of government had but imperfectly produced that kind of good that was expected from it. The bills of government were still infinitely below their original value.

It became necessary to open a mart for these bills, to prevent them from falling into total discredit. The mode of reimbursement was impracticable; for the interest for the sums due absorbed, almost entirely, the revenues of government. Law contrived another expedient. In the month of August 1717, he established, under the title of the Western Company, an association whose funds were to consist in government bills. This paper was received for its whole value, although it lost fifty per cent. in the course of trade. Accordingly, the capital, which was only of 100,000,000 of livres [4,166,666l. 13s. 4d.], was completed in a few days. It is true, that, with these singular proceedings, it was not possible to found a powerful colony in Louisiana, as the exclusive charter seemed to require: but the author of these novelties was supported by an expectation of another kind.

No sooner had Ponce de Leon landed at Florida, in 1512, than a rumour was spread, throughout the Old and the New World, that this region was full of metals. These had not been discovered, either by Francis de Cordova, or by Velasquez de Ayllon, or by Philip de Narvaez, or by Ferdinand de Soto, although these enterprising men had searched for them with incredible fatigue during thirty years. Spain had at length renounced these hopes; she had not even left any trace of her enterprises; and notwithstanding this, a vague report had remained among the minds of the people, that these countries concealed immense treasures. No one pointed out the precise spot where these riches might lie; but this circumstance itself tended to encourage the exaggeration of them. If at intervals the enthusiasm grew cooler, it was only to seize upon the minds of men more powerfully some

time after. This general disposition towards an eager credulity might become a wonderful instrument in the hands of skilful persons.

In times of misfortune, the people are agitated by their hopes, in the same manner as they are by their fears, or by their rage. When they are actuated with rage, all the public places are in an instant filled with a multitude in commotion, which threatens and roars aloud. The citizen shuts himself up in his house; the magistrate trembles on his tribunal; the sovereign is oppressed with anxiety in his palace. When night comes on, the tumult ceases, and tranquillity is restored. When the people are under the impression of terror, universal consternation diffuses itself in an instant from one city to another, and plunges the whole nation into a state of despondency. When the people are elated with hopes, the phantom of happiness presents itself not less rapidly on all sides. It raises the spirits of all men, and the noisy transports of joy succeed to the gloomy silence of misfortune. On one day every thing is lost, on the other all is saved.

Of all the passions that are kindled in the heart of man, there is none which is so violent in its intoxication as the passion for gold. We are all acquainted with the country where the most beautiful women are to be found, and yet we are not tempted to visit it. Sedentary ambition exerts itself in a narrow compass. The rage of conquest is the malady of a single man, who draws the multitude after him. But let us suppose all the people of the earth to be equally civilized, and the thirst of gold will displace the inhabitants of one and of the other hemisphere. Setting out from the two extremities of the diameter of the equator, they will cross each other in their way from one pole to the other.

Law, to whom this great spring of action was well known, easily persuaded the French, who were most of them ruined, that the mines of Louisiana, which had so long been spoken of, were at length discovered; and that they were even far richer than they were

B O O K
XVI.

generally supposed to be. To give the greater weight to this false report, which had already gained too much credit, a number of miners were sent over to work these mines, which were imagined to be so valuable, with a body of troops sufficient to defend them.

It is inconceivable what a sudden impresson this stratagem made upon a nation naturally fond of novelty. Every man exerted himself to acquire the right of partaking of this source of wealth, which was considered as inexhaustible. The Mississippi became the centre of all mens wishes, hopes, and speculations. It was not long before some wealthy and powerful men, most of whom were thought to be persons of understanding, not satisfied with sharing the general profit of the monopoly, became desirous of obtaining a private property in a region which passed for one of the best countries in the world. Cultivators were wanted for the clearing of those domains, and were abundantly supplied by France, Switzerland, and Germany. These men, after having worked three years without salary, for the persons who had been at the expence of conveying them to the spot, were to become citizens, and be put in possession of lands, in order to clear them on their own account.

During the course of this frenzy, or in the years 1718 and 1719, all these unfortunate people were promiscuously crowded together in ships. They were not landed at Dauphin Island, the harbour of which had lately been choked up by sands; nor were they set on shore at Mobile, which had lost every thing since it had lost its port: but it was at Biloxi, that dreadful spot, where all the natives, as well as foreigners who had been seduced, were placed. There they all perished by thousands, with want and vexation. In order to preserve them, it was only necessary to have conveyed them up the Mississippi, and landed them immediately upon the country they were to clear; but such was the unskilfulness or neglect of the managers of the enterprize, that they never thought of constructing the boats necessary for so simple a ma-

nœuvre. Even after they found that the ships coming from Europe could most of them sail up the river, Biloxi still continued to be the grave of those unhappy and numerous victims who had fallen a sacrifice to a political imposture. The head-quarters were not removed to New-Orleans till five years after, that is, till hardly any were left of those unfortunate people who had been weak enough to quit their native country upon such uncertain prospects.

But at this period, when it was too late, the charm was dissolved, and the mines vanished. Nothing remained but the shame of having been misled by chimerical notions. Louisiana shared the fate of those extraordinary men who have been too highly extolled, and are afterwards punished for this unmerited fame, by being degraded below their real worth. Men strive, by the excess of censure, to persuade others that they have not given into the common error; for how can it be supposed that they would violently persist in speaking ill of themselves? This enchanted country was now holden in execration. Its very name became a reproach. The Mississippi was the terror of free men. No recruits were to be found to send thither, but such as were taken from prisons and houses of ill fame. It became the receptacle of the lowest and most profligate persons in the kingdom.

What could be expected from a settlement composed of such persons? Vicious men will neither people a country, nor labour, nor continue long in any place. Many of those miserable persons who had been transported into these savage climates, went into the English or Spanish settlements, to exhibit the disagreeable view of their distress and misery. Others soon perished, from the infection they had brought along with them. The greater number wandered in the woods, till hunger and weariness put an end to their existence. Nothing was yet begun in the colony, though twenty-five millions of livres [1,041,666l. 13s. 4d.] had been sunk there. The managers of the Company that advanced these vast sums foolishly pretended, that in

B O O K the capital of France they could lay the plan of such
 { XVI. } undertakings as were fit for America. Paris, unacquainted with its own provinces, which it despises and exhausts, would have submitted every thing to the operations of these hasty and frivolous calculators. From the office of the Company, they pretended to regulate and direct all the inhabitants of Louisiana, and to impose or withhold such restraints as were judged favourable or unfavourable to the monopoly. Had they granted some trifling encouragements to citizens of character, who might have been invited to settle in the colony, by securing to them that liberty which every man covets, that property which every man has a right to expect from his own labour, and that protection which is due from every society to its members; such encouragements as these, given to proprietors well informed of their real interest and property, directed by the circumstances of the place, would have been productive of far greater and more lasting effects; and would have established more extensive, solid, and profitable settlements, than all those an exclusive charter could ever have formed with all its treasures, dispensed and managed by agents who could neither have the knowledge requisite to conduct so many various operations, nor even be influenced by any immediate interest in their success.

The ministry, however, thought it conducive to the welfare of the state, to leave the concerns of Louisiana in the hands of the Company; which were under a necessity of exerting all their interest to obtain permission to alienate that part of their privilege. They were even obliged to purchase this favour in 1731, by paying down the sum of 1,450,000 livres [60,416l. 13s. 4d.]. For there are some states, where the right of being involved in ruin, and that of being preserved from it, or that of acquiring wealth, are equally sold; because good or evil, whether public or private, may prove an object of finance.

During all the time that an exclusive charter had kept Louisiana in shackles, it had required, accord-

ing to the distances, fifty, sixty, fourscore, and a hundred per cent. profit, upon all the merchandize which it used to send there; and had also regulated, by a rate still more oppressive, the price of the commodities which the colony delivered to it. How was it possible that an infant settlement could make any progress under the yoke of a tyranny so atrocious? Accordingly, the discouragement became universal. To restore to the minds of men their energy, government was desirous that a possession, which was become a truly national one, should experience a happier fate. With this view they decreed, that every article which the trade of France should convey into this country, and every thing it should bring back from thence, should be exempted for ten years from all duties of export and import. Let us see to what degree of prosperity an arrangement so prudent raised this celebrated region.

Louisiana is a vast country, bounded on the north by the sea; on the east by Florida and Carolina; on the west by New Mexico; and on the north by Canada, and by unknown lands, which are supposed to extend as far as Hudson's Bay. It is impossible to ascertain precisely the exact length of it; but its mean breadth is two hundred leagues.

Extent, soil,
and climate
of Louisi-
ana.

Throughout such an extent, the climate varies considerably. Fogs are too frequent in Lower Louisiana, in spring and autumn; the winters are rainy, and at distant intervals attended with a slight frost: most of the summer days are spoiled by violent storms. The heats are not so excessive in any part of this extensive territory as might be expected from its latitude. This phenomenon, which seems extraordinary to a common observer, may be accounted for by natural philosophers, from the thick forests, which prevent the rays of the sun from heating the ground; the numberless rivers, which keep it constantly damp; and the winds, which blow from the north over a long extent of land.

Though diseases are not very common in Upper

BOOK XVI. Louisiana, they are still more unfrequent in the Lower. This is, however, nothing more than a slip of land of two or three leagues in extent, overrun with insects, with stagnated waters, and with vegetable substances, which putrify in a damp and warm atmosphere, the constant principle of the dissolution of bodies. In this climate, where all dead bodies generally undergo a rapid putrefaction, men enjoy a more settled state of health, than in those regions which to all appearance are more healthy. Except the tetanos, which carries off half the Negro children before they are twelve days old, and a great number of white children, there is scarce any disease known in that country, except some hysterical affections, and obstructions, which may even be considered as a natural consequence of the kind of life which is led there. From whence can the salubrity of the air proceed? Perhaps it is owing to the frequent thunders which are heard upon this narrow soil. Perhaps to the winds which almost constantly prevail there. Perhaps to the fires which it is necessary to kindle in order to destroy the numerous reeds which impede the cultures.

This soil must have appeared extremely fertile, before any trials had been made of it, since it abounded with wild fruits. It furnished a liberal provision for a great number of birds and fallow-deer. The meadows, formed by nature alone, were covered with roebucks and bisons. The trees were remarkable for their bulk and height, and woods for dyeing were only wanting, for those grow merely between the tropics. These favourable omens have been since confirmed by fortunate experiments.

The source of the river which divides this immense country from north to south, hath not yet been discovered. The boldest travellers have scarce gone higher than two hundred leagues above the fall of St. Anthony, which stops the course of it by a cascade of some height, about the 46th degree of latitude. From thence to the sea, that is, throughout the space of 700 leagues, the navigation is not interrupted. The

Mississippi, after being enlarged by the river of the Illinois, the Missouri, the Ohio, and a great number of small rivers, maintains an uninterrupted course, till it falls into the ocean. All circumstances concur to prove, that the bed of this river is considerably extended, and that its bottom is almost recent ground, since not a single stone is to be found in it. The sea throws up here a prodigious quantity of mud, leaves of reeds, boughs and stumps of trees, that the Mississippi is continually washing down; which different materials being driven backward and forward, and being collected together, form themselves into a solid mass, continually tending to the prolongation of this vast continent.

B O O K
XVI.

The river hath not any regular periods of increase or decrease; but, in general, its waters are higher from the month of January to that of June, than they are through the rest of the year. The bed of the river being very deep at the upper part, it seldom overflows on the east side, till it comes within sixty leagues of the sea, nor on the west, till within a hundred leagues; that is to say, in the low lands, which we imagine to be recent. These muddy grounds, like all others that have not yet acquired a due consistence, produce a prodigious quantity of large reeds, in which all extraneous bodies washed down the river are entangled. These bodies all joined together, and added to the slime that fills up the interstices, in process of time form a mass, that raises the banks higher than the adjacent ground, which forms on each side an inclined plane. Hence it happens, that the waters having once got out of their natural course, never get into it again, and are therefore obliged to run on to the ocean, or to form themselves into small lakes.

When the breadth and depth of the Mississippi are alone considered, we are induced to think that the navigation is easy. It is, on the contrary, very tedious, even in coming down; because it would be dangerous by night in dark weather, and because instead of the light canoes made of bark, which are so con-

BOOK
 XVI. convenient in the rest of America, it is necessary to employ larger boats, which are consequently heavier, and not so easily managed. Without these precautions, the boats would be in continual danger of striking against the boughs or roots of trees, which are dragged along in great quantities by the stream, and are frequently fixed under water. The difficulties are greater still in going up the river.

At some distance from land, before we enter the Mississippi, care must be taken to keep clear of the floating wood that is come down from Louisiana. The coast is so flat, that it can hardly be seen at the distance of two leagues, and it is not easy to get up to it. The river empties itself into the sea by a great number of openings. These openings are constantly varying, and most of them have but little depth of water. When the ships have happily surmounted all these obstacles, they may sail without any difficulty ten or twelve leagues, over a country sunk under water, where the eye perceives nothing but reeds, and a few shrubs. Then, upon each shore, they meet with thick forests, which they pass by in two or three days, unless calms, which are rather frequent in summer, should retard their progress. The rest of the navigation, upon a stream so rapid, and so full of currents, is performed in boats that go with oars and sails, and are forced to pass on from one point of land to another; and though they set out by break of day, are thought to have made a considerable progress, if they have advanced five or six leagues by the close of the evening. The Europeans engaged in this navigation, are attended by some Indian huntsmen, who follow by land, and supply them with subsistence during the three months and a half that are employed in going from one extremity of the colony to the other.

These difficulties of situation are the greatest which the French have had to surmount in forming settlements at Louisiana.

The English, settled in the East, have been always so assiduously employed in their plantations, that they

have never thought of any thing but of extending and improving them. The spirit of conquest or of plunder hath not diverted them from their labours. Had they been inclined to jealousy, the French did not behave so as to excite it.

BOOK
XVI.

The Spaniards, unfortunately for themselves, were more turbulent in the West. The desire of removing an active neighbour from New Mexico induced them, in 1720, to adopt the scheme of forming a considerable colony far beyond the boundaries within which they had hitherto confined themselves. The numerous caravans that were to compose this colony set out from Santa Fé. They directed their march towards the Ozages, whom they wished to induce to take up arms against their eternal enemies, the Missourys, whose territory they had resolved to occupy. The Spaniards missed their way, and came directly to that nation, the ruin of which they were meditating; and mistaking these Indians for the Ozages, communicated their design without any reserve.

The chief of the Missourys, who became acquainted, by this singular mistake, with the danger that threatened him and his people, dissembled his resentment. He told the Spaniards, he would gladly concur in promoting the success of their undertaking, and only desired eight-and-forty hours to assemble his warriors. When they were armed, to the number of two thousand, they fell upon the Spaniards, whom they had amused with sports, and slew them in their sleep. All were massacred, without distinction of age or sex. The chaplain, who alone escaped the slaughter, owed his preservation to the singularity of his dress. This catastrophe having secured the tranquillity of Louisiana, on the side where it was most threatened, the colony could only be molested by the natives; but these, although more numerous at that time than they are in our days, were still not very formidable.

These savages were divided into several nations, all of them very feeble, and all at enmity with each other, though separated by immense deserts. Some of them

General
character
of the sa-
vages of

B O O K
XVI.

Louifiana,
and of the
Natchez in
particular.

had a fixed abode. Their dwellings were only made of leaves interwoven with each other, and fastened to a number of stakes. Those who did not go quite naked, were only covered with the skins of fallow-deer. They lived upon the produce of hunting and fishing, upon maize, and some fruits. Their customs were nearly the same as those of the savages of Canada, but they had not the same degree of strength and courage, of quickness and sagacity; and their character was less marked.

Among these nations, the Natchez were the most remarkable. They paid obedience to one man, who styled himself GREAT SUN; because he bore upon his breast the image of that luminary, from which he claimed his descent. The whole business of government, war, and religion, depended upon him. All the world could not, perhaps, have produced a sovereign more absolute. His wife enjoyed the same authority and the same honours. When any of these enslaved savages had the misfortune to displease either of these masters, they used to say to their guards, *Rid me of that dog*, and were instantly obeyed. Every thing of the best that was afforded by hunting, fishing, or culture, the savages were compelled to bring to them. On the demise of either the husband or the wife, it was necessary that many of their subjects should also die, that they might attend and serve them in the next world. The religion of the Natchez was limited to the adoration of the Sun: but this belief was accompanied with many ceremonies, and consequently attended with mischievous effects. There was, however, but one temple for the whole nation: it was once set on flames by the fire which is perpetually, or at least habitually, kept in it; and this event occasioned a general consternation. Many fruitless efforts were made to stop the progress of the flames. Some mothers threw their children into them, and at length the fire was extinguished. The next day these barbarous heroines were extolled in a discourse delivered by the despotic pontiff. It is thus that his authority was

maintained. It is astonishing how so poor and so savage a people could be so cruelly enslaved. But superstition accounts for all the unreasonable actions of men. That alone could deprive a nation of its liberty, which had little else to lose. BOOK
XVI.

Most of the accounts affirm, upon the uncertain faith of some tradition, that the Natchez occupied for a long time the eastern coast of the Mississippi, from the river Yberville to the Ohio; that is to say, a space of four hundred leagues. In that case they must have formed the most flourishing nation of North America. It may be suspected, that the yoke under which they were kept by an oppressive and arbitrary government disgusted them of their native country. They must have dispersed themselves: and this opinion seems to be in some measure confirmed by the circumstance of our finding various traces of their worship at great distances in these regions. It is certain, that, when the French appeared in Louisiana, this people consisted of no more than two thousand warriors, and formed only a few towns, situated at a considerable distance from each other, but all of them near the Mississippi.

This want of population did not prevent the country of the Natchez from being excellent. The climate is wholesome and temperate; the soil susceptible of rich and varied cultures; the territory sufficiently elevated to preclude all fears from the inundations of the river. This country is generally open, extensive, well-watered, and covered with pleasant hillocks, agreeable meadows, and delicious woods, as far as the Appalachian mountains. Accordingly, the first Frenchmen who came there judged, that, notwithstanding its distance from the sea, this would become in time the centre of the colony. This opinion drew numbers of them to this spot. They were favourably received by the savages, and assisted in the settlement of the plantations which they wanted to establish. Exchanges that were reciprocally useful laid the foundation of a friendship, apparently sincere, between the two nations. It might have become permanent, had not the

BOOK ^{XVI.} ties of it been daily weakened by the avidity of the Europeans. These foreigners had at first demanded the productions of the country only as honest merchants, but afterwards imperiously dictated the conditions of the trade, and at length seized upon what they were tired of paying for, even at a low price. Their audacity increased to such a degree, as to expel the natives from the fields they had tilled themselves.

This tyranny was atrocious. In vain did the Natchez endeavour to put a stop to it by the most humiliating supplications. Driven to despair, they endeavoured to engage in their resentment all the eastern nations, whose dispositions they were acquainted with; and towards the latter end of the year 1729, they succeeded in forming an almost universal league, the purport of which was, to exterminate in one day the whole race of their oppressors. This negotiation was carried on with such success, as not to be discovered either by the savages who were friends to the French, or by the French themselves. Nothing but some casually fortunate event could prevent the success of the plot; and this event took place.

According to the accounts of the times, the Natchez sent to the conspiring nations, who were not better acquainted with the art of writing than themselves, some parcels, consisting of an equal number of bits of wood. That there might be no mistake made respecting the time when the common hatred was to break out, it was agreed, that one of these bits of wood should be burnt every day in each town, and the last was to be the signal for the bloody scene that was to be exhibited. It happened that the wife or the mother of the great chief was informed of the plot by a son she had by a Frenchman. She several times warned the officer of that nation, who commanded in the neighbourhood, of the circumstance. The indifference, or the contempt that was shown for her advice, did not stifle in her heart the affection she had for these foreigners. Her rank entitled her to enter the temple of the Sun at any hour she chose. This prerogative put

it in her power to carry off successively the bits of wood which had been deposited in it; and she determined to do it, in order to disturb the calculations of the conspirators, at the hazard of hastening, since it was necessary, the destruction of the Frenchmen she was fond of, in order to insure the safety of the rest who were unknown to her. Every thing happened as she expected. At the signal agreed upon, the Natchez fell unawares upon the enemy, not doubting but all their allies were at the same time engaged in the same business; but as there had been no treason anywhere else, every thing remained quiet, as it must necessarily have done.

This account appears very fabulous; but it is very certain, that the period agreed upon between the members of the confederacy to deliver Louisiana from a foreign yoke was forestalled by the Natchez. They were, perhaps, not able to contain their hatred any longer. They were, perhaps, seduced by meeting with unexpected facility in the execution of their design. Perhaps they were properly or improperly apprehensive that their intentions began to be suspected. It is a certain fact, however, that of two hundred and twenty-two French, who were then in this settlement, two hundred were massacred; that the women who were pregnant, or who had young children, did not share a more fortunate destiny; and that the rest, who remained prisoners, were exposed to the brutality of the murderers of their sons and of their husbands.

The whole colony thought themselves lost upon the first news of this event. They had nothing to oppose to a number of enemies threatening them on all sides, except a few half-rotten pallifades, and a few vagabonds badly armed and ill disciplined. Perrier, in whom the authority was vested, had not a better opinion of the situation of affairs. However, he showed a firm countenance; and this boldness served him instead of forces. The savages thought him not only able to defend himself, but also to attack them. In order to dispel the suspicions that might have been

B O O K
XVI.

conceived against them, or in hopes of obtaining a pardon, several of these nations joined their warriors to his, in order to assist in his revenge.

Other troops were wanting, beside ill-affected allies or soldiers, forced into the service, to have insured success. This militia marched towards the country of the Natchez, with a degree of slowness which afforded no good omen; and they attacked the forts with that indifference from which no good effect could be expected. Fortunately, the besieged offered to release all the prisoners they had in their possession, if the troops would withdraw; and this proposal was acceded to with extreme joy.

But Perrier, having received some reinforcements from Europe, recommenced hostilities, in the beginning of the year 1731. The prospect of this new danger spread dissensions among the Natchez, and this misunderstanding brought on the ruin of the whole nation. A few feeble corps of these savages were put to the sword, and a great number were sent slaves to St. Domingo. Those who escaped slavery or death took refuge among the Chickasaws.

These were the most intrepid people of those regions: their intimate connections with the English were well known, and their favourite virtue was hospitality. All these reasons prevented the French at first from requiring them to deliver up the Natchez, to whom they had afforded refuge. But Bienville, who succeeded Perrier, thought himself authorized to demand the cession of them. The Chickasaws, with courage and indignation, refused to comply. Both sides took up arms in 1736. The French were defeated in the open field, and driven back with loss under the palisades of their enemy. They tried their fortune again four years after, encouraged by some succours they had received from Canada. They were upon the point of being defeated a second time, when some fortunate incident brought on a reconciliation with these savages. Since that period, the tranquillity of Louisiana hath never been disturbed. Let us now see to

what degree of prosperity this long peace hath raised the colony. BOOK
XVI.

The coasts of Louifiana, which are all fituated upon the gulf of Mexico, are in general flat, and covered with a barren fand. They are neither inhabited, nor capable of being fo. No forts have ever been erected upon them. } Settlements
formed by
the French
in Louifia-
na.

Though the French must have been defirous of drawing near to Mexico, they have formed no fettlement upon the coast which lies to the west of the Miffiffippi. They were undoubtedly apprehenfive of offending the Spaniards, who would not patiently have fuffered them in this neighbourhood.

To the east of the river is fituated Fort Mobile, on the banks of a river which derives its source from the Apalachian mountains. It served to maintain the Chaftaws, the Alimabous, and other less numerous colonies in alliance with the French, and to secure their fur trade. The Spaniards of Penfacola drew some provisions and merchandife from this fettlement.

There are a great number of outlets at the mouth of the Miffiffippi, which are always varying. Many of them are entirely dry at times. Some can only admit canoes or floops. That towards the east, the only one frequented at present by ships, is very tortuous, affords only a very narrow passage, and hath no more than eleven or twelve feet of water in the highest tides. The small fort called La Balife, which formerly defended the mouth of the river, is no longer of any use, since its canal hath been filled up, and since the ships sail out of the reach of its cannon.

New Orleans, fituated at the distance of thirty leagues from the sea, is the first fettlement that presents itself. This city, which was intended for a staple to carry on all the intercourse between the mother-country and the colony, was built upon the eastern border of the river, round a crescent, which is accessible to all ships, and where they ride in perfect safety. The foundations of it were laid in 1717; but it was not till 1722 that it had made any progress, and be-

BOOK
XVI.

came the capital of Louisiana. Its population never consisted of more than sixteen hundred inhabitants, partly free men and partly slaves. The huts which originally covered it have been successively transformed into convenient houses, but built with wood upon bricks, because the soil was not sufficiently firm to support heavier buildings.

The city is placed on an island, which is sixty leagues in length, and hath a moderate breadth. This island, the greatest part of which is not susceptible of culture, is formed by the ocean, by the river Mississippi, by the lake Pontchartrain, and by the Manchac, or the river of Yberville, a canal which the Mississippi hath digged for itself, in order to pour into it the superfluous part of its waters, in the season when they most abound. There may be upon this territory about a hundred plantations, upon which are found four or five hundred white men, and four thousand Negroes, principally employed in the culture of indigo. A few enterprising proprietors have endeavoured to grow sugar there; but some trifling frosts, which are fatal to this rich production, have rendered this attempt ineffectual. The plantations are seldom contiguous to each other, but are mostly separated by stagnating waters and morasses, especially in the interior part of the island.

Opposite to New Orleans, and on the western shore of the Mississippi, were settled, in 1722, three hundred Germans, the unfortunate remains of several thousand who had been removed from their country. Their number hath trebled since that period, which is not a very distant one, because they have always been the most laborious men of the colony. Assisted by about two thousand slaves, they cultivate maize for their food, and rice and indigo for exportation. They formerly attended to the culture of cotton; but they have abandoned it since it has been found too short for the European manufactures.

A little higher up, on the same coast, eight hundred Acadians were situated, who had arrived in Louisiana immediately after the last peace. Their labours have

been hitherto confined to the breeding of cattle, and to the cultivation of articles of primary necessity. If their means should increase, they will attend to the production of vendible commodities.

All those productions which enrich the lower part of the colony, terminate at the settlement of the Pointe Coupée, formed at the distance of forty-five leagues from New Orleans. It furnishes, moreover, the greatest part of the tobacco that is consumed in the country, and a great deal of wood for foreign trade. These labours employ five or six hundred white men, and twelve hundred Negroes.

Throughout the whole extent of the lands which are cultivated in these several settlements belonging to Lower Louisiana, there runs a causeway destined to secure it from the inundations of the river. Large and deep ditches, which surround every field, afford an issue to the waters which would either have penetrated or risen above the dike. This soil is entirely muddy; and when it is to be cultivated, the large reeds which cover it are cut at the bottom. As soon as they are dry, they are set on fire. Then, however lightly the earth be turned up, it becomes fertile in all productions requiring a damp soil. Corn does not thrive upon it; for the blades grow, but contain no seed. Most of the fruit trees succeed no better: they grow up very fast, and are in blossom twice in a year; but the fruit, which is attacked by the worms, dries, and generally falls off before it is ripe. The peach, the orange, and the fig-tree, are the only ones, the fertility of which cannot be too much extolled.

The nature of the country is very different in Upper Louisiana. To the east of the Mississippi, this district begins a little above the river of Yberville. Its territory, which hath been anciently formed, is sufficiently raised to be free from inundations, and hath only a proper degree of moisture; it therefore requires less care, and promises a greater variety of productions. This was the opinion of the first Frenchmen who appeared in these countries. They settled in the district

BOOK of the Natchez, and after having attempted several
 XVI. cultures, which were all successful, confined themselves
 to that of tobacco, which soon acquired in the mother-
 country the reputation it deserved. Government ex-
 pected soon to receive from this settlement a sufficient
 quantity for the supply of the whole monarchy, when
 the tyranny of its agents occasioned its ruin. Since
 this fatal period, this inexhaustible soil hath remained
 uncultivated, till Great Britain, having acquired the
 property of it by treaties, shall have conveyed there a
 population sufficient to fertilize it.

A little higher up, but on the western shore, the
 Red River empties itself into the Mississippi. It is at
 thirty leagues distance from the mouth of it, and upon
 the territory of the Natchitoches, that the French on
 their arrival in Louisiana erected a few pallisades. The
 object of this post was to draw from New Mexico the
 sheep and horned cattle, which a rising colony is al-
 ways in want of; and it was also to open a smuggling
 trade with the Spanish fort of the Adages, which is
 only seven leagues distant. It is long since the mul-
 tiplication of the cattle in those fields, to which it was
 necessary to accustom them, hath put an end to the
 first of these connections; and it was still earlier un-
 derstood, that the latter, with one of the poorest set-
 tlements in the world, could never have any real uti-
 lity. Accordingly, the territory of the Natchitoches
 was soon forsaken by those whom the hopes of mak-
 ing a great fortune had drawn there. Upon this di-
 strict there are only now to be seen the descendants of
 a few soldiers, who have settled there at the end of the
 time they were engaged for in the service. Their
 number does not exceed two hundred. They live
 upon maize, or upon the vegetables which they culti-
 vate, and sell the superfluous part of their productions
 to their indolent neighbours. The money they re-
 ceive from this feeble garrison enables them to pay for
 the liquors and the clothing which they are obliged to
 get from elsewhere.

The settlement formed among the Arkansas is still

more wretched. It would infallibly have become very flourishing, if the troops, the arms, the bondsmen, the provisions, and the merchandise, which Law had sent there on his own private account, had not been first confiscated after the disgrace of that enterprising man. Since that time some few Canadians only have settled upon this excellent soil, who have taken to themselves wives among the women of the country. From these connections hath soon arisen an almost savage race, consisting only of a few families, living separate from each other, and scarce attending to any other employment except that of the chase.

To go from the Akansas to the Illinois country, it is necessary to travel three hundred leagues; for the nations in America are not contiguous to each other, as they are in Europe, and are therefore the more independent. They have no chiefs connected among themselves, alternately to seize upon, or to sacrifice them, and to render them so unhappy, that they shall have nothing to gain or to lose by a change of country and of master. The Illinois, situated in the most northern part of Louisiana, were continually beaten, and always upon the point of being destroyed by the Iroquois, or by other warlike nations. They stood in need of a defender; and the French took that part upon themselves, by occupying a portion of their territory, at the mouth of their river, and upon the more pleasant and more fruitful banks of the Mississippi. Under this protection, the Illinois have avoided the destiny of most of the nations in the New World, of whom there scarce remains any remembrance. Nevertheless, their number hath diminished, in proportion as that of their protectors hath increased. These foreigners have gradually formed a population of two thousand three hundred and fourscore free persons, and of eight hundred slaves, distributed in six villages, five of which are situated upon the eastern border of the river.

Unfortunately, most of these people have entertained a passion for running about the woods to buy up

BOOK XVI. the peltries, or have indulged themselves with remaining in their warehouses, waiting till the savages brought them the produce of their chase. They would have worked more usefully for themselves, for the colony, and for France, had they digged the excellent soil upon which chance had placed them; and had they required of it the several kinds of corn produced in the Old World, which Louisiana hath been obliged to draw from Europe, or from North America. But how much hath the settlement formed by the French in the country of the Illinois, and how much have their other settlements, fallen short of this prosperity?

Never did the colony, in its greatest splendour, reckon more than seven thousand Negroes, exclusive of the troops, the number of which varied from three hundred to two thousand men. This feeble population was scattered along the borders of the Mississippi, throughout a space of five hundred leagues; and was defended by a few small forts, situated at an immense distance from each other. Nevertheless, these men were not descended from that scum of Europe which France had, as it were, vomited forth into the New World at the time of Law's system. All those miserable men had perished without leaving any issue. The colonists were robust men, arrived from Canada, or disbanded soldiers, who had sensibly preferred the labours of agriculture to a life of idleness, in which prejudice and pride had confirmed them. Every inhabitant received from government a suitable piece of ground, with seed to sow it, a gun, an ax, a mattock, a cow and a calf, a cock and six hens, with a plentiful supply of wholesome provisions for three years. Some officers, and some rich men, had formed considerable plantations, which occupied eight thousand slaves.

This colony sent to France fourscore thousand weight of indigo, some hides, and much peltry. It sent to the islands tallow, smoked meats, pulse, rice, maize, pitch, tar, and timber for ships and for house-building. These several articles collected, might be worth 2,000,000 of

livres [83,333l. 6s. 8d.]. This sum was paid for in European merchandise, and in the productions of the East Indies. The colony even received more than it gave, and derived this singular advantage from the expences of sovereignty.

BOOK
XVI.

The public expences were always too considerable at Louisiana. They often exceeded, even in times of full peace, the whole produce of the settlement. Perhaps the agents of government would have been more circumspect had the business been transacted with money. The unfortunate facility of paying every thing with bills, which were not to be discharged till their arrival in the mother-country, rendered them generally lavish, and some of them were even dishonest. For their own private emoluments, they ordered the construction of forts, which were of no kind of use, and which cost twenty times more than they ought to have done. They multiplied, without reason, as without measure, the annual presents which the court of Versailles were accustomed to send to the savage tribes.

The exports and imports of Louisiana were not carried on upon ships belonging to itself; for it had never thought of having one single vessel. Sometimes it received some feeble embarkations from the ports of France, and sometimes large boats from the sugar islands. But most frequently, ships dispatched from the mother-country to St. Domingo, left part of their cargo in this rich settlement; and after having sold the rest of it in the Mississippi, used to load themselves, on their return to it, with every thing that might be wanted at St. Domingo, or which might be suitable to the mother-country.

Louisiana, which nature seemed to invite to a great degree of prosperity, would undoubtedly have attained to it, if government had had the prudence to attend to the wishes of the French Protestants, who had taken refuge in the colonies settled by the English to the north of the New World.

France might have derived great advantages from Louisiana. Faults that have impeded this success.

Under the most brilliant reign, and at the most fortunate period of that reign, three hundred thousand

B O O K
XVI.

Calvinist families were enjoying peaceably in France the rights of men and of citizens; rights which had been confirmed to them by the famous edict, which had quieted so many troubles, and put an end to so many calamities, the edict of Nantes. Louis XIV. the terror of his neighbours, and the idol of his subjects, had neither enemies to fear without, nor rebels within his provinces. The Protestants, quiet from motives of duty as well as interest, thought of nothing but serving the state, and of contributing towards its power and its glory. They were placed at the head of several new manufactures; and being dispersed in the maritime countries, a navy, which was formidable in its infancy, derived its principal strength from them. Where an easy and decent competency prevails, the fruit of labour and of industry, there we generally meet with good morals. The Protestants, in particular, were distinguished by them, because they were the least numerous and most laborious of the subjects, and because they had to justify their faith by their virtues.

Every thing, I say again, was quiet in the interior part of the kingdom; but sacerdotal pride and pharisaical ambition were not so. The clergy of France, Rome, and the Jesuits, were continually importuning the throne with their scandalous remonstrances. It was represented, that Frenchmen who did not humble themselves before a confessor; who saw nothing but bread in the consecrated host; who never said mass; who never brought any offering to the altar; who married their cousins without purchasing dispensations; it was represented, that such Frenchmen could not love their country nor their sovereign. It was said, that they were in fact nothing more than traitors and hypocrites; who, in order to shake off the yoke of obedience, waited only for a favourable circumstance, which sooner or later they would find some opportunity to excite.

When imposture shall awaken the apprehensions of the sovereign, with respect to the fidelity of his subjects, it is difficult to prevent its being listened to with

attention. Nevertheless, we shall venture to ask, whether Louis XIV. was excusable, when he seemed not to know how much his Protestant subjects were useful to him? We shall venture to ask, if he could seriously believe that they would become more so when they were turned Catholics; and if the toleration of a master, so powerful and so absolute, could ever bring on any of those disagreeable consequences with which he was incessantly threatened? The Protestants had been seditious, it is true; but they had been persecuted, and had been made, alternately with Catholics, the sport of the turbulent ambition of the great. The idea of so much blood spilt in the preceding reigns, should it not have made him apprehensive of shedding more? Past events should have taught him, that a king hath no power over religious opinions; that the consciences of men are not to be compelled; that fortune, life, and dignities, are nothing in comparison of eternal punishments; and that if it be right in a country, where only one form of worship is observed, to forbid access to any foreign superstition, yet power will never exclude that which is already established there; Louis XIV. experienced this. You monarchs, who are intrusted with the care of governing men, make it your business to be acquainted with them. Study their passions, in order that you may govern them by their passions. Know that a prince who says to his subjects, your religion displeases me, it is my pleasure that you should renounce it, has nothing to do but to raise the gallows, and to prepare the wheel, and let his executioners hold themselves in readiness.

Louis XIV. intrusted with the execution of his project, which was impious in religion and absurd in policy, two ministers impetuous as himself; two men who hated the Protestants, because Colbert had employed them. One of these was Le Tellier, a harsh and fanatic man; the other Louvois, a cruel and sanguinary minister; he who gave it as his opinion, that all Holland should be sunk under water, and who afterwards caused the Palatinate to be reduced to ashes.

B O O K
XVI.

Immediately, on the slightest pretence, the churches of the Calvinists are shut up; they themselves are excluded from every office in the public revenue; they cannot be admitted into any corporation; their clergy are subjected to taxation; their mayors are deprived of nobility; the legacies left to their consistories are applied to hospitals; the officers of the king's household, the secretaries of the king, the notaries, the counsellors, and the attorneys, have orders to quit their functions, or to renounce their faith. These acts of violence are succeeded by absurdity. A declaration of council, in the year 1681, authorises children of seven years of age to renounce their faith. Children of seven years of age who have a faith, who have a civil will, and who enter into public engagements! Thus it is that the sovereign and the priest can equally make children of men, and men of children!

But it became necessary to withdraw children from the authority of their parents; for which purpose force was employed. Soldiers were appointed to carry them off from their paternal dwelling, and took possession of it in their stead. The cry of desolation resounded from one end of the kingdom to the other. The people began to think of removing at a distance from the oppressor. Whole families deserted; their houses were converted into guard-rooms. The powers that were the rivals of France offered them an asylum. Amsterdam was enlarged with a multitude of houses prepared for their reception. The provinces were depopulated. The government beheld these emigrations, and were disturbed. The punishment of the galleys was decreed against the fugitive artisan and the sailor. All the passages were closed. Nothing was forgotten that could possibly enhance the merit of the sacrifice; and more than five hundred thousand useful citizens made their escape, at the risk of receiving in their way the crown of martyrdom.

It was in 1685, in the midst of these horrors, that the fatal revocation of the edict of Nantes appeared. The clergy who were steady in their opinions were

ordered to quit the kingdom within a fortnight, on pain of death. Children were torn from the arms of their fathers and mothers. And these horrible acts were authorised by a set of deliberate men; by an assembly of grave persons; by a supreme court! They were fathers, and yet they did not shudder while they gave orders for the infringement of the most sacred laws of nature!

B O O K
XVI.

In the meanwhile, the minds of men were inflamed. The Potestants assembled; they were attacked; they defended themselves, and dragoons were sent against them. And now the hamlets, the villages, the fields, the highways, and the gates of the cities, were planted with scaffolds, and drenched with blood. The intendants of the provinces vied with each other in cruelty. Some ministers, venturing to preach and to write, were seized upon, and put to death. The prisons were soon incapable of holding the number of the persecuted; and it was the will of a single man that could make so many persons unfortunate! At his word, all the civil and moral ties were broken! At his word, a thousand citizens, revered for their virtues, their dignities, and their talents, were devoted to death and to infamy! O ye people! ye herd of weak and mean men!

And thou, blind tyrant! because thy priests have not the art of persuasion to make their arguments victorious; because they cannot efface from the minds of those innocent men the profound traces which education had engraved in them; because these men will neither be base, nor hypocritical, nor infamous; because they choose rather to obey their God than to obey thee, must thou deprive them of their property, put chains upon them, burn them, hang them up, and drag their carcases upon a hurdle? When thou withdrawest thy protection from them, because they do not think as thou dost, why should they not withdraw their obedience from thee, because thou thinkest differently from them? It is thou who dost break the compact.

BOOK
XVI.

The churches of the Protestants were destroyed. Their ministers were either put to death, or they fled. But this did not put a stop to the desertion of the persecuted persons. What steps were therefore to be taken to prevent it? It was imagined that flight would be less frequent when the gates were laid open. This proved to be a mistake; and after the passages had been opened, they were shut again a second time with as little success as at first.

The dreadful wound which fanaticism then inflicted on the nation hath continued bleeding down to our days, and will still remain open. Armies destroyed are recruited; provinces that are invaded are recovered: but the emigration of useful men, who convey to foreign nations their industry and their talents, and raise them at once to a level with the nation which they have quitted, is an evil which cannot be remedied. The citizen of the world, whose comprehensive mind embraces the interest of all the human race, will perhaps be comforted on this occasion; but the true patriot will never cease to deplore the event.

This patriot is the man who at this instant addresses himself to kings in the following terms: "Rulers of the world, when a man, under the name of priest, shall contrive to connect his interests with the pretended interests of a God; when his suspicious hatred can induce him to make use of the name of that God, whom he will not fail to represent as jealous and cruel, in order to excite persecution against the man who shall not think as he does; or, to speak with greater precision, who shall not think as the priest would have him think; woe to you and to your subjects, if you should listen to such insinuations!"

In the meanwhile, the French Protestants, scattered over the several parts of the globe, were every where turning their sorrowful looks towards their former country. Those who had found an asylum in the northern part of America, despairing ever to be able to revisit their former habitations, wished at least to

be connected with the amiable nation from which ty-
 ranny had separated them. They offered to convey
 their industry and their capitals to Louisiana, provid-
 ed they might be allowed to follow their mode of
 worship there. Unfortunately for the state, the super-
 stition of Louis XIV. and the weakness of the regent,
 occasioned these proposals to be rejected.

Nevertheless, what analogy is there between the
 tenets of religion and the speculations of the mi-
 nistry? Not more, it should seem, than there is be-
 tween the prescriptions of the physician and the doc-
 trine he professes. Hath the patient ever thought of
 asking his physician whether he went to church or to
 meeting? whether he believed in God or not? Rulers
 of the earth, he who causes the sun indiscriminately
 to shine on orthodox or on heretic regions; he who
 suffers his fertile dew to fall equally on their fields;
 doth he not declare to you, with sufficient evidence
 and energy, how much it ought to be indifferent to
 you by what men they are peopled, and by what
 hands they are cultivated? It is yours to protect them;
 it is yours to animate their labours; it is yours to en-
 courage their industry and their virtues. It is the
 part of God to search into their hearts, and to judge
 them. Doth he render the mothers of the Calvinists
 barren? Or doth he stifle the child in the womb of the
 Lutheran women when they are pregnant? How there-
 fore, do ye dare to condemn to exile, to death, or to
 misery worse than these, that being, whom the Sove-
 reign of all Sovereigns, your Father and theirs, per-
 mits to live and to prosper? Because mass hath not
 been performed, or vespers sung at Louisiana, have the
 productions of the soil been less plentiful, less valu-
 able, and less useful? Had the country been peopled
 with orthodox persons, and that some reason of state
 had induced you to attempt the conquest of it, you
 would have put them all to the sword without hesita-
 tion; and yet you scruple to intrust the culture of
 them to heretics. With what strange madness are
 you affected? A conformity of worship puts no stop

B O O K
 XVI. } to your ferociousness, and a difference of worship excites it. Is it then consistent with the dignity of the chief of the state, to regulate his conduct by the fanatic spirit and narrow views of the director of a religious seminary? Is it consistent with his wisdom, to admit among the number of his subjects none but the slaves of his priests? I should not be in the least surprised, after having determined an old pusillanimous monarch humbled by a long series of calamities, to complete them all by the revocation of a salutary edict, that the superstitious and hypocritical men who surrounded him should have led him on, from one circumstance to another, to reject the advantageous proposals of the religious people in the New World; but that considerations, which may be called monastic, should have had the same influence over the enlightened prince who held the reins of the empire after the old monarch, and who certainly was never accused of bigotry, is a circumstance which I cannot explain.

Independently of this fatal system, Louisiana would not probably have languished for so long a time, had it not been for an original error adopted, of granting lands indiscriminately to every person who applied for them, and in the manner in which he desired them. Immense deserts would not then have separated the colonists from each other. Being brought near to a common centre, they would have assisted each other, and would have enjoyed all the advantages of a well regulated society. As population increased, the lands would have been cleared to a greater extent. Instead of a few hordes of savages, we should have seen a rising colony, which might in time have become a powerful nation, and procured infinite advantages to France.

The French, who annually purchase from eighteen to twenty millions weight of tobacco, might have encouraged the cultivation of it in Louisiana, and might have drawn from that settlement a sufficient quantity of it for their own consumption. Such were the hopes that government entertained, when they ordered all

the tobacco plants in France to be rooted up. Convinced that the lands in their provinces were adapted to more important and richer cultures, they thought it would be advantageous both to the mother-country and the colony, to secure to this infant settlement a market for that production which required the least capital, the least time and experience. When Law, the projector of this undertaking, fell into discredit, this scheme, the advantages of which were so evident, was forgotten, and shared the same fate as those which were merely the offspring of a disordered imagination. The blindness of the ministry was kept up by the private interests of the agents of the treasury; and this is not one of the least mischiefs the finance has done to the monarchy.

B O O K
XVI.

The wealth which tobacco would have procured to the colony, would have made it sensible of the advantages that might be derived from the spacious and beautiful meadows with which that country abounds. They would soon have been covered with numerous herds, whose hides would have prevented the mother-country from purchasing any from other nations, and whose flesh, when prepared and salted, would have been disposed of in the islands, instead of foreign beef. Horses and mules, multiplying in the same proportion, would have freed the French colonies from the dependence they have always had upon the English and Spaniards for this necessary article.

As soon as the colonists had begun to exert themselves, they would have proceeded from one branch of industry to another. They could not possibly avoid building ships; for the country was covered with wood fit for the hull, and the fir-trees, that grew in great plenty along the coast, would have afforded masts and tar. There was no want of oak for the planks, and if there had been, it might have been supplied by cypress, which is less apt to split, bend, or break, and the additional thickness of which might have compensated for its want of strength and hardness. They might easily have grown hemp for the sails and

B O O K rigging. Nothing, perhaps, need have been import-
 ed but iron; and it is even more than probable that
 there are iron mines in Louisiana.

XVI.

The forests being thus cleared without any expence, and even with advantage, would have left the soil fit for the culture of corn and indigo. The production of silk might even have been undertaken with success, when once the colony had been sufficiently populous to attend to an employment, which the mildness of the climate, the number of mulberry trees, and some successful trials, had constantly invited them to. In a word, what might not have expected from a country, where the air is temperate, and the soil even, fresh, and fertile; and which, properly speaking, had never been inhabited, but traversed carelessly by vagabonds equally destitute of skill and conduct?

Had Louisiana attained to that degree of perfection it was capable of, its harbour would soon have been made more easy of access. This might perhaps have been effected, by stopping up all the small passes with the floating trees washed down by the waters; and by collecting the whole force of the stream in one single channel. If the softness of the soil, the rapidity of the river, or the ebbing of the sea, had opposed insurmountable obstacles to this project, genius might have found some resources against them. Every art, and every useful improvement, would have successively appeared to form a flourishing and vigorous colony in that spacious plain of America.

This prospect, which had never been seen but at a distance, seemed to be drawing near at the last peace. The inhabitants, to whom the treasury owed seven millions of livres [291,666l. 13s. 4d.], mostly acquired by criminal manœuvres, despairing of ever obtaining the payment of this dishonest debt, or being only able to flatter themselves that they should obtain it at a distant period, and in part only, turned their attention to some important cultures with success. Their trade was increased with part of the peltry trade, which had formerly belonged to Canada. The French islands,

the wants of which were continually increasing, while their resources were diminishing, required of them more wood, and more articles of subsistence. The fraudulent connections with Mexico, which the war had interrupted, were renewed. The traders of the mother country, excluded from some of the markets they had frequented, failed towards the Mississippi, the borders of which, too long neglected, were at length going to be inhabited. Already had two hundred Acadian families fixed there; and the unfortunate remains of that nation, dispersed among the English settlements, were preparing to follow them. The same dispositions were observed in several colonists of St. Vincent's and Granada, dissatisfied with their new masters. Twelve or fifteen hundred Canadians had already begun their march to Louisiana, and were to be followed by many more. There are even strong reasons to think, that several Catholics were preparing to quit the British possessions, in order to go into this spacious and beautiful country.

Such was the state of things, when the court of Versailles announced to the inhabitants of Louisiana, on the 21st of April 1764, that by a secret treaty made the 3d of November 1762, the property of this island had been given up to the court of Madrid. The languid state of the colony, the obstacles which prevented its improvement, the impossibility of putting it in a situation to resist the whole force of the enemy united upon the frontier, these considerations must easily have determined the French ministry to this cession, apparently so considerable. But what motive could induce Spain to accept it? Would it not have been better for them to sacrifice Florida without any indemnification, for the restoration of public tranquillity, than to receive in exchange a possession which it was impossible for them to defend? If it were a barrier against the enterprizes which an ambitious, active, and powerful nation might form against Mexico, was it not for the interest of Spain that a faithful ally should sustain the first shock, which would warn them

B O O K
XVI.The French
ministry
cede Loui-
siana to
Spain. Had
they a right
to do it?

B O O K of the storm, and might perhaps give them time to dis-
 XVI. sipate it?

But in whatever manner this event may be considered in a political view, will it not be looked upon as an offence against morality, thus to have sold or given away the members of the community to a foreign power? For what right has a prince to dispose of his subjects without their consent?

What becomes of the rights of the people, if all is due from the nation to the prince, and nothing from the prince to the nation? Are there then no rights but those of princes? These pretend to derive their power from God alone. This maxim, which is invented by the clergy, only with a design of raising kings above the people, that they themselves may command even kings in the name of the Deity, is no more than an iron chain, to bind a whole nation under the power of one man. It is no longer a mutual tie of love and virtue, of interest and fidelity, that gives to one family the rule in the midst of a society.

But why should the sovereign authority wish to conceal its being derived from men? Kings are sufficiently informed by nature, experience, history, and their own consciousness, that it is of the people they hold all they possess, whether conquered by arms or acquired by treaty. As they receive from the people all the marks of obedience, why should they refuse to accept from them all the rights of authority? Nothing is to be apprehended from voluntary submission, nor is any thing to be obtained by the abuse of usurped power. It can only be supported by violence; and is it possible that a prince can be happy who commands only by force, and is obeyed only through fear? He cannot sit easy upon his throne, when he cannot reign without asserting that he holds his crown from God alone. Every man may more truly affirm, that he holds from God, his life, his liberty, the unalienable right of being governed only by reason and justice. The welfare, then, and security of the people, is the supreme law on which all others depend.

This is, undoubtedly, the real fundamental law of all society. It is by this we must interpret every particular law which must be derived from this principle, and serve to explain and support it. BOOK
XVI.

If we apply this rule to the treaties of division and cession which kings make between themselves, will it appear that they have the right of buying, selling, or exchanging their subjects, without their consent? Shall princes then arrogate to themselves the barbarous right of alienating or mortgaging their provinces and their subjects as they would their effects or estates; while the supplies granted for the support of their house, the forests of their domain, the jewels of their crown, are all sacred unalienable effects, which we must never have recourse to, even in the most pressing exigencies of the state?—Methinks I hear the voice of a numerous colony exclaiming from America, and addressing the mother-country in the following terms:

“ What have I done to thee, that thou shouldst deliver me up into the hands of a stranger? Did I not spring from thy loins? Have I not sown, planted, cultivated, and reaped for thee alone? When thy ships conveyed me to these shores, so different from thy own happy climate, didst thou not engage for ever to protect me with thy fleets and armies? Have I not fought in support of thy rights, and defended the country thou gavest me? After having fertilized it by my labour, have I not maintained it for thee at the expence of my blood? Thy children were my parents or my brethren; thy laws my boast, and thy name my pride; that name which I have striven to render illustrious among nations to whom it was unknown. I have procured thee friends and allies among the savages. I flattered myself with the thought that I might one day come in competition with thy rivals, and be the terror of thine enemies. But thou hast forsaken me. Thou hast bound me without my consent, by a treaty, the very concealment of which was a treachery. Unfeeling, ungrateful parent, how couldst thou break, in opposi-

B O O K
XVI.

“ tion to the dictates of nature, the ties by which I
 “ was attached to thee, even from my birth? While
 “ with incessant and painful toil I was restoring to
 “ thee the tribute of nourishment and subsistence I
 “ had received from thee, I wished for no other com-
 “ fort than that of living and dying under thy law.
 “ That comfort thou hast refused me. Thou hast torn
 “ me from my family, to deliver me up to a master
 “ whom I did not approve. Restore my parent to
 “ me; restore me to him whose name I have been
 “ used to call upon from my earliest infancy. It is
 “ in thy power to make me submit, against my will,
 “ to a yoke which I abhor; but this submission will
 “ only be temporary. I shall languish and perish with
 “ grief and weakness; or if I should recover life and
 “ vigour, it will only be to withdraw myself from con-
 “ nections I detest; though I should even be compel-
 “ led to deliver myself up to thy enemies.”

Conduct of
the Spani-
ards at
Louisiana.

This aversion which the inhabitants of Louisiana had to the Spanish government, did not alter the arrangements made between the courts of Madrid and Versailles. On the 28th February 1766, M. Ulloa arrived in the colony with fourscore Spaniards. According to the usual form, he ought to have taken possession immediately on his landing. But this was not the case: the orders still continued to be given out in the name of the king of France; the French magistrates still acted in that capacity, and the troops still continued to do the duties of the service under French banners; the person who represented Lewis XV. still retained the command. These circumstances persuaded the inhabitants, that Charles III. was causing the country to be examined; and that he would determine to accept or reject it, according as he should find it to the advantage or disadvantage of his power. This examination was made by an officer who appeared to have no favourable opinion of the region which he had come to reconnoitre; and it was natural to hope that he would put his master out of conceit with it.

This illusion was in general prevailing, when a law

came from Spain, to forbid Louisiana from carrying on any trading connections with the markets where it had hitherto sold its productions. This fatal decree was accompanied, according to every testimony, with intolerable haughtiness, with odious monopolies, and with repeated acts of arbitrary authority; evils, which were the more oppressive, as they appeared to be the work of the French commander, over whom Ulloa had acquired such an ascendant, as to make him the vile instrument of all his caprices. These accusations were, perhaps, exaggerated. But the Spaniards should not have disdained to take every step which might have undeceived the prejudiced people, and softened their irritated minds.

This contemptuous behaviour, which was considered as the greatest outrage, and as the utmost stretch of tyranny, drove the people to despair. An infallible way of acquiring happiness and tranquillity presented itself to them. They had only to go across the river to obtain it. The English government solicited them to accept an excellent territory, together with every kind of encouragement for the culture of it, and all the prerogatives of liberty; but they were attached to their country by a sacred and beloved tie. They chose rather to petition the council, that Ulloa should be obliged to retire; and since he had deferred till then to take possession, that he should not be allowed to do it, till the court of Versailles had heard the representations of the colony. On the 28th October 1766, the tribunal pronounced the decree which was required, and the Spaniards quietly reimbarbed upon the frigate which had brought them there. There was not the least tumult, nor indecent act committed in New Orleans, during the three days that this crisis lasted. When it was at an end, the inhabitants of the city, and those of Lower Louisiana, who had united their resentments, in order to bring about the revolution, reassumed their labours with the comfortable hopes that their conduct would be approved by the court of France.

B O O K
XVI.

B O O K

XVI.

The success did not answer their expectation. The deputies of the colony did not arrive in Europe till six weeks after Ulloa; and they found that the ministry of Versailles were either exceedingly displeas'd with what had pass'd, or at least affect'd to be so. These dispositions were openly censur'd by the French nation, who consider'd the colonists of Louisiana in no other light than as a generous set of men, whose only crime was an unlimited attachment to their mother-country. A clamour so unanimous and so powerful was excited in their favour, that the government could not decently refuse to show some concern for these unfortunate people. This tardy compassion was of no effect. The court of Madrid, who had foreseen it, had caus'd M. Orelly to set out with speed for the island of Cuba. From thence this commander took three thousand men of regular troops or of militia, which he embark'd upon twenty-five transports; and on the 25th of July 1769, he hoist'd his flag at the mouth of the Mississippi.

Upon this intelligence, the minds of all men were incens'd with inexpressible rage against a mother-country which made a free sacrifice of an affectionate colony, and against a power which pretended to reign over a people who reject'd their inhuman yoke. Steps were taken to prevent the landing of the troops, and to burn the ships which convey'd them. Nothing was more easy, if we may credit those who were well acquainted with the situation of the place. The consequences of this bold resolution were not so dangerous as they might appear at first sight. The inhabitants of Louisiana might hope to form an independent republic. Should Spain and France attack them with too great a force, they might put themselves under the protection of England; and should Great Britain find itself in a situation that would not allow her to grant them her support, their last resource would have been to pass over to the eastern shore of the river, with their slaves, their flocks, and their moveables.

Terrible events were expected, when the promises

of the Spanish general, the supplications of Aubry, ^{B O O K} that weak French commander, whose imbecility had ^{XVI.} occasioned the loss of every thing, and the vehement speeches of an eloquent magistrate, quieted the ferment. No man impeded the progress of the small fleet which arrived before New Orleans on the 17th of August. The next day all the citizens were freed from the allegiance which they owed to their first country. Possession was taken of the colony in the name of its new master; and the following days, those of the inhabitants who consented to submit to the Castilian yoke took the oaths of allegiance.

Every thing was now completed, except revenge. Victims were required. Twelve were chosen out from among the most distinguished persons in the army, the magistracy, and trade. Six of these generous men atoned with their blood for the consideration which they enjoyed. The others, perhaps more unfortunate, were sent to languish out their lives in the dungeons of the Havannah; and this horrible tragedy was ordered by the Spanish ministry, while the French ministry showed no indignation at it!

Inhuman and cruel masters, who will be inclined to belong to you? Who will be tempted to be called your subjects? By whom will you be served, since you dispose of your colonists, and cede them without their consent, in opposition to the laws of nature, and to the rights of mankind, as you would dispose of a herd of cattle? And if they had come out against you, armed with torches in one hand, and daggers in the other; if they had burnt the ships of the Spaniards; if they had assassinated the person who was charged with the orders of the court of Madrid; what mortal would be so vile as to blame them for it? Would the French government have had a right to be offended at an insurrection, the violence of which would only have been proportionate to the attachment professed for themselves? Would not the Spanish government have received the chastisement they deserved? But the colonists remained quiet; they

BOOK XVI. submitted with resignation to the new yoke that was imposed upon them; they stifled their inward murmurs, and took the oath of allegiance that was required of them. Barbarous, sanguinary, and perfidious Spaniards! they swore to be faithful to you, and at that very instant you were marking out from among them the first victims of your authority. Stupid and base colonists, where do you conceal yourselves? What outrages are you submitting to? Your friends, your relations, your chiefs, your defenders, the objects of your affection and of your veneration, are dragging to the scaffold, and are going to be plunged into obscure dungeons; and you remain motionless! At what period then, and for what reason, will you expose yourselves to death? Learn, at least, to know the power under whose authority you are to live. Vile rabble, come and learn the fate that awaits you, by that of citizens who are better than yourselves.

Those of the inhabitants who had been drawn to the colony by the interests of their commercial affairs, terrified with these atrocious acts, carried their activity elsewhere. Despair made several proprietors of rich plantations forsake them. The remainder lived in misery and oppression. These unfortunate people would have had no market for their productions, nor any means of procuring the common necessaries of life, had it not been for some clandestine connections which they carried on with the English, who trade on the Mississippi, one of the two shores of which they possess and enrich. Their destiny must in time become rather less disagreeable, because the communication between Spain and her colonies is freed from many shackles, and because the French islands have had the liberty granted them of obtaining from that great province, upon their own ships, wood and subsistence. The court of Madrid, however, hath so many more important concerns in the New Hemisphere, that it may be foretold they will never attend seriously to the prosperity of Louisiana.

But can the wretched situation of these colonists,

who have suffered their fellow-citizens to be massacred, excite any great degree of compassion? Is not their misery a just punishment, which they have deserved? Doth not their conscience, that severe judge of all our obligations, incessantly reproach them in the following terms: "You had honest and virtuous magistrates, whose care was employed all day in contributing to your happiness, and in watching over your safety in the night, and over your interests during the whole year: you had among you fellow-citizens, who loved and who succoured you; and most of them were attached to you by the most sacred ties. They were either your fathers, your brothers, or your children; and you have quietly suffered them to be led to the scaffold, or loaded with chains. You walk with unfeeling indifference over the stones which they have stained with their blood! You bow yourselves down before their executioners, and obey their orders! Your cowardice must be punished with the coward's fate; and the punishment must still continue, till the exertions of a noble resentment shall justify you to yourselves and to us."

Let us now see what has been the fate of Canada, which hath likewise changed its mother-country.

At the peace of Utrecht, this vast country was in a state of weakness and misery not to be conceived. This was owing to the French who first came there, and who rather threw themselves into this country than settled in it. Most of them had done nothing more than run about the woods; the more sensible among them had attempted some cultures, but without choice or plan. A piece of ground, hastily tilled and built upon, was as hastily forsaken. The expences, however, the government had laid out, together with the profits of the fur trade, afforded at intervals to the inhabitants a tolerable subsistence; but a series of unfortunate wars soon deprived them of these advantages. In 1714, the exports from Canada did not exceed a hundred thousand crowns [12,500l.]. This sum, added to 350,000 livres [14,583l. 6s. 8d.], which the go-

State of Canada at the peace of Utrecht.

B O O K

XVI.

vernment sent over every year, was all the colony had to depend upon, for the payment of the goods they received from Europe. And, indeed, these were so few, that the generality were reduced to wear skins like the Indians. Such was the distressful situation of the far greater part of twenty thousand French, supposed to inhabit these immense regions.

Population
of Canada,
and distribu-
tion of
its inhabi-
tants.

The happy spirit which at that time animated the several parts of the world roused Canada from that state of lethargy in which it had so long been plunged. It appears from the estimates taken in 1753 and 1758, which were nearly equal, that the inhabitants amounted to 91,000 souls, exclusive of the regular troops, whose numbers varied according to the different exigencies of the colony.

This calculation did not include the many allies dispersed throughout an extent of 1200 leagues in length, and of considerable breadth, nor the 16,000 Indians who dwelt in the centre of the French settlements, or in their neighbourhood. None of these were ever considered as subjects, though they lived in the midst of a great European colony: the smallest clans still preserved their independence. All men talk of liberty, but the savage only enjoys it. Not only the whole nation, but every individual, is truly free. The consciousness of his independence influences all his thoughts and actions. He would enter the palace of an Asiatic monarch in the same manner as he would the cottage of a peasant, and neither be dazzled with his splendour, nor awed by his power. It is his own species, it is mankind, it is his equal, that he loves and respects; but he would hate a master, and destroy him.

Part of the French colony was centered in three cities. Quebec, the capital of Canada, is 1500 leagues distant from France, and 120 leagues from the sea. It is built in the form of an amphitheatre, on a peninsula, made by the river St. Lawrence and the river St. Charles, and commands a prospect over extensive fields, which serve to enrich it, and over a very safe road that will admit upwards of two hundred ships.

It is three miles in circumference. Two thirds of this circuit are defended by the water and the rocks, which are a better security than the fortifications erected on the ramparts that divide the peninsula. The houses are tolerably well built. The inhabitants were computed at about 10,000 at the beginning of the year 1759. This place was the centre of commerce, and the seat of government.

BOOK
XVI.

The city of the Trois Rivieres, built ten years later than Quebec, and situated thirty leagues higher, was raised with a view of encouraging the trade with the northern Indians. But this settlement, though promising at first, never contained more than 1500 inhabitants, because the fur trade was soon diverted from this market, and carried entirely to Montreal.

Montreal is an island, ten leagues long, and almost four broad, formed by the river St. Lawrence, sixty leagues above Quebec. It is the most temperate, pleasant, and fruitful spot in all the country. A few huts thrown up there as it were by chance in 1640, were improved to a regular built town, which contained four thousand inhabitants. At first it lay exposed to the insults of the savages; but was afterwards enclosed with flight pallisades, and then with a wall, constructed about fifteen feet high, with battlements. It fell to decay, when the inroads of the Iroquois obliged the French to erect forts higher up the country, to secure the fur trade.

The other colonists, who were not contained within the walls of these three cities, did not live in towns, but were scattered along the banks of the river St. Lawrence. None were to be seen near the mouth of that river, where the soil is uneven and barren, and where no corn will ripen. The first habitations to the south were built at fifty leagues, and to the north, at twenty leagues below Quebec; they were at a great distance from each other, and their produce was but indifferent. No very fertile fields were to be found but in the neighbourhood of its capital, and they improved as one approached Montreal. There cannot

BOOK
XVI.

be a more beautiful prospect than the rich borders of that long and broad canal. Detached woods adding beauty to the tops of the verdant mountains, meadows covered with flocks, fields crowned with ripening corn, small streams of water flowing down to the river, churches and castles seen at intervals through the trees, exhibited a succession of the most enchanting views. This interesting scene did not extend far beyond the river, and for the following reason: when the French ministry undertook to form a settlement in Canada, they gave some extent to those active or unfortunate men who were desirous of settling there. But as the custom observed at Paris, which ordains that all the descendants of the head of a family shall have an equal share in the inheritance, was introduced in the colony at the same time, this domain was reduced to little or nothing by a number of shares which were divided among a long series of generations.

If the whole of the estate had been secured to the eldest son, as the public good required, the province would have taken another turn. The father, urged to economy and labour by the desire of providing for his other children, would have required more lands, covered them with buildings, flocks, and cultures; and upon these plantations he would have placed his numerous posterity. The new proprietors would in their turn have followed this proper example of paternal affection; and the whole colony would in time have been entirely peopled and cultivated.

The advantages of this policy, which had escaped the attention of the court of Versailles, were at length perceived by them in 1745. They forbade the further division of any plantation which should not have an acre and a half in front, and thirty or forty in depth. This regulation did not remedy the mischiefs occasioned by two ages of ignorance; but it put a stop to an inconvenience, which in the end must have destroyed the colony.

This plan of inequality in the division of estates will be considered by the vulgar as a system of inhumanity

contrary to the laws of nature ; but can there be any foundation for such a reproach ? Can a man who hath ended his career preserve any rights ? Doth he not lose them all when he ceases to breathe ? When the Almighty deprives him of life, doth he not deprive him of every thing that had any relation to it ? Ought his last will to have any influence over the generations which succeed him ? Certainly not. As long as he lived, he hath enjoyed with reason the lands which he cultivated. At his death they belong to the first person who shall take possession of them and cultivate them. This is the law of nature. If another order of things hath been established throughout almost the whole of the globe, this is a necessary consequence of social institutions. Their laws have derogated from those of nature, to secure tranquillity, to encourage industry, and to confirm liberty. The government will have a right to act as they have done, when they shall think it proper for the interests and for the common happiness of the members of the community, and consequently in a more or less favourable manner to one individual or another. Among the several possible institutions respecting the inheritance of the citizens after their decease, there is one which would perhaps meet with some approbation. This is, that the estates of the deceased should return to the mass of the public funds, to be employed first towards the relief of the indigent, and after that, to restore perpetually a kind of equality between the fortunes of individuals ; when these two important objects had been fulfilled, the rest should be appropriated to the rewarding of virtue and the encouraging of talents.

But to return to Canada : there Nature herself directed the labours of the husbandman, and taught him that watery and sandy grounds, and those where the pine, the fir-tree, and the cedar grew solitary, were unfavourable to agriculture ; but wherever he found a soil covered with maple, oak, beech, hornbeam, and small cherry trees, he might reasonably expect an a-

B O O K
 { XVI. }
 abundant crop of wheat, rye, maize, barley, flax, hemp, tobacco, pulse, and pot-herbs in great plenty, and of all kinds.

Most of the inhabitants had a score of sheep, whose wool was very valuable to them; ten or a dozen milk cows, and five or six oxen for the plough. The cattle were small, but their flesh was excellent; and these people lived much better than our country people do in Europe.

With this kind of affluence, they could afford to keep a number of horses; which were not fine, but fit for drudgery, and able to perform journeys of amazing length upon the snow. And indeed the colonists took such delight in increasing the breed of them, that in winter time they would feed them with the corn which they themselves wanted sometimes at another season.

Such was the situation of the 83,000 French, dispersed or collected on the banks of the river St. Lawrence. Above the head of the river, and in what is called the Upper-country, there were 8000 more, who were rather addicted to hunting and trade than to husbandry.

Their first settlement was Catarakui, or Fort Frontenac, built in 1671, at the entrance of the lake Ontario, to stop the inroads of the English and Iroquois. The bay of this place served as a harbour for the men of war and trading vessels belonging to this great lake, which might with more propriety be called a sea, and where storms are almost as frequent and as dreadful as on the ocean.

Between the lakes Ontario and Erie, each of which measures three hundred leagues in circumference, lies a tract of land fourteen leagues in extent. This tract is intersected towards the middle by the famous fall of Niagara, which from its height, breadth, and shape, and from the quantity and impetuosity of its waters, is justly accounted the most wonderful cataract in the world. It was above this grand and awful waterfall

that France had erected fortifications, with a design to prevent the Indians from carrying their furs to the rival nation. BOOK
XVI.

Beyond the lake Erie is an extent of land, distinguished by the name of the Streight, which exceeds all Canada for the mildness of the climate, the beauty and variety of the landscapes, the richness of the soil, and the profusion of game and fish. Nature has lavished all her blessings to enrich this beautiful spot. But this was not the motive that determined the French to settle there in the beginning of the present century. It was the vicinity of several Indian nations, who could supply them with considerable quantities of furs; and, indeed, this trade increased very fast.

The success of this new settlement proved fatal to the post of Michillimakinach, a hundred leagues further, between the lake Michigan, the lake Huron, and the lake Superior, which are all three navigable. The greatest part of the trade which used to be carried on there with the natives, was transferred to the Streight, where it continued.

Beside the forts already mentioned, there were some of less note, built in different parts of the country, either upon rivers, or at the openings between the mountains; for the first sentiment which interest inspires is that of mistrust, and its first impulse is that of attack or defence. Each of these forts was provided with a garrison, which defended the French who were settled in the neighbourhood. There were in all eight thousand souls, who inhabited the upper country.

Few of the colonists had such manners as it could have been wished they had had. Those whom rural labours fixed in the country, allowed only a few moments to the care of their flocks, and to other indispensable occupations, during the winter. The rest of the time was passed in idleness, at public houses, or in running along the snow in sledges, in imitation of the most distinguished citizens. When the return of the spring called them out to the necessary labours of the field, they ploughed the ground superficially without

Manners of
the French
Canadians.

B O O K
 { XVI. }
 ever manuring it, sowed it carelessly, and then returned to their former indolent manner of life till harvest-time. In a country where the people were too proud or too lazy to work by the day, every family was obliged to gather in their own crops; and nothing was to be seen of that sprightly joy, which on a fine summer's day enlivens the reapers, while they are gathering in their rich harvest.

This amazing negligence might be owing to several causes. The excessive cold in winter, which froze up the rivers, totally put a stop to the exertions of the inhabitants. They contracted such a habit of idleness during the continuance of the severe weather for eight months successively, that labour appeared insupportable to them even in the finest weather. The numerous festivals prescribed by their religion, which owed its increase to their establishment, prevented the first exertion, as well as they interrupted the progress of industry. Men are ready enough to comply with that species of devotion that flatters their indolence. Lastly, a passion for war, which had been purposely encouraged among these bold and courageous men, made them averse from the labours of husbandry. Their minds were so entirely captivated with military glory, that they thought only of war, though they engaged in it without pay.

The inhabitants of the cities, especially of the capital, spent the winter, as well as the summer, in a constant scene of dissipation. They were alike insensible to the beauties of nature and to the pleasures of imagination; they had no taste for arts or sciences, for reading or instruction. Their only passion was amusement; and persons of all ages were fond of dancing at assemblies. This manner of life considerably increased the influence of the women, who were possessed of every attraction, except those soft emotions of the soul, which alone constitute the merit and the charm of beauty. Lively, gay, and addicted to coquetry and gallantry, they were more fond of inspiring than feeling the tender passions. There appeared

in both sexes a greater degree of devotion than virtue, more religion than probity, a higher sense of honour than real honesty. Superstition took place of morality, which will always be the case, wherever men are taught to believe that ceremonies will compensate for good works, and that crimes are expiated by prayers.

Idleness, prejudice, and levity, would never have gained such an ascendant in Canada, had the government been careful to turn the attention of the people to lasting and useful objects. But all the colonists were required to pay an implicit obedience to a mere military authority. They were unacquainted with the slow and sure process of laws. The will of the chief, or of his delegates, was an oracle, which they were not even at liberty to interpret; an awful decree, which they were to submit to without examination. Delays and representations were so many crimes in the eyes of a despotic ruler, who had usurped a power of punishing or absolving merely by his word. He had the authority of dispensing all favours and penalties, rewards and punishments; the right of imprisoning without the shadow of a crime, and the still more formidable right of enforcing a reverence for his decrees as so many acts of justice, though they were but the irregular sallies of his own caprice.

BOOK
XVI.

Form of government established in Canada. Impediments which cultivation, industry, and fishing, experienced from it.

In early times, this unlimited power was not exercised in matters of military discipline and political administration only, but extended even to civil jurisdiction. The governor decided absolutely, and without appeal, all differences arising between the colonists. These contests were fortunately very rare, in a country where all things might almost be said to be in common. This dangerous authority subsisted till 1663, at which period a tribunal was erected in the capital for the definitive trial of all causes depending throughout the colony. The custom of Paris, modified in conformity to local circumstances, formed the code of their laws.

This code was not mutilated or disfigured by a mixture of revenue laws. The administration of the

B O O K
 XVI. } finances in Canada only required a few fines of alienation, a trifling contribution from the inhabitants of Quebec and Montreal towards maintaining the fortifications, and some duties upon all goods imported and exported. These several articles united brought no more than 260,200 livres [10,841l. 13s. 4d.] into the treasury, in the most flourishing times of the colony.

The lands were not taxed by government, but were burdened with other charges. At the first establishment of the colony; the king rewarded his officers, civil and military, and others of his subjects, whom he wished to remunerate or to enrich, with grants of land, from two to six leagues square. These great proprietors, who were men of moderate fortunes, and unskilled in agriculture, were unable to manage such vast estates, and were therefore under a necessity of making over their lands to veteran soldiers, or to the colonists, for a perpetual annuity.

Each of these vassals was commonly allowed ninety acres of land, and engaged to pay annually to the lord of the manor one or two sols [a halfpenny or a penny] per acre, and a measure of corn for the entire grant. He likewise engaged to work in the lord's mill, and to cede to him, for the miller's fees, the fourteenth part of the flour; he also engaged to pay one twelfth for the fines of alienation, and remained subject to the lord's right of repurchase.

There have been writers who have applauded, with enthusiasm, a system which appeared proper to confirm order and subordination. But was not this introducing into America the image of the feudal government which for so long a time had occasioned the ruin of Europe? Was it not giving subsistence to a great number of idle persons, at the expence of the only class of citizens with which an infant state ought to be peopled? The burden of an annuitant nobility was still increased to these useful colonists, by the additional weight of the exactions of the clergy. This rapacious body obtained of the ministry, in 1663, that they

should receive *the thirteenth part of all that the soil should produce by the labour of man, and of all that it should produce spontaneously.* This intolerable vexation, in a country which was not yet well settled, had lasted four years, when the supreme council of Quebec took upon themselves, in 1667, to reduce the tithes to a twenty-sixth; and an edict of 1769 confirmed this regulation, which was still too favourable to the priests.

So many impediments previously opposed to the progress of agriculture, disabled the colony from paying for the necessaries that came from the mother-country. The French ministry were at last so fully convinced of this truth, that, after having always obstinately opposed the establishment of manufactures in America, they thought it their interest even to promote them in 1706. But those late encouragements had very little effect; and the united industry of the colonists could never produce more than a few coarse linens, and some very bad woollens.

The fisheries were not much more attended to than the manufactures. The only one that could become an object of exportation was that of the seal. This animal has been ranked in the class of fish, though he be not dumb; he is always produced on land, and lives more on dry ground than in the water. His head is somewhat like that of a mastiff. He has four paws, which are very short, especially the hinder ones, which serve him rather to crawl than to walk upon. They are shaped like fins, but the fore-feet have claws. His skin is hard, and covered with short hair. He is at first white, but turns sandy or black as he grows up. Sometimes he is of all these three different colours.

There are two different kinds of seals. The larger one sometimes weighs two thousand pounds, and seems to have a sharper snout than the others. The small ones, whose skin is commonly marbled, are active, and more dexterous in extricating themselves out of the snares that are laid for them. The Indians have

BOOK the art of taming them so far as to make them follow
 XVI. them.

They couple upon the rocks, and sometimes on the ice; and it is there also that the dams bring forth their young. They commonly bear two; and they usually suckle them in the water, but more frequently on land. When they want to teach them to swim, it is said they carry them upon their backs, drop them now and then into the water, then take them up again, and proceed in this manner till they are strong enough to swim of themselves. Most little birds flutter about from spray to spray, before they venture to fly abroad; the eagle carries her young, to train them up to encounter the boisterous winds; it is not, therefore, surprising that the seal, produced on land, should use her little ones to live under water.

This amphibious animal is fished for only on the Labrador coast. The Canadians go to this frozen and almost uninhabitable coast towards the middle of October, and remain there till the beginning of June. They place their nets between the continent and a few small islands at a little distance. The seals, who commonly come in shoals from the east, attempt to pass those kinds of straits, and are caught. When they are conveyed to land, they remain frozen there till the month of May. They are then thrown into hot kettles, from whence their oil flows into another vessel, where it cools. Seven or eight of these animals yield a hoghead of oil.

The skin of the seal was formerly used for muffs, but afterwards to cover trunks, and to make shoes and boots. When it is well tanned, the grain is not unlike that of Morocco leather. If it be not quite so fine, it preserves, however, its colour longer.

The flesh of the seal is generally allowed to be good, but it turns to better account when boiled down to oil. This oil keeps clear for a long time, has no bad smell, and leaves no sediment. It is used for burning and dressing leather.

Five or six small ships were fitted out yearly from Canada for the seal fishery, and one or two less for the Caribbee Islands. It received from the islands nine or ten vessels laden with rum, molasses, coffee, and sugar; and from France about thirty ships, the lading of which together might amount to nine thousand tons.

In the interval between the two last wars, which was the most flourishing period of the colony, the exports did not exceed 1,200,000 livres [50,000*l.*] in furs, 800,000 [33,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*] in beaver, 250,000 [10,416*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*] in seal oil, the same in flour and peas, and 150,000 livres [6250*l.*] in wood of all kinds. These several articles put together amounted only to 2,650,000 livres [110,416*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*] a year; a sum sufficient to pay for the commodities sent from the mother-country. The government made up the deficiency.

When the French were first in possession of Canada, they had very little specie. The small quantity that was brought in from time to time by the new settlers, did not continue in the country, because the necessitous state of the colony soon occasioned it to return. This was a great obstacle to the progress of commerce and agriculture. In 1670, the court of Versailles coined a particular sort of money for the use of all the French settlements in America, and set a nominal value upon it, one-fourth above the current coin of the mother-country. But this expedient was not productive of the advantages that were expected, at least with regard to New France. They therefore contrived to substitute paper-currency instead of metal, for the payment of the troops, and other expences of government. This succeeded till the year 1713, when the engagements that had been made with the administrators of the colony were not faithfully observed. Their bills of exchange drawn upon the treasury of the mother-country were not honoured, and from that time fell into discredit. They were at last paid off in 1720, with the loss of five-eighths.

This event occasioned the revival of the use of spe-

Taxes levied in Canada. Expences of the ministry in that country. Manner in which they were paid. To what excess they were carried, and how they were got rid of.

BOOK
XVI.

BOOK ^{XVI.} cie in Canada: but this expedient lasted only two years. The merchants found it troublesome, chargeable, and hazardous to send money to France, and so did all the colonists who had any remittances to make; so that they were the first to solicit the re-establishment of paper-currency. This consisted of cards, on which were stamped the arms of France and Navarre, and they were signed by the governor, the intendant, and the comptroller. They were of twenty-four [11.], twelve [10s.], six [5s.], and three livres [2s. 6d.]; and of thirty [1s. 3d.], fifteen [$7\frac{1}{2}$ d.], and seven sols and a half [$3\frac{3}{4}$ d.]. The value of the whole number that was made out, did not exceed a million of livres [41,666l. 13s. 4d.]. When this sum was not sufficient for the public exigencies, the deficiency was made up by orders signed only by the intendant. This was the first abuse; but one of still greater consequence was, that their number was unlimited. The smallest were of twenty sols [10d.], and the highest of a hundred livres [4l. 3s. 4d.]. These different papers circulated in the colony, and supplied the want of specie till the month of October. This was the latest season for the ships to sail from Canada. Then all this paper-currency was turned into bills of exchange, payable in France by the government, which was supposed to have made use of the value. But they were so multiplied by the year 1754, that the royal treasury could no longer answer such large demands, and was forced to protract the payment. An unfortunate war that broke out two years after, so increased their number, that at last they were prohibited. This presently raised the price of all commodities to an immoderate degree; and as, on account of the enormous expences of the war, the king was the chief consumer, he alone bore the loss arising from the discarded paper, and from the dearth of the goods. In 1759, the ministry were obliged to stop payment of the Canada bills, till their origin and their real value could be traced. They amounted to an alarming number.

The annual expences of government for Canada,

which in 1729 did not exceed 400,000 livres [16,666l. 13s. 4d.], and before 1749 never were greater than 1,700,000 [71,833l. 6s. 8d.], were immense after that period. The year 1750 cost 2,100,000 [87,500l.]; the year 1751, 2,700,000 [112,500l.]; the year 1752, 4,090,000 [170,416l. 13s. 4d.]; the year 1753, 5,300,000 [220,833l. 6s. 8d.]; the year 1754, 4,450,000 [185,416l. 13s. 4d.]; the year 1755, 6,100,000 [254,166l. 13s. 4d.]; the year 1756, 11,300,000 [470,833l. 6s. 8d.]; the year 1757, 19,250,000 [802,083l. 6s. 8d.]; the year 1758, 27,900,000 [1,162,500l.]; the year 1759, 26,000,000 [1,083,333l. 6s. 8d.]; the first eight months of the year 1760, 13,500,000 [562,500l.]. Of these prodigious sums 80,000,000 [3,333,333l. 6s. 8d.] were due at the peace.

This infamous debt was traced up to its origin. The malversations were horrid. Some persons, who had become delinquents from the abuse of the unlimited power which government had granted them, were degraded, banished, and stripped of part of their plunder. Others, not less guilty, by distributing their gold with a lavish hand, escaped restitution and infamy, and insolently enjoyed the fortune they had acquired by such criminal means. The bills of exchange were reduced to one half, and the orders to a fourth part of their value. They were both paid in bonds bearing four per cent. interest, which fell into the greatest discredit.

In the debt of eighty millions [3,333,333l. 6s. 8d.], the Canadians were holders of thirty-four millions [1,416,666l. 13s. 4d.] in orders, and seven millions [291,666l. 13s. 4d.] in bills of exchange. Their paper was subjected to the general regulation: but Great Britain, whose subjects they were become, obtained for them an indemnity of three millions [125,400l.] in bonds, and six hundred thousand livres [250,000l.] in specie; so that they received fifty-five per cent. upon their bills of exchange, and thirty-four per cent. upon their orders.

If Canada did not deserve these sacrifices from the mother-country, it was the fault of the power that

Advantages which France

BOOK XVI. gave laws to it. Nature had made this country proper for the production of all kinds of grain, which are here of a superior quality, and liable to few accidents, because when sown in May, they are gathered before the end of August. The wants of the American islands, and of part of Europe, secure the sale of them at an advantageous price. Nevertheless, no more wheat was ever cultivated than what was necessary for the colonists, who were even sometimes reduced to the necessity of drawing their subsistence from foreign markets.

might have
derived
from Ca-
nada,

If husbandry had been encouraged and extended, the breed of cattle would have increased. There is such plenty of pasture-ground and of acorns, that the colonies might easily have bred oxen and hogs enough to supply the French islands with beef and pork, without having recourse to Irish beef. Possibly, these cattle might in time have increased sufficiently to furnish the traders of the mother country.

The same advantages could not have been obtained from their sheep, even if the rigour of the climate had not set an invincible obstacle to their multiplication. Their fleece, which must always be coarse, can only be usefully employed in the colony itself, for stuffs of a more or less ordinary kind.

The same thing cannot be said of the ginseng. This plant, which the Chinese procure from the Corea, or from Tartary, and which they buy at the weight of gold, was found in 1720 by the Jesuit Lafitau, in the forests of Canada, where it grows very common. It was soon carried to Canton, where it was much esteemed, and sold at an extravagant price. The ginseng, which at first sold at Quebec for thirty or forty sols [about 1s. 6d. on an average] a pound, rose to twenty-five livres [1l. 10d.]. In 1752, the Canadians exported this plant to the value of 500,000 livres [20,833l. 6s. 8d.]. There was such a demand for it, that they were induced to gather in May what ought not to have been gathered till September, and to dry in the oven what should have been dried gra-

dually in the shade. This spoilt the sale of the ginseng of Canada, in the only country in the world where it could find a market; and the colonists were severely punished for their excessive rapaciousness, by the total loss of a branch of commerce, which, if rightly managed, might have proved a source of opulence.

Another, and a surer plan for the encouragement of industry, was the working of the iron mines which abound in those parts. Mr. Dantic hath laboured for a long time to discover a certain method of classing all the kinds of iron that are known. After a great number of experiments, the detail of which would be improper here, he hath found that the iron of Styria was the best. The second best is the iron of North America, of Danemara in Sweden, of Spain, of Bayonne, of Rouffillon, of the country of Foix, of Berri, of Thierache, and of Sweden, the common iron of France, and lastly, that of Siberia. If this be really the case, what advantage might not the court of Versailles have derived from the mine which was discovered at the Trois Rivieres, which is exceedingly abundant, and near the surface of the earth? At first it was only carelessly and improperly worked; but these labours were increased and improved by a blacksmith arrived from Europe in 1739. The colony made use of no other iron than this; some specimens of it were even exported, but there the matter rested. This negligence was the more inexcusable, as at this period the resolution had been taken, after much hesitation, to form a naval settlement in Canada.

The first Europeans who landed on that vast region, found it entirely covered with forests. The principal trees were oaks of prodigious height, and pines of all sizes. These woods, when felled, might have been conveyed with ease down the river St. Lawrence, and the numberless rivers that fall into it. By an unaccountable fatality, all these treasures were overlooked or despised. At length the attention of the court of Versailles was turned towards them; and some docks were constructed by their orders at Quebec, for build-

B O O K
XVI. } ing men of war: but this business was, unfortunately, trusted to agents, who had nothing in view but their own private interest.

The timber should have been felled upon the hills, where the cold air hardens the wood by contracting its fibres: whereas it was constantly taken from marshy grounds, and from the banks of the rivers, where the moisture gives it a looser and a richer texture. Instead of conveying it in barges, they floated it down on rafts to the place of its destination, where, being forgotten and left in the water, it gathered a kind of moss that rotted it. Instead of being put under sheds when it was landed, it was left exposed to the sun in summer, to the snow in winter, and to the rains in spring and autumn. It was then conveyed into the dock-yards, where it again sustained the inclemency of the seasons for two or three years. Negligence or dishonesty enhanced the price of every thing to such a degree, that sails, ropes, pitch and tar, were imported from Europe into a country, which, with a little industry, might have supplied the whole kingdom of France with all these materials. This bad management had brought the wood of Canada entirely into disrepute, and effectually ruined the resources which that country afforded for the navy.

The colony furnished the manufactures of the mother-country with a branch of trade that might almost be called an exclusive one, which was the preparation of the beaver. This commodity at first was subjected to the oppressive restraints of monopoly. The India Company could not but make an ill use of their privilege, and really did so. What they bought of the Indians was chiefly paid for in English scarlet cloths, which those people were very fond of wearing. But as they could make twenty-five or thirty per cent. more of their commodities in the English settlements than the Company chose to give, they carried thither all they could conceal from the search of the Company's agents, and exchanged their beaver for English cloth and India callico. Thus did France, by

the abuse of an institution which she was by no means obliged to maintain, deprive herself of the double advantage of furnishing materials to some of her own manufactures, and of securing a market for the produce of others. She was equally ignorant of the facility of establishing a whale fishery in Canada.

B O O K
XVI.

The chief sources of this fishery are Davis's Straits and Greenland. Fifty ships come every year into the former of these latitudes, and a hundred and fifty into the latter. The Dutch are concerned in more than three-fourths of them. The rest are fitted out from Bremen, Hamburgh, and England. It is computed that the whole expence of fitting out 200 ships of 350 tons burden, upon an average, must amount to 10,000,000 of livres [416,666l. 13s. 4d.]. The usual produce of each is rated at 80,000 livres [3333l. 6s. 8d.], and consequently the whole amount of the fishery cannot be less than 3,200,000 livres [1,333,333l. 6s. 8d.]. If we deduct from this the profits of the seamen who are employed in these hard and dangerous voyages, very little remains for the merchants concerned in this trade.

These circumstances have by degrees disgusted the Biscayans of a trade, in which they were the first adventurers. Other Frenchmen have not been induced to take it up, insomuch that the whale fishery has been totally abandoned by that nation, which of all others consumed the greatest quantity of blubber, whale-bone, and spermaceti.

It was an easy matter to take it up again in the gulf of St. Lawrence, and even at the mouth of the Saguenay, which is close to the excellent port of Tadoussac. It is even affirmed, that it hath been tried on the first arrival of the French in Canada, and that it hath been interrupted for no other reason than because the profits of the fur-trade were more easy and more rapid. It is, however, certain, that the fishery in the river St. Lawrence would have been attended with less danger and less expence, than at Davis's Straits or Greenland. It hath ever been the fate of

B O O K this colony, that the best schemes with regard to it
 XVI. have not been pursued with perseverance; and that
 in particular the government have never done any
 thing for the encouragement of the whale fishery,
 which might have proved an excellent nursery for
 seamen, and given to France a new branch of com-
 merce.

The same indifference hath been carried still further. The cod fish frequent particularly the river St. Lawrence, as high up as at the distance of fourscore leagues from the sea. They may be caught as they pass over this vast space. It would, however, be advantageous to establish a settled fishery at the harbour of Mont Louis, situated at the mouth of a pleasant river, which can receive vessels of one hundred tons burden, and which shelters them from every kind of danger. The fish is more plentiful there than any where else. Every convenience required for drying the fish is found upon the shores; and the neighbouring lands are very proper for pasture-grounds or culture. Every circumstance induces us to believe that a colony would prosper in that situation. This was the opinion in 1697; and an association was formed at this period to begin this undertaking, by the attention of Riverin, an active and intelligent man. Numberless obstacles occasioned the failure of this project, which hath been since resumed, but very carelessly executed. This was a great misfortune for Canada, which, had it been remarkable for any success of this kind, would thereby have greatly extended its connections with Europe and with the West Indies.

Every circumstance, therefore, conspired to promote the prosperity of the settlements in Canada, if they had been assisted by the men who seemed to be most interested in them. But whence could proceed that inconceivable want of industry, which suffered them to remain in the same wretched state they were in at first?

Difficul-
 ties which
 France had

It must be confessed, that the nature of the climate presented some obstacles to the efforts of policy. The

river St. Lawrence is frozen up for six months in the year. At other times it is not navigable by night, on account of thick fogs, rapid currents, sand-banks, and concealed rocks, which make it even dangerous by day-light. From Quebec to Montreal, the river is only practicable for vessels of three hundred tons burden, and even these are frequently impeded by terrible winds, which detain them a fortnight or three weeks in this short passage. From Montreal to the Lake Ontario, traders meet with no less than six water-falls, which oblige them to unload their canoes, and to convey them and their lading a considerable way by land.

B O O K
XVI.
to over-
come, in or-
der to de-
rive advan-
tages from
Canada.

Far from encouraging men to surmount the difficulties of nature, a misinformed government planned none but ruinous schemes. To gain the advantage over the English in the fur-trade, they erected three and thirty forts, at a great distance from each other. The building and victualling of them diverted the Canadians from the only labours that ought to have engrossed their attention. This error engaged them in an arduous and perilous track.

It was not without some uneasiness that the Indians saw the formation of these settlements, which might endanger their liberty. Their suspicions induced them to take up arms, so that the colony was seldom free from war. Necessity made all the Canadians soldiers. Their manly and military education rendered them hardy from their youth, and fearless of danger. Before they had arrived to the age of manhood, they would traverse a vast continent in the summer-time in canoes, and in winter on foot, through ice and snow. Having nothing but their gun to procure subsistence with, they were in continual danger of starving; but they were under no apprehension, not even of falling into the hands of the savages, who had exerted all the efforts of their imagination in inventing tortures for their enemies, far worse than death.

The sedentary arts of peace, and the constant labours of agriculture, could have no attraction for men

BOOK accustomed to an active but wandering life. The court, which form no idea of the sweets or the utility of rural life, increased the aversion which the Canadians had conceived for it, by bestowing all their favours and honours upon military exploits alone. The distinction that was chiefly lavished was that of nobility, which was attended with the most fatal consequences. It not only plunged the Canadians in idleness, but also inspired them with an unconquerable passion for every thing that was splendid. Profits which ought to have been kept sacred for the improvement of the lands were laid out in ornament, and a real poverty was concealed under the trappings of destructive luxury.

Origin of
the wars
between
the English
and the
French in
Canada.

Such was the state of the colony in 1747, when La Galiffoniere was appointed governor. He was a man possessed of very extensive knowledge, active and resolute, and of a courage the more steady, as it was the effect of reason. The English wanted to extend the limits of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, as far as the south side of the river St. Lawrence. He thought this an unjust claim, and was determined to confine them within the peninsula, which he apprehended to be the boundary settled even by treaties. Their ambition of encroaching on the inland parts, particularly towards the Ohio, or Fair River, he likewise thought unreasonable. He was of opinion that the Apalachian mountains ought to be the limits of their possessions, and was fully determined they should not pass them. His successor, who was appointed while he was preparing the means of accomplishing this vast design, entered into his views with all the warmth they deserved. Numbers of forts were immediately erected on all sides, to support the system which the court had adopted, perhaps without foreseeing, or, at least, without sufficiently attending to the consequences.

At this period began those hostilities between the English and the French in North America, which were rather countenanced than openly avowed by the respective mother-countries. This clandestine mode

of carrying on the war was perfectly agreeable to the ministry at Versailles, as it afforded an opportunity of recovering by degrees, and without exposing their weakness, what they had lost by treaties, at a time when the enemy had imposed their own terms. These repeated checks at last opened the eyes of Great Britain, and disclosed the political designs of her rival. George II. thought that a clandestine war was inconsistent with the superiority of his maritime forces. His ships were ordered to attack those of the French in all parts of the world. The English accordingly took or dispersed all the French ships they met with, and in 1758 steered towards Cape-Breton.

This island, the key of Canada, had already been attacked in 1745; and the event is of so singular a nature, that it deserves a particular detail. The plan of this first invasion was laid at Boston, and New England bore the expence of it. A merchant, named Pepperel, who had excited, encouraged, and directed the enthusiasm of the colony, was intrusted with the command of an army of 6000 men, which had been levied for this expedition.

Conquest of
Cape-Bre-
ton by the
English.

Though these forces, convoyed by a squadron from Jamaica, brought the first news to Cape-Breton of the danger that threatened it; though the advantage of a surprise would have secured the landing without opposition; though they had but 600 regular troops to encounter, and 800 inhabitants hastily armed, the success of the undertaking was still precarious. What great exploits, indeed, could be expected from a militia suddenly assembled, who had never seen a siege or faced an enemy, and were to act under the direction of sea-officers only? These unexperienced troops stood in need of the assistance of some fortunate incident, which they were indeed favoured with in a singular manner.

The construction and repairs of the fortifications had always been left to the care of the garrison of Louisbourg. The soldiers were eager of being employed in these works, which they considered as con-

B O O K

XVI.

ducive to their safety, and as the means of procuring them a comfortable subsistence. When they found that those who were to have paid them appropriated to themselves the profit of their labours, they demanded justice. It was denied them; and they determined to assert their right. As these depredations had been shared between the chief persons of the colony and the subaltern officers, the soldiers could obtain no redress. Their indignation against these rapacious extortioners rose to such a height, that they despised all authority. They had lived in open rebellion for six months, when the English appeared before the place.

This was the time to conciliate the minds of both parties, and to unite in the common cause. The soldiers made the first advances; but their commanders mistrusted a generosity of which they themselves were incapable. Had these mean oppressors conceived it possible that the soldiers could have entertained such elevated notions as to sacrifice their own resentment to the good of their country, they would have taken advantage of this disposition, and have fallen upon the enemy while they were forming their camp, and beginning to open their trenches. Besiegers, unacquainted with the principles of the art of war, would have been disconcerted by regular and vigorous attacks. The first checks might have been sufficient to discourage them, and to make them relinquish the undertaking. But it was firmly believed that the soldiers were only desirous of fallying out, that they might have an opportunity of deserting; and their own officers kept them in a manner prisoners, till a defence so ill managed had reduced them to the necessity of capitulating. The whole island shared the fate of Louisbourg, its only bulwark.

This valuable possession, restored to France by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, was again attacked by the English in 1753. On the 2d of June, a fleet of twenty-three ships of the line and eighteen frigates, carrying 16,000 well-disciplined troops, anchored in Gabarus bay, within half a league of Louisbourg. As it was

evident that it would be to no purpose to land at a greater distance, because it would be impossible to bring up the artillery and other necessaries for a considerable siege, it had been attempted to render the landing impracticable near the town. In the prudent precautions that had been taken, the besiegers saw the dangers and difficulties they had to expect; but far from being deterred by them, they had recourse to stratagem; and while by extending their line they threatened and commanded the whole coast, they landed by force of arms at the creek of Cormoran.

B O O K
XVI.

This place was naturally weak. The French had fortified it with a good parapet planted with cannon. Behind this rampart they had posted 2000 excellent soldiers, and some Indians. In front they had made such a close hedge with branches of trees, that would have been very difficult to penetrate, even if it had not been defended. This kind of pallisade, which concealed all the preparations for defence, appeared at a distance to be nothing more than a verdant plain.

This would have preserved the colony, had the assailants been suffered to complete their landing, and to advance, with the confidence that they had but few obstacles to surmount. Had this been the case, overpowered at once by the fire of the artillery and the small arms, they would infallibly have perished on the shore, or in the hurry of embarking, especially as the sea was just then very rough. This unexpected loss might have interrupted the whole project.

But all the prudent precautions that had been taken, were rendered abortive by the impetuosity of the French. The English had scarce begun to move towards the shore, when their enemies hastened to discover the snare they had laid for them. By the brisk and hasty fire that was aimed at their boats, and still more by the premature removal of the boughs that masked the forces, which it was so much the interest of the French to conceal, they guessed at the danger they were going to rush into. They immediately turned back, and saw no other place to effect their landing

BOOK upon but a rock, which had been always deemed in-
 XVI. accessible. General Wolfe, though much taken up
 in reimbarking his troops, and sending off the boats,
 gave the signal to Major Scot to repair thither.

The officer immediately removed to the spot with his men. His own boat coming up first, and sinking at the very instant he was stepping out, he climbed up the rock alone. He was in hopes of meeting with a hundred of his men, who had been sent thither some hours before. He found only ten. With these few, however, he gained the summit of the rock. Ten Indians and sixty Frenchmen killed two of his men, and mortally wounded three. In spite of his weakness, he stood his ground under cover of a thicket, till his brave countrymen, regardless of the boisterous waves and the fire of the cannon, came up to him, and put him in full possession of that important post, the only one that could secure their landing.

The French, as soon as they saw that the enemy had got a firm footing on land, betook themselves to the only remaining refuge, and shut themselves up in Louisbourg. The fortifications were in a bad condition, because the sea-sand, which they had been obliged to use, is by no means fit for works of masonry. The revetements of the several curtains were entirely crumbled away. There was only one casement, and a small magazine, that were bomb-proof. The garrison which was to defend the place consisted only of 2900 men.

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the besieged were determined to make an obstinate resistance. While they were employed in defending themselves with so much firmness, the succours they expected from Canada might possibly arrive. At all events, this resistance might be the means of preserving that great colony from all further invasion for the remainder of the campaign. It is scarce credible that the French were confirmed in their resolution by the courage of a woman. Madame de Drucourt was continually upon the ramparts, with her purse in her

hand; and firing herself three guns every day, seemed to dispute with the governor, her husband, the glory of his office. The besieged were not dismayed at the ill success of their several sallies, or the masterly operations concerted by Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst. It was but at the eve of an assault, which it was impossible to sustain, that they talked of surrendering. They made an honourable capitulation; and the conqueror showed more respect for his enemy and for himself, than to fully his glory by any act of barbarity or avarice.

The conquest of Cape-Breton opened the way into Canada. The very next year the seat of war was removed thither, or rather the scenes of bloodshed which had long been acted over that immense country were multiplied. The cause of these proceedings was this:

The French, settled in those parts, had carried their ambitious views towards the north, where the finest furs were to be had, and in the greatest plenty. When this vein of wealth was exhausted, or yielded less than it did at first, their trade turned southward, where they discovered the Ohio, to which they gave the name of the Fair River. It laid open the natural communication between Canada and Louisiana. For though the ships that sail up the river St. Lawrence go no further than Quebec, the navigation is carried on in barges to lake Ontario, which is only parted from lake Erie by a neck of land, where the French, upon their first settling, built Fort Niagara. It is on this spot, in the neighbourhood of lake Erie, that the source of the river Ohio is found, which waters the finest country in the world, and being increased by the many rivers that fall into it, discharges itself into the Mississippi.

The French, however, made no use of this magnificent canal. The trifling intercourse that subsisted between the two colonies was always carried on by the northern regions. The new way, which was much shorter and easier than the old, first began to be frequented by a body of troops that were sent over to Canada in 1739, to assist the colony of Louisiana, then

BOOK
XVI.

The English attack Canada. They at first experience great misfortunes there. Causes of them.

B O O K
XVI.

engaged in an open war with the Indians, After this expedition, the southern road was again forgotten, and was never thought of till the year 1753. At that period, several small forts were erected along the Ohio, the course of which had been traced for four years past. The most considerable of these forts took its name from the governor Duquesne who had built it.

The English colonies could not see without concern French settlements raised behind them, which joined to the old ones, and seemed to surround them. They were apprehensive, lest the Apalachian mountains, which were to form the natural boundaries between both nations, should not prove a sufficient barrier against the attempts of a restless and warlike neighbour. Urged by this motive, they themselves passed these famous mountains, to dispute the possession of the Ohio with the rival nation. This first step proved unsuccessful. The several parties that were successively sent out were routed, and the forts were demolished as fast as they were built.

To put an end to these national affronts, and revenge the disgrace they reflected on the mother-country, a large body of troops was sent over, under the command of General Braddock. In the summer of 1755, as this general was marching to attack Fort Duquesne with 36 pieces of cannon and 6000 men, he was surpris'd, within four leagues of the place, by 250 Frenchmen and 650 Indians, and all his army cut to pieces. This unaccountable disaster put a stop to the march of three numerous bodies that were advancing to fall upon Canada. The terror occasioned by this accident made them hasten back to their quarters; and in the next campaign all their motions were guided by the most timorous caution.

The French were emboldened by this perplexity, and though very much inferior to the English, ventured to appear before Oswego in August 1756. It was originally a fortified magazine at the mouth of the river Onondago on the lake Ontario. It stood nearly in the centre of Canada, in so advantageous a situation,

that many works had from time to time been erected there, which had rendered it one of the most capital posts in those parts. It was garrisoned by 1800 men, with 121 pieces of cannon, and great plenty of stores of all kinds. Though so well provided, it surrendered in a few days to the impetuous and bold attacks of 3000 men who were laying siege to it. BOOK
XVI.

In August 1757, 5500 French and 1800 Indians marched up to Fort George, situated on lake Sacrament, which was justly considered as the bulwark of the English settlements, and the rendezvous of all the forces destined against Canada. Nature and art had conspired to block up the roads leading to that place, and to make all access impracticable. These advantages were further strengthened by several bodies of troops, placed at proper distances in the best positions. Yet these obstacles were surmounted with such prudence and intrepidity, as would have been memorable in history, had the scene of action lain in a more distinguished spot. The French, after killing or dispersing all the small parties they met with, arrived before the place, and forced the garrison, consisting of 2264 men, to capitulate.

This fresh disaster roused the English. Their generals applied themselves during the winter to the training up of their men, and bringing the several troops under a proper discipline. They made them exercise in the woods, in fighting after the Indian manner. In the spring, the army, consisting of 6300 regulars, and 13,000 militia belonging to the colonies, assembled on the ruins of Fort George. They embarked on lake Sacrament, which parted the colonies of both nations, and marched up to Carillon, which was only at the distance of one league.

That fort, which had been but lately erected on the breaking out of the war, to cover Canada, was not of sufficient extent to withstand the forces that were marching against it. Intrenchments were formed hastily under the cannon of the fort, with stems of trees heaped up one upon another; and large trees

BOOK were laid in front, the branches of which being cut
 XVI. and sharpened, answered the purpose of chevaux-de-
 frise. The colours were planted on the top of the
 ramparts, behind which lay 3500 men.

The English were not dismayed at these formidable appearances, being fully determined to remove the disgrace of their former miscarriages in a country where the prosperity of their trade depended on the success of their arms. On the 8th of July 1758, they rushed upon these pallisades with the most extravagant fury. Neither were they disconcerted by the French firing upon them from the top of the parapet, while they were unable to defend themselves. They fell upon the sharp spikes, and were entangled among the stumps and boughs through which their eagerness had made them rush. All these losses served but to increase their impetuous rage, which continued upwards of four hours, and cost them above four thousand of their brave men before they would give up this rash and desperate undertaking.

They were equally unsuccessful in smaller actions. They did not attack one post without meeting with a repulse. Every party they sent out was beaten, and every convoy intercepted. The severity of the winter might have been supposed to secure them; but even in this rigorous season the Indians and Canadians carried fire and sword to the frontiers, and into the very centre of the English colonies.

All these disasters were owing to a false principle of government. The court of London had always entertained a notion that the superiority of their navy was alone sufficient to assert their dominion in America, as it afforded a ready conveyance for succours, and could easily intercept the enemy's forces.

Though experience had shown the fallacy of this idea, the ministry did not even endeavour, by a proper choice of generals, to rectify the fatal effects it had produced. Almost all those who were employed in this service were deficient in point of abilities and activity.

The armies were not likely to make amends for the defects of their commanders. The troops, indeed, were not wanting in that daring spirit and invincible courage which is the characteristic of the English soldiers, arising from the climate, and still more from the nature of their government; but these national qualities were counterbalanced or extinguished by the hardships they underwent, in a country destitute of all the conveniencies that Europe affords. As to the militia of the colonies, it was composed of peaceable husbandmen, who were not, like most of the French colonists, inured to slaughter by a habit of hunting, and by military ardour.

To these disadvantages, arising from the nature of things, were added others altogether owing to misconduct. The posts erected for the safety of the several English settlements were not so contrived as to support and assist each other. The provinces having all separate interests, and not being united under the authority of one head, did not concur in those joint efforts for the good of the whole, and that unanimity of sentiments, which alone can insure the success of their measures. The season of action was wasted in vain altercations between the governors and the colonists. Every plan of operation that met with opposition from any set of men was dropped. If any one was agreed upon, it was certainly made public before the execution, and by that means rendered abortive. To this may be added, the irreconcilable hatred subsisting between them and the Indians.

These nations had always shown a visible partiality for the French, in return for their kindness in sending them missionaries, whom they considered rather as ambassadors from the prince, than as sent from God. These missionaries, by studying the language of the savages, conforming to their temper and inclinations, and putting in practice every attention to gain their confidence, had acquired an absolute dominion over their minds. The French colonists, far from communicating to them the European manners, had adopted

B O O K
XVI.

those of the savages they lived with : their indolence in time of peace, their activity in war, and their constant fondness for a wandering life. Several officers of distinction had even been incorporated with them. The hatred and jealousy of the English has traduced them on this account ; and they have not scrupled to assert, that these generous men had given money for the skulls of their enemies ; that they joined in the horrid dances that accompany the execution of their prisoners, imitated their cruelties, and partook of their barbarous festivals. But these enormities would be better adapted to people who have substituted national to religious fanaticism, and are more inclined to hate other nations, than to love their own government.

The strong attachment of the Indians to the French was productive of the most inveterate hatred against the English. Of all the European savages, these were, in their opinion, the hardest to tame. Their aversion soon rose to madness ; and they even thirsted for English blood, when they found that a reward was offered for their destruction, and that they were to be expelled their native land by foreign assassins. The same hands which had enriched the English colony with their furs, now took up the hatchet to destroy it. The Indians pursued the English with as much eagerness as they did the wild beasts. Glory was no longer their aim in battle, their only object was slaughter. They destroyed armies which the French only wished to subdue. Their fury rose to such a height, that an English prisoner having been conducted into a lonely habitation, the woman immediately cut off his arm, and made her family drink the blood that ran from it. A Jesuit missionary reproaching her with the atrociousness of the action, her answer was, *My children must be warriors, and therefore must be fed with the blood of their enemies.*

Taking of
Quebec by
the English.
The con-

Such was the situation of affairs, when an English fleet, consisting of three hundred sail, and commanded by admiral Saunders, entered the river St. Lawrence

at the end of June 1759. On a dark night, and with a very favourable wind, eight fire-ships were sent out to destroy it. Not a ship nor a man could have escaped, if the operation had been carried on with that degree of skill, coolness, and courage, which it required. But those who had undertaken it were perhaps deficient in every one of these qualities, or at least did not unite them all. Impatient to secure their return to land, they set fire to the ships under their management a great deal too soon, and the enemy being warned by this of the danger that threatened them, escaped it by their activity and boldness, at the expence only of two small vessels.

BOOK
XVI.
quest of
this capital
brings on
in time the
surrender of
the whole
colony.

While the naval forces had so fortunately escaped being destroyed, the army, consisting of ten thousand men, was attacking Levy Point, drove away the French troops which were intrenched there, erected their own batteries, and bombarded Quebec with the greatest success. This town, though situated on the opposite shore of the river, was nevertheless at no greater distance from it than six hundred toises.

But these disadvantages did not lead to the design which the English had in view. Their intention was to become masters of the capital of the colony; and the coast by which they must have reached it was so well defended by redoubts, batteries, and troops, that it seemed inaccessible. The enemy were more and more confirmed in this opinion after they had attempted the fall of Montmorency, where they lost fifteen hundred men, and where they might easily have lost all the men they had imprudently landed there.

In the mean time the season was advancing. General Amherst, who was to have caused a diversion towards the lake, did not make his appearance; and every hope was even given up of forcing the French in their posts. A general discouragement was beginning to prevail, when Mr. Murray proposed to go with the army and part of the fleet two miles above the town, and to seize upon the heights of Abraham, which the French had neglected to guard, because

B O O K they thought them sufficiently defended by the very
 XVI. steep rocks which surrounded them. This brilliant
 and fortunate idea was eagerly adopted. On the 13th
 of December, five thousand English landed at the foot
 of the heights before day-break, and without being
 perceived. They clambered up without losing any
 time, and formed the line of battle on the top of them,
 when at nine o'clock they were attacked by two thou-
 sand soldiers, five thousand Canadians, and five hun-
 dred savages. The action began, and proved favour-
 able to the English, who at the beginning of it had
 lost the intrepid Wolfe, their general, but did not lose
 their confidence and resolution.

This was gaining a considerable advantage, but it
 might not have been decisive. The troops that were
 posted within a few leagues of the field of battle might
 have been collected in twelve hours, to join the van-
 quished army, and march up to the conqueror with
 a superior force. This was the opinion of General
 Montcalm, who being mortally wounded in the re-
 treat, had time enough before he expired to consult
 the safety of his men, and to encourage them to repair
 their disaster. This generous motion was over-ruled
 by the council of war. The army removed ten leagues
 off. The chevalier de Levy, who had hastened from
 his post to succeed Montcalm, censured this want of
 courage. The French were ashamed of it, wished to
 recal it, and make another attempt for victory, but it
 was too late. Quebec, though three parts destroyed,
 had capitulated too precipitately on the 17th.

All Europe thought that the taking of this place
 had put an end to the great contest in North Ameri-
 ca. They never imagined that a handful of French-
 men, in want of every thing, who seemed to be in a
 desperate condition, would dare to think of protract-
 ing their inevitable fate. They did not know what
 these people were capable of doing. They hastily
 completed some intrenchments that had been begun
 ten leagues above Quebec. There they left troops
 sufficient to stop the progress of the enemy; and pro-

ceeded to Montreal, to concert measures to retrieve B O O K
XVI.
their disgrace.

It was there agreed, that in the spring they should march with an armed force against Quebec, to retake it by surprise, or, if that should fail, to besiege it in form. They had nothing in readiness for that purpose; but the plan was so concerted, that they should enter upon the undertaking just at the instant when the succours expected from France must necessarily arrive.

Though the colony had long been in want of every thing, the preparations were already made, when the ice, which covered the whole river, began to give way towards the middle, and opened a small canal. They dragged some boats over the ice, and put them into the water. The army, consisting of citizens and soldiers, who made but one body, and were animated with one soul, fell down this stream, with inconceivable ardour, as early as the 20th of April 1760. The English thought they still lay quiet in their winter quarters. The army, already landed, came up with an advanced guard of 1500 men, posted three leagues from Quebec. This party was just upon the point of being cut to pieces, had it not been for one of those unaccountable incidents which no human prudence can foresee.

A gunner, attempting to step out of his boat, had fallen into the water. He caught hold of a flake of ice, climbed up upon it, and was carried down the stream. As he passed by Quebec, close to the shore, he was seen by a centinel, who, observing a man in distress, called out for help. The English flew to his assistance, and found him motionless. They knew him by his uniform to be a French soldier, and carried him to the governor's house, where, by the help of spirituous liquors, they recalled him to life for a moment. He just recovered his speech enough to tell them that an army of 10,000 French was at the gates, and expired. The governor immediately dispatched orders to the advanced guard to retire within the walls with

B O O K all expedition. Notwithstanding their precipitate re-
XVI. treat, the French had time to attack their rear. A
 few moments later, they would have been defeated,
 and the city retaken.

The assailants, however, marched on with an intrepidity which indicated that they expected every thing from their valour, and thought no more of a surprize. They were within a league of the town, when they were met by a body of 4000 men, who were sent out to intercept them. The onset was sharp, and the resistance obstinate. The English were driven back within their walls, leaving 1800 of their bravest men upon the spot, and their artillery in the enemy's hands.

The trenches were immediately opened before Quebec; but as the French had none but field-pieces, as no succours came from France, and as a strong English squadron was coming up the river, they were obliged to raise the siege on the 16th of May, and to retreat from post to post till they arrived at Montreal. These troops, which were not very numerous at first, were now exceedingly reduced by frequent skirmishes and continual fatigues, were in want both of provisions and warlike stores, and found themselves enclosed in an open place; being surrounded by three formidable armies, one of which was come down, and another up the river, while the third had passed over lake Champlain. These miserable remains of a body of seven thousand men, who had never been recruited, and had so much signalized themselves with the help of a few militia and Indians, were at last forced to capitulate for the whole colony. The conquest was confirmed by the treaty of peace, when this country was added to the possessions of the English in North America.

Hath the
 acquisition
 of Canada
 been advan-
 tageous or
 prejudicial
 to England?

How confined are the views of politics! The English considered this acquisition as the ultimate period of their grandeur, and the French ministry were not more enlightened than the British council. On one hand every thing was thought to be won by this conquest; on the other, every thing was thought to be lost by a sacrifice which was to bring on the ruin of an irre-

conciliable enemy. Such is the necessary concatenation of the events which incessantly change the interests of empires, that it hath often happened, and will frequently happen hereafter, that the most profound speculations, and the measures apparently the most prudent, have been, and will still be erroneous. The advantage of the moment is the only thing considered, in circumstances where nothing is so common as to see good spring from evil, and evil arise from good. If it be true of some individuals, that they have for a long time wished for what has proved their misfortune; it is still more true of sovereigns. The caprices of fortune, which are so apt to sport with the prudence of man, are never taken into the calculation, and indeed there is no occasion for it, when some unfortunate casualty is concealed in a distant and obscure futurity; when it is almost devoid of probability, and when, supposing it should happen, total ruin will not be the consequence. But the people will be governed by a mad ministry, when, without considering the tranquillity and the safety of the state, they shall think of nothing but its aggrandizement: when, without considering whether a miserable little island will not occasion cares and expences which cannot be compensated by any advantage, they will suffer themselves to be dazzled with the frivolous glory of having added it to the national dominion: when, by refusing to make restitutions that were agreed upon, they shall cement between the usurping power and that which is injured, a hatred which will, sooner or later, be followed by the effusion of blood, upon the sea and upon the continent: when, for the preservation of a few places, it shall be necessary to keep a number of soldiers shut up, who will grow degenerate by a long continuance in idleness: when lasting jealousies shall be excited, or pretensions encouraged, which are ever ready to be renewed, and to engage two nations in war with each other: when it shall be forgotten, that a nation settled between one empire and another, is sometimes the best barrier that can be

B O O K
XVI.

BOOK ^{XVI.} interposed between them; and that it is imprudent and dangerous to acquire, by the extinction of the intermediate nation, an ambitious, turbulent, warlike, and powerful neighbour: when it shall be forgotten, that every domain, separated from a state by a vast interval, is precarious, expensive, ill-defended, and ill-governed; that it will be, beyond any kind of doubt, a real misfortune for two nations to have any possession on one side and on the other of a river which serves as their boundary: that to renounce a country claimed by several powers, is commonly to spare superfluous expences, alarms, and contests; and that to cede it to one of those who were desirous of obtaining it, is the only way to throw the same calamities upon them: in a word, when it shall be forgotten that a sovereign, who is really a man of genius, will perhaps display it less in availing himself of the real advantages of his country, than in giving up to rival nations deceitful advantages, the fatal consequences of which they can only be sensible of in process of time; this is a kind of snare which the rage of extending their dominions will ever conceal from them.

BOOK XVII.

English Colonies settled at Hudson's Bay, Canada, the Island of St. John, Newfoundland, Nova-Scotia, New-England, New-York, and New-Jersey.

BOOK ^{XVII.} **T**HE desire of penetrating into futurity hath been the passion of all ages. The entrails of animals, and the blood of victims, hath appeared to some people an infallible mode of discovering the destiny of empires. Others have placed the science of divination in dreams, which they have chosen to consider as the most certain interpreters of the will of Heaven. Whole nations have pretended to compel fate to reveal itself by the flight of birds, and other presages equally frivolous. But, the consulting of the stars hath been the most fa-

First expeditions of the English in North America.

avourite of these modes of auguration. Men have thought, that in these they beheld, marked out in characters not to be effaced, the revolutions, more or less important, which were to agitate the globe. These reveries had not subdued the minds of the vulgar only, they acquired an equal ascendant over men of the first genius.

Since sound philosophy hath destroyed these chimeras, mankind have split upon another rock. A spirit of presumption, too prevalent, hath induced men to believe, that nothing was more feasible than to determine, by combinations settled without much difficulty, what was to happen in politics. Undoubtedly, it was possible for persons of attention and reflection to foresee some events; but how many mistakes will not happen to one fortunate conjecture!

The British islands have been drenched in blood. Numberless factions and sects have destroyed each other there, with a degree of obstinacy, the fatal example of which hath rarely been displayed in the deplorable annals of the world. Who could have conjectured, that the prosperity of North America would have arisen from so many calamities?

England was only known in America by her piracies, which were often successful, and always bold, when Sir Walter Raleigh conceived the project to procure his nation a share of the prodigious riches, which, for near a century past, had flowed from that hemisphere into ours. This great man, who was born for bold undertakings, cast his eye on the eastern coast of North America. The talent he had, of bringing men over to his opinion, by representing all his proposals in a striking light, soon procured him associates, both at court and among the merchants. The company that was formed in consequence of his magnificent promises, obtained of government, in 1584, the absolute disposal of all the discoveries that should be made; and without any further encouragement, they fitted out two ships in April following, that anchored in Roanoak bay, which now makes a part of Carolina. Their commanders, worthy of the trust reposed in

B O O K
XVII. } them, behaved with remarkable affability in a country where they wanted to settle their nation, and left the savages at liberty to make their own terms in the trade they proposed to open with them.

The reports made by these successful navigators, on their return to Europe, concerning the temperature of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the disposition of the inhabitants, encouraged the society to proceed. They accordingly sent seven ships the following spring, which landed a hundred and eight free men at Roanoak, for the purpose of commencing a settlement. Part of them were murdered by the savages, whom they had insulted, and the rest, having been so improvident as to neglect the culture of the land, were perishing with misery and hunger, when a deliverer came to their relief.

This was Sir Francis Drake, so famous among seamen for being the next after Magellan who sailed round the globe. The abilities he had shown in that great expedition, induced Queen Elizabeth to make choice of him to humble Philip II. in that part of his extensive dominions, where he used to disturb the peace of other nations. Few orders were ever more punctually executed. The English fleet seized upon St. Jago, Carthagena, St. Domingo, and several other important places, and took a great many rich ships. His instructions were, after these operations, to proceed and offer his assistance to the colony at Roanoak. The wretched few who survived the numberless calamities that had befallen them, were in such despair, that they refused all assistance, and only begged he would convey them to their native country. The admiral complied with their request; and thus the expences that had been hitherto bestowed on the settlement were entirely thrown away.

The associates were not discouraged by this unforeseen event. From time to time they sent over a few colonists, who, in the year 1589, amounted to a hundred and fifteen persons of both sexes, under a regular government, and fully provided with all they wanted

for their defence, and for the purposes of agriculture and commerce. These beginnings raised some expectations, but they were frustrated by the disgrace of Raleigh, who fell a victim to the caprices of his own wild imagination. The colony, having lost its founder, was totally forgotten. BOOK
XVII.

It had been thus neglected for twelve years, when Gosnold, one of the first associates, resolved to visit it in 1602. His experience in navigation made him suspect that the right tract had not been found out, and that in steering by the Canary and Caribbee Islands, the voyage had been made longer than it need have been by above a thousand leagues. These conjectures induced him to steer away from the south and to turn more westward. The attempt succeeded; but when he reached the American coast, he found himself further north than any navigators who had gone before. The country where he landed, which now makes a part of New-England, afforded him plenty of beautiful furs, with which he sailed back to England.

The rapidity and success of this undertaking made a strong impression upon the English merchants. Several of them joined in 1606 to form a settlement in the country that Gosnold had discovered. Their example revived in others the memory of the Roanoak; and this gave rise to two charter companies. As the continent where they were to carry on their monopoly was then known in England only by the general name of Virginia, the one was called the South-Virginia, and the other the North-Virginia Company.

The zeal that had been shown at first soon abated, and there appeared to be more jealousy than emulation between the two Companies. Though they had been favoured with the first lottery that ever was drawn in England, their progress was so slow, that in 1614 there were not above four hundred persons in both settlements. That sort of competency which was answerable to the simplicity of the manners of the times, was then so general in England, that no one was tempted to go abroad in quest of a fortune.

B O O K It is a sense of misfortune that gives men a dislike to
XVII. their native country, still more than the desire of ac-
 quiring riches. Nothing less than some extraordinary
 commotion could then have sent inhabitants even into
 an excellent country. This emigration was at length
 occasioned by superstition, which had given rise to
 commotions from the collision of religious opinions.

The con-
 tinent of
 America is
 peopled
 in conse-
 quence of
 the religi-
 ous wars
 that disturb
 England.

The first priests of the Britons were the Druids, so
 famous in the annals of Gaul. To throw a myste-
 rious veil upon the ceremonies of a savage worship,
 their rites were never performed but in dark recesses,
 and generally in gloomy groves, where fear creates
 spectres and apparitions. Only a few persons were
 initiated into these mysteries, and intrusted with the
 sacred doctrines; and even these were not allowed to
 commit any thing to writing upon this important sub-
 ject, lest their secrets should fall into the hands of the
 profane vulgar. The altars of a formidable deity
 were stained with the blood of human victims, and
 enriched with the most precious spoils of war. Though
 the dread of the vengeance of Heaven was the only
 guard of these treasures, yet they were always deemed
 sacred, because the Druids had artfully repressed a
 thirst after riches, by inculcating the fundamental doc-
 trine of the endless transmigration of the soul. The
 chief authority of government was vested in the mi-
 nisters of that terrible religion; because men are more
 powerfully and more constantly swayed by opinion
 than by any other motive. They were intrusted with
 the education of youth, and they maintained through
 life the ascendancy they acquired in that early age.
 They took cognizance of all civil and criminal causes,
 and were as absolute in their decisions on state affairs as
 on the private differences between individuals. Who-
 ever dared to resist their decrees, was not only exclud-
 ed from all participation in the divine mysteries, but
 even from the society of men. It was accounted a
 crime and a reproach to hold any intercourse with him;
 he was irrevocably deprived of the protection of the
 laws, and nothing but death could put an end to his

miserics. The history of human superstitions affords BOOK no instance of any one so tyrannical as that of the XVII. Druids. It was the only one that provoked the Romans to use severity; with so much violence did the Druids oppose the power of those conquerors.

That religion, however, had lost much of its influence, when it was totally abolished by Christianity in the seventh century. The northern nations, that had successively invaded the southern provinces of Europe, had found there the seeds of that new religion, amidst the ruins of an empire that was shaking on all sides. Their indifference for their distant gods, or that credulity which is ever the companion of ignorance, induced them readily to embrace a form of worship which, from the multiplicity of its ceremonies, could not but attract the notice of rude and savage men. The Saxons, who afterwards invaded England, followed their example, and adopted without difficulty a religion that justified their conquests, expiated the criminality of them, and ensured their permanency by abolishing the ancient forms of worship.

The effects were such as might be expected from a religion, the original simplicity of which was at that time so much disguised. Idle contemplations were soon substituted in lieu of active and social virtues, and a stupid veneration for unknown saints took place of the worship of the Supreme Being. Miracles dazzled the eyes of men, and diverted them from attending to natural causes. They were taught to believe that prayers and offerings would atone for the most heinous crimes. Every sentiment of reason was perverted, and every principle of morality corrupted.

Those who had been the promoters of this confusion knew how to avail themselves of it. The priests obtained that respect which was denied to kings, and their persons became sacred. The magistrate had no power of inspecting into their conduct, and they even evaded the watchfulness of the civil law. Their tribunal eluded, and even superseded, all others. They found means to introduce religion into every question

BOOK of law, and into all state affairs; and made themselves
 { XVII. } umpires or judges in every cause. When faith spoke,
 every one listened in silent attention to its inexplicable
 oracles. Such was the infatuation of those dark ages,
 that the scandalous excesses of the clergy did not di-
 minish their authority.

This authority was maintained by the immense riches the clergy had already acquired. As soon as they had taught that religion was preserved principally by sacrifices, and required first of all that of fortune and earthly possessions, the nobility, who were sole proprietors of all estates, employed their slaves to build churches, and allotted their lands to the endowment of those foundations. Kings gave to the church all that they had extorted from the people; and stripped themselves to such a degree, as even not to leave a sufficiency for the payment of the army, or for defraying the other charges of government. These deficiencies were never made up by those who were the cause of them. They were not concerned in any of the public expences. The payment of taxes with the revenues of the church would have been a sacrilege, and a prostitution of holy things to profane purposes. Such was the declaration of the clergy, and the laity believed them. The possession of the third part of the feudal tenures in the kingdom, the free-will offerings of a deluded people, and the large fees required for all priestly offices, did not satisfy the enormous avidity of the clergy, ever attentive to their own interest. They found in the Old Testament, that, by divine appointment, they had an undoubted right to the tithes of the produce of the land. This claim was so readily admitted, that they extended it to the tithe of industry, of the profits on trade, of the wages of labourers, of the pay of soldiers, and sometimes of the salaries of placemen.

Rome, which at first was a silent spectator of these proceedings, and proudly enjoyed the success that attended the rich and haughty ministers of a Saviour born in obscurity, and condemned to an ignominious

death, soon coveted a share in the spoils of England. BOOK
XVII.
 The first step she took was to open a trade for relics, which were always ushered in with some striking miracle, and sold in proportion to the credulity of the purchasers. The great men, and even monarchs, were invited to go in pilgrimage to the capital of the world, to purchase a place in heaven suitable to the rank they held on earth. The popes by degrees assumed the presentation to church preferments, which at first they gave away, but afterwards sold. By these means their tribunal took cognizance of all ecclesiastical causes; and in time they claimed a tenth of the revenues of the clergy, who themselves levied the tenth of all the substance of the realm.

When these pious extortions were carried as far as they possibly could be in England, Rome aspired to the supreme authority over it. Her ambitious deceit was covered with a sacred veil. She sapped the foundations of liberty, by employing the influence of opinion only. This was setting men at variance with themselves, and availing herself of their prejudices, in order to acquire an absolute dominion over them. She usurped the power of a despotic arbitrator between the altar and the throne, between the prince and his subjects, between one potentate and another. She kindled the flames of war with her spiritual thunders. But she wanted emissaries to spread the terror of her arms, and made choice of the monks for that purpose. The secular clergy, notwithstanding their celibacy, which kept them from forming connections in the world, were still attached to it by the ties of interest, often stronger than those of blood. A set of men, secluded from society by singular institutions, which must incline them to fanaticism, and by a blind submission to the dictates of a foreign pontiff, were best adapted to second the views of such a sovereign. These vile and abject tools of superstition executed their fatal employment successfully. By their intrigues, assisted with the concurrence of favourable circumstances, England, which had so long withstood the conquering arms of

BOOK the ancient Roman empire, became tributary to modern Rome.
 XVII.

At length the passions and violent caprices of Henry VIII. broke the scandalous dependence. The abuse of so infamous a power had already opened the eyes of the nation. This prince ventured at once to shake off the authority of the pope, abolish monasteries, and assume the supremacy over his own church.

This open schism was followed by other alterations in the reign of Edward, son and successor to Henry. The religious opinions, which were then changing the face of Europe, were openly discussed. Something was taken from every one; many doctrines and rites of the old form of worship were retained; and from these several systems or tenets arose a new communion, distinguished by the name of the Church of England.

Elizabeth, who completed this important work, found theory alone too subtle, and thought it most expedient to captivate the senses, by the addition of some ceremonies. Her natural taste for grandeur, and the desire of putting a stop to the disputes about points of doctrine, by entertaining the eye with the external parade of worship, inclined her to adopt a greater number of religious rites. But she was restrained by political considerations, and was obliged to sacrifice something to the prejudices of a party that had raised her to the throne, and was able to maintain her upon it.

Far from suspecting that James I. would execute what Elizabeth had not even dared to attempt, it might be expected that he would rather have been inclined to restrain ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies; that prince having been trained up in the principles of the Presbyterians, a sect which, with much spiritual pride, affected great simplicity of dress, gravity of manners, and austerity of doctrine, which loved to speak in scripture phrases, and gave none but scripture names to their children. One would have supposed that such an education must have prejudiced the king against the outward pomp of the Catholic worship, and every

thing that bore any affinity to it. But the spirit of B O O K
XVII. system prevailed over the principles of education. Stricken with the Episcopal jurisdiction which he found established in England, and which he thought conformable to his own notions of civil government, he abandoned, from conviction, the early impressions he had received, and grew passionately fond of a hierarchy modelled upon the political economy of a well-constituted empire. Instigated by his enthusiasm, he wanted to introduce this wonderful system into Scotland, his native country, and to engage a great many of the English, who still dissented, to embrace it. He even intended to add the pomp of the most awful ceremonies to the majestic plan, if he could have carried his grand projects into execution. But the opposition he met with at first setting out would not permit him to advance any further in his system of reformation. He contented himself with recommending to his son to resume his views, whenever the times should furnish a favourable opportunity; and represented the Presbyterians to him as alike dangerous to religion and to the throne.

Charles readily followed his advice, which was but too conformable to the principles of despotism he had imbibed from Buckingham, his favourite, the most corrupt of men, and the corrupter of the courtiers. To pave the way to the revolution he was meditating, he promoted several bishops to the highest dignities in the government, and conferred on them most of the offices that imparted a great share of influence in all public measures. These ambitious prelates, now become the masters of a prince who had been weak enough to be guided by the instigations of others, betrayed that spirit so frequent among the clergy, of exalting ecclesiastical jurisdiction under the shadow of the royal prerogative. They multiplied the church ceremonies without end, under pretence of their being of apostolical institution; and to enforce their observance, had recourse to acts of arbitrary power exercised by the king. It was evident that there was a settled

B O O K
XVII.

design of restoring, in all its splendour, what the Protestants called Romish idolatry, though the most violent means should be necessary to compass it. This project gave the more umbrage, as it was supported by the prejudices and intrigues of a presumptuous queen, who had brought from France an immoderate passion for popery and arbitrary power.

It can scarcely be imagined what acrimony these alarming suspicions had raised in the minds of the people. Common prudence would have allowed time for the ferment to subside. But the spirit of fanaticism endeavoured, even in these troublesome times, to restore every thing to the unity of the church of England, which was become more odious to the dissenters, since so many customs had been introduced into it which they considered as superstitious. An order was issued, that both kingdoms should conform to the worship and discipline of the Episcopal church. This law included the Presbyterians, who then began to be called Puritans, because they professed to take the pure and simple word of God for the rule of their faith and practice. It was extended likewise to all the foreign Calvinists that were in the kingdom, whatever difference there might be in their opinions. This hierarchal worship was enjoined to the regiments and trading companies dispersed in the several countries of Europe. The English ambassadors were also required to separate from all communion with the foreign Protestants, so that England lost all the influence she had acquired abroad, as the head and support of the Reformation.

In this fatal crisis, most of the Puritans were divided between submission and opposition. Those who would neither stoop to yield, nor take the pains to resist, turned their views towards North America, in search of that civil and religious liberty which their ungrateful country denied them. Their enemies, in order to have an opportunity of persecuting them more at leisure, attempted to preclude these devout fugitives from this aylum, where they wanted to worship

God in their own way in a desert land. Eight ships that lay at anchor in the Thames, ready to sail, were stopped; and Cromwell is said to have been detained there by that very king whom he afterwards brought to the scaffold. Enthusiasm, however, stronger than the rage of persecution, surmounted every obstacle; and that part of America was soon filled with Presbyterians. The satisfaction they enjoyed in their retreat gradually induced all those of their party to follow them, who were not so evil-minded as to delight in the view of those dreadful scenes which soon after made England a scene of blood and horror. Many were afterwards induced to remove thither in more peaceable times, with a view of advancing their fortunes. In a word, all Europe contributed greatly to increase their population. Thousands of unhappy men, oppressed by the tyranny or intolerant spirit of their sovereigns, took refuge in that hemisphere; concerning which we shall now pursue our inquiries, and endeavour, before we quit the spot, to gain some information respecting it.

B O O K
XVII.

It is surprising that so little should have been known of the New World, for so long a time after it was discovered. Barbarous soldiers and rapacious merchants were not proper persons to give us just and clear notions of this hemisphere. It was the province of philosophy alone to avail itself of the informations scattered in the accounts of voyages and missionaries, in order to see America such as nature hath made it, and to find out its analogy to the rest of the globe.

Parallel between the Old and the New World.

It is now pretty certain, that the new continent has not half the extent of surface that the old has. At the same time, the form of both is so singularly alike, that we might easily be inclined to draw consequences from this particular, if it were not always necessary to be upon our guard against the spirit of system which often stops us in our researches after truth, and hinders us from attaining it.

The two continents seem to form, as it were, two broad tracks of land, that begin from the Arctic pole,

BOOK and terminate at the tropic of Capricorn, divided on
 XVII. the east and west by the ocean that surrounds them.
 Whatever may be the structure of these two continents, and the quality or symmetry of their form, it is evident that their equilibrium does not depend upon their position. It is the inconstancy of the sea that constitutes the solid form of the earth. To fix the globe upon its basis, it seemed necessary to have an element which, floating incessantly round our planet, might by its weight counterbalance all other substances, and by its fluidity restore that equilibrium which the conflict of the other elements might have disturbed. Water, by its natural fluctuation and weight, is the most proper element to preserve the connection and balance of the several parts of the globe round its centre. If our hemisphere has a very wide extent of continent to the north, a mass of water of equal weight at the opposite part will certainly produce an equilibrium. If under the tropics we have a rich country covered with men and animals, under the same latitude America will have a sea filled with fish. While forests full of trees, bending with the largest fruits, quadrupeds of the greatest size, the most populous nations, elephants and men, are a load upon the surface of the earth, and seem to absorb all its fertility throughout the torrid zone; at both poles are found whales, with innumerable multitudes of cods and herrings, clouds of insects, and all the infinite and prodigious tribes that inhabit the seas, as it were, to support the axis of the earth, and prevent its inclining or deviating to either side: if, indeed, elephants, whales, or men, can be said to have any weight on a globe, where all living creatures are but a transient modification of the earth that composes it. In a word, the ocean rolls over this globe to fashion it, in conformity to the general laws of gravity. Sometimes it covers a hemisphere, a pole, or a zone, which at other times it leaves bare; but in general it seems to affect the equator, more especially as the cold of the poles in some measure contracts that fluidity which is essen-

tial to it, and from which it receives all its power of motion. It is chiefly between the tropics that the sea extends itself, and is agitated; and that it undergoes the greatest change, both in its regular and periodical motions, as well as in those violent agitations occasionally excited in it by tempestuous winds. The attraction of the sun, and the fermentations occasioned by its continual heat in the torrid zone, must have a very remarkable influence upon the ocean. The motion of the moon adds a new force to this influence; and the sea, to conform itself to this double impulse, must, it would seem, flow towards the equator. Nothing but the flatness of the globe at the poles can possibly account for that immense extent of water that has hitherto concealed from us the lands near the South pole. The sea cannot easily pass the boundaries of the tropics, if the temperate and frozen zones be not nearer to the centre of the earth than the torrid zone. It is the sea, therefore, that maintains an equilibrium with the land, and disposes the arrangement of the materials that compose it. One proof that the analogous portions of land, which the two continents of the globe present at first view, are not essentially necessary to its conformation, is, that the New Hemisphere has remained covered with the waters of the sea a much longer time than the Old. Besides, if there be an evident similarity between the two hemispheres, there are also differences between them, which will perhaps destroy that harmony we think we observe.

When we consider the map of the world, and see the local correspondence between the isthmus of Suez and that of Panama, between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn, between the Archipelago of the East Indies and that of the Caribbee Islands, and between the mountains of Chili and those of Monomotapa, we are stricken with the similarity of the several forms this picture presents. Land seems on all sides to be opposed to land, water to water, islands and peninsulas scattered by the hand of nature to serve as a counterpoise, and the sea, by its fluctuation, constantly main-

B O O K
XVII.

taining the balance of the whole. But if, on the other hand, we compare the great extent of the Pacific Ocean, which separates the East and West Indies, with the small space which the ocean occupies between the coast of Guinea and that of Brazil; the vast quantity of inhabited land to the north, with the little we know towards the south; the direction of the mountains of Tartary and Europe, which is from east to west, with that of the Cordeleirias, which run from north to south; the mind is in suspense, and we have the mortification to see the order and symmetry vanish, with which we had embellished our system of the earth. The observer is still more displeas'd with his conjectures, when he considers the immense height of the mountains of Peru. He is then astonished to see a continent so recent, and yet so elevated; the sea so much below the tops of these mountains, and yet so recently come down from the lands that seem'd to be effectually defended from its attacks by those tremendous bulwarks. It is, however, an undeniable fact, that both continents of the New Hemisphere have been covered with the sea. The air and the land confirm this truth.

The rivers, which in America are wider and of greater extent; the immense forests to the south; the spacious lakes and vast morasses to the north; the almost eternal snows between the tropics; few of those pure sands that seem to be the remains of an exhausted ground; no men entirely black; very fair people under the line; a cool and mild air in the same latitude as the sultry and uninhabitable parts of Africa; a frozen and severe climate under the same parallel as our temperate climates; and lastly, a difference of ten or twelve degrees in the temperature of the Old and New Hemispheres; these are so many tokens of a world that is still in its infancy.

Why should the continent of America be much warmer and much colder in proportion than that of Europe, if it were not for the moisture the ocean has left behind, in quitting it long after our continent was

peopled? Nothing but the sea can possibly have prevented Mexico from being inhabited as early as Asia. If the waters that still moisten the bowels of the earth in the New Hemisphere had not covered its surface, the woods would very easily have been cut down, the fens drained, a soft and watery soil would have been made firm, by stirring it up, and exposing it to the rays of the sun, a free passage would have been open to the winds, and dykes would have been raised along the rivers; in a word, the climate would have been totally altered by this time. But a rude and unpeopled hemisphere denotes a recent world; when the sea about its coasts still flows obscurely in its channels. A less scorching sun, more plentiful rains, and thicker vapours, more disposed to stagnate, are evident marks of the decay or the infancy of nature.

B O O K
XVII.

The difference of climate, arising from the waters having lain so long on the ground in America, could not but have a great influence on men and animals. From this diversity of causes must necessarily arise a very great diversity of effects. Accordingly, we see more species of animals, by two-thirds, in the old continent than the new; animals of the same kind considerably larger; monsters that are become more savage and fierce, as the countries have become more inhabited. On the other hand, nature seems to have strangely neglected the New World. The men have less strength and less courage; no beard and no hair; they have less appearances of manhood; and are but little susceptible of the lively and powerful sentiment of love, which is the principle of every attachment, the first instinct, the first band of society, without which all other artificial ties have neither energy nor duration. The women, who are still more weak, are neither favourably treated by nature nor by the men, who have but little love for them, and consider them merely as subservient to their will: they rather sacrifice them to their indolence, than consecrate them to their pleasures. This indolence is the great delight and supreme felicity of the Americans, of which the

BOOK
XVII.

women are the victims, from the continual labours imposed upon them. It must, however, be confessed, that in America, as in all other parts, the men, when they have sentenced the women to work, have been so equitable as to take upon themselves the perils of war, together with the toils of hunting and fishing. But their indifference for the sex, which nature has intrusted with the care of multiplying the species, implies an imperfection in their organs, a sort of state of childhood in the people of America, similar to that of the people in our continent, who are not yet arrived to the age of puberty. This seems to be a natural defect prevailing in the continent of America, which is an indication of its being a new country.

But if the Americans be a new people, are they a race of men originally distinct from those who cover the face of the Old World? This is a question which ought not to be too hastily decided. The origin of the population of America is involved in inextricable difficulties. If we assert that the Greenlanders first came from Norway, and then went over to the coast of Labrador, others will tell us, it is more natural to suppose that the Greenlanders are sprung from the Esquimaux, to whom they bear a greater resemblance than to the Europeans. If we should suppose that California was peopled from Kamtschatka, it may be asked, what motive or what chance could have led the Tartars to the north-west of America? Yet it is imagined to be from Greenland or from Kamtschatka that the inhabitants of the Old World must have gone over to the New, as it is by those two countries that the two continents are connected, or at least approach nearest to one another. Besides, how can we conceive that in America the torrid zone can have been peopled from one of the frozen zones? Population will indeed spread from north to south, but it must naturally have begun under the equator, where life is cherished by warmth. If the people of America could not come from our continent, and yet appear to be a new race, we must have recourse to the flood, which is the source

and the solution of all difficulties in the history of nations. BOOK
XVII.

Let us suppose that the sea having overflowed the other hemisphere, its old inhabitants took refuge upon the Apalachian mountains, and the Cordeleirias, which are far higher than our Mount Ararat. But how could they have lived upon those heights, covered with snow, and surrounded with waters? How is it possible that men, who had breathed in a pure and delightful climate, could have survived the miseries of want, the inclemency of a tainted atmosphere, and those numberless calamities which must be the unavoidable consequences of a deluge? How will the race have been preserved and propagated in those times of general calamity, and in the miserable ages that must have succeeded? Notwithstanding all these objections, we must allow that America has been peopled from these wretched remains of the great devastation. Every thing exhibits the vestiges of a malady, of which the human race still feels the effects. The ruin of that world is still imprinted on its inhabitants. They are a species of men degraded and degenerated in their natural constitution, in their stature, in their way of life, and in their understanding, which is but little advanced in all the arts of civilization. A damper air, and a more marshy ground, must necessarily have infected the first principles of the subsistence and increase of mankind. It must have required some ages to restore population, and still a greater number before the ground could be settled and dried, so as to be fit for tillage, and for the foundation of buildings. The air must necessarily be purified before the sky could clear, and the sky must necessarily be clear before the earth could be rendered habitable. The imperfection, therefore, of nature in America is not so much a proof of its recent origin, as of its regeneration. It was probably peopled at the same time as the other hemisphere, but may have been overflowed later. The large fossil bones that are found under ground in America, show that it had formerly elephants, rhinoceros, and other

B O O K enormous quadrupeds, which have since disappeared
XVII. in those regions. The gold and silver mines that are
 found just below the surface of the earth, are signs of
 a very ancient revolution of the globe, but later than
 those that have overturned our hemisphere.

Suppose America had, by some means or other, been
 repopled by our roving hordes, that period would
 have been so remote, that it would still give great an-
 tiquity to the inhabitants of that hemisphere. Three
 or four centuries will not then be sufficient to allow
 for the foundation of the empire of Mexico and Peru;
 for, though we find no trace in these countries of our
 arts, or of the opinions and customs that prevail in
 other parts of the globe, yet we have found a police
 and a society established, inventions and practices
 which, though they did not show any marks of times
 anterior to the deluge, yet they implied a long series
 of ages subsequent to this catastrophe. For, though
 in Mexico, as in Egypt, a country surrounded with
 waters, mountains, and other invincible obstacles, must
 have forced the men enclosed in it to unite after a time,
 notwithstanding they might at first have destroyed each
 other in continual and bloody wars, yet it was only in
 process of time that they could invent and establish a
 form of worship and a legislation, which they could
 not possibly have borrowed from remote times or
 countries. It required a greater number of ages to
 render familiar the single art of speech, and that of
 writing, though but in hieroglyphics, to a whole na-
 tion unconnected with any other, and which must it-
 self have created both these arts, than it would take
 up days to perfect a child in them. Ages bear not
 the same proportion to the whole race as years do to
 individuals. The whole race is to occupy a vast field,
 both as to space and duration, while the individuals
 have only some moments or instants of time to fill up,
 or rather to run over. The likeness or uniformity ob-
 servable in the features and manners of the American
 nations, plainly show that they are not so ancient as
 those of our continent, which differ so much from

each other; but at the same time, this circumstance seems to confirm that they did not proceed from any foreign hemisphere, with which they have no kind of affinity that can indicate an immediate descent.

Whatever may be the case with regard to their origin or their antiquity, which are both uncertain, it is perhaps more interesting to inquire whether those untutored nations are more or less happy than our civilized people. Let us, therefore, examine whether the condition of rude man, left to mere animal instinct, who passes every day of his life in hunting, feeding, producing his species, and reposing himself, is better or worse than the condition of that wonderful being, who makes his bed of down, spins and weaves the thread of the silk-worm to clothe himself, hath exchanged the cave, his original abode, for a palace, and hath varied his indulgences and his wants in a thousand different ways.

It is in the nature of man that we must look for his means of happiness. What does he want to be as happy as he can be? Present subsistence; and, if he should think of futurity, the hopes and certainty of enjoying that blessing. The savage, who has not been driven into and confined within the frigid zones by civilized societies, is not in want of this first of necessaries. If he should lay in no stores, it is because the earth and the sea are reservoirs always open to supply his wants. Fish and game are to be had all the year, and will supply the want of fertility in the dead seasons. The savage has no house, well secured from the access of the external air, or commodious fire-places; but his furs answer all the purposes of the roof, the garment, and the stove. He works but for his own benefit, sleeps when he is weary, and is a stranger to watchings and restless nights. War is a matter of choice to him. Danger, like labour, is a condition of his nature, not a profession annexed to his birth; a national duty, not a domestic servitude. The savage is serious, but not melancholy; and his countenance seldom bears the impression of those passions and disorders that leave

B O O K
XVII.

Comparison
between civi-
lized peo-
ple and
savages.

BOOK
XVII.

fuch flocking and fatal marks on ours. He cannot feel the want of what he does not desire, nor can he desire what he is ignorant of. Most of the conveniences of life are remedies for evils he does not feel. Pleasure is the mode of satisfying appetites which his senses are unacquainted with. He seldom experiences any of that weariness that arises from unsatisfied desires, or that emptiness and uneasiness of mind that is the offspring of prejudice and vanity. In a word, the savage is subject to none but natural evils.

But what greater happiness than this does the civilized man enjoy? His food is more wholesome and delicate than that of the savage. He has softer clothes, and a habitation better secured against the inclemencies of the weather. But the common people, who are to be the support and basis of civil society, those numbers of men who in all states bear the burden of hard labour, cannot be said to live happy, either in those empires where the consequences of war and the imperfection of the police have reduced them to a state of slavery, or in those governments where the progress of luxury and police has reduced them to a state of servitude. The mixed governments seem to present some prospects of happiness under the protection of liberty; but this happiness is purchased by the most sanguinary exertions, which repel tyranny for a time only, that it may fall the heavier upon the devoted nation, sooner or later doomed to oppression. Observe how Caligula and Nero revenged the expulsion of the Tarquins, and the death of Cæsar.

Tyranny, we are told, is the work of the people, and not of kings. But if so, why do they suffer it? Why do they not repel the encroachments of despotism; and, while it employs violence and artifice to enslave all the faculties of men, why do they not oppose it with all their powers? But is it lawful to murder and complain under the rod of the oppressor? Will it not exasperate and provoke him to pursue the victim to death? The complaints of slaves he calls rebellion; and they are to be stifled in a dungeon, and

sometimes put an end to on a scaffold. The man who should assert the rights of man would perish in neglect and infamy. Tyranny, therefore, must be endured, under the name of authority. B O O K
XVII.

If so, to what outrages is not the civilized man exposed! If he be possessed of any property, he knows not how far he may call it his own, when he must divide the produce between the courtier who may attack his estate, the lawyer who must be paid for teaching him how to preserve it, the soldier who may lay it waste, and the collector who comes to levy unlimited taxes. If he should have no property, how can he be assured of a permanent subsistence? What species of industry is secured against the vicissitudes of fortune, and the encroachments of government?

In the forests of America, if there be a scarcity in the north, the savages bend their course to the south. The wind or the sun will drive a wandering clan to more temperate climates. But if in our civilized states, confined within gates, and restrained within certain limits, famine, war, or pestilence should consume an empire, it is a prison where all must expect to perish in misery, or in the horrors of slaughter. The man who is unfortunately born there, is compelled to endure all extortions, all the severities that the inclemency of the seasons and the injustice of government may bring upon him.

In our provinces, the vassal, or free mercenary, digs and ploughs, the whole year round, lands that are not his own, and the produce of which does not belong to him; and he is even happy if his labour can procure him a share of the crops he has sown and reaped. Observed and harassed by a hard and restless landlord, who grudges him even the straw on which he rests his weary limbs, the wretch is daily exposed to diseases, which, joined to his poverty, make him wish for death, rather than for an expensive cure, followed by infirmities and toil. Whether tenant or subject, he is doubly a slave; if he should possess a few acres, his lord comes and gathers upon them what he has not sown; if he

B O O K

XVII.

be worth but a yoke of oxen or a pair of horses, he must employ them in the public service; if he should have nothing but his person, the prince takes him for a soldier. Every where he meets with masters, and always with oppression.

In our cities, the workmen and the artist who have no manufacture of their own are at the mercy of greedy and idle masters, who, by the privilege of monopoly, have purchased of government a power of making industry work for nothing, and of selling its labours at a very high price. The lower class have no more than the fight of that luxury of which they are doubly the victims, by the watchings and fatigues it occasions them, and by the insolence of the pomp that humiliates and oppresses them.

Even supposing that the dangerous labours of our quarries, mines, and forges, with all the arts that are performed by fire, and that the perils which navigation and commerce expose us to, were less pernicious than the roving life of the savages, who live upon hunting and fishing; suppose that men, who are ever lamenting the sorrows and affronts that arise merely from opinion, are less unhappy than the savages, who never shed a tear in the most excruciating tortures; there would still remain a wide difference between the fate of the civilized man and the wild Indian, a difference entirely to the disadvantage of social life. This is the injustice that prevails in the partial distribution of fortunes and stations; an inequality which is at once the effect and the cause of oppression.

In vain does custom, prejudice, ignorance, and hard labour stupify the lower class of mankind, so as to render them insensible of their degradation; neither religion nor morality can hinder them from seeing and feeling the injustice of the arrangements of policy in the distribution of good and evil. How often have we heard the poor man expostulating with Heaven, and asking what he had done, that he should deserve to be born in an indigent and dependent station? Even if great conflicts were inseparable from the more

exalted stations, which might be sufficient to balance all the advantages and all the superiority that the social state claims over the state of nature, still the obscure man, who is unacquainted with those conflicts, sees nothing in a high rank, but that affluence which is the cause of his own poverty. He envies the rich man those pleasures to which he is so accustomed, that he has lost all relish for them. What domestic can have a real affection for his master, or what is the attachment of a servant? Was ever prince truly beloved by his courtiers, even when he was hated by his subjects? If we prefer our condition to that of the savages, it is because civil life has made us incapable of bearing some natural hardships which the savage is more exposed to than we are, and because we are attached to some indulgences that custom has made necessary to us. Even in the vigour of life, a civilized man may accustom himself to live among savages and return to the state of nature. We have an instance of this in that Scotchman who was cast away on the island of Fernandez, where he lived alone, and was happy as soon as he was so taken up with supplying his wants, as to forget his own country, his language, his name, and even the articulation of words. After four years, he felt himself eased of the burden of social life, when he had lost all reflection or thought of the past, and all anxiety for the future.

Lastly, the consciousness of independence being one of the first instincts in man, he who enjoys this primitive right, with a moral certainty of a competent subsistence, is incomparably happier than the rich man, restrained by laws, masters, prejudices, and fashions, which incessantly remind him of the loss of his liberty. To compare the state of the savages to that of children, is to decide at once the question that has been so warmly debated by philosophers, concerning the advantages of the state of nature above those of social life. Children, notwithstanding the restraints of education, are in the happiest age of human life. Their habitual cheerfulness, when they are not under the

B O O K XVII. schoolmaster's rod, is the surest indication of the happiness they feel. After all, a single word may determine this great question. Let us ask the civilized man whether he be happy, and the savage whether he be unhappy. If they both answer in the negative, the dispute is at an end.

Ye civilized nations, this parallel must certainly be mortifying to you! but you cannot too strongly feel the weight of the calamities under which you are oppressed. The more painful the sensation is, the more will it awaken your attention to the true causes of your sufferings. You may at last be convinced that they proceed from the confusion of your opinions, from the defects of your political constitutions, and from capricious laws, which are in continual opposition to the laws of nature.

After this inquiry into the moral state of the Americans, let us return to the natural state of their country. Let us see what it was before the arrival of the English, and what it is become under their dominion.

The state in which the English found North America and what they have done there.

The first Englishmen who went over to America to settle colonies, found immense forests. The vast trees that grew up to the clouds, were so surrounded with creeping plants, that they could not be approached. The wild beasts made these woods still more inaccessible. A few savages only were met with, clothed with the skins of those monsters. The human race, thinly scattered, fled from each other, or pursued only with intent to destroy. The earth seemed useless to man, and its powers were not exerted so much for his support, as in the breeding of animals, more obedient to the laws of nature. It produced spontaneously without assistance and without direction; it yielded all its bounties with uncontrolled profusion for the benefit of all, not for the pleasures or conveniencies of one species of beings. The rivers in one place glided freely through the forests, in another, scattered their unruffled waters in a wide morass, from whence issuing in various streams they formed a multitude of islands,

encompassed with their channels. Spring was renewed from the decay of autumn. The withered leaves, rotting at the foot of the trees, supplied them with fresh sap to enable them to shoot out new blossoms. The hollow trunks of trees afforded a retreat to prodigious numbers of birds. The sea, dashing against the coasts, and indenting the gulfs, threw up shoals of amphibious monsters, enormous whales, crabs, and turtles, that sported uncontrouled on the desert shores. There nature exerted her plastic power, incessantly producing the gigantic inhabitants of the ocean, and asserting the freedom of the earth and the sea.

But man appeared, and immediately changed the face of North America. He introduced symmetry by the assistance of all the instruments of art. The impenetrable woods were instantly cleared, and made room for commodious dwellings. The wild beasts were driven away, and flocks of domestic animals supplied their place; while thorns and briars made way for rich harvests. The waters forsook part of their domain, and were drained off into the interior parts of the land, or into the sea by deep canals. The coasts were covered with towns, and the bays with ships; and thus the New World, like the Old, became subject to man. What powerful engines have raised that wonderful structure of European industry and policy? Let us resume the consideration of the particulars. In the remotest part stands a solitary spot, distinct from the whole, and which is called Hudson's Bay.

This strait, of about ten degrees in depth, is formed by the ocean in the distant and northern parts of America. The breadth of the entrance is six leagues, but it is only to be attempted from the beginning of July to the end of September, and is even then rather dangerous. This danger arises from mountains of ice, some of which are said to be from 15 to 18 hundred feet thick, and which having been produced by winters of five or six years duration in little gulfs constantly filled with snow, are forced out of them by north-west winds, or by some other extraordinary cause.

B O O K

XVII.

Climate of Hudson's Bay, and customs of its inhabitants. Trade carried on there.

BOOK XVII. The best way of avoiding them is to keep as near as possible to the northern coast, which must necessarily be less obstructed and most free by the natural direction of both winds and currents.

The north-west wind, which blows almost constantly in winter, and very often in summer, frequently raises violent storms within the bay itself, which is rendered still more dangerous by the number of shoals that are found there. Happily, however, small groups of islands are met with at different distances, which are of a sufficient height to afford a shelter from the storm. Beside these small Archipelagoes, there are in many places large piles of bare rock. Except the *Alga Marina*, the bay produces as few vegetables as the other northern seas.

Throughout all the countries surrounding this bay, the sun never rises or sets without forming a great cone of light; this phenomenon is succeed by the *Aurora Borealis*, which tinges the hemisphere with coloured rays of such brilliancy, that the splendour of them is not effaced even by that of the full moon. Notwithstanding this, there is seldom a bright sky. In spring and autumn, the air is always filled with thick fogs, and in winter, with an infinite number of small icicles. Though the heats in the summer be rather considerable for six weeks or two months, there is seldom any thunder or lightning, owing, no doubt to the great dispersion of the sulphureous exhalations, which, however, are sometimes set on fire by the *Aurora Borealis*; and this light flame consumes the barks of the trees, but leaves their trunks untouched.

One of the effects of the extreme cold or snow that prevails in this climate, is that of turning those animals white in winter, which are naturally brown or grey. Nature has bestowed upon them all, soft, long, and thick furs, the hair of which falls off as the weather grows milder. In most of these quadrupeds, the feet, the tail, the ears, and generally speaking all those parts in which the circulation is slower, because they are the most remote from the heart, are extremely

short. Wherever they happen to be something longer, they are proportionably well covered. Under this gloomy sky, all liquors become solid by freezing, and break the vessels they are in. Even spirit of wine loses its fluidity. It is not uncommon to see fragments of large rocks loosened and detached from the great mass, by the force of the frost. All these phenomena, common enough during the whole winter, are much more terrible at the new and full moon, which in these regions has an influence upon the weather, the causes of which are not known.

In this frozen zone, iron, lead, copper, marble, and a substance resembling sea-coal, have been discovered. In other respects, the soil is extremely barren. Except the coasts, which are for the most part marshy, and produce a little grass and some soft wood; the rest of the country affords nothing but very high moss, and a few weak shrubs very thinly scattered.

This deficiency in nature extends itself to every thing. The human race are few in number, and there are scarce any persons above four feet high. Their heads bear the same enormous proportion to the rest of their bodies, as those of children do. The smallness of their feet makes them awkward and tottering in their gait. Small hands and a round mouth, which in Europe are reckoned a beauty, seem almost a deformity in these people, because we see nothing here but the effects of a weak organization, and of a cold climate, that contracts and restrains the principles of growth, and is fatal to the progress of animal as well as of vegetable life. All the men, even the youngest of them, though they have neither hair nor beard, have the appearance of being old. This is partly occasioned from the formation of their lower lip, which is thick, fleshy, and projecting beyond the upper. Such are the Esquimaux, who inhabit not only the coast of Labrador, from whence they have taken their name, but likewise all that tract of country which extends from the point of Belleisle to the most northern parts of America.

B. O. O. K.
XVII.

The inhabitants of Hudson's Bay have, like the Greenlanders, a flat face, with short but not flattened noses, the pupil yellow, and the iris black. Their women have marks of deformity peculiar to their sex, among others very long and flabby breasts. This defect, which is not natural, arises from their custom of giving suck to their children till they are five or six years old. As they often carry them at their backs, the children pull their mothers breasts forcibly, and almost support themselves by them.

It is not true that there are hordes of the Esquimaux entirely black, as has been supposed, and then accounted for; nor that they live under ground. How should they dig into a soil, which the cold renders harder than stone? How is it possible they should live in caverns where they would be infallibly drowned by the first melting of the snows?

It is, however, certain, that they spend the winter under huts hastily built with flints joined together with cements of ice, where they live without any other fire but that of a lamp hung in the middle of the shed, for the purpose of dressing their game and the fish they feed upon. The heat of their blood, and of their breath, added to the vapour arising from this small flame, is sufficient to make their huts as hot as stoves.

The Esquimaux dwell constantly in the neighbourhood of the sea, which supplies them with all their provisions. Both their constitution and complexion partake of the quality of their aliment. The flesh of the seal is their food, and the oil of the whale is their drink, which produces in them all an olive complexion, a strong smell of fish, an oily and tenacious sweat, and sometimes a sort of scaly leprosy. This is, probably, the reason why the mothers have the same custom as the bears, of licking their young ones.

These people, weak and degraded by nature, are notwithstanding most intrepid upon a sea that is constantly dangerous. In boats made and sewed together like so many Borachios, but at the same time

so well closed that it is impossible for the water to penetrate them, they follow the shoals of herrings through the whole of their polar emigrations, and attack the whales and seals at the peril of their lives. One stroke of the whale's tail is sufficient to drown a hundred of them, and the seal is armed with teeth to devour those he cannot drown; but the hunger of the Esquimaux is superior to the rage of these monsters. They have an inordinate desire for the whale's oil, which is necessary to preserve the heat in their stomachs, and defend them from the severity of the cold. Indeed, whales, men, birds, and all the quadrupeds and fish of the north are supplied by nature with a quantity of fat which prevents the muscles from freezing, and the blood from coagulating. Every thing in these arctic regions is either oily or gummy, and even the trees are resinous.

The Esquimaux are, notwithstanding, subject to two fatal disorders, the scurvy and the loss of sight. The continuation of the snows on the ground, joined to the reverberation of the rays of the sun on the ice, dazzle their eyes in such a manner, that they are almost constantly obliged to wear shades made of very thin wood, through which small apertures for the light are bored with fish-bones. Doomed to a six-months night, they never see the sun but obliquely, and then it seems rather to blind them than to give them light. Sight, the most delightful blessing of nature, is a fatal gift to them, and they are generally deprived of it when young.

A still more cruel evil, which is the scurvy, consumes them by slow degrees. It insinuates itself into their blood, changes, thickens, and impoverishes the whole mass. The fogs of the sea, which they inspire, the dense and inelastic air they breathe in their huts, which exclude all communication with the external air, the continued and tedious inactivity of their long winters, a mode of life alternately roving and sedentary; in a word, every circumstance serves to increase this dreadful illness; which in a little time becomes contagious,

BOOK
XVII.

and spreading itself throughout their habitations, is also probably entailed upon their posterity.

Notwithstanding these inconveniences, the Esquimaux is so passionately fond of his country, that no inhabitant of the most favoured spot under heaven quits it with more reluctance than he does his frozen deserts. One of the reasons of this may be, that he finds it difficult to breathe in a softer and more temperate climate. The sky of Amsterdam, Copenhagen, and London, though constantly obscured by thick and fetid vapours, is too clear for an Esquimaux. Perhaps too, there may be something in the change of life and manners still more unfavourable to the health of savages than the climate. It is not impossible but that the delights of an European may be poison to the Esquimaux.

Such were the inhabitants of the country discovered in 1607 by Henry Hudson, who had employed himself in searching for a north-west passage to enter into the South Sea. This intrepid and able navigator, in 1611, was going through, for the third time, these straits, which were before unknown, when his base and treacherous crew placed him, with seven of the sailors who were animated with the same spirit, in a very slight boat, and left him, without either arms or provisions, exposed to all the dangers both of sea and land. The barbarians, who refused him the necessaries of life, could not, however, rob him of the honour of the discovery; and the bay which he first found out will ever be called by his name.

The miseries of the civil war which followed soon after, had, however, made the English forget this distant country, which had nothing to attract them. A succession of more quiet times had not yet induced them to attend to it, when Groseillers and Radisson, two French Canadians, having met with some discontent at home, informed the English, who were engaged in repairing the mischiefs of discord by trade, of the profits arising from furs, and of their claim to the country that furnished them. Those who pro-

posed this undertaking showed so much ability, that they were intrusted with the execution of it; and the first establishment they formed succeeded so well, that it surpassed their own hopes as well as their promises.

This success alarmed the French, who were afraid, and with reason, that most of the fine furs which they got from the northern parts of Canada, would be carried to Hudson's Bay. Their alarms were confirmed by the unanimous testimony of their *Coureurs de Bois*, who, since 1656, had been four times as far as the borders of the strait. It would have been an eligible thing to have gone by the same road to attack the new colony; but the distance being thought too considerable, notwithstanding the convenience of the rivers, it was at length determined that the expedition should be made by sea. The fate of it was trusted to Groseillers and Radisson, who had been easily prevailed upon to renew their attachment to their country.

These two bold and turbulent men sailed from Quebec in 1682, in two vessels ill equipped; and on their arrival, finding themselves not strong enough to attack the enemy, they were contented with erecting a fort in the neighbourhood of that they designed to have taken. From this time there began a rivalry between the two companies, one settled at Canada, the other in England, for the exclusive trade of the bay, which was constantly kept up by the disputes it occasioned, till at last, after each of their settlements had been frequently taken and recovered, all hostilities were terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, by which the whole was ceded to Great Britain.

Hudson's Bay, properly speaking, is only a mart for trade. The severity of the climate having destroyed all the corn sown there at different times, has frustrated every hope of agriculture, and consequently of population. Throughout the whole of this extensive coast, there are not more than ninety or a hundred soldiers, or factors, who live in four bad forts, of which York fort is the principal. Their business is to receive

B O O K the furs brought by the neighbouring savages in exchange for merchandise, of which they have been taught the value and use.

XVII.

Though these skins be much more valuable than those which are found in countries not so far north, yet they are cheaper. The savages give ten beaver skins for a gun, two for a pound of powder, one for four pounds of lead, one for a hatchet, one for six knives, two for a pound of glass beads, six for a cloth coat, five for a petticoat, and one for a pound of snuff. Combs, looking-glasses, kettles, and brandy, sell in proportion. As the beaver is the common measure of exchange, by another regulation as fraudulent as the first, two otter skins and three martins are required instead of one beaver. Beside this oppression, which is authorised, there is another which is at least tolerated, by which the savages are constantly defrauded in the quality, quantity, and measure of what is given them, and by which they lose about one third of the value.

From this regulated system of imposition, it is easy to guess that the commerce of Hudson's Bay is a monopoly. The capital of the Company that is in possession of it was originally no more than 241,500 livres [10,062l. 10s.], and has been successively increased to 2,380,500 [99,187l. 10s.]. This capital brings them in an annual return of forty or fifty thousand skins of beavers or other animals, upon which they make so exorbitant a profit, that it excites the jealousy and clamours of the nation. Two-thirds of these beautiful furs are either consumed in kind in the three kingdoms, or made use of in the national manufactures. The rest are carried into Germany, where the nature of the climate makes them a valuable commodity.

Whether there be a passage from Hudson's Bay to the East Indies.

But it is neither the acquisition of these savage riches, nor the still greater emoluments that might be drawn from this trade, if it were made free, which have alone fixed the attention of England, as well as that of all Europe, upon this frozen continent. Hudson's Bay always has been, and is still looked upon as

the nearest road from Europe to the East Indies, and to the richest parts of Asia.

B O O K
XVII.

Cabot was the first who entertained an idea of a north-west passage to the South Seas; but his discoveries ended at Newfoundland. After him followed a multitude of English navigators, many of whom had the glory of giving their names to savage coasts which no mortal had ever visited before. These bold and memorable expeditions were more striking than really useful. The most fortunate of them did not furnish a single idea relative to the object of pursuit. The Dutch, less frequent in their attempts, and who pursued them with less ardour, were of course not more successful; and the whole began to be treated as a chimera, when the discovery of Hudson's Bay rekindled all the hopes that were nearly extinguished.

From this time the attempts were renewed with fresh ardour. Those that had been made before in vain by the mother-country, whose attention was engrossed by her own intestine commotions, were pursued by New England, whose situation was more favourable to the enterprise. Still, however, for some time there were more voyages undertaken than discoveries made. The nation was a long time kept in suspense by the contradictory accounts received from the adventurers. While some maintained the possibility, some the probability, and others asserted the certainty of the passage; the accounts they gave, instead of clearing up the point, involved it in still greater darkness. Indeed, these accounts are so full of obscurity and confusion, they are silent upon so many important circumstances, and they display such visible marks of ignorance and want of veracity, that, however impatient we may be of determining the question, it is impossible to build any thing like a solid judgment upon testimonies so suspicious. At length, the famous expedition of 1746 threw some kind of light upon a point which had remained enveloped in darkness for two centuries past. But upon what grounds have the later navigators entertained better hopes? What are

BOOK the experiments on which they found their conjectures?
 XVII

Let us proceed to give an account of their arguments. There are three facts in natural history, which henceforward must be taken for granted. The first is, that the tides come from the ocean, and that they extend more or less into the other seas, in proportion as their channels communicate with the great reservoir by larger or smaller openings; from whence it follows, that this periodical motion either doth not exist, or is scarce perceptible in the Mediterranean, in the Baltic, and other gulfs of the same nature. A second matter of fact is, that the tides are much later and much weaker in places more remote from the ocean, than in those which are nearer to it. The third fact is, that violent winds, which blow in a direction with the tides, make them rise above their ordinary boundaries; and that those which blow in a contrary direction retard their motion, at the same time that they diminish their swell.

From these principles it is most certain, that if Hudson's Bay were no more than a gulf enclosed between two continents, and had no communication but with the Atlantic, the tides in it would be very inconsiderable; they would be weaker in proportion as they were further removed from the source, and would be much less strong wherever they ran in a contrary direction to the wind. But it is proved by observations made with the greatest skill and precision, that the tides are very high throughout the whole bay. It is certain that they are higher towards the bottom of the bay than even in the strait itself, or at least in the neighbourhood of it. It is proved, that even this height increases whenever the wind blows from a corner opposite to the strait; it is therefore certain, that Hudson's Bay has a communication with the ocean, beside that which has been already found out.

Those who have endeavoured to explain these very striking facts, by supposing a communication of Hudson's with Baffin's Bay, or with Davis's Straits, are evi-

dently in an error. They would not scruple to reject this opinion, for which, indeed, there is no real foundation, if they only considered that the tides are much lower in Davis's Straits and in Baffin's Bay, than in Hudson's.

B O O K
XVII.

But if the tides in Hudson's Bay can come neither from the Atlantic ocean, nor from any other northern sea, in which they are constantly much weaker, it follows that they must have their origin in the South Sea. And this is still further apparent from another leading fact, which is, that the highest tides ever observed upon these coasts are always occasioned by the north-west winds, which blow directly against the mouth of the strait.

Having thus determined, as much as the nature of the subject will permit, the existence of this passage, so long and so vainly wished for, the next point is, to find out in what part of the bay it is to be expected. From considering every circumstance, we are induced to think that the attempts, which have been hitherto made without either choice or method, ought to be directed towards Welcome Bay, on the western coast. First, the bottom of the sea is to be seen there at the depth of about eleven fathom, which is an evident sign that the water comes from some ocean, as such a transparency could not exist in waters discharged from rivers, or in melted snow or rain. Secondly, the currents keep this place always free from ice, while all the rest of the bay is covered with it; and their violence cannot be accounted for, but by supposing them to come from some western sea. Lastly, the whales, which towards the latter end of autumn always go in search of the warmest climates, are found in great abundance in these parts towards the end of the summer, which would seem to indicate that there is an outlet for them from thence to the South Seas, not to the northern ocean.

It is probable that the passage is very short. All the rivers that empty themselves on the western coast

BOOK of Hudson's Bay are small and slow, which seems to
 XVII. prove that they do not come from any distance, and
 that consequently the lands which separate the two
 seas are of a small extent. This argument is strengthened by the height and regularity of the tides. Wherever there is no other difference between the times of the ebb and flow, but that which is occasioned by the retarded progression of the moon in her return to the meridian, it is a certain sign that the ocean from whence those tides come is very near. If the passage be short, and not very far to the north, as every thing seems to promise, we may also presume that it is not very difficult. The rapidity of the currents observable in these latitudes, which prevents any flakes of ice from continuing there, cannot but give some weight to this conjecture.

The discovery that still remains to be made is of so much importance and utility, that it would be folly to neglect the pursuit of it. It is consistent with the interest, as well as the dignity of Great Britain, that these attempts should be pursued, either till they succeed, or till the impossibility of succeeding shall be demonstrated. The resolution which they have taken in 1745, of promising a considerable reward to the navigators who should succeed in this great project, displays their wisdom even in their generosity, but is not still sufficient to attain the end that is proposed. The ministry of England must know, that the efforts of individuals will not succeed, till the trade of Hudson's Bay be entirely laid open. It ought to be made free on every account, and particularly, because the term of the grant given by Charles II. has been expired for a long time, and hath never been legally prolonged. The Company in whose hands the trade is, since the year 1670, not satisfied with neglecting the object of their institution, by taking no steps towards the discovery of a north-west passage, have even exerted their utmost efforts to thwart the designs of those who, either from love of glory or from other motives, have been

impelled to this undertaking. Nothing can alter that spirit of iniquity which constitutes the essence of monopoly.

Perhaps we should, however, confine ourselves chiefly to the northern seas, in order to discover this long-wished-for passage. About two centuries ago, a report was spread that there existed one somewhere else, which was sometimes described under the name of Anian. The Spaniards, who were not yet acquainted with the passage from Cape Horn to the South Seas, and who got there only by the Straits of Magellan, which were dreaded on account of the frequent shipwrecks that happened there, eagerly laid hold of this popular opinion. They fitted out five expeditions, as expensive as they were useless; and the result of which was, that Europe was undeceived with respect to this fabulous account, which the Spaniards themselves were accused of having propagated, in order to divert other nations from the design of seeking a passage towards the north.

This state of inaction did not, it is said, last long. The court of Madrid being informed that New England was preparing, in 1636, a new expedition, to discover a passage through the Frozen Sea, likewise ordered one to be fitted out at Peru, in order to meet these navigators. Admiral Fuentes, who was intrusted with this expedition, set out from Callao, with four ships, towards the middle of the year 1640. He rapidly overcame all the obstacles which nature opposed to his operations, and arrived himself in Hudson's Bay, while his lieutenants penetrated into Davis's Straits, and into the sea of Tartary, at the extremity of Asia. After the discovery of these three passages, the small fleet very happily regained the South Sea, from whence it had set out. It hath been pretended, that the council in India had mysteriously concealed the knowledge of this event from the nations, and that they had suppressed, with the greatest care, all the accounts which might one day revive the memory of it. The Spaniards, in their turn, affirm, that the expedition of Fuentes and the discovery are both equally chimerical;

B O O K
XVII.

Hath the
passage
from Hud-
son's Bay to
the East In-
dies been
properly
searched
for?

BOOK and there can be no doubt but that they are entirely
 XVII. in the right.

It is very possible that the writings recently published upon this subject have excited a laudable curiosity. The government of Mexico, animated with the same spirit which begins to stimulate the mother-country, dispatched, on the 13th of June 1773, a frigate, destined to reconnoitre America at the highest degree of latitude possible. The persons on board this ship perceived the coast at 40, 49, and even at 55 degrees 43 minutes; precisely at the same place where Captain Tichivikow had discovered it upon his first expedition from Kamtschatka. The ship entered into the port of Saint Blas, to take in fresh provisions, and then recommenced its cruises. It can scarce be doubted, but that the desire of gaining information with respect to the North-west Passage was the principal design of all these labours.

After so many fruitless attempts, if some navigator should appear, whose strong mind rises superior to every sense of danger; who fears not to encounter the greatest and most various hardships, and whose patience cannot be exhausted by the duration of them: if such a one should be animated with the sense of glory, the only principle which makes men regardless of life, and excites them to great undertakings: if he should be a well-informed man, so as to understand what he sees, and a man of veracity, so as to relate nothing but what he hath seen; his researches will, perhaps, be crowned with better success.

This extraordinary man hath appeared in the person of Captain Cook: that navigator, who is so much beyond all his competitors, is gone for Otaheite. From thence he is to proceed to the north of California, there to seek for the north west passage. He will have, for the purpose of effecting this discovery, many advantages denied to those navigators who have gone by the way of Hudson's Bay, or of the neighbouring latitudes. If this celebrated passage should still remain concealed, though it be sought for with all his resolution and skill,

it must be concluded, either that it doth not exist, or that it is not given to man to discover it.

B O O K
XVII

But how inconceivable is the vicissitude of all human affairs; how perpetual the sway of destiny, which thwarts or favours, retards or accelerates, stops or suspends our enterprizes! Cook, whom nature had endowed with the genius and intrepidity necessary for extraordinary actions; whom a generous and enlightened nation had provided with all the means that can ensure success; whose ship, a young monarch, convinced undoubtedly that virtue attends upon the progress of knowledge, had given orders to respect, and to assist during the course of hostilities, as in time of full peace; Cook, who had sailed over an immense extent of space, and whose labours were now drawing near to an end, loses his life by the hands of a savage. The man whose remains should have been deposited by the side of kings, is buried at the foot of a tree, in an island almost unknown.

Should his successor Captain Clerke, who pursues his projects, at length discover this passage, which hath been so obstinately sought for, and should it prove easy to sail through it, the connections between Europe and the East and West Indies will become more animated, more constant, and more considerable. Both the Straits of Magellan and Cape Horn will be entirely deserted, and the Cape of Good Hope much less frequented.

These revolutions, which may affect Hudson's Bay in so palpable a manner, will never change the destiny of Canada, conquered from France in 1760.

This colony was divided, during the space of four years, into three military governments. Civil and criminal causes were tried at Quebec and at Trois Rivières, by the officers of the army; while at Montreal, these nice and important functions were intrusted to the citizens. They were both equally ignorant of the laws: and the commandant of each district, to whom an appeal lay from their sentences, was not better informed.

State of Canada since it hath been under the dominion of Great Britain.

BOOK
XVII.

A new system was established in the year 1764. Canada was dismembered of the coast of Labrador, which was united to Newfoundland; of lake Champlain, and of all the space to the south of the forty-fifth degree of latitude, which was added to New York; and of the immense territory to the west of Fort Golette, and of the lake Nissiping, which was put under no government. The remainder, under the title of the province of Quebec, was subject to one governor.

At the same period the colony was put under the laws of the admiralty of England; but this innovation was hardly perceived, because it scarce interested any but the conquerors, who were in possession of all the maritime trade.

Greater attention was paid to the establishment of the code of criminal laws adopted in England. This was one of the most valuable presents Canada could possibly receive.

Before that time, a culprit, whether guilty or only suspected, was immediately seized, thrown into prison, and questioned, without being made acquainted either with his crime or with his accuser, and without being allowed the liberty of seeing either his relations or friends, or of applying to council. He was made to swear that he would tell the truth, that is to say, accuse himself; and to complete these absurdities, his testimony was disregarded.

Attempts were then made to embarrass him with captious questions, which an impudent and guilty person could more readily answer, than an innocent man in confusion. One might have said, that the function of a judge was nothing more than the subtle art of finding out culprits. The prisoner was not confronted with those who deposed against him, till the instant before the judge pronounced either his release, or a delay of passing sentence, for the purpose of obtaining more ample information, or the punishment of torture or death. In case of release, the innocent man obtained no indemnity; while, on the other hand, the sen-

tence of death was always followed by confiscation: for such, in abridgment, is the mode of criminal process in France. The Canadians soon understood, and sensibly felt, the value of a legislation which removed all these evils. BOOK
XVII.

The civil code of Great Britain did not give equal satisfaction. Its statutes were complicated, obscure, and numerous; they were written in a language which was not then familiar to the conquered people. Independent of these considerations, the Canadians had lived one hundred and fifty years under another kind of administration, which they were attached to by birth, by education, by custom, and perhaps also by a kind of national pride. They could not, therefore, but experience great uneasiness at seeing a change in the rule of their duties, and in the basis of their property. If discontent was not carried so far as to disturb public tranquillity, it was because the inhabitants of this region had not yet lost that spirit of blind obedience which had so long directed all their actions; it is because the administrators and magistrates who had been given to them, were constantly deviating from their instructions, in order to come as near as possible to the customs and maxims which they found established.

The parliament was aware that this arrangement could not be lasting. They settled, that, on the first of May 1775, Canada should recover its first limits: that it should be governed by its former jurisprudence, and by the criminal and maritime laws of England: that the free exercise of the Catholic religion should be allowed; and that this kind of worship should never be an obstacle to any of the rights of the citizen: that ecclesiastical tithes, and the feudal obligations, which had been so fortunately diffused since the time of the conquest, should recover their former influence. A council, appointed by the king, might annul these arrangements, and exercise every kind of power, except that of levying taxes. This council was to consist of twenty-three persons, promiscuously chosen from

BOOK among the two nations, and subjected only to take an
 XVII. oath of allegiance.

This aristocracy, which was very variable, and entirely of a new cast, was generally disliked. The ancient subjects of Great Britain lately settled in this new possession, were exceedingly dissatisfied at having part of their rights taken from them. The Canadians, who began to know the value of liberty, and who had been flattered with the hopes of being under the English government, found themselves, with grief, deceived in their expectations. It is probable that the court of London itself had not a more favourable opinion of this measure. This kind of arrangement had been suggested to the government by the discontent which was already known to prevail in most of their provinces of the New World. It may be presumed that they will retract when circumstances and policy will admit of it.

But yet what became of Canada during the course of those too rapid revolutions that have happened in the government?

Its population, which the events of war had severely decreased, hath arisen to one hundred and thirty thousand souls, in the space of sixteen years. The province hath not been indebted to new colonists for this increase. There has scarce arrived a sufficient number of Englishmen, to replace one thousand or twelve hundred Frenchmen who had quitted it at the conquest. This fortunate event hath alone been produced by peace, by easy circumstances, and by a multiplication of useful labours.

The first years of tranquillity have served to extricate the colony from that kind of chaos into which it had been plunged by a destructive and unfortunate war. These events have soon been succeeded by improvements.

Stockings, lace, coarse linens, and common stuffs, had for a long time been manufactured at Canada. These manufactures have been extended but not im-

proved. The two latter must remain in this state of degradation till they are taken out of the hands of women, who are alone employed in them, as well as in others more suitable to their sex.

The beaver and fur trade hath not diminished, as it was apprehended. It hath even rather increased, because the Canadians, more active than their neighbours, and better skilled in treating with the savages, have succeeded in restraining the intercourse between Hudson's Bay and New York. Besides, the value of the furs is doubled in Europe, while the price of the articles which are given in exchange is but a little enhanced.

Though the seas in the neighbourhood of Canada abound in fish, the Canadians have seldom frequented them. The natural obstacles which render them averse from navigation, also disgust them of fishing. The cod fishery, however, formerly attempted at Gaspé and at Mont Louis; that of the salmon and of the seal, established upon the coast of Labrador, have made some progress since the conquest. The whale fishery hath even been attempted, but not with sufficient success to be continued. It will undoubtedly be revived, when an increase of sailors and of knowledge, and perhaps when gratuities, properly bestowed, shall have levelled every difficulty.

The cattle have increased, and yet there is no meat salted, except for the internal consumption, and for the exterior navigation of the colony. Some of these salt provisions will soon be sent to the West Indies, in the same manner as horses now are; which, though small, are indefatigable.

The culture of flax, hemp, and tobacco, hath visibly increased. That of corn hath particularly engaged the attention of the colony. In 1770, it began to furnish flour to the West Indies, and seeds to Italy, to Portugal, to Spain, and even to England; and this exportation increases continually.

In 1769, the productions sold to foreigners amounted to 4,077,602 livres 7 sols 8 deniers [about 169,900l.

B O O K
XVII.

2s. 4d.]. They were carried off by about seventy vessels from Old or New England, several of which came with their ballast only. The others brought to the colony rum, molasses, coffee, and sugar, from the West Indies; salt, oil, wine, and brandy, from Spain, Italy, and Portugal; and stuffs, linens, and household furniture, from the mother-country. Canada is properly in possession of no other ships except those which are necessary for the internal consumption; a dozen of small vessels, which are employed in the seal fishery; and five or six, which are sent to the Antilles. The construction of vessels, far from having been more frequent, hath diminished since the conquest; and it is to the dearth of labour, in which more hands are employed, that this change, which it was not natural to expect, must be attributed.

This inconvenience hath not prevented the colony from becoming richer than it was under another dominion. Its debts have been entirely paid since the year 1772, and it hath no paper currency. Its species increases daily, both by the multiplication of its commodities, and by the expences of government. Besides what Great Britain hath expended for the troops, the civil administration of Canada costs the country annually 625,000 livres [26,041l. 13s. 4d.], while it receives only 225,000 livres [9375l.] from the duties which it hath imposed, in 1765, 1772, and 1773, on the wines, brandy, rum, molasses, glass, and colours.

The extent of Canada, the fertility of its soil, the salubrity of its climate, should seem to invite it to a great degree of prosperity; but this is impeded by powerful obstacles. This region hath only one river for its exports and imports, and even this is blocked up by ice, so as not to be navigable during six months; while heavy fogs render the navigation of it slow and difficult throughout the rest of the year. Hence it will happen, that the other northern colonies which have the same productions as this colony, and have not similar obstacles to surmount, will always have a decided advantage over it, for the large fisheries, and

for the navigation to the West Indies and to Europe. In this respect the island of St. John is more fortunately circumstanced.

When the English took possession of the island of St. John, situated on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, they had the bad policy to expel from thence more than three thousand Frenchmen, who had lately formed settlements there. No sooner had the property of the island been ensured to the conqueror by treaties, than the Earl of Egmont was desirous of becoming master of it. He engaged to furnish twelve hundred armed men for the defence of the colony, provided he were permitted to cede, on the same conditions, and in mesne fee, some considerable portions of his territory. These offers were agreeable to the court of London; but by a law which was made at the memorable period of the restoration of Charles II. the granting of the domains of the crown upon the stipulation of a military service, or of a feudal homage, had been forbidden. The lawyers determined that this statute affected the New as well as the Old World, and this decision suggested other ideas to government.

The long and cruel storm by which the globe had been agitated was appeased. Most of the officers who had sealed the triumphs of England with their blood, were unemployed, and without subsistence. It was imagined to divide the soil of St. John among them, upon condition that, after ten years of free enjoyment, they should annually pay to the treasury, as they do in most of the provinces of the continent of America, 2 livres 10 sols 7 deniers and a half [about 2s. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.] for every hundred acres they should possess. Very few of these new proprietors intended to settle in these distant regions; very few of them were able to furnish the sums necessary for clearing a portion of land of any extent. Most of them ceded their rights, for a greater or less time, and for a rent more or less moderate, to some Irishmen, and especially to some Scotch Highlanders. The number of colonists doth not yet

BOOK
XVII.
What is become of the islands of St. John, of Magdalen, and of Cape Breton, since they have been subject to the British government?

BOOK amount to twelve hundred ; who are employed in the
 XVII. cod fishery, and in cultures of different kinds. They
 have no intercourse with Europe, but trade only with
 Quebec and with Halifax.

Till 1772, St. John depended upon Nova Scotia. At this period it formed a separate state. It obtained a governor, a council, an assembly, a custom-house, and an admiralty. Port la Joie, which is now called Charlotte Town, is the capital of the colony.

An island of so small an extent scarce appeared worthy of the importance it acquired by favours which we cannot account for. In order to give a kind of reality to this settlement, the islands of Magdalen, inhabited by a few persons employed in the cod fishery, and in catching sea-cows, were annexed to it ; as was also Cape Breton which was formerly famous, but which hath lost its importance by its change of government. Louisbourg, the terror of English America not twenty years ago, is now no more than a heap of ruins. The four thousand Frenchmen who had been dispersed after the conquest, by an unjust and ill-judged mistrust, have only been replaced by five or six hundred men, who are more engaged in smuggling than in fishing. Even the coal mines have no longer been attended to.

These mines are very abundant at Cape-Breton, are easily worked, and are in some measure inexhaustible. Under the former possessors a great confusion prevailed in them, which the new government have wished to prevent, by reserving the property to themselves, in order to cede it only to those who should have sufficient means to render it useful. Those who will engage in this undertaking, with the funds requisite, will find an advantageous mart in all the western islands of America, and even upon the coasts, and in the ports of the northern continent, where the dearth of wood is already experienced, and where it will be still more sensibly felt every day. This species of industry would form a trade to the colony, which would be ever in-

creasing; and it would even extend to fisheries, but not to that degree as ever to render them equal to those of Newfoundland.

This island, situated between 46 and 52 degrees of north latitude, is separated from the coast of Labrador only by a channel of moderate breadth, known by the name of Belleisle Straits. It is of a triangular form, and something more than three hundred leagues in circumference. We can only speak by conjecture of the inland parts of it, on account of the difficulty of penetrating far into it, and the apparent inutility of succeeding in the attempt. The little that is known of it is, that it is full of very steep rocks, mountains covered with bad wood, and some very narrow and sandy valleys. These inaccessible places are stocked with deer, which multiply with the greater ease on account of the security of their situation. No savages have ever been seen there except some Esquimaux, who come over from the continent in the hunting season. The coast abounds with creeks, roads, and harbours; is sometimes covered with moss, but more commonly with small pebbles, which seem as if they had been placed there by design, for the purpose of drying the fish caught in the neighbourhood. In all the open places, where the flat stones reflect the sun's rays, the heat is excessive. The rest of the country is entirely cold; less so, however, from its situation, than from the heights, the forests, the winds, and above all, the vast mountains of ice which come out of the northern seas, and fix on these coasts. The sky towards the northern and western parts is constantly serene, but is much less so towards the east and south, both of these points being too near the great bank, which is enveloped in a perpetual fog.

Newfoundland was discovered in 1497, by John Cabot, a Venetian; but this discovery was not pursued. At the return of this great navigator, England was too much taken up with its disputes with Scotland, to give any serious attention to such distant interests.

B O O K
XVII.

Description
of the island
of New-
foundland.

At what
period, and
in what
manner,
the English
and French
have settled
at New-
foundland.

B O O K
XVII.

Thirty years afterwards, Henry VIII. sent two ships to take a more particular survey of the island, which had as yet been only perceived. One of these ships was lost upon those savage coasts, and the other returned to England without having acquired any information.

Another voyage, undertaken in 1536, was more successful. The adventurers, who had undertaken it with the assistance of government, informed their country that a great quantity of cod-fish might be caught at Newfoundland. This information was not entirely useless: and soon after, some small vessels were sent from England in the spring, which returned in autumn with their whole freight of fish, both salt and dried.

At first, the territory which was requisite to prepare the cod-fish belonged to the first person who seized upon it. This custom proved a perpetual source of discord. Sir Thomas Hampshire, who was sent by Queen Elizabeth, in 1582, into these latitudes with five ships, was authorised to secure to every fisherman the property of that portion of the coast which he chose.

This new arrangement multiplied the expeditions to Newfoundland to such a degree, that, in 1615, two hundred and fifty English vessels were seen upon those coasts, the lading of which amounted in all to fifteen thousand tons. All these vessels had sailed from Europe. It was not till some years after that fixed habitations were formed there, which gradually occupied, on the eastern coast, the space that extends from Conception Bay to Cape Ras. Those who were concerned in the fishery being forced, both from the nature of their employment and that of the soil, to live at a distance from each other, opened paths of communication through the woods. Their general rendezvous was at St. John's, where, in an excellent harbour, formed between two mountains at a very small distance from each other, they met with privateers from the mother-country, who supplied them with every

necessary article, in exchange for the produce of their fishery. BOOK
XVII.

The French had turned their views towards Newfoundland before this prosperity of the English trade. They pretend even that they have frequented the coasts of this island since the beginning of the sixteenth century. This period may be too remote; but it is certain that they frequented them before the year 1634, when they obtained, according to the account of their rivals, from Charles I. the liberty of fishing in these latitudes, on the condition of paying him a duty of five per cent. But this tribute, which was equally burdensome and humiliating, was soon after taken off.

However this fact may be, the truth of which is not ascertained by any record, it is proved, that, towards the middle of the seventeenth century, the French went annually to Newfoundland. They did not, it is true, fish on the western coast of the island, though, as it made part of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, it was understood to belong to them; but they frequented in great numbers the northern part, which they had called *Le Petit Nord*. Some of them had even fixed upon the southern part, where they had formed a kind of town upon the Bay of Placentia, which united all the conveniencies that could be wished for to obtain a successful fishery.

Among all the settlements with which the Europeans have covered the New World, there is none of the nature of that of Newfoundland. The others have generally been the destruction of the first colonists they have received, and of a great number of their successors; this climate, of itself, hath not destroyed one single person; it hath even restored strength to some of those whose health had been affected by less wholesome climates. The other colonies have exhibited a series of injustice, oppression, and carnage, which will for ever be holden in detestation. Newfoundland alone hath not offended against humanity, nor injured the rights of any people. The other settlements have yielded productions, only by receiving an equal value

B O O K in exchange. Newfoundland alone hath drawn from
 XVII. the depths of the waters riches formed by nature alone, and which furnish subsistence to several countries of both hemispheres.

How much time hath elapsed before this parallel hath been made! Of what importance did fish appear, when compared to the money which men went in search of in the New World? It was long before it was understood, if even it be yet understood, that the representation of the thing is not of greater value than the thing itself; and that a ship filled with cod, and a galleon, are vessels equally laden with gold. There is even this remarkable difference, that mines can be exhausted, and that the fisheries never are. Gold is not reproduced, but the fish are so incessantly.

The wealth of the fisheries of Newfoundland had made such a small impression upon the court of Versailles in particular, that they had not even thought of those latitudes before 1660; and that even then, they took no further notice of it, than to destroy the good which had been done there by their subjects without their sanction. They gave up the property of Placentia Bay to a private man named Gargot; but this rapacious man was driven away by the fishermen, whom he had been allowed to spoil. The ministry did not persist in supporting the injustice of which they had been guilty; and nevertheless the oppression of the colony was not diminished. The laborious men, whom necessity had united upon this barren and savage land, being now drawn out of that fortunate oblivion in which they had remained, were persecuted without intermission by the commanders who succeeded each other in a fort which had been constructed. This tyranny, by which the colonists were prevented from acquiring that degree of competency that was necessary to enable them to pursue their labours with success, must also hinder them from increasing their numbers. The French fishery, therefore, could never prosper so well as that of the English.

Notwithstanding this, Great Britain, at the treaty

of Utrecht, did not forget that her enterprising neighbours, supported by the Canadians, accustomed to sudden attacks, and to the fatigues of the chase, had several times, during the two last wars, carried devastation into her settlements. This was sufficient to induce her to demand the entire possession of the island; and France, exhausted by her misfortunes, resolved to make this sacrifice; not, however, without reserving to themselves not only the right of fishing on one part of the island, but also on the Great Bank, which was considered as belonging to it.

BOOK
XVII.

The fish for which these latitudes are so famous is the cod. The length of this fish does not exceed three feet, and is often less; but the sea does not produce any with mouths as large in proportion to their size, or who are so voracious. Broken pieces of earthen ware, iron, and glass, are often found in their bellies. The stomach, indeed, does not, as has been imagined, digest these hard substances, but by a certain power of inverting itself, like a pocket, discharges whatever loads it. This fish would have been less voracious, if its stomach had not been capable of being inverted. Its organization makes it indifferent with respect to the nature of the sustenance it feeds upon. The conformation of the organs is the principle of appetite in all the living substances in the three natural kingdoms.

It is the cod fish alone which renders Newfoundland of importance. Present state of this fishery, divided into wandering and stationary fishery.

The cod fish is found in the northern seas of Europe. The fishery is carried on there by thirty English, sixty French, and 150 Dutch vessels, which, taken together, carry from 80 to 100 tons burden. Their competitors are the Irish, and above all, the Norwegians. The latter are employed, before the fishing season, in collecting upon the coast, the eggs of the cod, which is the usual bait for pilchards. They sell, *communibus annis*, from twenty to twenty-two thousand tons of this fish, at nine livres [7s. 6d.] per ton. If markets could be found for it, it might be taken in greater quantity: for an able naturalist, who has had the patience to count the eggs of one

BOOK XVII. single cod, has found 9,344,000 of them. This bounty of nature must be still more considerable at Newfoundland, where the cod fish is found in infinitely greater plenty.

The fish of Newfoundland is also more delicate, though not so white; but it is not an object of trade when fresh, and only serves for the food of those who are employed in the fishery. When it is salted and dried, or only salted, it becomes a useful article to a great part of Europe and America. That which is only salted is called green cod, and is caught upon the great bank.

This bank is one of those mountains that are formed under water by the earth which the sea is continually washing away from the continent. Both its extremities terminate so much in a point, that it is difficult to assign the precise extent of it, but it is generally reckoned to be 160 leagues long, and 90 broad. Towards the middle of it, on the European side, is a kind of bay, which has been called the Ditch. Throughout all this space, the depth of water is very different; in some places there are only five, in others above sixty fathom. The sun scarce ever shows itself there, and the sky is generally covered with a thick cold fog. The waves are always agitated, and the winds always high about this spot, which must be owing to this circumstance, that the sea being irregularly driven forward by currents, bearing sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other, strikes with impetuosity against the borders, which are every where perpendicular, and is repelled from them with equal violence. This is most likely to be the true reason, because on the bank itself, at a little distance from the borders, the situation is as tranquil as in a harbour, except when a violent wind, which comes from a greater distance, happens to blow there.

From the middle of July to the latter end of August, there is no cod found either upon the Great Bank, or any of the small ones near it, but all the rest of the year the fishery is carried on,

Previous to their beginning the fishery, they build a gallery on the outside of the ship, which reaches from the main-mast to the stern, and sometimes the whole length of the vessel. This gallery is furnished with barrels, with the tops beaten out. The fishermen place themselves within these, and are sheltered from the weather by a pitched covering fastened to the barrels. As soon as they catch a cod they cut out its tongue, and give the fish to one of the boys, to carry it to a person appointed for the purpose, who immediately strikes off the head, plucks out the liver and entrails, and then lets it fall through a small hatchway between the decks; when another man takes it and draws out the bone as far as the navel, and then lets it sink through another hatchway into the hold, where it is salted and ranged in piles. The person who salts it takes care to leave salt enough between each row of fish, but not more than is sufficient to prevent their touching each other, for either of these circumstances neglected would spoil the cod.

But it is a well-attested phenomenon, that the cod fishery is scarcely begun before the sea becomes oily, grows calm, and the barks are seen floating upon the surface of the waters as upon a polished mirror. The same effect is produced by the oil which runs from a whale when it is cut to pieces. A ship newly tarred appeases the sea under it and round the vessels which are near it. In 1756, Dr. Franklin, going to Louifbourg with a great fleet, observed that the way of two ships was remarkably smooth, while that of the others was agitated; upon asking the captain the reason of this, he was told that this difference was occasioned by the washing of the kitchen utensils. Dr. Franklin was not satisfied with this reason, but soon found out the truth of it by a series of experiments, by which he discovered that a few drops of oil, the whole of which, united together, would scarce have filled a spoon, quieted the waves at more than a hundred toises distance, with a celerity of expansion as marvellous as its division.

BOOK
XVII.

It appears that vegetable oil is more efficacious than animal oil. The calm which is produced by this is reckoned to last two hours out at sea, where this effect requires the effusion of a considerable quantity of oil. The sacrifice of a few barrels of this fluid hath saved some great vessels from shipwreck, with which they were threatened by the most dreadful tempest.

Notwithstanding an infinite number of authentic facts, it is as yet doubtful whether oil, or in general all fat substances, whether fluid or separated, have the property of lowering the height of the waves. They appear to have no effect but against the breakers.

It is said that the sea breaks when it rises very high in foaming, and in forming as it were columns of water which fall down again with great violence. When the sea is high, the waves ascend, but follow each other regularly, and the ships give way without danger to this motion, which seems to carry them up to the skies or down to the infernal regions. But when the waves are violently agitated by winds which blow in contrary directions, or from some other cause, this is not the case. Two ships close enough to speak, are suddenly hid from each other's sight. A mountain of water rises between them, which when it comes to break and fall upon them, is sufficient to dash them to pieces. This state of the sea is not a common one. One may sail a long time without being exposed to it. But if the use of oil should preserve but one single vessel among the multitude of those which cover the ocean in a great number of years, the importance of this easy succour would still be very considerable.

The fishermen of Lisbon, and those of the Bermudas, restore calm and transparency to the sea with a little oil, which immediately puts a stop to the irregularity of the rays of light, and enables them to perceive the fish. The modern divers, who go in search of pearls in the bottom of the sea, accustom themselves, in imitation of the ancients, to fill their mouths with oil, which they throw out drop by drop, in proportion as the darkness conceals their prey from them. Some

of them guess at the presence of the shark, or at the abundance of the herring, in those places where the sea offers them a calm not to be found in the neighbouring latitudes. Some persons attribute this to the oil which makes its escape from the body of the herring; others say that it is pressed out of the herring by the teeth of the shark while he is devouring that fish. The same method is used sometimes to discover the points of rocks concealed by the agitation of the waves, sometimes to reach land with less danger. For this purpose some suspend behind their boats a parcel of intestines filled with the fat of the Fulmar or Petrel, a bird which throws up in its natural state the oil of the fish upon which it feeds. Others, instead of this use a jar turned upside down, from which the oil drops gradually through an opening made in the cork. The terrible element, therefore, which hath separated continents from each other; which deluges whole countries; which drives animals and men before it, and which will one day encroach upon their dwellings, may be appeased in its wrath, if a feather dipped in oil be passed over its surface. Who knows what may be the consequence of this discovery, if we may give that name to a piece of information, the knowledge of which cannot be disputed with Aristotle or Pliny? If a feather dipped in oil can smooth the waves, what will not be the effect of long wings constantly moistened with this fluid, and mechanically adapted to our ships?

This idea will not fail of exciting the ridicule of our superficial-minded men; but it is not for such that I write. We treat popular opinions with too much contempt. We decide with too much haste on the possibility or impossibility of things. In our opinion of Pliny the naturalist, we have passed from one extreme to the other. Our ancestors have granted too much to Aristotle, while we perhaps have denied him more than it became men, the most informed among whom hath not sufficient knowledge either to approve or contradict his book on Animals. This dis-

B O O K

XVII.

BOOK
XVII.

dain might perhaps be excused in a Buffon, a Dauton, or a Linnæus; but it always excites our indignation when we meet with it in him, who, departing from his own sphere, and neglecting fame which offers itself to him, in order to run after that which flies from him, shall venture to decide upon the merit of these men of genius, with peremptoriness which would disgust us, if even it were supported by the most striking and least contestible claims.

According to natural right, the fishery upon the Great Bank ought to have been common to all mankind; notwithstanding which the two powers that had formed colonies in North America, have made very little difficulty of appropriating it to themselves. Spain, who alone could have any claim to it, and who, from the number of her monks, might have pleaded the necessity of asserting it, entirely gave up the matter at the last peace, since which time the English and French are the only nations that frequent these latitudes.

In 1773, France sent there five vessels, which formed nine thousand three hundred and seventy-five tons, and the crews of which consisted of sixteen hundred and eighty-eight men. Two millions one hundred and forty-one thousand cod fish were caught, which produced one hundred and twenty-two hogheads of oil; the entire produce was sold for 1,421,615 livres [59,233l. 19s. 2d.].

The fisheries of the rival nation were much more considerable. Few of those who were employed in it had come from Europe. Most of them came from New-England, Nova-Scotia, and from the island of Newfoundland itself. Their vessels were small, easily managed, rising little above the surface of the water, and not liable to be strongly affected by the winds or the agitation of the waves. These vessels were manned with sailors more inured to fatigue, more accustomed to bear cold, and more used to strict discipline. They carried with them a bait infinitely superior to that which was found upon the spot. Their fishery was therefore infinitely superior to that of the French;

but as they had less opportunities of getting rid of the green cod than the latter, the greater part of the fish which they caught was carried to the neighbouring coasts, where it was converted into dried cod. BOOK
XVII.

This branch of trade is carried on in two different ways. That which is called the wandering fishery belongs to vessels which sail every year from Europe to Newfoundland, at the end of March, or in April. As they approach the island, they frequently meet with a quantity of ice, driven by the northern currents towards the south, which is broken to pieces by repeated shocks, and melts sooner or later at the return of the heats. These portions of ice are frequently a league in circumference; they are as high as the loftiest mountains, and extend above sixty or eighty fathom under water. When joined to smaller pieces, they sometimes occupy a space of a hundred leagues in length, and twenty-five or thirty in breadth. Interest, which obliges the mariners to come to their landings as soon as possible, that they may have their choice of the harbours most favourable to the fishery, makes them brave the rigour of the seasons and of the elements, which are all in conspiracy against human industry. The most formidable rampart erected by military art, the dreadful cannonade of a besieged town, the terrors of the most skilful and obstinate sea-fight, require less intrepidity and experience to encounter them, than these enormous floating bulwarks, which the sea opposes to these small fleets of fishermen. But the most insatiable of all passions, the thirst of gold, surmounts every obstacle, and carries the mariner across these mountains of ice to the spot where the ships are to take in their lading.

The first thing to be done after landing is to cut wood, and erect or repair scaffolds. All hands are employed in this work. When it is finished, the company divide; one half of the crew stays ashore to cure the fish, and the other goes on board in small boats. The boats designed for the fishery of the captain carry four men, and those for the cod three. These last

B O O K boats, of which there is the greatest number, sail before
 XVII. it is light, generally at the distance of three, four, or
 five leagues from the coast, and return in the evening
 to the scaffolds near the sea-side, where they deposit
 the produce of the day.

When one man has taken off the cod's head, and gutted it, he gives it to another, who slices it, and puts it in salt, where it remains eight or ten days. After it has been well washed, it is laid on gravel, where it is left till it is quite dry. It is then piled up in heaps, and left for some days to drain. It is then again laid on the strand, where it continues drying, and takes the colour we see it have in Europe.

There are no fatigues whatever to be compared with the labours of this fishery, which hardly leaves those who work at it four hours rest in the night. Happily, the salubrity of the climate preserves the health of the people under such severe trials; and these labours would be thought nothing of, if they were better rewarded by the produce.

But there are some harbours where the strand is at so great a distance from the sea, that a great deal of time is lost in getting to it; and others, in which the bottom is of solid rock, and without varec, so that the fish do not frequent them. There are others again, where the fish grow yellow, from a mixture of fresh water with the salt; and some, in which it is scorched by the reverberation of the sun's rays reflected from the mountains.

Even in the most favourable harbours, the people are not always sure of a successful fishery. The fish cannot abound equally in all parts: it is sometimes found to the north, sometimes to the south, and at other times in the middle of the coast, according as it is driven by the winds, or attracted by the caplain. The fishermen who happen to fix at a distance from the places which the fish frequent, are very unfortunate, for their expences are all thrown away, because it is impossible for them to follow the fish with all their necessary apparatus.

The fishery ends about the beginning of September, because at that time the sun has not power enough to dry the fish; but when it has been successful, the managers give over before that time, and make the best of their way either to the Caribbee Islands, or to the Roman Catholic states in Europe, that they may not be deprived of the advantages of the first markets, which might be lost by an over-stock.

In 1773, one hundred and four vessels, which composed fifteen thousand six hundred and twenty-one tons, and which were manned by seven thousand two hundred and sixty-three sailors, were sent from the ports of France for this fishery. Their labours were rewarded by a hundred and ninety thousand one hundred and sixty quintals of fish, and two thousand eight hundred and twenty-five hogsheds of oil. These two articles united produced 3,816,580 livres [159,024l. 3s. 4d.].

But how hath it happened, that an empire, the population of which is immense, and its coasts very extensive; that a government which has such considerable demands, both for its provinces in Europe, and for its colonies in the New World: how hath it happened, that the most important of its fisheries hath been reduced to such a trifle? This event hath been brought on by internal and external causes.

The cod fish was for a long time overloaded with duties on its entrance into the kingdom, and other taxes were put upon its consumption. It was hoped in 1764, that these grievances were going to cease. Unfortunately the council was divided; some of its members objected to the taking off of the duties from the salt fish, because other members had declared themselves against the exportation of the brandies made from cyder and perry. Reason at length prevailed over these objections. The treasury consented, in 1773, to sacrifice half of the duties which had till then been required of this branch of industry; and two years after they entirely gave up this inconsiderable resource.

BOOK
XVII.

Salt is a very principal article in the cod-fishery. This production of the sea and of the sun had arisen to an excessive price in France. In 1768 and 1770, fishermen were allowed for a year only, and in 1774, for an unlimited time, to purchase their salt from foreigners. This indulgence hath since been refused to them, but it will be restored. The ministry will comprehend that its navigators will never employ, without extreme necessity, the salt of Spain and Portugal preferably to that of Poitou and Brittany, which is so much superior.

When the cod arrives from the north of America, there remains between its several layers a considerable quantity of undissolved salt. The farmers of the crown made for a long time an abuse of the ascendant which they had assumed in the public resolutions, in order to have this salt prohibited as useless, and even dangerous. A century hath been wasted in solicitations, and in giving proofs of its utility, before the government would allow it to be employed, as it is with great advantage, in the fisheries of the dried cod.

Most of the obstacles, therefore, which a power, not sufficiently acquainted with its own interests, opposed to its own prosperity, are at length removed. Let us see what idea must be formed of those which an odious spirit of rivalry hath given rise to.

Newfoundland had formerly two masters. By the peace of Utrecht, the property of this island was confirmed to Great Britain, and the subjects of the court of Versailles preserved only the right of fishing from the Cape of Bonavista, turning towards the north as far as Point Rich. But this last line of demarkation was not found in any of the charts which had preceded the treaty. The English geographer Herman Moll was the first who noticed it in 1715, and he placed it at Cape Raye.

It was generally believed that it must be so, when, in 1764, the British ministry pretended, upon the faith of a letter from Prior, who had settled the business of the limits, and of a petition presented to parliament,

in 1716, by the English fishermen, that it was at fifty degrees thirty minutes of latitude that Point Rich ought to be fixed. The council of Louis XIV. immediately agreed with an authority which they might have contested: but having themselves discovered in their archives a manuscript chart, which had served in the negotiation, and which placed Point Rich in forty-nine degrees of latitude, upon the border, and to the north of the bay of the Three Islands, they demanded for these claims the same deference as they had shown for those which had been presented to them. This was reasonable and just; and yet the French, who ventured to frequent the contested space, experienced the disgrace and the loss of having their boats confiscated. Such was the state of things, when hostilities were again renewed between the two nations. It is to be hoped, that, at the ensuing peace, the court of Versailles will obtain a redress of this first grievance.

They will also undoubtedly attend to another, of much greater importance. By the treaties of Utrecht and of Paris, their subjects were to enjoy the space which extends between the Capes of Bonavista and St. John. Three thousand Englishmen have formed fixed settlements there at several periods, and have thus necessarily kept off the navigators who arrived annually from Europe. France hath remonstrated against these usurpations, and hath obtained, that the British ministry should order their fishermen to carry their activity elsewhere. This order hath not been carried into execution; nor could it be. Therefore, the court of Versailles have demanded, as an equivalent, the liberty of fishing from Point Rich to the islands of St. Peter and Miquelon. This conciliatory plan appeared likely to succeed; but the disturbances that have happened have thrown every thing into confusion; so that this is also an arrangement to be expected at the approaching peace.

That peace will likewise ensure to the French navigators the exclusive fishery of that part of Newfoundland which they are allowed to frequent. This right

B O O K had not been contested before the year 1763: the En-
 glish had till then contented themselves with going
 there in the winter, in order to fish for seal; they had
 always finished their business, and quitted the district,
 before the spring. At the above period, they began
 to frequent the same harbours which were formerly
 occupied by their competitors alone. The court of
 Versailles must have been reduced to the humiliation
 of giving up the coasts of Labrador, Gaspé, St. John,
 and Cape Breton, which abounded in fish, before a
 nation, too proud of its triumphs, could have ventured
 to form this new pretension. Its admirals carried even
 the insolence of victory so far, as to forbid the French
 fishermen to fish for cod on a Sunday, upon a pretence
 that the English fishermen abstained from catching
 any on that day. We are authorized to believe, that
 the council of St. James's did not approve of these en-
 terprises, so palpably contrary to the spirit of the trea-
 ties. They were sensible that the right which France
 had reserved to herself in ceding the property of New-
 foundland, became elusive, if her fishermen could find
 the places abounding in fish occupied by rivals, who,
 being settled upon the neighbouring coast, were al-
 ways sure to arrive there first. Nevertheless, they de-
 termined to support, that the enjoyment, in the strict-
 est sense, ought to be common to the two people.
 They ought to have had more power and more cou-
 rage than they were possessed of, to bid defiance to
 the clamours of opposition, and to the complaints
 which such a system of equity must necessarily excite.
 But they depended upon the weakness of Louis XV.,
 and were not deceived. The circumstances of the
 times, and the character of his successor, are totally
 different; this grievance will be redressed, as well as
 many others. It is not even impossible, but that the
 stationary fisheries of this crown may receive some aug-
 mentation.

By stationary fishery, we are to understand, that
 which is carried on by the Europeans who have settle-
 ments on those coasts of America where the cod is most

plentiful. It is infinitely more profitable than the wandering fishery, because it is attended with much less expence, and may be continued much longer. These advantages the French enjoyed, before the errors committed by their government made them lose the vast territories they had in those regions. All the fixed establishments left them by the peace of 1763, are reduced to the island of St. Peter, and to two islands of Miquelon, which they are not even allowed to fortify.

It is simple and natural, that a conqueror should appropriate his conquests to himself as much as he can, and that he should weaken his enemy, while he aggrandizes himself; but he should never leave subsisting permanent subjects of humiliation, which are of no avail to him, and which instil hatred into the hearts of those over whom he hath triumphed. The regret we feel on any loss diminishes and goes off with time. The sense of shame becomes daily more poignant, and never ceases. If an opportunity should offer of manifesting itself, it then breaks out, with a degree of fury so much the greater, as it hath been the longer concealed. Powers of the earth, therefore, be modest with respect to the terms which you impose upon the conquered people, in the monuments by which you mean to perpetuate the memory of your success. It is impossible to subscribe with sincerity to an humiliating compact. There are already too many false pretences and unjust motives for the infringement of treaties, without adding to them one so legitimate and so urgent as that of shaking off ignominy. Exact only in prosperity, such sacrifices as you would submit to without shame in adversity. A public monument of insult, and upon which an enemy who is crossing your capital cannot turn his eyes without experiencing a deep emotion of indignation, is a perpetual stimulus to revenge. If it were ever possible, that one of the insulted nations, in that public square called *La Place des Victoires*, where they are all basely loaded with chains, by the most abject and most impudent of all flatteries, should enter victorious into Paris, there is

BOOK XVII. no doubt but that the statue of the proud monarch who approved of this indiscreet homage would in an instant be pulled to pieces; perhaps even a spirit of resentment, for a long time stifled, would reduce to ashes the proud city that exhibits such a monument. You may appear crowned with victory, but you should not suffer that your foot should be put upon the head of your enemy. If you have been successful, consider that you may experience a reverse of fortune; and that there is more disgrace in being one's-self obliged to destroy a monument, than glory in having erected it. The English would, perhaps, have withdrawn their inspector from one of the ports of France, had they known with what impatience he was suffered there; and how often the French have said to themselves, Are we to submit to this humiliation much longer?

St. Peter hath twenty-five leagues in circumference; it hath a harbour where thirty small vessels find a safe asylum, a road which is capable of containing about forty ships of all sizes, and coasts well adapted for the drying of a quantity of cod. In 1773, it contained six hundred and four fixed inhabitants, and nearly an equal number of sailors passed their time there in the intervals of the fisheries.

The two Miquelons, less important in every respect, had not more than six hundred and forty-nine inhabitants; and only one hundred and twenty-seven foreign fishermen remained there during the winter.

The labours of these islanders, joined to those of four hundred and fifty men, arrived from Europe upon thirty-five vessels, produced only thirty-six thousand six hundred and seventy quintals of cod-fish, and two hundred and fifty-three hogsheads of oil, which were sold for 805,490 livres [33,562l. 1s. 8d.].

This profit, added to 1,421,615 livres [59,233l. 19s. 2d.], which were got by the green cod caught on the Great Bank, and to 3,816,580 livres [159,024l. 3s. 4d.] produced by the cod dried at Newfoundland itself, made the French fishery amount, in 1773, to the sum of 6,033,685 livres [251,403l. 10s. 10d.].

Of these three products, there were only that of St. Peter, and of Miquelon, which received any increase in the following years. BOOK
XVII.

These islands are only three leagues distant from the southern part of Newfoundland. By the treaties, the possession of the coast is included in this extent. This space should therefore have been in common, or divided between the English and French fishermen, who had an equal right to it; but force, which seldom attends to the suggestions of equity, took every thing to itself. Reason, or policy, at length gave rise to more moderate sentiments; and, in 1776, an equal distribution of the canal was agreed to. This alteration enabled St. Peter and the Miquelons to catch, the ensuing year, seventy thousand one hundred and four quintals of dried cod, and seventy-six thousand seven hundred and ninety-four of green cod.

But this increase did not enable France to supply the foreign markets, as it did twenty years before. Its fishery was scarce sufficient for the consumption of the kingdom. Nothing, or scarce any thing, remained for its colonies, the wants of which were so extensive.

This important branch of commerce had passed entirely into the hands of its rivals, since victory had given to them the North of America. They supplied the South of Europe, the West Indies, and even the French islands, with cod, notwithstanding the tax of four livres [3s. 4d.] per quintal, with which it had been loaded, in order to prevent its entry; and notwithstanding a gratuity of thirty-five sols [1s. 5½d.] per hundred weight, granted to the national fishery. Great Britain beheld, with great satisfaction, that, besides the consumptions in its several settlements, this branch of industry yielded annually to its subjects of the Old and of the New World, a considerable quantity of specie, and a great plenty of commodities. This object of exportation would have become still more considerable, if at the time of the conquest the court of London had not had the inhumanity to expel from the islands of Cape Breton and St. John the Frenchmen

BOOK XVII. who were settled there, who have never yet been replaced, and possibly never will be. The same bad policy had formerly been followed in Nova Scotia; for it is the property of the jealousy of ambition to destroy, in order to possess.

Sketch of
Nova Scotia. The
French settle
there.
Their conduct in this
settlement.

Nova Scotia, by which at present is understood all the coasts, of three hundred leagues in length, included between the limits of New England and the south coast of the river St. Lawrence, seemed at first to have comprehended only the great triangular peninsula situated about the middle of this vast space. This peninsula, which the French called Acadia, is extremely well situated to serve as an asylum to the ships coming from the Caribbee Islands. It displays to them, at a distance, a great number of excellent ports, where ships may enter and go out with all winds. There is a great quantity of cod upon this coast, and still more upon small banks at the distance of a few leagues. The neighbouring continent attracts attention by a few furs. Its arid coasts afford gravel for drying the fish upon, and the goodness of the inland grounds invites to every species of culture. Its woods are fit for many purposes. Though this climate be in the temperate zone, the winters are long and severe, and followed by sudden and excessive heats, to which generally succeed very thick fogs, that last a long time. These circumstances make this rather a disagreeable country, though it cannot be reckoned an unwholesome one.

It was in 1604, that the French settled in Acadia, four years before they had built the smallest hut in Canada. Instead of fixing towards the east of the peninsula, where they would have had larger seas, an easy navigation, and plenty of cod, they chose a small bay, afterwards called French Bay, which had none of these advantages. It has been said, that they were invited by the beauty of Port Royal, where a thousand ships may ride in safety from every wind, where there is an excellent bottom, and at all times four or five fathom of water, and eighteen at the entrance. It is more probable that the founders of this colony were

led to choose this situation from its vicinity to the countries abounding in furs, of which the exclusive trade had been granted to them. This conjecture is confirmed by the following circumstance: that both the first monopolizers, and those who succeeded them, took the utmost pains to divert the attention of their countrymen, whom an unsettled disposition, or necessity, brought into these regions, from the clearing of the woods, the breeding of cattle, fishing, and every kind of culture, choosing rather to engage the industry of these adventurers in hunting or in trading with the savages.

The mischiefs arising from a false system of administration, at length discovered the fatal effects of exclusive charters. It would be inconsistent with truth and the dignity of history to say, that this happened in France, from any attention to the common rights of the nation, at a time when those rights were most openly violated. These sacred rights, which only can ensure the safety of the people, while they give a sanction to the power of kings, were never known in France. But in the most absolute governments, a spirit of ambition sometimes effects, what in equitable and moderate ones is done from principles of justice. The ministers of Louis XIV. who wished, by making their master respectable, to reflect some honour on themselves, perceived that they should not succeed without the support of riches; and that a people to whom nature has not given any mines, cannot acquire wealth but by agriculture and commerce. Both these resources had been hitherto precluded in the colonies by the universal restraints that are always imposed, when the government interferes improperly in every minute concern. These impediments were at last removed; but Acadia either knew not how, or was not able, to make use of this liberty.

This colony was yet in its infancy, when the settlement, which has since become so famous under the name of New-England, was first established in its neighbourhood. The rapid success of the plantations

B O O K in this new colony did not much attract the notice of
 XVII. the French. This kind of prosperity did not excite
 any jealousy between the two nations. But when they began to suspect that there was likely to be a competition for the beaver trade and furs, they endeavoured to secure to themselves the sole property of it, and were unfortunate enough to succeed.

At their first arrival in Acadia, they had found the peninsula, as well as the forests of the neighbouring continent, peopled with small savage nations, who went under the general name of Abenakies. Though equally fond of war as other savage nations, they were more sociable in their manners. The missionaries easily insinuating themselves among them, had so far inculcated their tenets, as to make enthusiasts of them. At the same time that they taught them their religion, they inspired them with that hatred which they themselves entertained for the English name. This fundamental article of their new worship, being that which made the strongest impression on their senses, and the only one that favoured their passion for war, they adopted it with all the rage that was natural to them. They not only refused to make any kind of exchange with the English, but also frequently disturbed and ravaged the frontiers of that nation. Their attacks became more frequent, more obstinate, and more regular, after they had chosen St. Casteins, formerly captain of the regiment of Carignan, for their commander, who was settled among them, had married one of their women, and conformed in every respect to their mode of life.

When the English saw that all efforts, either to reconcile the savages, or to destroy them in their forests, were ineffectual, they fell upon Acadia, which they looked upon, with reason, as the only cause of all these calamities. Whenever the least hostility took place between the two mother-countries, the peninsula was attacked. Unable to procure any assistance from Canada, on account of its distance, and having but a feeble defence in Port Royal, which was only

surrounded by a few pallifades, it was constantly taken. It undoubtedly afforded some satisfaction to the New-Englanders to ravage this colony, and to retard its progress; but still this was not sufficient to remove the suspicions excited by a nation always more formidable by what she is able to do, than by what she really does. Obligated as they were, however unwillingly, to restore their conquest at each treaty of peace, they waited with impatience till Great Britain should acquire such a superiority as would enable her to dispense with this restitution. The events of the war on account of the Spanish succession brought on the decisive moment; and the court of Versailles was forever deprived of a possession of which it had never known the importance.

The ardour which the English had shown for the possession of this territory did not manifest itself afterwards in the care they took to maintain or to improve it. Having built a very slight fortification at Port Royal, which they called Annapolis, in honour of Queen Anne, they contented themselves with putting a very small garrison in it. The indifference shown by the government was adopted by the nation, a circumstance not usual in a free country. Not more than five or six English families went over to Acadia, which still remained inhabited by the first colonists, who were only persuaded to stay upon a promise made them of never being compelled to bear arms against their ancient country. Such was the attachment which the French then had for the honour of their country. Cherished by the government, respected by foreign nations, and attached to their king by a series of prosperities which had rendered their name illustrious, and aggrandized their power, they possessed that patriotic spirit which is the effect of success. They esteemed it an honour to bear the name of Frenchmen, and could not think of foregoing the title. The Acadians therefore, who, in submitting to a new yoke, had sworn never to bear arms against their former standards, were called the French neutrals.

B O O K
XVII.

France is
compelled
to cede No-
va Scotia to
England.

BOOK
XVII.

What a powerful inducement is this example of attachment, as well as a multitude of others which have preceded and followed it, to the sovereign of France, to exert himself incessantly for the happiness of such a nation; of a nation so mild, so proud, and so generous? Treason hath been sometimes the crime of an individual, or of a particular society, but it was never that of the subjects in general. The French are the people who know how to suffer with infinite patience the longest and most cruel vexations, and who demonstrate the most sincere, the most striking transports of gratitude, at the least token of the clemency of their sovereign. They love and cherish him; and it depends upon him only to be adored by them. The sovereign whom they should despise would be the most contemptible of men; he whom they should hate would be the worst of sovereigns. Notwithstanding all the efforts that have been made, during a series of ages, to stifle in our hearts the sentiment of patriotism, it exists not, perhaps, among any people in a more lively and energetic manner. Witness our mirth at those glorious events, which, however, will not relieve our misery. What should we not be, if public felicity were to succeed to the glory of our arms?

There were twelve or thirteen hundred Acadians settled in the capital; the rest were dispersed in the neighbouring country. No magistrate was ever appointed to rule over them; and they were never acquainted with the laws of England. No rents or taxes of any kind were ever exacted from them. Their new sovereign seemed to have forgotten them; and they were equally strangers to him.

Manners of the French who remained subject to the English government in Nova Scotia.

Hunting, which had formerly been the delight of the colony, and might still have supplied it with subsistence, had no further attraction for a simple and quiet people, and gave way to agriculture. It had been begun in the marshes and the low lands, by repelling the sea, and rivers, which covered these plains, with dykes. These grounds yielded fifty times as much as before, and afterwards fifteen or twenty times as

much at least. Wheat and oats succeeded best in them, but they likewise produced rye, barley, and maize. There were also potatoes in great plenty, the use of which was become common. B O O K
XVII.

At the same time the immense meadows were covered with numerous flocks. Sixty thousand head of horned cattle were computed there; and most of the families had several horses, though the tillage was carried on by oxen.

The habitations, built entirely with wood, were extremely convenient, and furnished as neatly as a substantial farmer's house in Europe. The people bred a great deal of poultry of all kinds, which made a variety in their food, which was in general wholesome and plentiful. Their common drink was beer and cyder, to which they sometimes added rum.

Their usual clothing was in general the produce of their own flax and hemp, or the fleeces of their own sheep. With these they made common linens and coarse cloths. If any of them had any inclination for articles of greater luxury, they procured them from Annapolis or Louisbourg, and gave in exchange, corn, cattle, or furs.

The neutral French had no other articles to dispose of among their neighbours, and made still fewer exchanges among themselves, because each separate family was able, and had been used to provide for its wants. They, therefore, knew nothing of paper currency, which was so common throughout the rest of North America. Even the small quantity of specie, which had stolen into the colony did not promote that circulation, which is the greatest advantage that can be derived from it.

Their manners were of course extremely simple. There never was a cause, either civil or criminal, of importance enough to be carried before the court of judicature established at Annapolis. Whatever little differences arose from time to time among them, were amicably adjusted by their elders. All their public

BOOK acts were drawn by their pastors, who had likewise
 XVII. the keeping of their wills, for which, and their religious services, the inhabitants voluntarily gave them a twenty-seventh part of their harvests.

These were plentiful enough to supply more than a sufficiency to fulfil every act of liberality. Real misery was entirely unknown, and benevolence prevented the demands of poverty. Every misfortune was relieved, as it were, before it could be felt; and good was universally dispensed, without ostentation on the part of the giver, and without humiliating the person who received. These people were, in a word, a society of brethren, every individual of which was equally ready to give and to receive what he thought the common right of mankind.

So perfect a harmony naturally prevented all those connections of gallantry which are so often fatal to the peace of families. There never was an instance in this society of an unlawful commerce between the two sexes. This evil was prevented by early marriages; for no one passed his youth in a state of celibacy. As soon as a young man came to the proper age, the community built him a house, broke up the lands about it, sowed them, and supplied him with all the necessaries of life for a twelvemonth. Here he received the partner whom he had chosen, and who brought him her portion in flocks. This new family grew and prospered like the others. They all together amounted to eighteen thousand souls.

Who will not be affected with the innocent manners, and the tranquillity of this fortunate colony? Who will not wish for the duration of its happiness? Who will not construct, in imagination, an impenetrable wall, that may separate these colonists from their unjust and turbulent neighbours? The calamities of the people have no period; but, on the contrary, the end of their felicity is always at hand. A long series of favourable events is necessary to raise them from misery, while one instant is sufficient to plunge

them into it. May the Acadians be excepted from this general curse. But, alas! it is to be feared that they will not. BOOK
XVII.

Great Britain perceived, in 1749, of what consequence the possession of Acadia might be to her commerce. The peace, which necessarily left a great number of men without employment, furnished an opportunity, by the disbanding of the troops, for peopling and cultivating a vast and fertile territory. The British ministry offered particular advantages to all persons who chose to go over and settle in Acadia. Every soldier, sailor, and workman, was to have fifty acres of land for himself, and ten for every person he carried over in his family. All non-commissioned officers were allowed eighty for themselves, and 15 for their wives and children; ensigns 200; lieutenants 300; captains 400; and all officers of a higher rank 600; together with thirty for each of their dependents. The land was to be tax free for the first ten years, and never to pay above on livre two sols six deniers [about 1s.] for fifty acres. Beside this, the government engaged to advance or reimburse the expences of passage, to build houses, to furnish all the necessary instruments for fishery or agriculture, and to defray the expences of subsistence for the first year. These encouragements determined three thousand seven hundred and fifty persons, in the month of May 1749, to go to America, rather than run the risk of starving in Europe.

It was intended that these new inhabitants should form a settlement to the south-east of Acadia, in a place which the savages formerly called Chebucto, and the English, Halifax. This situation was preferred to several others where the soil was better, for the sake of establishing in its neighbourhood an excellent cod fishery, and fortifying one of the finest harbours in America. But as it was the part of the country most favourable for the chase, the English were obliged to dispute it with the Micmac Indians, by whom it was most frequented. These savages defended with

B O O K ^{XVII.} obstinacy a territory they held from nature; and it was not without very great losses that the English drove them from their possessions.

This war was not entirely finished, when some disturbances began to break out among the neutral French. These people, whose manners were so simple, and who enjoyed such liberty, had already perceived that their independence must necessarily suffer some encroachments from any power that should turn its views to the countries they inhabited. To this apprehension was added that of seeing their religion in danger. Their priests, either heated by their own enthusiasm, or secretly instigated by the governors of Canada, made them believe all they chose to say against the English, whom they called heretics. This word, which has so powerful an influence on deluded minds, determined this happy American colony to quit their habitations and remove to New France, where lands were offered them. This resolution many of them executed immediately, without considering the consequences of it; the rest were preparing to follow as soon as they had provided for their safety. The English government, either from policy or caprice, determined to prevent them by an act of treachery, always base and cruel in those whose power gives them an opportunity of pursuing milder methods. Under a pretence of exacting a renewal of the oath which they had taken at the time of their becoming English subjects, they called together all the remaining inhabitants, and put them on board of ship. They were conveyed to the other English colonies, where the greater part of them died of grief and vexation rather than want.

Such are the effects of national jealousies, and of the rapaciousness of government, to which men, as well as their property, become a prey. What our enemies lose is reckoned an advantage, what they gain is looked upon as a loss. When a town cannot be taken, it is starved; when it cannot be kept, it is burnt to ashes, or its foundations razed. A ship or a fortified town is

blown up, rather than the sailors or the garrison will surrender. A despotic government separates its enemies from its slaves by immense deserts, to prevent the irruptions of the one and the emigrations of the other. Thus it is that Spain has rather chosen to make a wilderness of her own country, and a grave of America, than to divide its riches with any other of the European nations. The Dutch have been guilty of every public and private crime to deprive other commercial nations of the spice trade. They have frequently thrown whole cargoes into the sea rather than they would sell them at a low price. France rather chose to give up Louisiana to the Spaniards, than to let it fall into the hands of the English; and England destroyed the neutral French inhabitants of Acadia, to prevent their returning to France. Can it be said after this, that policy and society were instituted for the happiness of mankind? Yes, they were instituted to screen the wicked, and to secure the powerful.

B O O K
XVII.

Since the emigration of a people who owed their happiness to their virtuous obscurity, Nova Scotia remained in a languid state. Envy, which had depopulated this country, seemed to have shed its baneful influence over it. The punishment of injustice fell at least upon the authors of it. At last a few unfortunate people were driven there by the various calamities they experienced in Europe. They amounted in 1769 to twenty-six thousand; most of them were dispersed, and were only collected in any number at Halifax, Annapolis, and Lunenburg. This last colony, formed by Germans, was the most flourishing. It owed its improvements to that fondness for labour, to that well-regulated economy, which are the distinguishing characteristics of a wise and warlike nation, who, contenting themselves with defending their own country, seldom leave it, except to go and cultivate districts which they are not ambitious of conquering.

Present
state of Nova
Scotia.

In the year 1769, the colony sent out fourteen vessels and one hundred and forty-eight boats, which to-

B O O K
XVII.

gether amounted to seven thousand three hundred and twenty-four tons, and received twenty-two vessels and one hundred and twenty boats, which together made up seven thousand and six tons. They constructed three sloops, which did not exceed one hundred and ten tons burden.

Their exportation for Great Britain, and for the other parts of the globe, did not amount to more than 729,850 livres 12 sols 9 deniers [about 30,410l. 8s. 10d.].

Notwithstanding these encouragements, which the mother-country had incessantly bestowed upon this colony, in order to accelerate its cultures, it had itself borrowed 450,000 livres [18,750l.], for which it paid an interest of six per cent. It had not then any paper currency, and hath not used any since.

The troubles which at present agitate North America have not extended to Nova Scotia. It hath even drawn some advantages from them. Its population hath arisen to forty thousand souls, by the arrival of some cautious or pusillanimous citizens who fled from the horrors of war. The necessity of supplying the wants of the British armies and fleets hath occasioned a great increase of provisions. An immense quantity of specie, circulated by the troops, hath given life to every thing, and communicated a rapid motion to men and things.

Should the other colonies at length detach themselves from the mother-country, and should it retain Nova Scotia, this province, which was very insignificant, will become very important. It is supplied with every advantage that may ensure its prosperity. Its pastures are proper for the breeding of cattle, and its lands for the cultivation of corn, and especially for the growing of flax and hemp. There are few coasts known to be so favourable for large fisheries; and its boats can with ease perform seven voyages to the great bank of Newfoundland, while those of New England can only perform five, and with a great deal of diffi-

culty. The English islands will furnish it with a certain, easy, and almost exclusive mart for its merchandise. BOOK
XVII.

There can be no fear of any invasion, because Halifax, which was formely defended only by a few batteries properly or improperly placed, is at present surrounded by good fortifications, which may still be increased.

New-England, like the mother-country, has signalized itself by many acts of violence, and has been actuated by the same turbulent spirit. It took its rise in troublesome times, and its infant state was disturbed with many dreadful commotions. It was discovered in the beginning of the last century, and called North-Virginia; but no Europeans settled there till the year 1608. The first colony, which was weak and ill-directed, did not succeed; and for some time after, there were only a few adventurers who came over at times in the summer, built themselves temporary huts, for the sake of trading with the savages, and, like them, disappeared again for the rest of the year. Fanaticism, which had depopulated America to the south, was destined to repeople it in the north. Some English Presbyterians, who had been driven from their own country, and had taken refuge in Holland, that universal asylum of liberty, resolved to found a church for their sect in the new hemisphere. They therefore purchased, in 1621, the charter of the English North-Virginia Company; for they were not reduced to such a state of poverty, as to be obliged to wait till prosperity became the reward of their virtues.

Foundation
of New-
England.

On the 6th of September 1621, they embarked at Plymouth, to the number of 120 persons, under the guidance of enthusiasm, which, whether founded upon error or truth, is always productive of great actions. They landed at the beginning of a very hard winter, and found a country entirely covered with wood, which offered a very melancholy prospect to men already exhausted with the fatigues of their voyage. Near one half perished either by cold, the scurvy, or

BOOK
XVII.

distress; the rest were kept alive, by that strength of character which they had acquired under the persecution of episcopal tyranny. But their courage was beginning to droop, when it was revived by the arrival of sixty savage warriors, who came to them in the spring, headed by their chief. Freedom seemed to exult that she had thus brought together, from the extremities of the world, two such different colonies; who immediately entered into a reciprocal alliance of friendship and protection. The old inhabitants assigned for ever to the new ones all the lands in the neighbourhood of the settlement they had formed under the name of New-Plymouth; and one of the savages, who understood a little English, staid to teach them how to cultivate the maize, and instruct them in the manner of fishing upon their coast.

This humanity enabled the colony to wait for the companions they expected from Europe, with seeds, with domestic animals, and with every assistance they wanted. At first the settlement advanced but slowly, since, in 1629, it contained no more than three hundred persons: but the persecution of the Puritans, which increased daily in England, hastened the augmentation of their number in America. Such multitudes of them arrived the following year, that it became necessary to disperse them. The colonies which they established formed the province of Massachusetts's Bay. The colonies of New Hampshire, Connecticut, and of Rhode Island, soon sprang up from this settlement; and these were so many separate states, each of which obtained from the court of London a distinct charter.

The blood of martyrs hath ever been, in all places, and at all times, a source of profelytism. A few ecclesiastics only, deprived of their benefices on account of their opinions, had at first passed into America, and a few obscure sectaries, whose new tenets attracted numbers from among the people. The emigrations became gradually more common amongst other classes of citizens; and in process of time, men of the first

rank, who had been drawn into Puritanism by ambition, humour, or conscience, thought of securing to themselves an asylum in those distant climates. They had caused houses to be built, and lands to be cleared, with a view of retiring there, if their endeavours in the cause of civil and religious liberty should prove abortive. The same fanatical spirit that had introduced anarchy into the mother-country, kept the colony in a state of subordination, or rather a severity of manners, had the same effect as laws in a savage country.

The inhabitants of New England lived peaceably for some time without thinking of settling their felicity upon a firm basis. Not that their charter had not authorised them to establish any mode of government they might choose, but these enthusiasts did not think of it; and government did not pay a sufficient attention to them to urge them to secure their own tranquillity. At length they grew sensible of the necessity of giving some consistency to their colony. At this period it was agreed, that there should be an assembly holden every year, the deputies of which should be chosen by the people, in which none but those who were members of the established church could have a seat, and over which a chief was to preside, without any distinct authority. Two remarkable regulations were at the same time made: the first stated the price of corn, and by the second the savages were deprived of all the lands which they should not cultivate; and all Europeans were prohibited, under a heavy penalty, to sell them any strong liquors or warlike stores.

The national council were charged with the regulation of public affairs. They were also obliged to determine upon all suits, but by the lights of reason alone, and without the assistance or embarrassments of any code.

Neither were any criminal laws instituted; but those of the Jews were adopted. Witchcraft, blasphemy, adultery, and false testimony, were punished with death. Children, who were so unnatural as to strike or to curse the authors of their being, drew upon themselves

BOOK
XVII.

Form of
govern-
ment esta-
blished at
New-Eng-
land.

B O O K the same punishment. All persons who were detected
XVII. either in lying, drunkenness, or dancing, were ordered
 to be publicly whipped; and amusements were forbidden equally with vices and crimes. Swearing, and the violation of the Sabbath, were expiated by a heavy fine. Another indulgence allowed was, to atone by a fine for a neglect of prayer, or for uttering a rash oath.

It is also known, that government forbade, on pain of death, the Puritans to worship images; and that the same punishment was decreed against Roman Catholic priests, who should return into the colony after having been banished.

Fanaticism
 occasions
 great calamities in
 New-England.

The unfortunate members of the colony, who, less violent than their brethren, ventured to deny the coercive power of the magistrate in matters of religion, were the objects of persecution. This was considered as blasphemy by those very divines who had rather chosen to quit their country than to show any deference to episcopal authority. By that natural propensity of the human heart, which leads men from the love of independence to that of tyranny, they had changed their opinions as they changed the climate; and only seemed to arrogate freedom of thought to themselves, in order to deny it to others. This system of intoleration was supported by the services of the law, which attempted to put a stop to every difference in opinion, by inflicting capital punishment on all who dissented. Those who were either convicted, or even suspected, of entertaining sentiments of toleration, were exposed to such cruel oppressions, that they were forced to fly from their first asylum, and seek refuge in another less exposed to disturbances.

This intemperate religious zeal extended itself to matters in themselves of the greatest indifference. A proof of this is found in the following public declaration, transcribed from the registers of the colony:

“ It is a circumstance universally acknowledged, that the custom of wearing long hair, after the manner of immoral persons and of the savage In-

“ dians, can only have been introduced into England,
 “ but in sacrilegious contempt of the exprefs command
 “ of God, who declares, that it is a shameful practice
 “ for any man who has the leaft care for his foul to
 “ wear long hair. As this abomination excites the
 “ indignation of all pious perfons, we, the magiftrates,
 “ in our zeal for the purity of the faith, do exprefsly
 “ and authentically declare, that we condemn the
 “ impious custom of letting the hair grow; a custom
 “ which we look upon to be very indecent and dif-
 “ honeft, which horribly difguifes men, and is offen-
 “ five to modeft and sober perfons, in as much as it
 “ corrupts good manners. We, therefore, being juft-
 “ ly incensed againft this fcandalous custom, do de-
 “ fire, advife, and earnestly request all the elders of
 “ our continent, zealoufly to fhew their averfion from
 “ this odious practice, to exert all their power to put
 “ a ftop to it, and efpecially to take care that the
 “ members of their churches be not infected with it;
 “ in order that thofe perfons, who, notwithstanding
 “ thefe rigorous prohibitions, and the means of cor-
 “ rection, that fhall be ufed on this account, fhall ftill
 “ perfift in this custom, may have both God and man
 “ at the fame time againft them.”

This feverity, which a man exercifes againft himfelf,
 or againft his fellow-creatures, and which makes him
 firft the victim, then the oppreffor, foon exerted itfelf
 againft the Quakers. They were whipped, banifhed,
 and imprifoned. The proud fimplicity of thefe new
 enthusiasts, who in the midft of tortures and ignominy
 praifed God, and called for bleffings upon men, inspir-
 ed a reverence for their perfons and opinions, and
 gained them a number of profelytes. This circum-
 ftance exasperated their profecutors, and hurried them
 on to the moft atrocious acts of violence. They caufed
 five of them, who had returned clandestinely from
 banifhment, to be hanged. It feemed as if the Englifh
 had come to America to exercife upon their own coun-
 trymen the fame cruelties the Spaniards had ufed a-
 gainft the Indians; whether it was that the change of

B O O K
XVII.

climate had rendered the Europeans more ferocious, or that the fury of religious zeal can only be extinguished in the destruction of its apostles and its martyrs. This spirit of persecution was, however, at last suppressed by the interposition of the mother-country, from whence it had been brought.

A people, whose character was naturally disposed to melancholy, were become gloomy and stern. The blood of their monarch was still before them. Some of them lamented in secret this great assassination, others would willingly have celebrated it as a festival. The nation was divided between two violent parties. On one hand revenge was meditated; on the other, it was endeavoured to prevent it by informations, which were always followed by exile, imprisonment, or capital punishment. Reciprocal mistrust prevailed between fathers and children, and between friends. The suspicious tyrant was surrounded by suspicious courtiers, who kept up his apprehensions, either to raise themselves to the high posts of the state, or to expel their enemies or their rivals from them. The axe was suspended over every head. The frequency of rebellions occasioned a frequency of executions, and these repeated executions of illustrious as well as of obscure citizens, perpetually maintained the popular terror. At length Cromwell disappeared. Enthusiasm, hypocrisy, and fanaticism, which composed his character; factions, rebellions, and proscriptions, were all buried with him; and England began to have the prospect of calmer days. Charles the Second, at his restoration, introduced among his subjects a social turn, a taste for convivial pleasures and diversions, and for all those amusements he had been engaged in while he was travelling from one court to another in Europe, to endeavour to regain the crown which his father had lost upon a scaffold. The propagators of his principles were a multitude of women of gallantry, of corrupt favourites, and licentious men of wit. In a short time he brought on a general change of manners; and nothing but such a revolution could possibly have secur-

ed the tranquillity of his government upon a throne stained with blood. He was one of those voluptuaries, whom the love of sensual pleasures sometimes excites to sentiments of compassion and humanity. Moved with the sufferings of the Quakers, he put a stop to them by a proclamation in 1661; but he was never able totally to extinguish the spirit of persecution that prevailed in America.

B O O K
XVII.

The colony had placed at their head Henry Vane, the son of that Sir Henry Vane who had such a remarkable share in the disturbances of his country. This obstinate and enthusiastic young man, in every thing resembling his father, unable either to live peaceably himself, or to suffer others to remain quiet, had contrived to revive the obscure and obsolete questions of grace and free will. The disputes upon these points ran very high, and would probably have plunged the colony into a civil war, if several of the savage nations united had not happened at that very time to fall upon the plantations of the disputants, and to massacre great numbers of them. The colonists, heated with their theological contests, paid at first very little attention to this considerable loss. But the danger at length became so urgent and so general, that all took up arms. As soon as the enemy was repulsed, the colony resumed its former dissensions; and this frenzy manifested itself in 1692, by such atrocious acts of violence, as were scarce ever recorded in history.

There lived in a town of New England, called Salem, two young women, who were subject to convulsions, accompanied with extraordinary symptoms. Their father, minister of the church, thought that they were bewitched; and having in consequence cast his suspicions upon an Indian girl who lived in his house, he compelled her by harsh treatment to confess that she was a witch. Other women, upon hearing this, seduced by the pleasure of exciting the public attention, immediately believed that the convulsions which proceeded only from the nature of their sex, were owing to the same cause. Three citizens, casual-

B O O K ly named, were immediately thrown into prison, ac-
XVII. cused of witchcraft, hanged, and their bodies left ex-
posed to wild beasts and birds of prey. A few days
after, sixteen other persons, together with a counsel-
lor, who, because he refused to plead against them,
was supposed to share in their guilt, suffered in the
same manner. From this instant, the imagination of
the multitude was inflamed with these horrid and gloo-
my scenes. The innocence of youth, the infirmities
of age, virgin modesty, fortune, honour, virtue, and
the most dignified employments of the state, were no
security against the suspicions of a people infatuated
with visionary superstition. Children of ten years of
age were put to death; young girls were stripped na-
ked, and the marks of witchcraft searched for upon
their bodies with the most indecent curiosity: those
spots of the scurvy which age impresses upon the bo-
dies of old men, were taken for evident signs of the
infernal power. Fanaticism, wickedness, and venge-
ance united, selected their victims at pleasure. In de-
fault of witnesses, torments were employed to extort
confessions dictated by the executioners themselves.
If the magistrates, tired with executions, refused to pu-
nish, they were themselves accused of the crimes they
tolerated; the very ministers of religion raised false
witnesses against them, who made them forfeit with
their lives the tardy remorse excited in them by hu-
manity. Dreams, apparitions, terror, and consterna-
tion of every kind, increased these prodigies of folly
and horror. The prisons were filled, the gibbets left
standing, and all the citizens involved in gloomy ap-
prehensions. The most prudent quitted a country
stained with the blood of its inhabitants; and those
that remained wished only for peace in the grave. In
a word, nothing less than the total and immediate sub-
version of the colony was expected; when on a sud-
den, in the height of the storm, the waves subsided,
and a calm ensued. All eyes were opened at once,
and the excess of the evil awakened the minds which
it had at first stupified. Bitter and painful remorse was

the immediate consequence; the mercy of God was implored by a general fast, and public prayers were offered up to ask forgiveness for the presumption of having supposed that Heaven could have been pleased with sacrifices with which it could only have been offended.

Posterity will, probably, never know exactly what was the cause or remedy of this dreadful disorder. It had, perhaps, its first origin in the melancholy which these persecuted enthusiasts had brought with them from their own country, which had increased with the scurvy they had contracted at sea, and had gathered fresh strength from the vapours and exhalations of a soil newly broken up, as well as from the inconveniences and hardships inseparable from a change of climate and manner of living. The contagion, however, ceased like all other epidemical distempers, exhausted by its very communication; as all the disorders of the imagination are expelled in the transports of a delirium. A perfect calm succeeded this agitation; and the Puritans of New England have never since been seized with so gloomy a fit of enthusiasm.

But though the colony has renounced the persecuting spirit which hath stained all religious sects with blood, it has preserved some strong marks of that fanaticism and ferociousness which had signalized the melancholy days in which it took its rise.

The small-pox, which is less frequent, but more destructive, in America, than it is in Europe, occasioned, in 1721, inexpressible ravages in the province of Massachusetts Bay. This calamity suggested the idea of inoculation. In order to prove the efficacy of this fortunate preservative, a skilful and courageous physician inoculated his wife, his children, his servants, and himself. He was immediately insulted, considered as an infernal monster, and threatened with assassination. These outrages not having been able to prevent a very promising young man from having recourse to this salutary practice, a wicked, superstitious person got up

BOOK to his window in the night-time, and threw a grenade
 XVII. into his room, filled with combustible materials.

The most reasonable among the citizens were not disgusted with these atrocious acts; and their indignation was exerted rather against those bold spirits who were accused of preferring the skill of man to the care of Providence. The people were confirmed by these extravagant doctrines, in the resolution of rejecting a novelty, which was to draw down upon the whole state the infallible and terrible effects of the divine wrath. The magistrates, who were apprehensive of an insurrection, ordered the physicians to assemble; and they, either from conviction, pusillanimity, or policy, declared inoculation dangerous. It was prohibited by a bill, which was received with unparalleled applause.

Europeans, you feel your hair rising on your heads; you shudder with horror; and you have forgotten the obstacles which this salutary practice met with among yourselves; and you do not consider, that two hundred years ago you would have committed the same outrages. Acknowledge, therefore, the important services you have received from the progress of science; and entertain that respect and gratitude for the promoters of it, which you owe to useful men, who have preserved you from so many crimes, which ignorance and superstition would otherwise have made you commit.

A few years after, a new scene was exhibited, still more atrocious. For a long time past an odious reward had been granted in these provinces to such of the colonists as should put an Indian to death. This reward was increased in 1724 to 2250 livres [93l. 15s.]. John Lovewell, encouraged by so considerable a premium, formed a conspiracy of men as ferocious as himself, to go in quest of the savages. One day he discovered ten of them quietly sleeping round a large fire. He murdered them, carried their scalps to Boston, and received the promised reward. After this, have you,

ye Anglo-Americans, any reproaches to make to the Spaniards? Have they ever done, or could they possibly ever do, any thing more inhuman? And yet you were men, civilized men; and you boasted of being Christians. No, you were rather monsters, fit to be exterminated; you were monsters, against whom a league that might have been formed would have been less criminal than the one that Lovewell formed against the savages.

[The author here introduces the story of Polly Baker, who was brought before the magistrates, and convicted the fifth time of having had a bastard child. He gives the speech she is said to have made on this occasion at full length. But as this speech is in the hands of every English reader, the translator has judged it unnecessary to swell his translation with it. The author's reasoning upon it is as follows:]

This speech produced an affecting change in the minds of all the audience. She was not only acquitted of either penalty or corporal punishment, but her triumph was so complete, that one of her judges married her. So superior is the voice of reason to all the powers of studied eloquence. But popular prejudice has resumed its influence; whether it be, that the representations of nature alone are often stifled by an attention to political advantages, or to the benefit of society; or that, under the English government, where celibacy is not enjoined by religion, there is less excuse for an illicit commerce between the sexes, than in those countries where the clergy, the nobility, luxury, poverty, and the scandalous example given by the court and the church, all concur in degrading and corrupting the married state, in rendering it burdensome.

New England has some remedy against bad laws in the constitution of its mother-country, where the people, who have the legislative power in their own hands, are at liberty to correct abuses; and it has others derived from its situation, which open a vast field to industry and population.

B O O K
XVII.

Extent, natural history, fisheries, population, cultures, manufactures, and exportations of New England.

This colony, bounded on the north by Canada, on the west by New York, and on the east and south by Nova Scotia and the ocean, extends full three hundred miles along the sea coasts, and upwards of fifty miles in the inland parts.

The clearing of the lands is not directed by chance, as in the other provinces. This matter, from the first, was subjected to laws which are still religiously observed. No citizen whatever has the liberty of settling even upon unoccupied land. The government, desirous of preserving all its members from the inroads of the savages, and of placing them in a condition to share in the protection of a well-regulated society, hath ordered that whole villages should be farmed at once. As soon as sixty families offer to build a church, maintain a clergyman, and pay a schoolmaster, the general assembly allot them a situation, and permit them to have two representatives in the legislative body of the colony. The district assigned them always borders upon the land already cleared, and generally contains six thousand square acres. These new people choose the situation most convenient for their habitation, which is usually of a square figure. The church is placed in the centre; the colonists divide the land among themselves, and each encloses his property with a hedge. Some woods are reserved for a common. It is thus that New England is constantly enlarging its territory, though it still continues to make one complete and well-constituted province.

Though the colony be situated in the midst of the temperate zone, yet the climate is not so mild as that of some European provinces, which are under the same parallel of latitude. The winters are longer and colder, the summers shorter and hotter. The sky is commonly clear, and the rains more plentiful than lasting. The air has grown purer since its circulation has been made free by cutting down the woods; and malignant vapours, which at first carried off some of the inhabitants, are no longer complained of.

The country is divided into four provinces, which

at first had no connection with one another. The necessity of maintaining an armed force against the savages, obliged them to form a confederacy in 1643, when they took the name of the United Colonies. In consequence of this league, two deputies from each establishment used to meet in a stated place, to deliberate upon the common affairs of New England, according to the instructions they had received from the assembly by which they were sent. This association was not in any manner repugnant to the right which each of its members had, to act in every respect as he chose.

B O O K
XVII.

They were almost as much independent of the mother-country. When the settlement was allowed to be made, it had been agreed that their code of laws should not contradict, in any respect, the legislation of the mother-country; that the judging of any capital crime committed upon their territory, should be reserved for it; and that their whole trade should be centered in its ports. None of these engagements were fulfilled; and other obligations, of less importance, were equally neglected. The spirit of republicanism had already acquired so great an influence, as to prevent these arrangements from being considered as binding. The colonists limited their submission to the acknowledging, in a vague manner, the king of England to be their sovereign.

Massachusetts, the most flourishing of the four provinces, indulged itself in greater liberties than the others, and did it openly. This haughty behaviour drew the resentment of Charles II. upon them. In 1684 this monarch took away the charter which had been granted to them by his father. He established an almost arbitrary government, and ventured to levy taxes for his own use. Despotism did not decrease under his successor. Accordingly, on the first intelligence of his being dethroned, his deputy was arrested, put in irons, and sent back to Europe.

William III. though very well satisfied with this ardent zeal, did not restore to the Massachusetts their

B O O K
 XVII. } ancient privileges, according to their desires, and, perhaps, to their wishes. It is true that he restored them a charter, but a charter which was in nothing resembling the first.

By the new charter, the governor appointed by the court, was to be in possession of the exclusive right of convening, proroguing, or dissolving the national assembly. It was he alone who could give a sanction to the laws that were decreed, and to the taxes imposed by the assembly. The nomination of every military employment belonged to this commandant. It was he, assisted by the council, who appointed the magistrates. The other less important places could not be disposed of without his consent. The public treasury was never opened but by his order, confirmed by the concurrence of the council. His authority was likewise extended to some other matters, which put a great restraint upon liberty. Connecticut and Rhode Island, by a timely submission, prevented the punishment the province of Massachusetts Bay had incurred, and retained their original charter. That of New Hampshire had been always regulated by the same mode of administration as the province of Massachusetts Bay. The same governor presided over the four provinces; but with regulations adapted to the constitution of each colony.

According to an account published by the general congress of the English American continent, there are four hundred thousand inhabitants at Massachusetts Bay; one hundred and ninety-two thousand at Connecticut; one hundred and fifty thousand at New Hampshire; and fifty-nine thousand six hundred and seventy-eight at Rhode Island; which forms, in this settlement alone, a population of eighty-one thousand six hundred and seventy-eight souls.

This great multiplication of men should seem to arise from an excellent soil; but this is not the case. All the countries, except some parts of Connecticut, were originally covered with pine trees; and, consequently, are either entirely barren, or not very fertile.

None of the European seeds thrive there; and their produce hath never been sufficient for the nourishment of its inhabitants. They have always been obliged to live upon maize, or to draw part of their subsistence from elsewhere. Accordingly, though the country be generally very fit for the culture of fruit and of vegetables, and for the breeding of cattle, yet the country places are not the most interesting part of those regions. It is upon coasts surrounded with rocks, but which are favourable to fishing, that the population hath augmented, activity hath increased, and easy circumstances are become general.

This insufficiency of the harvests ought to have excited industry in New England sooner, and more particularly, than in the rest of the continent. Several ships were even constructed there for foreign navigators, the materials for which, at present so scarce and so expensive, were, for a long time, common and cheap. The facility of procuring beaver skins, occasioned the establishing of a considerable hat manufactory. Cloths were also made of flax and hemp; and with the fleeces of their flocks, the colony fabricated stuffs, which are coarse but strong.

To these manufactures, which may be called national, another branch of industry was added, supported by foreign materials. Sugar yields a residuum, known by the name of syrup, or molasses. The people of New England went to fetch it from the West Indies, and used it at first just as it was, for various purposes. At length the idea of distilling it suggested itself to them. They sold a prodigious quantity of this rum to the neighbouring savages; to the men employed in the cod-fishery, and to all the northern provinces; they even carried it to the coasts of Africa, where they disposed of it with considerable advantage to the English employed in the purchase of slaves.

This branch of trade, and other circumstances, enabled the inhabitants of New England to appropriate to themselves part of the commodities, both of South

BOOK and of North America. The exchanges between these
 XVII. two regions, which are so necessary to them both, passed through their hands; and they became, in some measure, brokers, as the Hollanders, of the New World.

The greatest resource of those provinces, however, always was the fishery; which was very considerable, even upon their own coasts. A prodigious quantity of boats is seen in every river, bay, or port, which are employed in catching salmon, sturgeon, cod, and other kinds of fish, which are all sold to advantage.

Mackerel is caught principally at the mouth of the Pentagouet, which empties itself in Fundy, or French Bay, at the extremity of the colony. In spring and in autumn, fourteen or fifteen hundred boats, and two thousand five hundred men are employed in this fishery.

The cod fishery is still more advantageous to New England. Its numerous ports send out annually five hundred vessels, of fifty tons burden, the crews of which amount to four thousand men. They catch at least two hundred and fifty thousand quintals of cod.

These colonies employ themselves likewise in the whale fishery. Before the year 1763, New England carried on this fishery in the Gulf of Florida, in March, April, and May; and to the east of the Great Bank of Newfoundland, in June, July, and August. There were no more than one hundred and twenty sloops, each of seventy tons burden, and sixteen hundred sailers, sent out for this purpose at that time. In 1767, this fishery employed seven thousand two hundred and ninety sailers. Let us investigate the causes of this considerable increase.

Great Britain was for a long time agitated with the desire of sharing the whale fishery with the Dutch. In order to succeed in this, towards the latter end of the reign of Charles II. the inhabitants of that kingdom were discharged from paying any duty to the custom-house, upon the produce arising from the fish which they should obtain from the Northern Sea: but

this indulgence was not extended to the colonies, who were obliged to pay a duty of 56 livres 5 sols [2l. 6s. 10½d.] for every ton of oil and of whalebone, at their entrance into the mother-country; this duty was only diminished by one half, when these articles were imported on English bottoms.

To this tax, which was already too burdensome, another was added in 1699, of 5 sols 7 deniers [about 2¾d.] for every pound weight of whalebone; which bore equally upon America and upon Europe. This new tax produced such fatal consequences, that it was found necessary to suppress it in 1723; but it was only taken off for the whales caught in Greenland, in Davis's Straits, or in the adjoining seas. The fishery on the Northern continent still remained subject to the new as well as the old duty.

The ministry, perceiving that the exemption of the duty was not sufficient to excite the emulation of the English, had recourse to encouragements. In 1732, a gratuity of 22 livres 10 sols [18s. 9d.] was given; and sixteen years after, another of 45 livres [1l. 17s. 6d.] for every ton conveyed by the ships employed in this important fishery. This generosity of government produced part of the good effects which were expected from it. Great Britain, however, far from being able to vie with their rivals in foreign markets, was still obliged to purchase annually to the value of three or four hundred thousand livres [from 12,500l. to 16,666l. 13s. 4d.] of train oil and whalebone.

Such was the state of things, when the seas of North America, which belonged to the French, became an English possession at the last peace. Immediately the New-Englanders went there in numbers to catch whales, which are very plenty. They were exonerated by parliament from the duties which oppressed them; and their industry became still more active. It must naturally be communicated to the neighbouring colonies; and it is probable that the United Provinces will, in process of time, be deprived of this important branch of their trade.

BOOK
XVII.

The whale fishery is carried on in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and in the adjacent latitudes, upon seas less tempestuous, and less embarrassed with ice, than those of Greenland. Accordingly, it begins sooner, and ends later. Fewer fatal accidents happen there. The ships employed for the purpose are smaller, and have less numerous crews. These reasons must give to the American continent advantages, which the economy of the Dutch will never be able to balance. The English of Europe themselves hoped to share this superiority with their colonists, because they expected to add to the profits accruing from the fishery, that which they were to collect from the sale of their cargoes; a resource which was not allowed to the navigators who frequented Davis's Straits or the Greenland seas.

The vendible productions of New England are cod, train-oil, whales, tallow, cyder, salt meats, maize, hogs and oxen, pot-ash, pulse, masts for merchantmen and men of war, and all kinds of woods. The Azore Islands, Madeira, the Canaries, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Great Britain, and principally the West Indies, hitherto consumed these articles. In 1769, the united exports of the four provinces amounted to 13,844,430 livres 19 sols 5 deniers [about 576,851l. 5s. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.]. But this colony received habitually more than it sent out, since it was constantly indebted twenty-four or twenty-five millions of livres [from 1,000,000l. to 1,041,666l. 13s. 4d.] to the mother-country.

Some ships are dispatched from every one of the extremely numerous ports that are on these coasts. The principal voyages, however, from Connecticut, are undertaken at Newhaven; those to Rhode Island, at Newport; those to Hampshire, at Portsmouth; and those to Massachuset's Bay, at Boston.

This last city, which may be considered as the capital of New England, is situated on a peninsula, four miles in length, at the bottom of the fine bay of Massachuset, which reaches about eight miles within land. The opening of the bay is sheltered from the impetuosity of the waves by a number of rocks which

rise above the water, and by twelve small islands, most of which are inhabited. These dykes and natural ramparts will not allow more than three ships to come in together. At the end of the last century, a regular citadel, named Fort William, was erected in one of the islands upon this narrow channel. It is defended by a hundred pieces of cannon of the largest size, and very well placed. A league further on, is a very high light-house, the signals from which may be perceived and repeated by the fortresses along the whole coast, at the same time that Boston has her own light-houses, which spread the alarm to all the inland country. Except when a very thick fog happens to prevail, which some ships might take advantage of to slip into the islands, the town has always five or six hours to prepare for the reception of an enemy, and to assemble ten thousand militia, which can be collected in four-and-twenty hours. If a fleet should ever be able to pass the artillery of Fort William, it would infallibly be stopped by a couple of batteries, which being erected to the north and south of the place, command the whole bay, and would give time for all the vessels and commercial stores to be sheltered from cannon-shot in the river Charles.

The harbour of Boston is so spacious, that six hundred vessels may anchor in it safely and commodiously. There is a magnificent pier constructed, projecting sufficiently into the sea to allow the ships to unload their goods without the assistance of a lighter, and to deposit them into the warehouses which are ranged on the north side. At the extremity of the pier, the town appears built upon an uneven territory, in form of a crescent round the harbour. Before the disturbances, it contained about thirty-five or forty thousand inhabitants, of various sects. The houses, furniture, dress, food, conversation, customs and manners, were so exactly similar to the mode of living in London, that it was scarce possible to find any other difference, but that which arises from the greater numbers of people there are in large capitals.

BOOK
XVII.

The Dutch
found the
colony of
New Bel-
gia, after-
wards call-
ed New
York.

New England, which resembles the mother-country in so many respects, is contiguous to New York. The latter, bounded on the east by this principal colony, and on the west by New Jersey, occupies at first a very narrow space of twenty miles along the sea-shore, and insensibly enlarging, extends to the north above a hundred and fifty miles up the country.

This country was discovered towards the beginning of the seventeenth century, by Henry Hudson, a famous English navigator, at that time in the Dutch service. He entered into a considerable river, to which he gave his name, and after slightly reconnoitering the coast, returned to Amsterdam, from whence he had sailed. A second voyage, undertaken by this adventurer, gave some better idea of this savage country.

According to the European system, which never pays any attention to the people of the New World, this country should have belonged to the United Provinces. It was discovered by a man in their service, who took possession of it in their name, and gave up to them any personal right he might have in it. His being an Englishman did not in the least invalidate these uncontrollable titles. It must therefore have occasioned great surprise, when James I. asserted his pretensions to it, upon the principle that Hudson was born his subject; as if any man's country was not that in which he earns his subsistence; and indeed the king laid but a slight stress upon a pretension for which there was so little foundation.

The republic, who saw nothing in this property, which was no longer contested with them, except a settlement for the trade of the beaver and other peltries, ceded it to the West India Company. This society directed all its attention towards these savage riches; and in order to get as near them as possible, they caused Fort Orange, since called Albany, to be erected upon the borders of Hudson's River, at the distance of one hundred and fifty miles from the sea. It was there that the furs were brought to their agents, who gave in exchange to the Iroquois, fire-arms and

warlike stores, to enable them to resist the French, who were lately arrived in Canada. BOOK
XVII.

At that time New Belgia was nothing more than a factory. The city of Amsterdam became sensible that it would be a judicious thing to establish a colony in that part of the New World, and easily obtained the cession of it, by giving 700,000 livres [29,166l. 13s. 4d.] to the proprietors.

These more extensive views required other arrangements. The post placed in the neighbourhood of the Five Nations was left standing; but it appeared necessary to establish a more considerable one at the mouth of the river, in the island of Manahatan; and accordingly, New Amsterdam was built there. Neither the town, its territories, nor the rest of the province, were ever disturbed by the neighbouring savages, some of whom were too weak to make any attempts, and the others were perpetually at war with the French. This possession, therefore, was making a rapid progress, when it was visited by an unexpected storm.

England, which had not at that time those intimate connections with Holland, which the ambition and successes of Lewis XIV. have since given rise to between the two powers, beheld, with a jealous eye a small state, but lately formed in its neighbourhood, extending its flourishing trade to all parts of the world. She was inwardly incensed at the idea of not being able to attain to an equality with a power which ought not even to have entered into a competition with her. These rivals in commerce, as in navigation, by their vigilance and economy, ruined her in all the great markets of the universe, and obliged her to act only a secondary part. Every effort she made to establish a competition ended either to her disadvantage or discredit, while universal commerce was evidently concentrating itself in the morasses of the republic. At length the nation was roused by the disgrace of their merchants, and resolved to secure to them by force what they could not obtain by their industry. Charles

At what period, and in what manner the English make themselves masters of New Belgia.

BOOK
XVII.

II. notwithstanding his averſion for buſineſs, and his immoderate love of pleaſure, eagerly adopted a plan which gave him a proſpect of acquiring the riches of thoſe diſtant regions, together with the maritime empire of Europe. His brother, more active and more enterpriſing than himſelf, encouraged him in theſe diſpoſitions; and with one conſent, they ordered that the ſettlements and ſhips of the Dutch ſhould be attacked, without any previous declaration of war.

Hoſtilities begun in this manner are both cowardly and perfidious. They are the act of a horde of ſavages, and not of a civilized nation; of a dark aſſaſſin, and not of a warlike prince. No perſon who puts any confidence in his ſtrength, and who hath any elevation of ſoul, will ſurpriſe a ſleeping adverſary. If any one may be allowed to take advantage of my ſecurity, may I not alſo avail myſelf of his? Such conduct compels both parties to be inceſſantly in arms; the ſtate of war becomes permanent, and peace is no more than a word devoid of meaning. There is either a juſt reaſon for attacking an enemy, or there is none. If there be none, the party that begins the attack is nothing more than a dangerous robber, againſt whom all ought to unite, and whom they have a right to exterminate. If, on the contrary, there be a reaſon for commencing hoſtilities, it ought to be notified. Nothing can authoriſe the ſeizure of poſſeſſions, except the refusal to repair an injury, or to reſtore any thing that is uſurped. Before you become the aggreſſor, let the world be convinced of the injuſtice that is done to you. The only thing that can be allowed, is to make ſecret preparations for revenge; to diſſemble your projects, if they cauſe any alarm; and to leave no interval between the refusal of juſtice and the beginning of hoſtilities. If you ſhould be weaker than your adverſary, you muſt entreat and ſuffer with patience. Muſt you be a traitor, becauſe another perſon is an uſurper? Deſpiſe the common maxim; and do not ſupply either the ſtrength you may be deficient in, or the courage which might expoſe you, by treachery. Let the opi-

nion of your cotemporaries, and that of posterity, be always present to your mind.

In the month of August 1664, an English squadron anchored on the coasts of New Belgia, the capital of which surrendered upon the first summons, and the rest of the colony made no greater resistance. This conquest was ensured to the English by the treaty of Breda. But they were deprived of it again by the republic in 1673, when the intrigues of France had set these two maritime powers at variance, which, for their mutual interests, ought ever to be united. A second treaty again restored to the English, in the following year, a province which hath since remained attached to their dominion, but as the property of the king's brother, who gave his name to it.

New York was governed by the deputies of this prince with sufficient address to prevent the indignation of the colonists from being excited against their persons. The public hatred was fixed upon their master, who had kept all the power in his own hands. This political slavery equally disgusted both the Dutch, who had preferred their plantations to their country, and the English, who had joined them. The people, accustomed to liberty, became impatient under the yoke. Every thing seemed tending either to an insurrection, or to an emigration. The commotion was put a stop to only in 1683, when the colony was invited to choose representatives, who might regulate in assemblies what would be proper for its interests.

Colonel Duncan, who was intrusted with this business, was a man of a bold and extensive mind. He did not confine himself, like those who had hitherto governed the province, to the ceding of lands to every person who offered to clear them; he also extended his care to the Five Nations, which had been too much neglected by his predecessors. The French were for ever endeavouring to disunite these savages, in hopes of enslaving them: and they had advanced this great undertaking by means of the converts made by

BOOK
XVII.

The colony is ceded to the Duke of York. Principles upon which he founded its administration.

BOOK their missionaries. It was the business of England to
 XVII. disconcert this plan; but the Duke of York, who had
 views of interest distinct from that of his country, was desirous that his deputy should favour the execution of it. Duncan, though a Catholic, constantly deviated from the plan that was traced out for him, and exerted his utmost efforts to thwart a system which appeared to him to be founded rather upon policy than religion. He even annoyed, by every possible measure, the nation that was the rival of his; and the memoirs of the times attest, that he greatly retarded their progress.

The conduct of this able chief was different in the interior part of the colony. He encouraged, both from inclination, and in obedience to orders, the establishment of the families of his own and of his prince's religion. This protection was accompanied with a kind of mystery; but as soon as James II. had ascended the throne, the collector of the public revenues, the principal officers, and a great number of citizens, declared themselves partisans of the church of Rome.

This occasioned a great ferment in the minds of the people. The Protestant cause was thought to be in danger; and prudent men were apprehensive of an insurrection. Duncan succeeded in keeping the malecontents in order; but the revolution obliged him to make a voluntary resignation of his post. He submitted, like a good Englishman, to the new government; and by a haughtiness of character peculiar to his nation, he sent over to the dethroned monarch all the riches he had acquired in a long and prosperous administration.

This singular man had scarce quitted America, before the inhabitants of New England expelled their governor, Edmund Andrews, one of the most active promoters of the arbitrary views of King James. Some militia of New York, seduced by this example, endeavoured to treat Nicholson, who was temporarily intrusted with the government, in the same manner;

but he succeeded in forming a party in his favour, and the colony became the prey of two armed factions, till the arrival of Colonel Slaughter.

BOOK
XVII.

This commander, who was sent by King William, convoked the members of the state, on the 9th of April 1691. This assembly annulled every thing which had been previously decreed contrary to the British constitution, and enacted laws which have ever since been the rule of the colony. At this period, the executive power was placed in the hands of the governor appointed by the crown, which gave him twelve counsellors, without whose concurrence he could not sign any act. The commons were represented by thirty deputies, chosen by the inhabitants; and these several bodies constituted the general assembly, in which every power was vested. The duration of this assembly, originally unlimited, was afterwards fixed at three years; and it now continues seven, like the British parliament, the revolutions of which it hath followed.

King William gives a government to this colony. Events previous to this new arrangement.

It was time that an invariable order should be established in the colony. It was obliged to sustain, against the French in Canada, a brisk and obstinate war, which had been kindled by the dethroning of James II. These hostilities, terminated by the treaty of Ryfwick, began again on account of the Spanish succession. The provinces adjacent to New York took some part in these divisions; but it was this province which gave or sustained the greatest strokes, which paid the troops, and which was drawn into the most considerable expences.

Unfortunately, the contributions of the citizens, which were ordered by the general assembly, were collected in a chest, that was entirely at the disposal of the governor. It often happened, that rapacious or extravagant commanders converted to their own use the funds destined for the public service. This became a perpetual source of dissension. Queen Anne decreed, in 1705, that the same authority by which the taxes were imposed, should determine the use they were to be applied to, and might require an account to be

BOOK given of the manner in which they had been em-
 XVII. ployed.

Though the malversations were stopped by this arrangement, yet the duties paid by the province were not adequate to the expences which the continuation of the war required. This embarrassment occasioned, for the first time, in 1709, the creation of bills of credit, which were afterwards much more multiplied than either the wants of the colony required, or than was consistent with its advantage.

Burnet, a son of the famous bishop of that name who had so much contributed to the placing of the house of Orange upon the throne, was appointed governor of the colony in 1720. But though he did not succeed in putting a stop to this disorder, yet he formed another plan for the prosperity of the colony. The French inhabitants of Canada wanted, for the purpose of their exchange with the savages, several articles which were not furnished by their mother-country: these they drew from New York. The general assembly of that province, by the advice of their governor, prohibited this communication. But as it was not sufficient to have embarrassed the measures of an active rival, it was determined to supply their place.

A great part of the furs which were carried to Montreal passed over the western shores of the lake Ontario. Burnet obtained the consent of the Iroquois, in 1722, to build there the fort Oswego, where these savage riches might be easily intercepted. As soon as this settlement was formed, the merchants of Albany sent their merchandise to Chenectady, where they were embarked upon the Mohawks, which conveyed them to Oswego. The navigation of this river is very difficult, and yet the English succeeded beyond their expectations. These exchanges would even have been increased, had they not been thwarted by every kind of difficulty.

In 1726, the French constructed a fort at Niagara, where the furs, which, without this settlement, must

have been carried to Oswego, were detained. The English merchandize, which could no more be openly received, was fraudulently conveyed till the year 1729, a remarkable period in which the interests of individuals caused the law which forbade this commerce to be revoked. England too, at length, laid heavier taxes upon the fur trade than were paid by the French.

BOOK
XVII.

While these various impediments diminished the connections which it was hoped would have been formed with the savages, the cultures were carried on with great spirit and success throughout the whole extent of the province. They had languished for some time, indeed, in these countries where James II. had granted immense territories to some men too highly favoured; but these countries had at length been peopled as well as the others. Unfortunately, most of the inhabitants only occupied, as in Scotland, lands transferable at the will of the ground landlord; and still more unfortunately, this dependence gave the great proprietors a very dangerous influence in the public deliberations.

This defect in the government was particularly fatal in the two destructive wars which the colony was obliged to sustain against the French, in 1744 and in 1756. It experienced, during these misfortunes, calamities which it might at least partly have avoided, if the efforts made to repulse these enterprising men, and their ferocious allies, had been concerted in time, and better planned. It was necessary that Canada should become a British possession at the peace of 1763, in order to enable New York to attend constantly, and without embarrassment or anxiety, to the extension of its trade with the savages, and to the clearing of its plantations.

This province, the limits of which were not settled till after the longest, the most violent, and the most obstinate contests, with New England, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, consists at present of ten counties. It hath but a small extent towards the sea; but in depth its territory reaches as far as lake George or St.

Soil, population, and commerce of the colony.

B O O K
XVII. }
Sacrament, and as far as lake Ontario. Hudson's River issues from mountains situated between these two lakes. This can receive none but small canoes for the space of sixty-five miles; and even that navigation is interrupted by two waterfalls, which oblige the persons concerned in it to carry their cargoes twice over land the length of about two hundred toises each time. But from Albany to the ocean, that is to say, through a space of one hundred and fifty miles, vessels of forty or fifty tons burden are seen constantly sailing, day and night, with the tide, upon this magnificent canal, during all seasons, without the least risk; and which keep up a continual and rapid circulation in the colony.

Long Island, the part of this great settlement which the navigators first meet with, is separated from the continent by a narrow channel. It is one hundred and twenty miles long, and twelve broad, and is divided into three counties. The savages who occupied this great space, either removed from it, or perished successively. Their oppressors owed their first prosperity to the whale and the seal fishery. When these fish, who delight in deserted coasts, disappeared, the breeding of cattle, especially of horses, was attended to. Some cultures have since been established upon this too sandy soil.

The ground is more uneven upon the continent; but it becomes more even and more fertile in proportion as one approaches the lakes of Canada. If the marshes which still cover the extremity of this colony should be ever dried up, and if the rivers by which it is watered should be ever confined within their beds, this country will become the most fruitful of the colony.

According to the last accounts, the province contains two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, of various nations and of different sects. The rich peltries which they obtain from the savages, and such of their own productions as they do not consume, are conveyed to the general mart. This is a city of im-

portance, at present known, as well as the rest of the colony, by the name of New York. It was formerly built by the Dutch, in the island of Manahatton, which is fourteen miles long, and one mile is its greatest breadth.

Trade hath collected in this city, the climate of which is very wholesome, eighteen or twenty thousand inhabitants, upon an extent of ground which is partly low and partly raised. The streets are very irregular, but exceedingly neat. The houses, built with brick, and covered with tiles, are more convenient than elegant. The provisions are abundant, of excellent quality, and cheap. Easy circumstances prevail universally. The lowest class of people have a certain resource in oysters, the fishery of which alone employs two hundred boats.

The town, situated two miles from the mouth of Hudson's River, hath, properly speaking, neither harbour nor basin, but doth not stand in need of either. Its port, which is open in all seasons, is accessible to ships of the largest sizes, and being sheltered from all storms, is sufficient for it. From hence the numerous ships come forth, which are dispatched to different latitudes. The provisions or merchandise which were exported in 1769, amounted to 4,352,446 livres 7 sols 9 deniers [about 181,351l. 18s. 8d.]. Since this period, the productions of the colony have increased visibly; and this increase must be carried still further, since no more than one half of the lands are cleared, and since those grounds which are so are not so well cultivated as they will be when the population shall become more considerable.

The Dutch, who were the first founders of the colony, established in it that spirit of order and economy which is the universal characteristic of their nation. As they always constituted the majority of the people, even after these had changed masters, those whom conquest had associated to them generally adopted their manners. The Germans, compelled to take refuge in America by the religious persecution which

Ancient
and modern
manners of
New York.

BOOK XVII. drove them out of the Palatinate, or the other provinces of the empire, were naturally inclined to this modest behaviour; and the English and French, who were not accustomed to so much frugality, soon conformed, either from motives of wisdom or emulation, to a mode of living less expensive and more familiar than that which is regulated by fashion and parade. From thence it followed, that the colonists did not contract any debts with the mother-country; that they preserved an entire liberty in their sales and purchases, and have been enabled always to give the most advantageous turn to their affairs.

Such was the state of the colony till 1763. At this period New York became the general abode of the principal officers and of part of the troops which Great Britain thought necessary to maintain in North America, either to keep it in awe, or to defend it. This multitude of unemployed or unmarried men, who were constantly endeavouring to deceive their own idleness, and to strive against the wearisomeness of life, dispersed themselves among the citizens, to whom they inspired a taste for the luxuries of the table, and a turn for play. By their assiduity with the women, their conversation and their manners, they engaged them in those frivolous pursuits, those gallantries, and those amusements which had so much allurements for them. The two sexes soon led the same kind of life. They rose with the same projects, and went to bed with the same extravagant ideas. This pernicious spirit communicated itself from one to another, and it still continues, unless the terrible scenes which have since stained these countries with blood have brought about a happy revolution in the manners.

Revolutions which have happened in New Jersey.

New Jersey is situated in the neighbourhood of New York, and was known at first by the name of New Sweden. It was called thus by some adventurers of that nation, who landed upon these savage coasts towards the year 1638. They formed three settlements there, Christiana, Elizembourg, and Gottenbourg. This colony was of no importance when it was attack-

ed and conquered by the Dutch. Those of the inhabitants who had a greater regard for their mother-country than for their plantations returned into Europe. The others submitted to the laws of the conqueror, and their territory was united to New Belgia. When the Duke of York received the investiture of the province to which he gave his name, he separated what had been added, and divided it between two of his favourites, under the name of New Jersey.

B O O K
XVII.

Carteret and Berkley, the first of whom received the eastern, and the other the western part of the province, solicited this vast territory, with no other view but to put it up to sale. Several speculative persons purchased from them large districts at a low price, which they sold again in smaller parcels. In the midst of these subdivisions, the colony remained divided into two distinct provinces, each separately governed by the heirs of their original proprietors. The difficulties which they experienced in their administration disgusted them of this kind of sovereignty, which indeed was ill adapted to the condition of a subject. They gave up their charter to the crown in 1702; and from that time the two provinces became one, and, like the greater part of the other English colonies, were under the direction of a governor, a council, and the deputies of the commons.

This large country, before the revolution, contained only sixteen thousand inhabitants, the descendants of Swedes and Dutch, who were its first cultivators; some Quakers, and some Church of England men, with a great number of Scotch Presbyterians, had joined the colonists of the two nations. The defects of government stopped the progress, and occasioned the indigence, of this small colony. It might therefore have been expected, that the era of liberty should have been that of the prosperity of the colony; but almost all the Europeans who went to the New World, in search either of an asylum or riches, preferred Pennsylvania or Carolina, which had acquired a greater share of celebrity. At length, however, New Jersey

B O O K hath been peopled; and it reckons at present one
 XVII. hundred and thirty thousand inhabitants.

Present
 state of
 New Jer-
 sey, and
 what it
 may be-
 come.

The colony is covered with flocks and with grain in abundance. Hemp thrives better there than in any of the neighbouring countries. An excellent copper mine hath been worked with success in it. Its coasts are accessible, and the port of Amboix, its capital, is tolerably good. It is in want of none of the means of prosperity proper for that part of the globe, and yet it hath always remained in a profound obscurity. Its name is scarcely known in the Old World, and not much more in the New. But, perhaps, it is not on this account the more unfortunate.

If we read over the history of nations both ancient and modern, it will be found, that there is scarce any one of them, the splendour of which hath not been acquired but at the expence of its felicity. People of whom no mention shall have been made in the melancholy annals of the world must neither have been aggressors, nor exposed to attacks; they must not have interrupted the tranquillity of others, nor must theirs have been disturbed by distant or neighbouring enemies. They must not have had heroes who had returned to their country laden with the spoils of the enemy. They must have had no historian to relate either their miseries or their crimes. There mankind would never have shuddered from one age to another, at the sight of those monuments which call to mind, in all parts, the effusion of blood, and the shackles of slavery imposed at a distance, or broken at home. They must not have been torn to pieces by political factions, nor intoxicated by absurd opinions. The oppression of tyranny must never have drawn tears from their eyes, nor excited them to revolt. They must never have delivered themselves from a despot by assassination, nor must they ever have exterminated his satellites; for such are the events which at all times have given a celebrity to nations. On the contrary, in the midst of a long and profound tranquillity, the fields would have been cultivated, some traditional

hymns would have been sung in honour of the Deity, and the same love songs would have been handed down from one generation to the other. Wherefore must this alluring picture of happiness be chimerical? Because it hath never existed; and if it should exist, it could not possibly be for a long time in the midst of turbulent and ambitious nations. Whatever may be the reason of the obscurity of New Jersey, it is our duty to give them our advice upon their present and future situation.

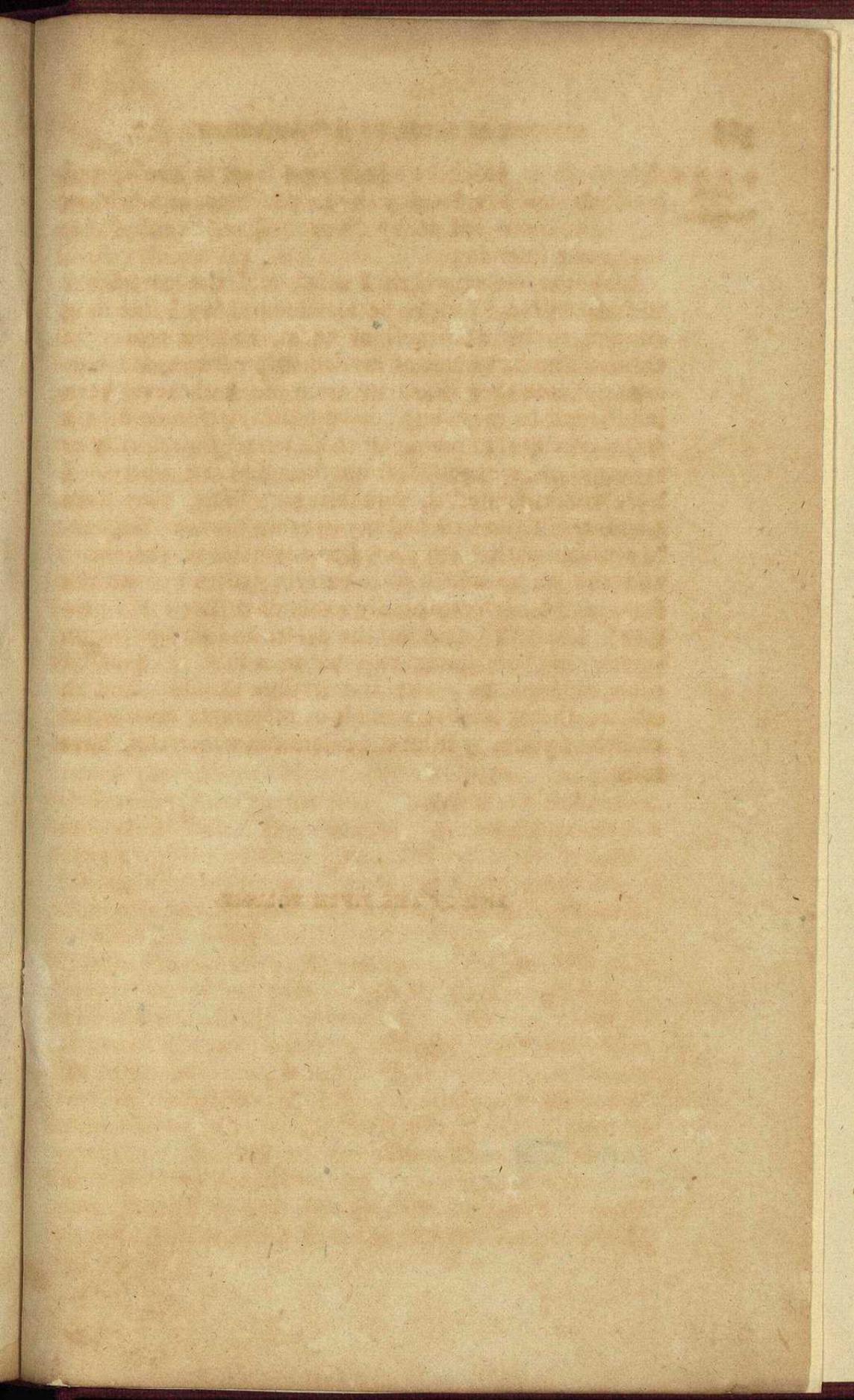
The poverty of this province not suffering it at first to open a direct trade with the distant or foreign markets, it was obliged to sell its productions at Philadelphia, and more commonly at New York; it obtained from these cities, in exchange, some merchandize of the mother-country, and a few of the productions of the islands. Their richest merchants even advanced money to the province, which kept it still more in a state of dependence. Notwithstanding the increase of its cultures and of its productions, it hath not yet shaken off this kind of servitude. We have now before us, accounts of incontestable authority, which prove, that in 1762 New Jersey did not send any ships to Europe; and that it sent only twenty-four boats to the West Indies, the value of whose cargoes did not amount to more than 56,965 livres 19 sols 9 deniers [about 2373l. 11s. 8d.]. All the rest of its territorial riches were delivered to the neighbouring colonies who traded with them.

This situation is both ruinous and degrading. New Jersey must itself construct ships, all the materials for which nature hath given it. It must send them out into divers seas, since it is no longer in want of men. It must convey its productions to the people, who have hitherto only received them through the means of intermediary agents. It must provide itself with the produce of foreign industry at first hand, for which it hath hitherto paid too dear, on account of the useless circuits it hath gone through. It may then form vast projects, devote itself to great enterprizes, be raised to

B O O K that rank to which its advantages seem to call it, and
XVII. be more upon a level with the provinces which have
 too long destroyed it by their shadow, or eclipsed it
 with their splendour.

May the views which I offer, and the counsels I
 address to New Jersey, be realized! May I live long
 enough to be a witness of them, and to rejoice at
 them. The happiness of my fellow creatures, at what-
 ever distance they may exist from me, hath never been
 indifferent to me: but I have felt myself moved with
 warm concern, in favour of those whom superstition or
 tyranny have expelled from their native country. I
 have commiserated their sufferings. When they have
 embarked, I have turned my eyes up towards Heaven.
 My voice hath been joined to the noise of the winds
 and the waves which were carrying them beyond the
 seas; and I have repeatedly exclaimed, Let them pro-
 sper! Let them find in the desert and savage region
 which they are going to inhabit, a felicity equal, or
 even superior, to ours; and if they should found an
 empire there, let them think of preserving themselves
 and their posterity from the calamities which they have
 felt.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.



MAR 20



REPRODUCED BY

