THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION
1791 TO 1804

OR SIDE LIGHTS ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

BY

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INTRODUCTORY

THE UNIQUE CHARACTER OF THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION

THE Haitian Revolution, or rather the revolution which converted the colony of Saint Domingo into the Republic of Haiti, is one of the most interesting movements of modern times. It is not at all like the English revolution which terminated the long struggle between the sovereign and parliament of that nation, having in its course firmly joined together the rights of the people and the title of the king; not like the American revolution which transformed dependent colonies into independent States and did little more; not like the French revolution which destroyed a gilded monarchy and brought forth a Napoleon; not like the revolutions of South America which wrested great colonies from Spain and erected them into half-formed republics. The Haitian Revolution stands alone both in ancient and modern times. It is notable for duration covering a period of thirteen years, from August 22, 1791, to January 1, 1804; notable again for the fierce and bloody character of the struggle; for the number slain and for the nations involved, considering the pettiness of the territory and its isolation. France, Spain and England all employed considerable of their military and naval forces in combatting the armies of the people who inaugurated and sustained the revolution and all these nations finally retired from the conflict without having secured therein either gain or glory.

That which most widely separates the Haitian Revolution from all those other revolutions mentioned above is

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the prodigious social cataclysm with which it was accompanied. The old Saint Domingo came to a complete end, and a new social as well as political entity came into being with the establishment of the new State. The political changes were not unusual in outline; the breaking away of a colony, the rearing of the standard of independence, and the attempt to substitute republican for monarchial government — such a revolution is of great importance, and it is exactly this kind of revolution that our fathers accomplished on this American soil. Theirs was almost wholly a political revolution, leaving the social foundations undisturbed and with but little shock to the social system. In Haiti it was altogether different. There the social revolt preceded and produced the political revolt; the social foundations were destroyed and the whole social superstructure reduced to its original elements, and the State was organized while society was little more than chaos.

The Haitian Revolution was accomplished on the one hand by slaves who were fighting primarily for the right to own themselves; and on the other by men, half free, who were contending primarily for the other half of freedom — their rights as French citizens. Both classes were without political training, and the most enlightened of the so-called free men had but the slightest theoretical knowledge of the duties and problems of government. These people, unlearned in state-craft, unskilled in warfare, masses of them but recently from the wilds of Africa, arose in their native might and resuming their primitive freedom overthrew the existing social order by force of arms and in the end created a State. They found themselves under the necessity of forming a political organization before they had grown into social being or had developed the consciousness of national life. Their consciousness was purely military, and the army was with them the nation.

The purpose of this volume is to depict this revolution and to follow to some extent the results accruing in the

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history of the Black Republic. The reader may not expect any such gorgeous scenes as he will meet in his Carlyle; the theater furnished by this little isle cannot be compared with that furnished by France during the same period. France then was the center of Europe, as it still is in many respects; and the spectators gazing upon its awful drama were the élite of the world. And the writer who paints the ever-thrilling scenes holds the master hand in the art of description. My story is a humble one compared to that of France; the country small and isolated, the people poor and black; and my pen cannot put life and breath into past facts as did that of Carlyle; nevertheless, the reader will discover in the history which I shall relate touches of genius in character, and here and there glimpses of moral grandeur in action which will well repay him for the perusal.

This story cannot fail to be interesting and profitable to American readers and students, illustrating as it does the most thoroughly distinctive principles of American civilization; and it should be in the most emphatic sense instructive and encouraging to the American colored man. While the Haitian Revolution is the heritage of all the races, in that it exhibits the unfitness of any man for slavery, and the capability of all for freedom, it is the special heritage of the Negro Race. It is claimed by Haitian writers as the one ordeal through which the rehabilitation of the Negro Race has been accomplished. Moreover, it is opportune at this time that our attention should be called to men so low down in the social scale and so slightly separated from barbarism, and that we should see these men, unaided and unguided, seize the reins of their own destiny and without tutelage or protectorate, dare to do for themselves. Such a lesson is necessary to call us back to our faith in God, and in man. The two great doctrines of true Americanism rightly interpreted are:

All peoples are fit for self-government.

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No people is fit to govern another.

These two axioms receive striking illustration in the Haitian Revolution. To study this bloody but nevertheless in many respects brilliant history will lead to clearer apprehension of liberty as it appeared to these ex-slaves, and at the same time it will open to us a more encouraging view with respect to the possibilities of the human race.

I regret also to be compelled to record that it will again show that the way from slavery and disfranchisement to real liberty is not to be trodden by the aid of the peaceable virtues alone. Industry, sobriety, frugality, temperance, goodness and even piety, may all serve to fit men for the supreme display of that character which must ultimately be tried in the fire and upon which alone liberty appears to depend. Without the warlike virtues — tested bravery, and enduring fortitude — rights can never be held or won so long as the world is governed as it now is.

The panorama, not on canvas but in real life, where we see flesh-and-blood black soldiers, commanded by black generals, carving the way to recognition and ultimately securing for their people a footing among the nations, is a most profitable spectacle. It shows us that swords precede plowshares, and that the spear goes before the pruning hook. It is only after these weapons of war have done their work that they may give place to the instruments of peaceful industry. It is written, they that take the sword shall perish by it; but it is also established by experience that those

> "who would be free,
> Themselves must strike the blow."

The sword was originally the symbol and weapon of oppression; it has retaliated upon those who drew it and has become the symbol and weapon of liberty. Those who drew the sword to enslave mankind have perished by the sword in the hands of the self-liberated bondsmen. Oppression

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has ever relied upon the sword, and more than once it has drawn the sword in its own support only to perish by the avenging sword of its former victims. So should it ever be. The end of war cannot come, ought not to, until men learn to be just to their fellow men.

The material for my book has been drawn from various sources, largely however from writers who have not been in warm sympathy with Haiti. The general histories and encyclopædias furnish many facts more or less confused which give the casual reader a fair idea of the country and its history; while the special literature is so filled with sensationalism and contradictions, and so panders to popular prejudice, that it is often of but little use to the historian who is seeking for the actual facts and their reasons and relations. The Haitians themselves have produced some very able writers and their later works are especially clear and valuable. In this connection we may note that for a young and small country Haiti has furnished a very commendable list of names that are counted worthy of encyclopædic mention. The early historians although laborious and painstaking as seen in the works of Arduoin and Madiou, were nevertheless affected by the jealousies and prejudices engendered during the revolution, the causes for which will appear to the reader as he follows the course of the struggle. In the later works there appears much more of the judicial temper, especially in such writers as Antenor Firmin, diplomat, scientist and litterateur, and whose success in these spheres fully compensates for his failures in politics; the late Hannibal Price, General Legitime, Benito Sylvain and others.

The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture written by C. W. Mossell has also furnished very important aid for my work. His long residence in Haiti enabled him to impart a certain degree of vividness to his book which mine will lack. His book is very useful, but the scope of it differs from my purpose. He sets forth admirably the military genius of

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Toussaint and defends him against unjust attacks. The book may be set down as an important contribution to Haitian literature.

Valuable aid is also acknowledged from the late Bishop Holly received through both private correspondence and extensive conversations. His published writings upon Haiti extending over more than a half century have been also very illuminating. My own visit to the country as well as my intimate intercourse with our official representatives, Ministers Langston and Douglass, and my relations with accomplished Haitian scholars have greatly assisted me in obtaining a just conception of the origin of the nation and also a vision slight and transient perhaps but nevertheless correct, as I believe, of the cast of its character.

The eloquent Rufus Choate speaking of the American Revolution employed the following language:

> Turn to a revolution in which a people who were not yet a nation became a nation — one of the great creative efforts of history, her rarest, her grandest, one of her marked and widely separated geological periods, in which she gathers up the formless and wandering elements of a pre-existing nature, and shapes them into a new world, over whose rising the morning stars might sing again.
>
> These revolutions have an eloquence of their own. The cheerful and confident voice of young and giant strength rings through it — the silver dawn of his hope that sounds to an awakening, to an onset, to a festival of glory, preparing his look of fire, now fixed on the ground, now straining toward the distant goal; his heart assured and high, yet throbbing with the heightened irregular pulsations of a new consciousness,— beating unwontedly — the first delicious, strange feeling of national life.

If such eloquent language is necessary to portray the experiences of those who founded the American Republic, men schooled in freedom and in the practice of government, men of education among whom were some bearing university honors, writers and authors, and young scientists — what language will be equal to the portrayal of

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the experiences of men who by their own arms have transformed themselves from slaves to sovereigns? If their eloquence, which we shall meet in these pages hereafter, shall appear to us at first as grandiloquent and bombastic, we must remember that the occasion is unique. How else could the slave who immediately conquers his freedom and finds a country express his emotions or relate his experience but in language as fervid as his tongue or pen can command? His is an eloquence all his own, as free and untamed as himself.

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"Toute race a une civilisation qui lui est propre, dérivant du milieu où elle evolue, de ses traditions, de ses moeurs.—Pro fonde est la parole du docteur Blyden, parlant dans son livre '*Christianity, Islam and the Negro race*' de ses frères africains:

"Le négre doit suivre sa propre voie, dans son propre pays, pour pouvoir mettre au jour et devélloper la civilisation qui lui sera particulière."

L'Afrique Noire, Captain O. Meynier, Professor in the Military School of Saint Cyr, 1911.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES CONSULTED

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Le sort des Indigenes, etc., par Benito Sylvain.
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Numerous pamphlets and writings from Haitian sources, Haitian newspapers, and contemporary American newspapers, with correspondence and conversations with various Haitian scholars.

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THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION

CHAPTER I

ORIGIN OF THE COLONY OF SAINT DOMINGO, AND ITS CONDITION AT THE TIME OF THE OUTBREAK

Present condition — Two Republics, Black French Republic; Yellow Spanish Republic — Original French colony — Buccaneers — Usually pirates — Honorable H. Price's description — Indentured whites — Proprietors, and Indentured whites, when free, married Negro women — Only children born in the colony first twenty-five or thirty years, mulatto or Negro children — Rich mulattoes went to France; served as officers in the French army — White laborers exalted above black, first instance of race inequality — Slavery intensified — Presence of old colored soldiers cause of alarm — Ogéron made governor — White women brought in — Treaty of Ryswick — Population in 1754 — Captain Rainsford's description of condition of mulatto — Same from Benito Sylvain — Moreau de St. Mery — The Departments — Population analyzed — Economic condition of mulattoes — Maroons — Vaudoux — Colored people in France — The Saint Domingo Legion at Savannah in 1779.

THE Island of Haiti, the second largest of the West Indian group, is situated at the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico, between the parallels 17 and 20, north latitude, extending in its greatest length 407 miles, and in its greatest width 160 miles, containing 28,249 square miles of territory. It has a population at present of about a million and a half all told, divided by race, language, traditions and customs, into two distinct peoples, each having its own so-called republican government. I say so-

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called republican because as yet neither peoples have developed a real republican government, although both are striving to realize such an ideal. We will, however, regard the governments they have set up as republics and so speak of them. The republic of Haiti is essentially French upon a Negro base; the republic of San Domingo is Spanish, with an admixture of Negro in its population. The two republics might be spoken of in the popular language of the present period as respectively, the Black Republic, and the Yellow Republic. Of these two republics this book will have to do principally with the Black Republic; and with this chiefly as to its origin, defining the materials of which it was first composed, and tracing the progress, social and political, by which these elements in nature inharmonious, have been sufficiently fused to begin the work of national evolution.

The Black Republic is the successor of an original French colony which had its legal birth in the treaty of Ryswick in 1697 and received officially at that time its name of Saint Domingo. As a matter of fact the colony had been in existence and had occupied territory on the island for a period of forty years or more previous to this treaty. The founders of the colony were originally buccaneers, a name applied to certain roving bands because of their habit of curing wild meat by cutting it into long pieces, salting, drying and smoking it. Bucan was the name of both the place where the meat was smoked, and also of the process of curing the meat. Instead therefore of calling these people hunters it was customary to refer to them as meat-smokers, which would indicate that, rude as they were, they were possessed of more forethought than the average Carib among whom they were settled. They were persons of lawless habits, usually pirates, controlling much of the West Indies and roaming the Caribbean Sea. Those who settled Haiti came thither from Tortugas.

The late Hannibal Price, sometime Minister from Haiti

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to the United States, both a profound and a patriotic student of his country's history, speaks thus of these early inhabitants: "The colony of Saint Domingo, as is well known, was founded by those celebrated buccaneers, those meat smokers, known also as freebooters. They had been driven from the island of St. Christophe by the Spaniards in 1630, in which place they had settled five years earlier. Thus dislodged they scattered themselves among the neighboring islands. A party of these adventurers, principally French, finally took refuge upon the northwest coast of Saint Domingo founding the colony and giving to it the French form of the Spanish name Santo Domingo."

Besides plundering upon the seas these marauders also built up a trade in skins; and as wild animals were abundant they soon came to feel the need of helpers, and consequently entered into agreements with the ship captains who traded with them to bring to them laborers from France. Numbers of this class came, and hiring themselves each for a term of three years, were designated accordingly, "indentured persons," and were reduced to a state of servitude differing from slavery only in the period of its duration. With the coming of these white slaves the method of life changed, the cultivation of tobacco began, and the buccaneers began to recognize the need of some sort of national protection.

Answering an appeal from them the government of France sent them as their first governor one Levasseur, a Huguenot, both ambitious and intolerant, who in 1640 established his residence in Tortugas, fortified the place, assumed independence, and ruled with such tyranny that in 1652 he was assassinated.

Within the ten years following, the colony took another step toward social habilitation. Up to this time their mode of life had been such that the presence of women and children would have been to them an embarrassment; but as they were now reaching a condition of comparative stability

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and security, they found themselves influenced by the imperious exigencies of nature. They purchased from Dutch sailors, and abducted from the neighboring Spanish colony, young Negro women who became the first wives of these ferocious colonizers of Saint Domingo. Because of these marriages it often happened that the indentured white man from Europe found himself the servant of the Negro wife of a buccaneer and of their mulatto children. And still further, these indentured white men, when they became free, also often married Negro women and became members of the forming community developing into a class. Thus for twenty-five or thirty years after the founding of the colony, all the children born within it were either blacks or mulattoes.

By an ordinance of Louis XIV of September 30, 1686, it was decreed that every slaveholder should keep as many indentured persons as he had Negroes. Whites and blacks were thus nearly equal in number, and there was no social inequality marked by race. For a little more than a century the families formed in Saint Domingo from the most humble to those most exalted were composed almost exclusively of people of color. Some of these families who were rich enough sent their children to France for that education which they could not receive in Saint Domingo. Among these mulattoes brought up in France were some children of noble parentage, and these experienced no difficulty whatever in taking at the court of Versailles the social rank that pertained to them. The major part of the men of this special class served on the battle-fields of Europe as officers of the king of France; while their less favored brothers, both black and brown, remained in Saint Domingo serving their military apprenticeship in the struggles of that colony. This was the golden age for the colored race of Saint Domingo.

The account of the origin and development of race inequality in Saint Domingo is a short one, easily told. The

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white laborer proving unequal to the blacks in point of endurance, the colonists became strongly opposed to the policy of Louis XIV, the aim of which was to keep the black and white slaves equal in number. Consequently, in 1699 a law was passed under which the planter was not obliged to have more than one white to twenty Negroes. This was the first act establishing inequality. The whites became foremen. A feeling of insecurity arising from this beginning favored, consequently, the oppression of the Negro.

The early Negroes of Saint Domingo, who had assimilated with the ignorant buccaneers and who were often brave to foolhardiness had on many occasions so distinguished themselves by their valor that they had acquired solid renown as warriors long before these humiliating distinctions were established; and some of these old brave and skillful soldiers were still living. This was another cause of anxiety among the whites.

The Creole free Negroes were also strongly united to the Creole slaves. One had been a slave himself or was the son of a slave freed. The other aspired to be free by manumission, and the presence around him of free Negroes fortified his spirit. The slave woman sought to marry a free man in order that their children might be free. The slave man married a free woman, in the hope that *his* children might also become free; for there were many examples of husbands bought by their wives, and fathers by their sons.

Before the passage of the law establishing the inequality of race another event of vast social importance had occurred in the colony. On the 7th of October, 1661, Ogéron was made governor, the intention then being to strengthen the colony. On his arrival he found within the colony only 400 white men. He brought out with him a small number of young women from France, about one hundred. These were sold to the planters for tobacco, in much the same manner as European young women were sold to the early colonists on the continent of America. The introduction

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of these women augmented the increase of the white population certainly; but, even then, the fact of their coming is not sufficient to account for the number of whites found in Saint Domingo at the outbreak of the revolution. In 1685 Louis XIV authorized, or rather prescribed, the marriage of persons of the two races, and the offspring of such marriages in many cases appear to have been later classed as white.

In 1694 the colonists under the leadership of their governor, Du Casse, made an expedition to Jamaica and captured a large number of slaves — some accounts say two thousand or more; some, three thousand. The English retaliated, and, in conjunction with the Spanish forces, plundered and destroyed Cape François.

Following this state of affairs came the peace of Ryswick above mentioned, in which the French appear to have secured all the territory west of an oblique line reaching from Cape François on the north coast, to Cape Rosa on the west, passing through the towns of Isabella and Iago at the one point, and those of Petit Goave and Port St. Louis at the other. The colony, now settled, continued to prosper, although there occurred many internal disturbances and also numerous feuds with the Spanish settlers. During all this time, although there were white women in the colony, the planters continued to consort with their female slaves.

In 1754 the population is given as amounting to upwards of 14,000 pure whites; but a large part of this number of pure whites consisted of persons who had descended from colored mothers. The free mulattoes at this time numbered 4,000; but they would have numbered considerably more had it not been that many had crossed the barrier and become white; the Negroes were upwards of 172,000, making the whole population of the colony about 190,000. In 1764 the colony mustered a force of 8,786 white men capable of bearing arms, with whom were enrolled also 1414 mulattoes; the slaves then numbered 206,000. The culti-

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vated land of the colony amounted to 2,289,480 English acres, divided into 793 plantations of sugar, 3,117 of coffee, 789 of cotton, 3,160 of indigo, 54 of cocoa or chocolate, and 623 smaller settlements for raising grain, yams and other vegetable food.

The chief force of the colony consisted of the militia of which each parish raised three companies of whites, one of mulattoes, and one of free blacks, none of whom received pay; the king's troops upon the colonial establishment generally comprised from two to three thousand men.

A description of the mulattoes given by Captain Rainsford is as follows: "Many circumstances combined to render the situation of the mulattoes much more eligible than in any other island, though in some respects worse. They were also more numerous. The free man of color had the command of his own property without any restriction both in life and in death; he could bear testimony even against the whites; he could marry as he pleased and transmit freedom to his children; and he might embrace a liberal profession; but prejudice frequently dampened his efforts and precipitated him below what a hostile law could have done. The meanness of birth was never forgiven in his own land. They were also compelled to serve in one of the brigades of horse furnished in all the parishes under the appellation of Marshalsea. The numbers of this class were to be accounted for by several circumstances amongst which were the superior comforts of the lower order of whites employed in the superintendence of the plantations, and the engaging manners of the women of color who were often elegant, if not sometimes really beautiful. The mulattoes were frequently opulent and respected."

This pen picture is drawn by an English soldier and is warmed by his own personal observations and experiences. It accords in part with the more sober view drawn by Haitian writers and recognizes the same bedrock of fact which all historians discover.

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The testimony of all observers is that the colonists were luxurious, idle and vicious; fond of gambling and addicted to all kinds of excess, violent and cruel in temper. The Haitian writer, Benito Sylvain, thus describes them: "The original Europeans were of two classes. The first comers, nobles and commons alike, engaged and brought over other miserable beings, who were treated but little better than slaves. The employers, ex-buccaneers and freebooters, called themselves *grands blancs;* while their employees received the name of *'petits blancs,'* these ('poor whites') had Negresses for their companions, and thus gave birth to an intermediate population of free mulattoes, a population which by successive crossings tended to mix itself either with the whites or with the black race. At the time of the Revolution the *grands blancs* were but rarely represented in the Antilles. All those frightful tyrannies which show the whites to be so cruel towards the colored people, and intractable upon the question of the equality of political rights, were from the poor whites; and, what is more, from men the greater part of whom had a notable portion of African blood in their veins, which they took all pains to deny and conceal. Nevertheless, there were some among them who took the side and cause of the people of color." [1]

[1] From the first half of the eighteenth century, the colonial population of Saint Domingo was composed of whites, mulattoes and blacks; the whites were all free; the mulattoes about five-sixths free; the blacks more than twenty-nine-thirtieths slaves. These peoples formed three great classes, or rather castes. The white caste was divided into two classes, the "grands blancs," i.e., the large planters, city proprietors, rich merchants, colonial officers, etc., and the "petits blancs," composed of laboring men and others in humble condition. The caste of mulattoes was divided into free persons, and manumitted slaves, for the major part, and domestic slaves on the other. The caste of blacks formed the grand army of slaves employed in agriculture, with a few free persons, employed in the most laborious trades such as

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Although the wealthy whites who were owners of the great estates, especially in the department of the North, were usually absent spending their time in the utmost luxury in the great capitals of Europe, their attorneys resided on their estates and received direction from the absent proprietors. The *grands blancs* therefore controlled the social order, and were responsible for the political condition of the country.

After the treaty of Ryswick the colony received numerous accessions and soon grew into three distinct communities known as departments, and named respectively the departments of the North, West, and South. Of these the oldest was the department of the North, with Cape François, now Cape Haiti, as its capital. Port-au-Prince, now the capital of the country, was originally the capital of the department of the West, and was not laid out as a city until 1749. Speaking sociologically, the West and South may be grouped together, partaking as they do of the same general characteristics, and differing essentially from the department of the North. The North, settled earlier, although by a rude people, had become wealthy, and before the outbreak of the Revolution the colonists who occupied this section had

carpentry, masonry, etc., by means of which they arrived at a pecuniary situation far below one of ease.

The "grands blancs" lived carelessly and proudly, indulging themselves and forgetting the rest of mankind. The "petits blancs" hated the "grands blancs," who in turn despised them; they themselves despised equally the mulattoes and did not recognize the blacks as having any place among human factors. The mulattoes regarded the "grands blancs" with a reverent fear mingled with a silent contempt, they hated the "petits blancs," despised the Negroes whom they believed as inferior to themselves as they were obliged to feel themselves inferior to the whites. The blacks suffered at the bottom of the scale, always confiding in the mulatto whom they loved, and cursing the white who was his visible and impitiable tormentor. Such was the state of things in the colony of Saint Domingo when the Revolution broke out in 1789.— ANTENOR FIRMIN.

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reached a condition enabling them to assume an important part even in national affairs. White women were numerous among them and it was in this part especially that a Saint Domingo aristocracy was developed.

Something of the character of the colony in general may be seen from the fact that although wealthy and exceedingly fastidious and arrogant, the upper classes made but little progress intellectually; while the lower classes were poor and illiterate. In all its history from its settlement until its destruction by the Revolution, the French colony of Saint Domingo contributed but one book to French literature; and from its whites left not a single name of renown in art, literature, science, law, or arms.

Coming now to a more minute description of the population at the time of the outbreak, we may quote in substance from Moreau de St. Mery as cited by M. Price. The reader should be reminded that Moreau de St. Mery's book appeared in 1797 at the very time when the Revolution was approaching its climax. Referring to the topography of the country we may observe that the country readily divides itself into three physical sections, corresponding to the political departments established, to wit: the North, the West, and the South.

The earliest settlements in the country made by the French were in the neighborhood of Cape François, at which place the flourishing capital grew up. The department extended about forty leagues along the northern coast and contained, including Tortugas, twenty-six parishes. The principal towns and harbors were Cape François, Fort Dauphin, Port Paix and the Mole St. Nicholas. The town of Cape François was elegantly built and had a flourishing commerce. The department of the West began at the Mole St. Nicholas and occupied the whole coast of the Bay, terminating at Cape Tiburon. It contained fourteen parishes, the chief towns being Port-au-Prince, St. Mark Léogane, Petit Goave and Jeremie, with the villages of

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Gonaives and Archaie. The best harbors were at Port-au-Prince and Gonaives. The department of the South occupied the remaining coast from Cape Tiburon to l'Anse à Pitre. It contained ten parishes with only two chief towns, Aux Cayes and Jacmel. Altogether there were fifty parishes.

The total population consisted of little over half a million, divided as follows: Europeans and creoles regarded as white, 40,000; free colored people, the majority of whom were mulattoes, 28,000; slaves, mostly black, 452,000. It is estimated that 17,000 of the free colored persons were mulattoes and that about the same number of mulattoes were also to be found among the slaves. We may farther analyze the statistics furnished by the various authorities as follows: The department of the North contained 480 square leagues and within this territory there was a population all told of 195,000, divided as follows: whites, 16,000; slaves, 170,000; free colored people, 9,000. The whites here were, as we have seen, the wealthiest and most aristocratic of the colony and compared to the other elements of the population were a mere handful. The free colored people were not numerous; were very respectable in character and very degraded in position. The majority of the free colored people of the North were black and poor. Those who were wealthy and sufficiently light in complexion had either escaped to France or made their way into the other departments. In the North also the prejudice against the free colored people was strongest. The slaves in this part were for the most part native born, some to the third and fourth generation; and had become civilized and Christianized. While the free colored people were most despised and contemned in this aristocratic department of the North, it was precisely in this department that the slaves were more humanely treated.

In the West which contained 820 square leagues,—nearly twice the area of the North,— there was a popula-

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tion of 194,500, made up as follows: Whites, 14,000; Slaves, 168,000; Free Colored persons, 12,500. It will be observed here that although the population in the two departments thus far examined is nearly equal, the relative proportions differ greatly. The free colored people of the West were very nearly equal in number to the whites; and these colored people, nearly all, were mulattoes of a single generation. The free colored people, both of this department and of the South, were much nearer the whites in condition than those of the North; while the gap between them and the slaves was immeasurably greater. The slaves of this department and of the department of the South were, to a very great extent, native Africans, uncivilized, and barbarously treated by their poorer grade masters.

The South, with Jacmel and Aux Cayes as its chief towns, contained 700 square leagues, with a population of 130,000, divided as follows: whites, 10,000; slaves, 114,000; free colored persons, 6,500. The condition of the several elements of this population was exactly similar to that of the corresponding elements in the department of the West.

The two groups then were about as follows: The North contained a population of 406 to the square league, and had within its borders 9,000 of the free colored people; the West and South combined contained a population of 210 to the square league, and had 19,000 of the free colored people. Hence, more than two-thirds of the free colored people lived in the West and South, in the midst of a white population not greatly outnumbering themselves, to wit: free colored, 19,000; whites, 24,000. Within this same territory were about 280,000 slaves, mostly of African birth and inhumanly treated.

Of the total number of mulattoes free at this time estimated at 17,000, from 1,000 to 1,500 were sufficiently wealthy, says Price, to own at least one slave, although among them were a few who were comparatively large slave-

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holders.[2] The remaining 15,000, or more, were poor. It is not possible now to say to what extent the pro-slavery spirit extended among these free mulattoes. Of the 11,000 free blacks there appears no record of their being slaveholders, but it is not at all improbable that some of them were. Blacks of America and elsewhere have been slaveholders. The vast majority of peoples have been both slaves and slaveholders in their turn.

The general condition of the free colored people as defined by the laws of the colony did not differ greatly from that of the like class a hundred years later in New Orleans and in Charleston. Although the free colored people possessed the right to hold property, they lived in a state very near to that of slavery. They were forced to serve very long periods in the police and militia without pay, and to equip themselves at their own expense; they paid much greater taxes than the whites, with whom they had almost no association. They could not aspire to commissions in the marine or in the army; they were not permitted to hold civil positions or to practice any profession. The free colored man who struck a white man had his hand cut off; the white man who struck a free Negro paid a fine.

Such is the dismal picture of their lot in general, although this was modified in practice to some degree in the departments of the South and the West, both because of the defiant spirit of the free mulattoes in these parts, and also because of the critical situation of the slaveholding whites.

One more element in the population, not counted in the statistics, but important especially from a moral standpoint, was that composed of escaped slaves, known as maroons.

[2] M. Raymond speaking before the National Assembly, May 14, 1791, in representing the men of color of Saint Domingo said: "The men of our class possess at least one-third of the lands and one-fourth of the slaves; these are the people who can guarantee the colonies against the rebellion of the slaves."—Schoelcher.

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It is difficult to estimate the number of these desperate men in Saint Domingo, who for a hundred years preferred the wild freedom of the woods to civilization in chains. Such men were found wherever slavery reigned. In Guiana, in Jamaica and in the Spanish and French colonies of Saint Domingo, they were formidable enough to call out large armed expeditions; while in Florida they were important enough to tax the energy of the hero of New Orleans. These independent uncivilized Negroes, living in the mountain fastnessess of Haiti, were ready to be moved one way or the other by the surging waves of the Revolution. Happily, when the Revolution was in full course, the great Toussaint L'Ouverture, with his wonderful talent for leadership, was able to seize and control these wild men, bringing them to his standard. Rev. C. W. Mossell, in his book on Toussaint L'Ouverture, pages 120-121, relates how these maroons, called by him "Docko independents," came to Toussaint L'Ouverture, and how that general "distributed among them clothing, arms and ammunition," and afterwards organized of them a fighting regiment designated as the 12th of Saint Domingo, placing their own leader at its head. The same story is also related by A. Firmin.

In connection with these maroons, it is proper to speak of the Vaudoux worship. Mr. Price, than whom no one is better authorized to speak, shows that these mysterious Vaudoux dances afforded meeting places between the slaves and the maroons; the food and other offerings that were brought there for the gods, were left for the maroons, only the initiated knowing of the purpose. Persons who were missed from the estates and were reported as sacrificed had in reality escaped to the mountains. One of their most daring leaders, Santiago, had been stolen when a child and trained in the camp. They were liberty-loving men, giving forth an earnest and continuous protest against slavery, and were never subdued until they submitted voluntarily to

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the government of Toussaint L'Ouverture; hence Vaudouism was a ruse on the part of both the maroons and the slaves, similar to many which have been known among the slaves of the United States.

Outside of Saint Domingo there was in these early days as now a respectable colony of colored Dominicans, living in France. Some of these were mulattoes sent thither by their white fathers, a number of whom, as the Dumas, grandfather, father, and son, became permanent Frenchmen; others remained firmly attached to their native land and continued in deep sympathy with their Negro brethren. It is said also that there were among the poor free colored people of Saint Domingo, some mothers like those to be found in this country, who at great personal sacrifice sent their sons to France to be educated. These colored men in France, becoming imbued with the spirit of republicanism then rife in that land of enthusiasm, greatly aided in opening a highway for the Revolution. They became associates of the abolitionists of Europe, and helped to awaken sympathy for their brothers in bonds at home.

We know also that in 1779 a legion of free colored people from Saint Domingo fought in aid of our independence in Savannah; and it is morally certain that these men carried with them the idea and the love of personal and national liberty. Soldiers who have measured their skill, strength and bravery on the fields of blood with other men, are dangerous material to be held in either slavery or serfdom.

It is also to be noted that the free colored people, both blacks and mulattoes, were largely inured to arms, and that among them were a few at least who had served as officers. One Captain Vincent had especially distinguished himself and had been presented to the King, Louis XIV, because of the signal services he had performed. It is important for the reader to bear in mind the fact of this previous mili-

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tary experience on the part of the free colored people in order to account for the rapidity with which a vast horde of slaves and free people were developed into disciplined armies.

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CHAPTER II

ECHOES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION IN SAINT DOMINGO

Saint Domingo elects delegates to the States-General 1788 — White colonists dissatisfied secured decree of March 8, 1790 — The society Amis des Noirs secured instructions March 28, 1790 — How secured — Rival assemblies in Saint Domingo — Eighty-five members quit the Island — Jacques Ogé — Question of name — Error of Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia — Jean Baptist Chavanne — Battle — Ogé and Chavanne escape to Spanish territory — Brought back, tried at the Cape — Horrible execution February 25, 1791 — Toussaint L'Ouverture and the slaves of the North — The 14th of August meeting — Slaves of the North ready for revolt, free people not — Free people of the South and West ready for revolt, slaves not — New colonial assembly, August 9, 1791 — Hostility of the whites — The Outbreak — Vengeance — Note — Insurrection well-planned — Free colored people at first with the whites — Soon joined the blacks — Took possession of the plain — Whites defeated — Help from Jamaica — Account of eye witness — Desolation — Money sent away — Manifesto — Liberty or Death — Reply — Civil Commission — Appeal before the Colonial Assembly — Reply — Toussaint L'Ouverture visits the Cape.

THE uprising of the French people against the tyranny of the Bourbon rulers had reached such a height that the weak and vacillating King, Louis XVI, in December, 1788, issued a call for the meeting of the States-General. This call reached the colonies and the white colonists of Saint Domingo called provincial and parochial meetings, passed heated resolutions, and elected eighteen deputies to represent them in the States-General. That body accepted six of those elected and rejected twelve. The mulattoes who could

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have no share in these political movements communicated with their brethren living in France and secured more influence than did the deputies. The Negroes were, however, more successful than all, for they secured the aid of the powerful society known as Les Amis des Noirs.

The States-General met May 5, 1789, and before the month closed declared itself the National Assembly; and on August 20th published their Declaration of Rights in which was affirmed the doctrine that, "All men are born and continue free and equal as to their rights." In this National Assembly, "All men" meant what it said. The French nation at that time was too extensively under the control of the ideas of liberty and fraternity to think of abridging the meaning of this high-sounding declaration.

The white colonists were so enraged on account of the attitude which the National Assembly had taken, that through great effort they succeeded in having that body adopt on March 8, 1790, the following resolution: "That it was not the intention of the Assembly to interfere with the interior government of the colonies or to subject them to laws incompatible with their local establishments; they therefore authorized the inhabitants of each Colony to signify their own plan of legislation and commercial arrangement preserving only a conformity with the principles of the mother country, and a regard for the reciprocal interests of both." To this was added that no innovation was intended in any system of commerce in which the colonies were already concerned.

The free colored people of Saint Domingo were growing more restive hourly, and through their representatives in France, especially the Friends of the Blacks, brought their cause directly before the National Assembly. In that society were such powerful names as Lafayette, Bishop Gregoire, La Rochefoucauld, Robespierre and the Abby Sieyes. Through this society the following instructions were supplemented to the decree of March 8, 1790:

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"Immediately after the proclamation and proper posting of the decree of March 8, 1790, and of the present instruction in each parish, all persons free, who have reached twenty-five years of age, possessors of real estate or in default thereof, who have resided in the parish five years, paying taxes therein, shall enjoy the right of suffrage which belongs to Frenchmen, and may form themselves into a parochial assembly."

American readers on examining this decree would naturally infer that it contained the essentials of universal suffrage, without regard to race or sex. Its use of "person" would include females as well as males; and such a law enacted by our Congress would mean equal suffrage. The colonists of Martinique, of Guadeloupe and of Saint Domingo pretended not thus to understand this decree of March 8, 1790, with its accompanying instructions. The Assembly of Martinique on the 12th of July following, having before it this act, said they "did not understand it to renounce in any manner the exclusive right of the assembly to regulate with final authority all that which belongs to the government and police regulations respecting both freedmen and slaves." Guadeloupe through its legislature after a preamble which recited as follows: "Considering that the legislation which concerns the people of color, their mode of life, and their physical existence — is in the hands of the colonists:" Resolved that, "all these people, results of misalliances, should be prohibited from the active rights of citizens." Saint Domingo through its assembly declared that this decree "could only apply to the whites according to the usage well established." Thus was this liberal decree of the National Convention, the first step towards the amelioration of the condition of the blacks in the West Indies, set aside by the pro-slavery colonists. The measure referred to had received the sanction of the Friends of the Blacks of Paris, and of such abolitionists as Clarkson and Wilberforce, of England, and looked to the

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gradual removal of slavery from French territory. Against this humane initiative the white colonists rebelled.

By the order of the King of France received in Saint Domingo in January, 1790, a General Assembly had been convoked to meet in the town of Leogane, March 25th of that year. The colonists, not being satisfied with this, changed the date to April 16th and the place to St. Mark. On that date two hundred and thirteen members met in that city and a plan for a new constitution was proposed.

There were now two bodies claiming legislative and executive functions — a provincial assembly of the North and the General Assembly. The western and southern departments were unanimous in their support of the General Assembly, while the department of the North held to their provincial or departmental assembly, and were acting in concert with M. Peynier, the governor-general. In the preparations for civil war, which were made in consequence of this quarrel, mulattoes were called out but bloodshed was prevented by eighty-five members of the reduced General Assembly quitting the Island. They took their departure August 8, 1790, on the ship *Leopard,* leaving the country tranquil in appearance although within it were two volcanoes rapidly ripening for eruption.

Among the mulattoes who were in Paris, actively engaged with the "Friends of the Blacks," was one Jacques Ogé (O-Zhay), a resident of the town of Dondon, whose mother owned a coffee plantation in the department of the North; a man of superior intelligence and possessed of considerable wealth and influence. When he learned of the opposition made by the colonists to the equal suffrage decree, he resolved to return to Saint Domingo. The Century Dictionary says: "He was educated in Paris and represented the colony in the French Constituent Assembly. In 1790 he organized in the United States a secret expedition for the emancipation of the colored race in Haiti"— all of which is erroneous. It is remarkable that such a mistake

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should occur in a work of so great respectability.[1] Ogé was a representative of the free colored people of Saint Domingo, but was not a member of the Constituent Assembly; as the free colored people of Saint Domingo were without voice or vote. As well might the free colored people of New Orleans, or of Charleston, have had representatives in Congress in 1856. Ogé, learning that the white colonists had repudiated the decree of the National Assembly, and had mobbed and murdered some colored men who had tried to vote in the election of April, resolved to come home. Having been successful in his mission in Paris he thought to use his powers among his own people. Already the colony was in a state of great tension as we have seen. Ogé arrived at Cape François, October 16, 1790, not with an expedition, but alone. He landed in the night in order to avoid the danger of being assassinated, and proceeded at once to his native town, Dondon. His arrival was immediately made known, and orders were issued for both his arrest and execution. Advised of this, Ogé did not tarry in Dondon but proceeded directly to Grand Riviere to consult with his friend Jean Baptist Chavanne, an old soldier who had fought in the Saint Domingo Legion under D'Estaing at Savannah. Chavanne advised the calling out of the slaves, and favored the prompt beginning of an insurrection that by this means they might get in the first blow and perhaps break the power of the colonists. Ogé recoiled before so prodigious a work, and preferred to stand by the law as adopted by the Assembly. Gathering a few of their kinsmen and neighbors these two intrepid men prepared themselves to oppose force by force. Their little army numbering about 250 met the first assault of the col-

[1] The Ogé who headed the insurrection was undoubtedly Jacques Ogé. His brother Vincent Ogé is mentioned by J. Ogé in his confession.

Rainsford,
Benito Sylvain.

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onists, who came against them with about 600 men, with so much vigor and courage, that the colonists were repulsed and several of their number were taken prisoners. The prisoners were kindly treated and released on parole, but this did not end the affair. The conflict was renewed with 1,500 of the best soldiers from the garrison; and Ogé's force was overwhelmed and scattered.

The two leaders, with about thirty of their followers, fled to Spanish territory, crossing the frontier November 6, 1790. They were soon nearly all arrested and taken to Santo Domingo, the Spanish Capital, and on December 21, the whole number, 26 in all, were placed on board a French frigate to be returned to the Cape. Chavanne protested to the Governor of Santo Domingo, Don Joachin Garcia, against their rendition, declaring that, "the governor had no right to put them in fetters; that himself and his company had come seeking the protection of Spain and an asylum on her territory from the white French rebels who were fighting against the Sovereign Assembly of France." To this protest the Spaniard paid no heed.

Brought to the Cape and placed on trial, Ogé demanded an advocate or counsel; this was refused. After two months of horrible proceedings, which cannot be called a trial, it was finally decreed that Jacques Ogé, and Chavanne, should be broken alive on the wheel and be left "with their faces turned towards heaven as long as it should please God to continue their lives;" after death, their heads were to be cut off, and that of Ogé placed on a pole in the road leading to his native town, Dondon; and that of Chavanne placed the same way on the road leading to his town, Grand Riviere. This sentence was carried out to the letter on February 25, 1791. Chavanne, on mounting the scaffold, denounced his murderers and solemnly left to his kinsmen the legacy of avenging his fate. At the same time that these two heroes perished amid such horrors, thirteen of the other insurgents, as they were called, were imprisoned for

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life, and twenty-two hanged. These trials and executions were carried on under the Assembly of the North. While this agitation was in progress, a mulatto named Lacombe was hanged for addressing a memorial to the Assembly of the North arguing his claim to political rights. His execution took place November 2, 1790. An old white magistrate, Ferrand de Beaudiere, was beheaded for drawing up a memorial in favor of the people of color. The free colored people of the South and West were enraged at these acts; and the slaves of the North, being more enlightened, were brought to the point of revolt.

Near the Cape where these transactions were occurring lived at this time the Negro genius Toussaint L'Ouverture, being then about 45 years of age. He was coachman in an aristocratic family, had been taught to read and write, and was treated by his master much more as a friend than as a slave. He was thoroughly aware of what was going on in the colony and was profoundly stirred, but possessed such absolute self-control that he was not suspected of any designs against the established rule.

The slaves of the North, as we have seen, were more civilized and better treated than their brethren in the South and West; and it was in this region that Voodouism flourished, and that the maroons dwelt in the mountain retreats. Toussaint L'Ouverture had his companions, and with them plotted in great secrecy for the uprising of the slaves. Ogé and Chavanne had not died in vain. The horrors of their execution, as well as the appeal, made by Chavanne, had stirred the heart of the civilized and Christian Negro slaves. There are those who believe that Toussaint L'Ouverture had nothing to do with planning and organizing the insurrection, but that he came into it only as a last resort when he saw it in full sway. This is the view taken by Schoelcher in his life of the great Black; and by Rev. C. W. Mossell. Following these guides and others of similar views, I, too, held this opinion until I read the

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works of Price and Sylvain. These two writers completely explode that theory and show that Toussaint L'Ouverture was the organizer and captain-general of the insurrection from its beginning.

From February 25, 1791, to August 14, 1791, we have no events of note, although in June some suspicions were aroused by the discovery of what appeared to be clandestine meetings on the part of the slaves. But these discoveries created only a passing disturbance of thought and soon the ordinary degree of confidence was restored. The bad feeling prevailed, and the whites were generally under arms; but there were no signs of the impending storm. The Voodouists were holding their dances in the forests and the slaves were at work in the cane-fields. All appeared tranquil. But on the 14th of August, 1791, in the midst of a frightful thunder-storm, the Negroes of the neighborhood of the Cape held a meeting presided over by Toussaint L'Ouverture. In that meeting were Biassou, and Boukman, as well as Jean-François. These men all subsequently became leaders of the insurrection. Mr. Price thus describes Toussaint L'Ouverture's relation to that meeting: "Toussaint L'Ouverture was the promoter, the organizer of the revolt of the slaves of the North. He was present at the meeting of the leaders on the night of August 14, 1791. He presided at this meeting and assigned to each his part. All this is incontestable. These are facts irrevocably established in history."[2] In this meeting, held amid the awful rain, thunder and lightning of that dark night of August 14th, it was resolved to make the strike for liberty; the day was fixed for August 22nd. The colony slept. The slaves watched.

[2] General Keverseau, in his report to the Minister of the Marine, dated September 7, 1801, says:

"Toussaint, skilled by long enslavery to make use of flattery and dissimulation, knew how to mask his sentiments and cover up his acts and was because of this an instrument more terrible

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The slaves of the North were, as we have seen, peaceable, civilized, and better treated than their brethren of the South and the West; while the free colored people, the majority of whom were black, were ill-treated and poor. In the town of Cape Haiti, called usually the "Cape," the free colored people were confined to a special quarter which was called "Little Guinea." These people had lost spirit at the time of the outbreak and were waiting with but little hope.

Mr. Price thus describes the slaves of the North: "The slaves of the North who had been a long time in slavery were sufficiently civilized and enlightened to comprehend and appreciate the injustice and horror of this cruel servitude; accustomed for a long time to meet under the veil of pretended Voodou ceremonies, and thoroughly ready in

in the hands of the disorganizers. It was he who presided in the Assembly when it proclaimed as chiefs of the insurrection, Jean François, Biassou and others.

"Concealed behind the curtain he directed all the lines of intrigue, organized the revolt and prepared the explosion. He knew how to read and write and in this stood alone. The advantage this gave him was immense; he became the oracle of the conspirators. Until when or where was Toussaint the dupe of those political plays? It is not known. This much is sure, that he made skillful use of them to instigate the Africans to action."—Rehabilitation de la Race Noire, etc., Hannibal Price, p. 296.

Benito Sylvain cites among the escaped slaves the names of Père Jean, (1679); Michel, (1713); Colas, (1720); Polydor, (1730); Macandal, (1758); Canga, (1777); Santiague, (1782); Gillot and Hyacinthe, (1787); as unconscious precursers of Boukman, Jean François, Biassou and Toussaint L'Ouverture; while Hannibal Price calls the song to Canga the Marseillaise of the Negroes.

Eh, Eh! Bomba! hen! hen!
Canga bafio ti
Canga moune de le
Canga do ki la
Canga li.

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their hearts to ravage and destroy by fire and sword this colony whose riches had been created by their sweat and blood, they awaited only the signal of an audacious leader of their own blood, whether Negro or mulatto, to rise *en masse.*" The slaves of the North were ready for the revolt. Not so the free colored people of the North. The old families of color had disappeared, broken, dispersed or absorbed by the all-powerful aristocracy of the skin. Among the rich, those who were too brown to pass the social barrier, had gone to France. Those of less means had gone to the West. Those who remained were the free people too poor to make any resistance to the white aristocracy, and too near the slave mass by the color of their skin to escape from the fatal resignation to a common lot with them. These people, so thoroughly overcome by the terrible prejudices of the whites, did not dream, indeed could not dream, of measuring arms with the white colonists. They no longer had any ambition as a class. Forced in upon themselves without hope of ever breaking out of the social circle which was marked out for them, they confined their efforts to seeking some degree of happiness, and enforcing some respect from the dominant race, by the austerity of their manners and the dignity of their lives. They abandoned themselves without reserve to their religious sentiment, married regularly to persons of their own rank and class, and enjoyed the peace of the hearthstone and the inward satisfaction and soft revenge which came from knowing that the virtues of their private life were a constant reproach to the dissolute manners of the white colonists with their colored mistresses — the latter deprived in this section of even the rank of acknowledged concubines. The free colored people of the North, in general, were not at this time, and had not been for a long time, of that disposition of mind and heart necessary to inaugurate and conduct to a good end a revolt;— to vindicate with arms in hand the rights of man so outrageously despised in this colony. And for

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these reasons, we may remark that this class, the free colored people of the North, played a rôle almost absolutely nil in the revolutions of Saint Domingo. Their political and social emancipation could come, and must come, only through the revolt of the slaves. And let us make haste to add: with one century more of the colonial régime, it would have been infallibly the same with the free colored people of the South and the West." This description will show that while the slaves of the North were ready for revolt, the free colored people of that section were not prepared either to lead or join them; notwithstanding that the first martyrs to the cause of equal rights, Ogé and Chavannes, were free mulattoes from that section. These men represented the exceptions and even of these two and their followers, only Chavannes is known to have been in favor of insurrection.

In the South and the West, the slaves were no more ready for revolt than were the free colored people of the North, but for entirely different reasons. The slaves of this section were uncivilized and unable to comprehend the situation; they, however, had faith in the free mulattoes and were not unwilling to follow their lead. The free mulattoes of the South, and the West, had never been so thoroughly subjugated as their brethren of the North. M. Price describes the slaves and freedmen of that section thus: "The slaves, not more content of their lot than their brothers of the North were, nevertheless, more passive; for they had not yet arrived at that stage to depend only upon themselves to escape from this colonial inferno. They counted upon their brother mulattoes; they had faith in them; they were ready to second them and to move under their direction. There were two reasons for this. The first was that the mulatto himself was ready for action: he had not been conquered and was not resigned; he had not ceased to respond to prejudice by violence. He was vindictive and turbulent; and awaited only a favorable occa-

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sion to attempt to overthrow the inequality of political rights which seemed to him the sole foundation for the exorbitant pretentions of the lower grade whites. The second reason for the confidence absolute of the blacks in their yellow brothers was, that at this epoch the latter were, in great majority as I have sufficiently said, *fresh* mulattoes as they were called, sons of Negresses; their African origin was not far enough removed to permit the fiction of a mulatto race. The Negro race had not yet been taught to see anything but brothers in the sons of their mothers." The events happening indicated that the situation was ripening rapidly and that the harvest could not be long delayed.

A new Colonial Assembly was elected consisting of one hundred and seventy-six members which met in Léogane, August 9, 1791, and adjourned to meet in Cape François. Whether mulattoes voted in this election is not clear, but from the events which followed so soon after, it would be reasonable to infer they did not. The new governor-general appeared to be without power; and three commissioners from France were awaited, whose mission was to pacify the colony. But in Saint Domingo at that time there was no peace. The whites were bitter against the free colored people who had gained in law equality in rights; they were hostile toward the mother country and ready to barter away the colony; the mulattoes were, of course, angry toward the white colonists and enthusiastically attached to the mother country. What about the slaves?

The intelligent slaves of the North had witnessed and watched all of these movements and although they saw that the National Assembly concerned itself about the free colored people,— for the slave and his miserable lot there appeared no helper. It was for this reason that about the time the New Colonial Assembly was to meet at the Cape that the Negro leaders held their meeting August 14, 1791, and decided upon their own course of action. Eight

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days after that meeting, on the night of August 22nd, the awful insurrection broke out. The slaves arose armed with such weapons and tools as they could command and with cries of "Vengeance! Vengeance!" began the indiscriminate slaughter of the white colonists. They spared neither age nor sex, but killed without mercy all who came in their way, and burned every dwelling. Their policy was: "Kill and burn!" over, or under ten years, it mattered not. They were slaves fighting for their natural liberty and knew nothing of the laws of war. Indeed, such laws could not apply, as revolted slaves were not soldiers; civilians contending for their natural personal rights are not an army.

"At midnight on the 30th of October, 1791,* the insurrection of the blacks of Saint Domingo broke forth. In an instant twelve hundred coffee and two hundred sugar plantations were in flames; the buildings, the machinery, the farm-houses, were reduced to ashes; and the unfortunate proprietors were hunted down, murdered, or thrown into the flames, by the infuriated Negroes. The horrors of a servile war universally appeared. The unchained African signalized his ingenuity by the discovery of new methods and unheard-of modes of torture. An unhappy planter was sawed asunder between two boards. The horrors inflicted on the women exceeded anything known, even in the annals of Christian ferocity. The indulgent master was sacrificed equally with the human. On all alike, young and old, rich and poor, the wrongs of an oppressed race were indiscriminately wreaked. Crowds of slaves traversed the country with the heads of white children affixed on their pikes. These served as standards of the furious insurgents. Jean François, a slave of vast penetration, firm character, and violent passions, not unmingled with generosity, was the leader of the conspiracy. His lieutenants were Biassou and Toussaint. The former of gigantic stature and indomitable ferocity was well fitted to assert his superiority; the latter, gifted with rare intelligence, dissimulation, boundless ambition, and heroic firmness, was fitted to become at once the Numa and the Romulus of the sable republic in the western hemisphere." Alison, E. (note inserted in Thiers' "French Revolution," Vol. II, p. 35).

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* Error as to date; it was August 22, 1791.

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This cry of "Vengeance" raised by the revolted slaves shows at once their intelligence, and their purpose. The insurrection broke out in the night and by morning the citizens were convinced that it had been well and thoroughly planned. Observation showed that the revolt was general and wonderfully simultaneous. The free colored people of the North appeared at first to stand with the whites, and some were enrolled in the militia. Seamen from the ships were brought ashore and an officer, M. de Touzard, who had distinguished himself in our War of Independence, took command of a detachment of militia and regular troops and marched against the largest body of revolters in the neighborhood. He was defeated and compelled to retreat to the Cape. All of the inhabitants of Cape François were now called out to build fortifications. Several camps of white colonists were formed with a view of checking the rebellion principally at Grand Riviere, and Dondon, the homes respectively of Ogé and Chavannes; but these were attacked by the Negroes, now joined by the mulattoes, and forced with great slaughter the whites who escaped fleeing into Spanish territory. In a week's time the revolting Negroes had possession of the whole northern plain and had Cape François shut up. Rainsford in describing conditions in the early days of the rebellion says: "The town of the Cape being somewhat strengthened, the governor with the advice of the Colonial Assembly came to the resolution of recommending offensive operations against the rebels; accordingly, a small force under the command of Rouvray encamped at a place called Roucooa in the eastern part of the plain. A division of the Negroes at the same time took possession of the principal buildings on the estate of the amiable M. Galifet, and mounted on the walls several pieces of heavy artillery, which they had procured from the different harbors on the coast. In this intrenchment they began to show somewhat of regular maneuvers; though they seldom stood more than a single volley in their skirmishes yet

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they were repeated with alacrity and with such success that they harassed the whites by perpetual alarms and desolated the country. After their first stock of ammunition was exhausted it was discovered they had been supplied from the King's arsenal by some Negroes in Cape François; in a short time the small American vessels opened a brisk trade with them in this article for the sugar and rum of their masters."

Meanwhile the whites sent out commissioners to different neighboring powers requesting the assistance of troops, arms, ammunition and provisions. Jamaica responded sending two frigates, the *Blonde* and the *Daphne,* to Cape François. I transcribe here the account of the arrival of this succor as given by one who participated in it: "We arrived," says he, "in the harbor of Cape François, in the evening of the 26th of September, and the first object which arrested our attention as we approached was a dreadful scene of devastation by fire. The noble plain adjoining the Cape was covered with ashes; and the surrounding hills, as far as the eye could reach, everywhere presented to us ruins still smoking, and houses and plantations at that moment in flames. It was a sight more terrible than the mind of any man, unaccustomed to such a scene, can easily conceive. The inhabitants of the town, being assembled on the beach, directed all their attention towards us, and we landed amidst a crowd of spectators, who, with uplifted hands and streaming eyes, gave welcome to their deliverers (for such they considered us), and acclamations of '*vivent les Anglois*' resounded from every quarter.

"The governor of Saint Domingo, at that time, was the unfortunate Blanchlande, a *marechal de camp* in the French service, who has since perished on the scaffold. He did us the honor to receive us on the quay. A committee of the Colonial Assembly, accompanied by the governor's only son, an amiable and accomplished youth, had before attended us on board the *Blonde,* and we were immediately

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conducted to the place of their meeting. The scene was striking and solemn. The hall was splendidly illuminated, and all the members appeared in mourning. Chairs were placed for us within the bar, and the governor having taken his seat on the right hand of the president, the latter addressed us in an elegant and affecting oration, of which the following is as literal a translation as the idiom of the two languages will admit:

"'We were not mistaken, Gentlemen, when we placed our confidence in your generosity; but we could hardly entertain a hope, that, besides sending us succors, you would come in person to give us consolation. You have quitted, without reluctance, the peaceful enjoyments of happiness at home, to come and participate in the misfortunes of strangers, and blend your tears with ours. Scenes of misery (the contemplation of which, to those who are unaccustomed to misfortune, is commonly disgusting) have not suppressed your feelings. You have been willing to ascertain the full extent of our distresses, and to pour into our wounds the salutary balm of your sensibility and compassion.

"'The picture which has been drawn of our calamities, you will find has fallen short of the reality. That verdure with which our fields were lately arrayed is no longer visible; discolored by the flames and laid waste by the devastations of war, our coasts exhibit no prospect but that of desolation. The emblems which we wear on our persons are the tokens of our grief for the loss of our brethren, who were surprised and cruelly assassinated by the revolters.

"'It is by the glare of the conflagrations that every way surround us that we now deliberate; we are compelled to sit armed and watchful through the night, to keep the enemy from our sanctuary. For a long time past our bosoms have been depressed by sorrow; they experience this day, for the first time, the sweet emotions of pleasure in beholding you amongst us.

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"'Generous islanders! humanity has operated powerfully on your hearts; — you have yielded to the first emotion of your generosity, in the hopes of snatching us from death; for it is already too late to save us from misery. What a contrast between your conduct and that of other nations! We will avail ourselves of your benevolence; but the days you preserve to us will not be sufficient to manifest our gratitude; our children shall keep it in remembrance.

"'Regenerated France, unapprized that such calamities might befall us, has taken no measures to protect us against their effects; with what admiration will she learn that, without your assistance, we should no longer exist as a dependency to any nation.

"'The commissioners deputed by us to the island of Jamaica have informed us of your exertions to serve us. Receive the assurance of our attachment and sensibility.

"'The governor-general of this island, whose sentiments perfectly accord with our own, participates equally in the joy we receive at your presence, and in our gratitude for the assistance you have brought us.'

"At this juncture, the French colonists in Saint Domingo, however they might have been divided in political sentiments on former occasions, seemed to be softened into perfect unanimity. All descriptions of persons joined in one general cry against the National Assembly, to whose proceedings were imputed all their disasters. This opinion was indeed so widely disseminated, and so deeply rooted, as to create a very strong disposition, in all classes of the whites, to renounce their allegiance to the mother country. The black cockade was universally substituted in place of the tri-colored one, and very earnest wishes were avowed in all companies, without scruple or restraint, that the British administration would send an armament to conquer the island, or rather to receive its voluntary surrender from the inhabitants. What they wished might happen, they

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persuaded themselves to believe was actually in contemplation.

"The ravages of the rebellion during the time that I remained at Cape François extended in all directions. The whole of the plain of the Cape, with the exception of one plantation which adjoined the town, was in ruins; as were likewise the parish of Limonade, and most of the settlements in the mountains adjacent. The parish of Limbe was everywhere on fire; and, before my departure, the rebels had obtained possession of the bay and forts at L'Acul, as well as the districts of Fort Dauphin, Dondon, and La Grande Riviere.

"Destruction everywhere marked their progress, and resistance seemed to be considered by the whites, not only as unavailing in the present conjuncture, but as hopeless in the future. To fill up the measure of their calamities, their Spanish neighbors in the same island, with a spirit of bigotry and hatred which is, I believe, without an example in the world, refused to lend any assistance towards suppressing a revolt, in the issue of which common reason should have informed them that their own preservation was implicated equally with that of the French. They were even accused, not only of supplying the rebels with arms and provisions, but also of delivering up to them to be murdered many unhappy French planters who had fled for refuge to the Spanish territories, and receiving money from the rebels as the price of their blood.

"The merchants and importers of European manufactures, apprehending every hour the destruction of the town, as much from incendiaries within, as from the rebels without, offered their goods, for ready money at half the usual prices; and applications were made to Captain Affleck, by persons of all descriptions, for permission to embark in the *Blonde* for Jamaica. The interposition of the Colonial Government obliged him to reject their solicitations; but means were contrived to send on board consignments

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of money to a great amount; and I know that other conveyances were found by which effects to a considerable value were exported both to Jamaica, and the states of North America."

After the slave insurrection had been raging nearly one month, the slaves being entirely victorious, this dispatch was sent by them to Blanchlande, the governor of the colony.

THE DISPATCH

"We have never thought of turning away from the duty and respect that we owe to the representative of the person of the King; but, Just Man! come down to our situation. See this land that we have enriched with our sweat or rather with our blood. The edifices that we have erected! And have we ever obtained any recompense?

"Those who should have been to us under God as fathers, were tyrants, monsters, unworthy of the fruit of our labors. And can you wish, Brave General! that we should be like sheep, that we should throw ourselves into the claws of the wolf? No; it is too late. God, who fights for the innocent, is our guide; He will never abandon us. Conquer or die! This is our motto, which we will maintain unto the last drop of our blood. We do not lack either powder or cannon. Hence; Liberty or Death! If God grant that we may obtain it without the effusion of blood, then all our wishes will be accomplished.

"Believe us, it has cost much to our hearts to take this way (the revolt); but do not deceive yourself and think that it is because of weakness on our part. We will never change our motto: Conquer, or die for Liberty!

"Your very humble and very obedient servants,

"Signed: All the Generals and Chiefs of our arms."

The above paper is the first manifesto ever put forth by Christian slaves in revolt with arms in their hands, to their ex-masters. It bears no date, nor is it known by whom it

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was written; but the consensus of opinion among Haitian writers is that it was inspired, if not written or dictated by Toussaint L'Ouverture. The place and date are not given; but the response to it was made, September 23, 1791, one month after the breaking out of the insurrection. The manifesto is remarkable for its determination. "Conquer or Die!" "Liberty or Death!" "Conquer, or die for Liberty!" These expressions declare the spirit and purpose of the one hundred thousand slaves who had taken their destiny in their own hands and transformed themselves into freemen.

To this manifesto the colonial government responded in its proclamation of September 23, 1791, exhorting the revolted slaves to return to their duty and promising them pardon on condition that they would deliver up their leaders; upon which M. Price remarks: "To offer pardon to men who were demanding justice and liberty was to declare war upon them; and for another month, war, characterized on one side and the other by the most atrocious violence, the most terrible reprisals — a true war of extermination, — was waged."

The three Civil Commissioners sent by France to Saint Domingo, Roume, Mirbeck and St. Leger, did not arrive until the latter part of November. The Negroes were still in the field, and had obtained arms and other munitions of war whether from their own arsenals or from the Spanish government is not known. They were also becoming daily more expert in the use of their guns. Nevertheless, Toussaint L'Ouverture wished to end the war; and made use of the aid of the priests to address the colonial authorities again in the interest of peace.

The address was sent in the name of the free people of color joined with the slaves in revolt. They announced to the whites that they wished to live in concord with them, and asked for a general amnesty, and that the whole political question should be remitted to France to be settled

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by the Civil Commissioners who were hourly expected. These conditions accepted by the civil authorities, the blacks promised to return to the fields to work. Jean-François, at this time the generalissimo of the blacks, appended his approval to these propositions.

On the 22d of November the insurgents, through the abbe of the Haye, presented to the Civil Commission this their final address, offering to submit on the following conditions: General amnesty for all past offenses; legal and complete freedom for a number of revolted slaves; abolition of corporal punishment and the concession of three days each week for the slaves to work for themselves. This address was signed by six of the principal leaders in the insurrection: three blacks: Jean-François, Biassou and Toussaint; three mulattoes: Desprez, Manzeau and Aubert. It was carried to the Cape by two of the old free people, the mulatto Raymal, and the Negro, Duplessis.

This address instead of being acted upon by the Civil Commissioners was by them turned over to the rabid Colonial Assembly which had been made by the late act of the National Assembly, sole arbiters of the colored people, free, and not free. That body bade the deputies, Raymal and Duplessis to return at the end of ten days to hear the answer of the Assembly.

The answer was given December 16, 1791, and was as follows:

"Emissaries of the Negroes in revolt: You will now hear the decisions of the Colonial Assembly. The Assembly, founded upon the law and by the law, cannot have communication with people armed against the law, against all laws. The Assembly would be willing to exercise leniency towards persons culpable who were repentant and returning to duty. She will not exact anything from those who have been drawn into the revolt against their will. She will always know how to measure out both clemency and justice. Retire!"

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When Biassou learned of the action of the Colonial Assembly he was so indignant that he wished to shoot all the white prisoners in his hands. Toussaint L'Ouverture succeeded in postponing his action by pleading that the prisoners should at least have a trial beforehand, and thus delayed matters until the arrival of Jean-François, who also favored sparing the lives of the unfortunate men. Together they prevailed over Biassou.

The two deputies, however, brought an invitation from the Commissioners for a conference to be held on the habitation of Saint Michael near the Cape at which arrangements were to be made for the exchange of prisoners. It was subsequently discovered, that although the blacks held a large number of white prisoners in their camps, the whites had but one Negro prisoner and that one a woman, the wife of Jean-François. The blacks, nevertheless, accepted the hard bargain and agreed to turn over their prisoners and receive Madame Jean-François. The escort that accompanied the prisoners to the Cape and received Madame Jean-François, was composed of some dragoons, and in their ranks disguised as a private, was Toussaint L'Ouverture. His study of the situation there determined his future action. He was fully convinced that the Commission was powerless, and that the only real French authority on the Island was in the hands of the Colonial Assembly.

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CHAPTER III

THE QUESTION BEFORE THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The Eighty-five members in disgrace — Governor Peynier's resignation — General Blanchlande appointed — Colonel Maudit effects a reconciliation — Rigaud's opinion — National Assembly orders new election — Mutiny — Mulattoes send Two Deputies to France — Robespierre's speech — Debate continues five days — Decree of May 15, 1791, defining the intentions of the Assembly — Circular Letter of the Abbe Gregoire.

THE eighty-five members of the Colonial Assembly who left Saint Domingo, August 8th, on the ship *Leopard,* arrived in Brest on the 13th of September and were received with the utmost respect. But this state of feeling did not long prevail. M. Peynier, the governor-general, and the representatives of the Assembly of the North, were so bitterly hostile to the General Assembly of Saint Domingo and so active in their hostility, that they succeeded in prejudicing the officials in Paris, and soon converted the favorable sentiment which welcomed the deputies into the most violent antipathy. They were dismissed from the bar of the National Assembly and soon after were placed under arrest. The report of this treatment reaching Saint Domingo, there was excited in the minds of the large body of white colonists of the West and South alarm and indignation. M. Peynier, who had contributed so much to the disorders which at the time existed, and perhaps seeing no immediate prospect of pacifying the colony, resigned his office of governor-general. He was succeeded by General Blanchlande who assumed the office in December of that year. It was under his rule and through his own personal

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activity that the arrest, trial and conviction of Ogé and Chavanne related in the preceding chapter took place. An incipient rebellion among the mulattoes had also immediately followed the efforts of Ogé and Chavannes but was reconciled through the intercession of one Colonel Maudit, an officer of immense popularity and tact and especially beloved by the regiment he commanded. The reconciliation, however, was not a satisfactory one. Rigaud, the chief leader of the mulattoes and a soldier of experience, declared it to be a "transient and deceitful calm." [1]

Meanwhile a decree from the National Assembly arrived censuring the General Assembly of Saint Domingo, annulling all its acts, and incapacitating its members from ever serving again. The decree also approved the conduct of the governor-general, and applauded the work of the Assembly of the North and highly praised Colonel Maudit. Thus it will be seen that the department of the North under the lead of the governor and with the aid of the military, had won, as against the West and South. The National Assembly also ordered that a new Colonial Assembly should be formed according to the decree of March 8th with the accompanying instructions of March 28th. This would mean that the free colored men should vote on equal terms with the whites.

The white colonists were very much exasperated and vented their spleen particularly against Colonel Maudit who was finally killed in a mutiny. New troops having arrived from France, the peace of the country appeared to be secured. The men of Colonel Maudit's regiment who had mutinied and slain their commander were compelled to lay down their arms and were sent as prisoners to France.

It was thought now that the mulattoes could be conciliated, and the president of the colonial committee in France, M. Barnave, believed that the mother country would no

[1] Edwards' Saint Domingo, cited by Rainsford.

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longer interfere with the affairs of the colony. We remember, however, that the decree of March 8, 1790, was accompanied by the instructions of March 28th which directed that every person of the age of twenty-five and upward possessing property or having resided five years in the colony and paid taxes, should be enabled to vote in the formation of the Colonial Assembly. The assertion was made that this could only apply to persons who already had the privilege of voting, and that any other view of it would make it entirely repugnant to the decree it accompanied. In the midst of these conflicting opinions the mulattoes sent two deputies to France. This brought the whole subject before the National Assembly and gave opportunity for a display of great fervor and eloquence. The colored deputy Raymond was heard; and Robespierre gave vent to the following impassioned words: "If I could have supposed that among those who have opposed the rights of the men of color there was one man who hated liberty and the Constitution, I would have expected him to seek the means to attack incessantly both your decrees and your principles.

"When it concerns the direct interest of the metropole, they say to you: 'You proclaim without ceasing, "The Rights of Man"; "You believe in it so little, that you have established slavery."'

"The supreme interest of the nation and of the colonies is, that you should live free; and that you do not overthrow with your own hands the basis of liberty. Perish the colonies even should it cost your happiness, your glory, your liberty! I repeat — Perish the colonies, if the colonies wish by threats to force you to decree that which is to their interest alone.

"I declare in the name of the Assembly — in the name of those members of this Assembly who do not wish to overthrow the constitution — in the name of the nation entire which desires to be free, that we will not sacrifice

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to the deputies of the colonies, the nation, the colonies themselves, and humanity entire." [2]

The National Assembly after five days of debate adopted a resolution declaring in exact words that the people of color had "an equal right with the white proprietors in the choice of representatives, and to seats in the colonial government." The Colonial Committee in Paris immediately dissolved and the deputies from Saint Domingo ceased to attend the meetings of the Assembly.

After the passage of this resolution the Abbe Gregoire addressed a most eloquent letter to the colored citizens which is so important that despite its length I insert it here. The side lights it throws upon the political situation are very valuable.

Letter of the Abbe Gregoire to the Citizens of Color in the French West Indies, Concerning the Decree of the 15th May, 1791

FRIENDS,

YOU were MEN; — you are now CITIZENS. Reinstated in the fullness of your rights, you will in future participate of the sovereignty of the people. The decree which the National Assembly has just published respecting you, is not a *favor;* for a favor is a privilege, and a privilege to one class of people is an injury to all the rest.— They are words which no longer disgrace the laws of the French.

In securing to you the exercise of your political rights, we have acquitted ourselves of a debt: — not to have paid it, would have been a crime on our part, and a disgrace to the constitution. The legislators of a free nation certainly could not do less for you than our ancient despots have done.

It is now above a century that Louis XIVth solemnly acknowledged and proclaimed your rights; but of this sacred

[2] From the Official Monitor, cited by Benito Sylvain and Schoelcher.

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inheritance you have been defrauded by pride and avarice, which have gradually increased your burdens, and embittered your existence.

The regeneration of the French empire opened your hearts to hope, whose cheering influence has alleviated the weight of your miseries; miseries of which the people of Europe had no idea. While the white planters resident amongst us were loud in their complaints against ministerial tyranny, they took especial care to be silent *as to their own.* Not a hint was suggested concerning the complaints of the unhappy people of mixed blood; who, notwithstanding, are their own children. It is *we,* who, at the distance of two thousand leagues from you, have been constrained to protect these children against the neglect, the contempt, the unnatural cruelty of their fathers!

But it is in vain that they have endeavored to suppress the justice of your claims. Your groans, notwithstanding the extent of the ocean which separates us, have reached the hearts of the European Frenchmen; for they have hearts.

God Almighty comprehends all men in the circle of his mercies. His love makes no distinction between them, but what arises from the different degrees of their virtues. Can laws then, which ought to be an emanation of eternal justice, encourage so culpable a partiality? Can that government, whose duty it is to protect alike all the members of the same great family, be the mother of one branch, and the step-mother only of the others?

No, Gentlemen: — you could not escape the solicitude of the National Assembly. In unfolding to the eyes of the universe the great charter of nature, your titles were traced. An attempt had indeed been made to expunge them; but, happily they are written in characters as indelible as the sacred image of the Deity, which is graven on your countenances.

Already had the National Assembly, in the instructions

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which it prepared for the government of the colonies, on the 28th of March, 1790, comprised both the whites and people of color under one common denomination. Your enemies, in asserting the contrary, have published a forgery. It is incontestibly true, that when I demanded you should be expressly named, a great number of members, among whom were several planters, eagerly exclaimed, that you were already comprehended under general words contained in those instructions.

M. Barnave himself, upon my repeated instances to him on that head, has at length acknowledged, before the whole Assembly, that this was the fact. It now appears how much reason I had to apprehend that a false construction would be put upon our decree!

New oppressions on the part of your masters, and new miseries on yours, until at length the cup of affliction is filled even to the brim, have but too well justified my apprehensions. The letters which I have received from you upon this head, have forced tears from my eyes. Posterity will learn with astonishment and indignation, that a cause like yours, the justice of which is so evident, was made the subject of debate for no less than five days successively. Alas! when humanity is obliged to struggle so long against vanity and prejudice, its triumph is dearly obtained!

It is a long time that the society of Amis des Noirs have employed themselves in finding out the means to soften your lot, as well as that of the slaves. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to do good with entire impunity. The meritorious zeal of this society has drawn upon them much obloquy. Despicable writers have lanced their poisonous shafts at them, and impudent libels have never ceased to repeat objections and calumnies, which have been an hundred times answered and refuted. How often have we been accused of being sold to the English, and of being paid by them for sending you inflammatory writings and

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arms? You know, my friends, the weakness and wickedness of these charges. We have incessantly recommended to you attachment to your country, resignation, and patience, while waiting the return of justice. Nothing has been able to cool our zeal, or that of your brethren of mixed blood who are at Paris. M. Raymond, in particular, has devoted himself most heroically to your defense. With what transport would you have seen this distinguished citizen, at the bar of the National Assembly, of which he ought to be a member, laying before it the affecting picture of your miseries, and strenuously claiming your rights! If that Assembly had sacrificed them, it would have tarnished its glory. It was its duty to decree with justice, to explain itself clearly, and cause its laws to be executed with firmness: — it has done so; and if (which God forbid!), some event, hidden in the womb of futurity, should tear our colonies from us, would it not be better to have a loss to deplore, than an injustice to reproach ourselves with?

Citizens! raise once more your humiliated countenances, and to the dignity of men, associate the courage and nobleness of a free people. The 15th of May, the day in which you recovered your rights, ought to be ever memorable to you and to your children. This epoch will periodically awake in you sentiments of gratitude towards the Supreme Being; and may your accents ascend to the vault of Heaven! At length you have a country. Hereafter you will see nothing above you but the law; while the opportunity of concurring in the framing of it, will assure to you that indefeasible right of all mankind,— the right of obeying yourselves only.

You have a country; and it will no longer be a land of exile, where you meet none but tyrants on the one hand, and companions in misfortune on the other; the former distributing, and the latter receiving, contempt and outrage. The groans of your afflictions were punished as the clamors of rebellion; and, situated between the uplifted

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poignard and certain death, those unhappy countries were often moistened with your tears and sometimes stained with your blood.

You have a country; and happiness will shine on the seat of your nativity. You will now enjoy in peace the fruits of the fields, which you have cultivated without compulsion. Then will be filled up that interval, which, placing at an immense distance from each other the children of the same father, has suppressed the voice of nature, and broke the bans of fraternity asunder. Then will the chaste enjoyments of conjugal union take place of those vile sallies of debauchery, by which the majesty of moral sentiment has been insulted. By what strange perversion of reason can it be deemed disgraceful in a white man to marry a black or mulatto woman, when it is not thought dishonorable in him to be connected with her in the most licentious familiarity!

The less real worth a man possesses, the more he seeks to avail himself of the appearances of virtue. What can be more absurd than to make the merit of a person consist in different shades of the skin, or in a complexion more or less sallow? The man who thinks at all must sometimes blush at being a man, when he sees his fellow-creatures blinded by such ridiculous prejudices; but as, unfortunately, pride is one of those failings we most unwillingly part with, the empire of prejudice is the most difficult to subvert: man appears to be unable to arrive at truth, until he has exhausted his strength in traveling through the different paths of error.

This prejudice against the mulattoes and Negroes has, however, no existence in our eastern colonies. Nothing can be more affecting than the eulogium made on the people of color by the inhabitants in that part of the world, in the instructions to those they have appointed their deputies to the National Assembly. The members of the Academy of Science pride themselves in reckoning a mulatto of the

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Isle of France in the number of their correspondents. Among ourselves, a worthy Negro is a superior officer of the district of St. Hypolite, in the department of Gard. We do not conceive that a difference of color can be the foundation of different rights among members of the same political society; it is, therefore, we find no such despicable pride among our brave National Guards who offer themselves to embark for the West Indies, to insure the execution of our decrees.

Perfectly concurring in the laudable sentiments manifested by the inhabitants of Bordeaux, they acknowledge with them, that the decree respecting the people of color, framed under the auspices of prudence and wisdom, is an homage rendered to reason and justice. While the deputies from the colonies have endeavored to calumniate your intentions, and those of the mercantile part of the nation, the conduct of those deputies is perfectly contradictory. Ardently soliciting their own admission among us at Versailles; swearing with us in the Tennis Court not to separate from us until the constitution should be established, and then declaring when the decree of the 15th of May was passed, that they could no longer continue to sit with us! This desertion is a desertion of their principles, and a breach of their solemn oaths.

All those white inhabitants of the colonies who are worthy the name of Frenchmen, have hastened to abjure such ridiculous prejudices, and have promised to regard you in future as brothers and friends. With what delightful sensations do we cite the words of the citizens of Jacmel. "We swear to obey, without reserve, the decrees of the National Assembly respecting our present and future constitution, and even such of them as may substantially change it!" The citizens of Port-au-Prince tell the National Assembly the same thing, in different words:— "Condescend, gentlemen," say they, "to receive the oath which the municipality has taken to you, in the name of

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the commons of Port-au-Prince, punctually to obey and execute all your decrees, and never to swerve from them in any respect whatever."

Thus has philosophy enlarged its horizon in the new world, and soon will absurd prejudices have no other supporters than a few inferior tyrants, who wish to perpetuate in America the reign of that despotism which has been abolished in France.

What would these men have said if the people of color had endeavored to deprive the whites of their political advantages? With what energy would they not have exclaimed at such an oppression? Inflamed into madness at finding that your rights have been pointed out to you, their irritated pride may perhaps lead them to make every effort to render our decrees ineffectual. They will probably endeavor to raise such disturbances, as, by wresting the colonies from the mother-country, will enable them to defraud their creditors of their just debts. They have incessantly alarmed us with the threat that Saint Domingo will be lost, if justice be rendered to you. In this assertion we have found nothing but falsehood: we please ourselves in the belief, that our decree will draw the bands still closer which unite you to the mother country. Your patriotism, your interest, and your affections, will concur in inducing you to confine your commercial connections to France only; and the reciprocal tributes of industry will establish between her and her colonies a constant interchange of riches and good offices. If you act unfaithfully towards France, you will be the basest and most abandoned of the human race. But no, generous citizens, you will not become traitors to your country; you shudder at the idea. Rallied, with all other good Frenchmen, around the standard of liberty, you will still defend our glorious constitution. The day shall arrive when the representatives of the people of color will cross the ocean to take their seats with us. The day shall arrive among you when the sun

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will shine on none but freemen; when the rays of light shall no longer fall on the fetters of slavery. It is true, the National Assembly has not yet raised the condition of the enslaved Negroes to a level with your situation; because suddenly granting the rights to those who are ignorant of the duties of citizens, might, perhaps, have been a fatal present to them; but forget not, that they, like yourselves, are born to freedom and perfect equality. It is the irresistible course of things that all nations, whose liberty has been invaded, shall recover that precious portion of their indefeasible inheritance!

You are accused of treating your slaves much worse than the whites: but, alas! so various have been the detractions with which you have been aspersed, that it would be weakness in us to credit the charge. If, however, there be any foundation for what has been advanced on this head, so conduct yourselves in future as to prove it will be a shameful calumny hereafter.

Your oppressors have heretofore endeavored to hide from their slaves the lights of Christianity; because the religion of mildness, equality, and liberty, suits not with such blood-thirsty men. May your conduct be the reverse of theirs. Universal love is the language of the gospel; your pastors will make it heard among you. Open your hearts to receive this divine system of morality. We have mitigated your misfortunes; alleviate, on your part, those of the unhappy victims of avarice, who moisten your fields with their sweat, and often with their tears. Let the existence of your slaves be no longer their torment; but by your kind treatment of them expiate the crimes of Europe!

By leading them on progressively to liberty, you will fulfill a duty; you will prepare for yourselves the most comfortable reflections, you will do honor to humanity, and insure the prosperity of the colonies. Such will be your conduct towards your brethren, the Negroes; but what ought it to be towards your fathers, the whites?

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Doubtless you will be permitted to shed tears over the ashes of Ferrand de Baudiere, and the unfortunate Ogé, assassinated under the forms of law, and dying on the wheel for having wished to be free! But may he among you perish, who shall dare to entertain an idea of revenge against your persecutors! They are already delivered over to the stings of their own consciences, and covered with eternal infamy. The abhorrence in which they are held by the present race of mankind, only precedes the execration of posterity. Bury, then, in eternal oblivion every sentiment of hatred, and taste the delicious pleasure of conferring benefits on your oppressors. Repress even too marked expressions of your joy, which, in causing them to reflect on their own injustice towards you, will make their remorse still more poignant.

Strictly obedient to the laws, teach your children to respect them. By a careful education, instruct them in all the duties of morality; so shall you prepare for the succeeding generations virtuous citizens, honorable men, enlightened patriots, and defenders of their country!

How will their hearts be affected when, conducting them to your shores, you direct their looks towards France, telling them, "beyond those seas is your parent country; it is from thence we have received justice, protection, happiness, and liberty. There we have sworn an eternal friendship. Heirs of our sentiments and of our affections, may your hearts and your lips repeat our oaths! Live to love them; and, if necessary, die to defend them!"

(Signed)

GREGOIRE.

PARIS, 8th June, 1791.

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CHAPTER IV

THE SLAVES IN REVOLT ARE TRANSFORMED INTO AN ARMY AND HAVE BEHIND THEM A NATION

The difference in character of the two Insurrections — The question again before the Assembly — M. Barnave's speech — Decree of May 15 annulled — Further elaboration of agreement of September 12, by action of October 23 — Fraternization — The Swiss — Noble conduct of Daguin and Boisrond — Black stain on commanders — Arrival of news from France — Whites repudiate agreement — War reopens — Colored generals reorganize their army — Commissioners arrive, Roume, Mirbeck and Saint Leger — Two last soon leave — Port-au-Prince besieged by colored army — Capitulates on demand of Roume, July 5, 1792 — Beauvais and Rigaud breveted generals — New act, March 24, 1792, announced, which settles the question — Celebrations — Attempt to use mulattoes against slaves in revolt fails — Exasperation of the whites — Pacification accomplished by Rigaud — New Commission — 14,000 European soldiers arrive — Toussaint's situation delicate — Retires to Spanish territory — Goes into the service of Spain with his army — Becomes Spanish general, 1793 — Two nations seek the blacks — The affair of Galbaud — Renewal of war; attempt to deliver the colony to the English — The Treaty.

We must now for a moment leave the slave insurrection of the North, and return in our narrative to the free colored people of the South and West. Their question is different from that of the Toussaint L'Ouverture revolt. Their struggle is for enfranchisement; while the slaves of the North are fighting primarily for natural liberty. The freedmen's fight is more complex and perhaps more exasperating; the slave's battle in its first steps at least, is simple and furious. He has the one idea, viz., to break his chains and find himself free; and the man who stands

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between himself and freedom is not only an obstacle to be removed, but also a hated monster whose past cruelties and outrages are now to be heaped upon his own head with obliterating force.

When the National Assembly passed the decree of May 15, 1791, establishing unequivocally the rights of the free colored people of Saint Domingo, the deputies from that colony as we saw withdrew from the assembly. The colonists in Paris approved this attitude of the deputies most heartily, while the parochial assemblies as soon as the news reached them, protested "against whatever the National Assembly had done and decreed either for or against the colonies, and all which they might decree in the future." We may therefore feel well assured that in the new Colonial Assembly which met in Leoganc, August 16th, and subsequently held its sessions at the Cape, there were no colored members, and that colored men took but little if any part in the election.

The free colored people having been informed of the action of the National Assembly and perhaps aroused by Abbe Gregoire's eloquent letter began at once to press their claims not only by argument and appeal but also by a show of force. Four days after the breaking out of the Toussaint L'Ouverture Insurrection, as we shall call the slave insurrection of the North, the free colored people of the South and West under the leadership of Andre Rigaud raised the standard of revolt. Again those in the neighborhood of Port-au-Prince appear to have been pacified through the mediation of an eminent planter, M. de Jumenourt. A Concordat was entered into by the white inhabitants of Port-au-Prince in which it was agreed that there should be complete amnesty for the past, and that the whites should admit the full force of the decree of the 15th of May. This agreement was ratified by the Colonial Assembly at the Cape. Some military companies of mulattoes were formed under the Colonial Assembly,— colored

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men holding commissions in them. It was this fact, coupled with the expectation of succor from England, which perhaps emboldened the Colonial Assembly to treat Toussaint L'Ouverture's embassy with so much haughty contempt.

The peace between the whites and the mulattoes was another "deceitful calm." As the Constituent Assembly in France was about concluding its great work of making a Constitution for France, and had agreed to go out of existence on the last day of the September that was then passing,— its members well-worn and weary,— the indefatigable Barnave, chairman of the Colonial Committee, again obtained the floor. The subject of Saint Domingo was called up afresh and Barnave addressing the body this 24th day of September, 1791, among other things urged the following:

"On account of the frightful disproportion which exists between the number of whites (33,000) and that of the slaves (450,000), it is necessary in order to continue this state, that moral means should be brought in to support the feeble physical masses. The moral means consists of the opinion which places an immense distance between the black man and the white man. It is by means of this opinion that the present régime of the colonies is upheld, and this opinion forms the basis of their tranquillity. The moment that the Negro can believe that he is the equal of the white, or that the man who is intermediate — the mulatto — is the equal of the white, it becomes impossible to calculate the effects of this change of opinion. These are the prejudices which safeguard the existence of the whites in the colonies. The régime is absurd, but it is established and cannot be ruthlessly disturbed without entraining great disorder; the régime is oppressive, but it supports in France several millions of people; the régime is barbarous, but it will be much greater barbarity to interfere with it without the necessary information — for in so

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doing by your imprudence you will cause to flow the blood of a numerous generation."

The effect of this speech was to induce the Assembly on the same day to repeal the decree of May 15 and to declare the "laws concerning the state of persons not free, and the political relations of free persons of color and free Negroes, as well as the regulations relative to the execution of these same laws, shall be made by the Colonial Assemblies. They will be executed provisionally during one year in the American colonies, and two years in the African colonies with the approbation of the governor, and shall be submitted directly to the sanction of the King."

The agreement which was reported to have been made between the white inhabitants and Port-au-Prince and the mulattoes, September 12, 1791, and which was subsequently ratified by the Colonial Assembly, seems to have been further elaborated on October 23 and made to include the following particulars: (1) That the garrison of Port-au-Prince should be composed, one half of white troops, and one half of colored troops. (2) That the judges who had condemned Ogé and Chavannes should be declared infamous. (3) That the Colonial Assembly should be dissolved, and a new one elected, conformably to the decrees of May 15.

The next morning after the signing of this agreement a force of free colored soldiers numbering from 1,500 to 2,000 entered Port-au-Prince and went into garrison.

The citizens and the soldiers fraternized and there appeared to be a prospect of permanent peace. A dark crime, however, was connected with the signing of this treaty of peace, a crime most disgraceful to the leaders of the Revolution, but one nevertheless that the Haitian historians do not deny or attempt to palliate. I quote the story from Sylvain, although it is related by the historians generally. The story runs thus: "Three hundred slaves enrolled by the free colored men had fought in their ranks under the

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name of Swiss, by analogy doubtless with those of the monarchy. The whites represented that the presence of these slaves, they having tasted of liberty, with arms in their hands, would have a dangerous effect; and asked that they be returned to slavery. At these words a colored officer, Daguin, drew his sword and shouted, 'Drummers! Beat the General!' 'The war is renewed.' The whites immediately yielded.

"They then proposed the deportation of the Swiss; and it is unfortunately true that the free men consented, in spite of the energetic protests of two mulatto generals, Daguin and Boisrond. It was published that the public treasury would indemnify the masters of these three hundred slaves. They were embarked on the *Emmanuel,* Captain Colmin of Nantes, November 3, 1791, to be taken to Honduras, furnished with arms, and implements of agriculture. Four colored commissaries were charged to accompany them and advise as to their condition. But the infamous Captain Colmin, deceived the commissaries and debarked the unfortunate men upon the shores of Jamaica, after having tried to sell them. The English governor, indignant at such an outrage, sent them back to Saint Domingo, and on their arrival the Colonial Assembly put them in irons and confined them on board a lighter in the roadstead of the Môle. Some days after, a mob went on board at night and killed the greater part of them and threw their bodies into the sea.

"The general belief was that the Colonial Assembly had itself organized this execution, for it never pursued the assassins with any seriousness.

"The whites sent to the West about twenty of these slaves as a proof of the perfidy of the men of color toward the blacks."

While great credit is due the mulatto generals, Daguin and Boisrond, for their earnest efforts to prevent this crime, blame must forever attach to those higher in command

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who, if they did not approve of it, nevertheless silently acquiesced.

Sylvain says that fifteen days after this treaty had been signed at Port-au-Prince the new decree of the National Assembly, the decree of September 24, arrived. The treaty of peace was signed October 23 and fifteen days from that date would be November 7. Immediately upon the arrival of this decree which made the whites the sole arbiters of the free colored man, the whites repudiated their agreement and began criminal proceedings against both men and women of color. Provost courts were established; scaffolds were erected; several prisoners were burned alive. The free people of color with their troops fled from Port-au-Prince which was set on fire — the people of color say by the white populace; the whites say by the mulattoes, the mulatto women — and this gave another pretext for massacre.

The mulatto generals, Beauvais, Rigaud, Petion, Lambert and Christophe, immediately reorganized their army. All of these officers had served with Count D'Estanig in the American War of Independence. They rallied the slaves in and around Port-au-Prince and went into camp near the Croix-des-Bouquets.

The Civil Commissioners who had arrived were Roume, Mirbeck and Saint Leger. Of these perhaps no one was well fitted for so delicate a position. Arriving in the country December 5, 1791, they proclaimed a general amnesty; but they soon found themselves powerless. The Colonial Assembly assumed complete control under the decree of September 24, and two of the commissioners, Mirbeck and Saint Leger, dissatisfied with their helpless position, left with the purpose of returning to France to "render account to the National Assembly and to the King, of the frightful situation of Saint Domingo."

The whites, seeing the free colored men again in open rebellion, moved out to attack their camp. After a battle

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of six hours the whites were compelled to yield and retreated in disorder to the city. The insurgents then laid siege to the city and kept it shut up for nearly three months, or until the Governor-General Blanchlande, and the Civil Commissioner Roume, with the Commandant of the naval station, came to the aid of the besiegers. They threatened to bombard the city unless it should surrender. Being without resources the city opened its gates July 5, 1792. Roume as Civil Commissioner named the two chiefs of the confederate insurgents, as they were called, Beauvais and Rigaud, generals of brigade; or as we should perhaps say, breveted them brigadier-generals. The historian asserts that to see these colored men made generals was the only indemnity that the vanquished white colonists had to pay. He adds: "But the poor slaves had still to pay the cost of the struggle. They were compelled to resume their ordinary labor, except that four hundred among them were freed on condition that they serve during five years in the gendarmerie and that they maintain discipline among the slaves."

Thus was ended, so far as active hostilities were concerned, the direct struggle of the free colored men of Saint Domingo for their rights as citizens. The National Assembly on the 24th of March, 1792, while the fight between the whites and mulattoes of Port-au-Prince was going on, passed the act recited below which definitely settled the question in favor of the freedmen. The Assembly that passed this act was not the old Constituent Assembly, but the new Corps Legislatif under the Constitution which had been accepted by Louis XVI. The decree received the royal sanction, April 4, 1792. Here is the decree as far as it deals with the present question: "The National Assembly recognizing that the public safety, the interest of the mother country and of the colonies, demand that means most prompt, and most efficacious be taken to remove the causes of dissensions among the colonists, to repress the

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revolt of the blacks, and to reëstablish peace; recognizing that one of the principal causes of these troubles is the refusal that the people of color, free, met to their demand for the enjoyment of equal political rights — an equality that justice, general interest, and promises solemnly renewed, ought to assure them. It is therefore recognized and declared that the free colored men, and free Negroes ought to enjoy, as the white colonists, equality of political rights. Decreed as follows:

"Art. 2. The persons of color, mulattoes and Negroes, free, shall be admitted, as the white colonists, to vote in all the electoral assemblies, and shall be eligible to all positions when they have also the requisite qualifications.

"Art. 7. The National Assembly authorizes the Civil Commissioners to employ the public force as long as they judge necessary, either for their own safety or for the execution of the orders necessary to enforce the preceding articles.

"Art. 10. The Colonial Assemblies are authorized to name representatives to present their wishes to the Corps Legislative (National Assembly)."

This decree which went into effect April 4, 1792, settled, as we have said, the question for which the insurrection of the South and the West had been inaugurated, and thus completed the movement begun by Ogé and Chavanne. The free colored people had, on paper at least, gained their rights. The white colonists, however, were far from being reconciled to these changes. The newly made citizens were spoken of in derision as the "Citizens of April 4th." On the 14th of July the event was celebrated at the Cape, the National Guard giving a banquet to the citizens of color and free Negroes, and to the troops of the line. On the 20th the new citizens returned the compliment. In Port-au-Prince a celebration was made with great pomp also, on the 14th of July, but the whites took no part in it. They were not pleased with the turn affairs had taken.

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All the plans they had formulated on the basis of the decree of September 24, 1791, were overturned by this decree of April 4, 1792.

Of the celebration of the termination of the war between the whites and mulattoes the following account of the one held at the Cape is given by an eye-witness: "In the evening the National Guard gave a banquet to the citizens of color, the free Negroes and the troops of the line. Fraternity in this celebration triumphed over the pride and prejudice of race. At Port-au-Prince the Commissioner, Roume, caused the 14th of July to be celebrated with great ceremony. The Negroes and mulattoes attended in great crowds, the whites refused to take any part in it."

The people of color have gained on paper, as we say, what they contended for. What now is to become of the slave in revolt?

The pacification already described did not affect the great revolt carried on in the North by Toussaint L'Ouverture and his coadjutors; nor did it entirely quiet the South and the West. There were some slaves who had served with the Rigaud insurrection other than the Swiss, whose fate has been related, and there was nothing in the decree of April 4 for their relief. Were they to lay down their arms and go back to the plantations again to toil under the driver's whip with no hope of pay? They decided this question in the negative at once, and resolved not to trust their old enraged masters. Consequently, while the free colored people were rejoicing, the ex-slaves held on to their guns. If the white colonists sulked on the one side, the black ex-slaves fortified themselves in the mountains on the other. We may remark here that the blacks in the North, with arms in their hands and the great Toussaint L'Ouverture at their head, were absolutely free; masters of themselves and of the territory they occupied. It was different, however, with those of the South.

The Governor of the Colony, Blanchlande, who had

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formerly tried to arm the slaves against the free mulattoes, now tried to call to his aid the newly enfranchised citizens of color against the slaves in revolt, after having first tried negotiations. In the efforts at negotiation the blacks answered in exactly the same terms that had been proposed by their brethren in the North: Three hundred to be immediately emancipated; all to have three days each week to work for themselves; and cruel punishment to be abolished. This reply greatly confused the governor. He was expected both by the Commissioners and France, to repress the revolt. He next tried a "*military demonstration*," establishing a camp near the revolted slaves. The slaves met this with *military action* and attacked the camp, increasing their demand now to four hundred who should be declared free. Blanchlande now organized his force into the "three classic and traditional columns, right wing, left wing and center," and marched, with drums beating and standards flying to the repression of the "brigands." On drawing nigh the Negroes, the *miserable mulattoes* and *free Negroes* in his corps took panic and ran like frightened gazelles, leaving the white colonists to fight the battle alone and to get the worst drubbing from their Negroes that had yet come upon them, Blanchlande himself, it is said, fleeing like a runaway Negro with the patrol after him. The next day, it is said, Blanchlande embarked for the Cape from Cayes, swearing that he would no more try to play the part of a conqueror or pacificator, with those "damned niggers and mulattoes of the South." Thus the Haitian historians describe Blanchlande's attempt to use the new citizens against their old allies.

This action of the colored troops called forth severe denunciation and abuse. The whites of Port-au-Prince published a circular containing the following bitter words: "Enemies of France! Philanthropists and Negrophilists! Know then the miscreants you have armed against us! What is there in these men of color of such interest that

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André Rigaud

GENERAL ANDRÉ RIGAUD, CHIEF OF THE MULATTOES.

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you would wish to sacrifice an entire population of men useful to the state, and the wealthiest proprietors of the French empire? The hateful issue of debauch, a compound of the vices of the white and the Negro and who have never possessed any of their virtues. They are a species the most ungrateful, the most stupid, the most atrocious of the human race. It is difficult to say whether they are more abandoned than barbarous."

One more effort at pacification was made, this time through André Rigaud. He, in order to pacify the revolted slaves, distributed among them seven hundred letters patent of manumission signed by himself, as he reported September 16, 1792, "in the name of the province of the South, and in virtue of the powers which to me have been given." He says further, "I have organized these men into companies of one hundred each, to do service in protecting the plain and the mountains." He also inserted in his report that "when the whites had armed the blacks against the men of color those blacks as soon as they were armed threw off the yoke." The blacks as slaves armed, would not fight against the free mulattoes; nor would the mulattoes in turn, aid in repressing the revolt of slaves struggling only to be free.

By the aid of André Rigaud then, and by granting to 700 slaves their unconditional freedom instead of the three hundred as at first demanded, the Negroes were pacified. The mulattoes failing to aid the whites effectively in their efforts to suppress the revolt of the blacks, the whites abandoned themselves to foolish denunciation of the "new citizens," while France busied herself about a new Civil Commission. Of the former commission all had left in disgust except Roume, and he was powerless. A new commission, or triumvirate — consisting of Polverel, honest and methodical; Ailhaud, a nullity; and Sonthonax, an intriguing and audacious politician — was appointed to pacify Saint Domingo. This commission was backed by

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a strong military force. Sonthonax landed at the Cape, September 17, 1792, with 6,000 European troops. Besides these troops, Rochambeau brought about an equal number, and also called from Martinique a contingent of from 1,500 to 2,000. Altogether there was an expedition of about 14,000 European soldiers and a strong fleet; all for the purpose of quieting this torn and rent colony, and to sustain the policy marked out by the new commission. The Commissioners were charged to impress upon the *free colored men* the great benefit which they had received and which had established them in all their rights of liberty and equality; to lead them as a mark of gratitude, to aid in the conservation of prosperity, and the establishment of moral and social order; and to the respect that they should never lose, toward those who had lifted them out of the state of servitude. The Commissioners were to persuade the *white colonists* to elevate the free colored men to the same standing as their own by the mutual guarantee of the possessions of each, and of their private and public security; and also to have them aid in the "repression of the seditious movements of the slaves."

Here, then, were three elements seeking to ally themselves in solid opposition to the slaves in revolt, to wit: 14,000 European soldiers; the white colonists; and the mulattoes, or rather the free colored people. The first trouble the Commission met with came from the whites, who were opposed to meeting the colored people on terms of equality.

The situation of Toussaint L'Ouverture at the juncture described in the preceding chapter became critical in the extreme. As there had been no common understanding between him and Rigaud, and as the two insurrections had moved upon widely separated, though parallel lines, Toussaint was left to infer that the whole force at the disposal of the new Commissioners might now be employed against him. True, he had now a respectable army which had

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been under arms and in training for a year, but he was not prepared to cope with the 14,000 European soldiers, and the colonial militia, including now the troops of Rigaud.

Benito Sylvain gives September 17, 1792, as the date of the arrival of the new Commission who were to pacify Saint Domingo. A decree dated August 10 of the same year declared traitors to the country all bodies, whether civil or military, and all citizens, who refused obedience to the Commissioners. So far this would place Toussaint L'Ouverture and his followers in the category of rebels if they did not at once submit to the authority of the Commission. But as this Commission was direct from the mother country which at that time was moving so rapidly toward liberty, equality and fraternity, it might be asked: Why should not Toussaint submit his cause to their arbitrament? Toussaint was at the head of a body of slaves in revolt, and the Commission on the day of their arrival published the following proclamation: "Invariably attached to the laws that we have come to execute, we declare in the name of the National Assembly and of the King, that we will know henceforth but two classes of men in the colony of Saint Domingo: citizens, without any distinction of color; and slaves."

Toussaint L'Ouverture understood by this that himself and his army were at present the sole objective.

To remove all doubt from his mind the Colonial Assembly held a session in the church at the Cape on September 20, in which the president of the Assembly called upon the Commissioners then present to declare their policy. "We are in your hands," said the president, "as a vessel of clay that you can crush in a moment. It is then opportune for you to know now a very important truth badly understood by the Civil National Commissioners, your predecessors. This truth recognized finally by the Constituent Assembly is, that there can be no agriculture

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in Saint Domingo without slavery; that there has not been sought and purchased from the coast of Africa five hundred thousand savage slaves to enter them into the colony in the capacity of French citizens; that their existence as freemen is physically incompatible with the existence of your fellow Europeans."

One of the Commissioners, Polverel, replying to this said, "I declare to you in the name of my colleagues without fear of being disavowed — I declare to you in my own behalf, that if, as is impossible the National Assembly should change in any way the state of your movable property, I would immediately give up my mission and return to the hands of the nation all the power they have confided to me, rather than to have myself made an accomplice in an error so fatal to the colony."

Another member of the Commission, Sonthonax, added: "We declare that never was it the intention of the National Assembly to abolish slavery; and if this assembly, misled should attempt its abolition we would oppose it with all our power."

And yet within one month these Commissioners will suppress this Colonial Assembly because the men of color are not represented, an act which they will perform consistently with their instructions and their declarations; but who could anticipate that soon afterwards Sonthonax would wish to play the part of Emancipator?

Toussaint L'Ouverture well knew the jealousy that existed between France and Spain with reference to their colonies on the island of Saint Domingo. France coveted the eastern part still occupied by the Spanish; Spain begrudged France the western part, believing the whole island hers by the high right of discovery. Exercising that forethought which ever marked his career, Toussaint carefully sounded the Spanish authorities and took pains to incite within them feelings of friendliness toward himself and his men.

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Slaves continued to join his standard and his army was now formidable in numbers at least.

In this state of things Toussaint L'Ouverture with a considerable number of his best men, crossed the frontier into Spanish territory, soon after the arrival of the foreign force described above, and there in security, applied himself diligently with the aid of the Spaniards, in perfecting himself in military knowledge and also in improving his army. He continued to live in this state of brigandage until January, 1793, when the news arrived that war had been declared between France and Spain. Toussaint, then, with his force entered the service of Spain and found himself an officer in the Spanish army, with all the rights and emoluments of such position, a brigadier-general in a civilized national army with an armed, trained and experienced command. Toussaint L'Ouverture, Biassou, and Jean-François, all became generals in the Spanish army; and by their military successes proved their right to the uniform and the honor of their grade.

Toussaint L'Ouverture remained in the service of Spain until April 6, 1794. During that time important events political and military were enregistering themselves in the history of the Colony. The minister of the Colonial Marine addressed two letters to the Civil Commissioners, the one dated February 15, 1793, the other February 26, 1793. The first of these called upon the Commissioners to employ the men of color to defend the colony; the second advised that the *brigands noirs* be employed also with these colored men, in the conquest of the Spanish part of the island. Quoting from the latter of these letters, the minister said: "You must regard and treat the Spaniards as enemies; you must employ all possible means to take away from them that portion of this island whose lands languish without cultivation in their idle hands. Let those who are without means in Saint Domingo move into the Spanish part where they will find lands that they can render fertile.

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Arouse the men of color to arm themselves against these new enemies. See if it is not possible to attract the Negroes in revolt against the Spanish. Consult with those whom you believe are able to give salutary advice; consult the circumstances and the public mind; these will serve as guides." Thus the French minister Monge wrote in the hope of winning the revolted slaves to the side of France.

On the 22d of February between the dates of these two French letters the Spanish Minister, Pedro Acuna gave instructions to Don Joachim Garcia, the governor of the Spanish colony — the same Don Joachim who surrendered Ogé and Chavanne — that he should employ with "the greatest promptitude effectiveness and *dissimulation* the necessary means to gain and ally to our part the Negroes and mulattoes in revolt." He mentions especially Jean-François and Hyacinth, and directs that the governor furnish them necessary help and assure them of royal protection and to promise to both Negroes and mulattoes alike in the name of His Majesty for the present and ever hereafter, the liberties, exemptions, enjoyments and prerogatives of his subjects."

Toussaint L'Ouverture transmitted these propositions of the Spanish government, and it was in consequence of them that he was able to hold his army and to draw away so many prominent men from the service of France. The offers of Spain were clear and definite and were immediately put into effect. The revolted slaves became at once Spanish soldiers. Toussaint played his part so well that men of distinction, whites, Negroes and mulattoes followed him in the service of Spain, which by him was made to appear as service in favor of royalty and legitimacy, as against republicanism and license. In June, 1793, replying to propositions made by M. Neuilly in chief command of the cordon of the West, he said:

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"The commander-in-chief and staff of the army encamped in the Bason Caiman, in the name of the army replies to M. Neuilly, commander-in-chief of the cordon of the West, and to officers signatory — that the said army is under the protection and subject to the orders of His Catholic Majesty; consequently they can never treat with the Civil Commissioners of *whom* they know neither the authority nor powers; declaring besides, that having up to the present conjointly with others of their brothers, fought to sustain the cause of royalty they will shed the last drop of their blood in the defense of the Bourbons to whom they have promised inviolable fidelity to death.

"(Signed)

"Toussaint L'Ouverture, General of the Army.

"Moise, Brigadier of the armies of the King.

"Thomas, Major.

"Biassou, Governor-General.

"Gabart, Colonel.

"In Camp Bason Caiman, June 25, 1793."

Rigaud's forces during this period were operating with the Commission as against the forces of the Colonial Assembly but not against the slaves in revolt. To that extent they could be counted with the 14,000 European troops, but it had been already proved that they could not be relied upon to aid in repressing the blacks. The Commission, perhaps with a view of attaching these colored allies more firmly to their cause, on October 12, 1792, suppressed the Colonial Assembly because colored men were not represented in it, and constituted a Commission Intermediaire composed of twelve persons, six whites and six colored. The Commissioners were now very greatly dependent upon the colored chiefs.

It will be opportune here to relate the affair of Galbaud, forming as it does an important connecting link in the chain of events which are now passing before us. In the

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spring of 1793, France met the First Coalition with a declaration of war against England, the Netherlands and Spain; and pursuant to their purpose M. Galbaud, an eminent artillery officer, was sent to Saint Domingo with full powers to put that colony in a state of defense. He arrived at the Cape with his suite, May 6, 1793, and was received joyously by the colonists who thought he would exalt the military authority above that of the Commission. He came in the capacity of military governor. Unfortunately for Galbaud himself, and perhaps for the colony, he was a proprietor in Saint Domingo and was classed as a creole, not colored for the word at that time did not signify exclusively persons of color. There was a law in existence in the colony which prohibited any proprietor from exercising such public office as governor of the colony. This law was invoked by the Commission and Galbaud was obliged to resign. He immediately embarked on one of the ships in the harbor.

On the same day that Galbaud embarked a vessel arrived in the harbor having on board a score of colonists, malcontents, and a squad of soldiers, all of whom the Commissioners were sending to France that they might "learn how to lose their prejudice of color." A dispute having arisen on the wharf between an officer of this vessel and a colored man, the white marines rallied to their comrade and demanded that the colored man be punished. The Commissioners replied that no one would be punished until it was determined who was in the wrong. The excited inhabitants of the city then induced General Galbaud to debark with a number of seamen. The free colored men and many slaves arose to face this force and to sustain the Commissioners. A colored officer whose name is not given, ordered one of Rochambeau's regiments to take place in the defense. This regiment refused to obey, and the officer was spoken of as having the color of *café au lait*. The regiment then in chorus under arms declared that the

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decree of April 4 ought not to have the force of law and that the "massacre of the men of color was necessary to the well-being of the colony." A general conflict broke out which lasted two days, during which hundreds were slain and Cape François, at that time the most beautiful city of the Antilles, almost totally destroyed by fire. Such is the account related officially by Sonthonax cited from Ardouin by Sylvain. This event prepared the North to acquiesce in an act of perfidy now to be related. As a last resort the colonists of the South and the West, who had been as they thought especially outraged by the National Assembly in its conferring equal rights upon their colored sons, sought to turn the colony over to the English. The more wealthy planters of the North believing this act of the Assembly to be a fatal blow to slavery were also quite ready to assent to so unworthy an act, and the conflagration at the Cape rendered them entirely complacent to such purpose. Accordingly in September, 1793, after much preliminary correspondence, a solemn agreement was entered into between the English, through the governor of Jamaica and M. Charmilly acting for the colonists. The treaty was signed September 3, and in it the English granted about all the colonists asked as the reader will see by examining the treaty the full text of which is here annexed. The paper was accepted by Governor Williamson and signed by him at his home in Jamaica whither it had been carried by M. Charmilly.

Terms of Capitulation proposed by the Inhabitants of La Grande Anse (including the Quarter of Jeremie) represented by Mons. de Charmilly possessed of full Powers by a Commission from the Council of Public Safety of the aforesaid Place, dated the 18th of August, 1793, and presented to His Excellency, Major-General Williamson, His Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, for his Acceptance.

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(First official paper of the British expedition to Saint Domingo.)

ART. I. That the proprietors of Saint Domingo, deprived of all recourse to their lawful sovereign, to deliver them from the tyranny under which they now groan, implore the protection of his Britannic Majesty, and take the oath of fidelity and allegiance to him, and supplicate him to take their colony under his protection, and treat them as good and faithful subjects till a general peace, at which period they shall be finally subjected to the terms then agreed upon between his Britannic Majesty, the Government of France and the Allied Powers, with respect to the sovereignty of Saint Domingo.— Answer. Granted.

ART. II. That till order and tranquillity are restored at Saint Domingo, the Governor appointed by his Britannic Majesty shall have full power to regulate and direct whatever measures of safety and police he shall judge proper.— Answer. Granted.

ART. III. That no one shall be molested on account of any anterior disturbances, except those who are legally accused in some court of justice, of having committed murder, or of having destroyed property by fire, or of having instigated others to commit those crimes.— Answer. Granted.

ART. IV. That the Mulattoes shall have the privileges enjoyed by that class of people in the British islands.— Answer. Granted.

ART. V. That if, at the conclusion of the war, the colony remains under the sovereignty of his Britannic Majesty, and order be established therein; in such case, the laws respecting property, and all civil rights which were in force in the said colony before the revolution in France, shall be preserved; nevertheless, until a colonial assembly can be formed, his Britannic Majesty shall have the right of determining provisionally upon any measures which the general good and the tranquillity of the colony may require; but that no assembly shall be called, until order is established in every part of the colony; and, till that period, his

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Britannic Majesty's governor shall be assisted in all the details of administration and police by a committee of six persons, which he shall have the power of choosing from among the proprietors of the three provinces of which the colony consists.— Answer. Granted.

ART. VI. That, in consequence of the devastations which have taken place in the colony by insurrections, fire, and pillage, the governor appointed by his majesty, on taking possession of the colony, to satisfy the demand of the inhabitants in these respects, shall be authorized to grant, for the payment of debts, a suspension of ten years, which shall be computed from the date of the surrender; and the suspension of all interest upon the same shall begin from the period of the 1st of August, 1791, and terminate at the expiration of the ten years granted for the payment of debts; but all sums due to minors by their guardians, or to absent planters by those who have the management of their property, or from one planter to another for the transfer of property, are not to be included in the above suspension. — Answer. Granted.

ART. VII. That the duties of importation and exportation upon all European commodities shall be the same as in the English colonies.— Answer. Granted. In consequence, the tariff shall be made public and affixed, that everyone may be acquainted therewith.

ART. VIII. That the manufactures of white sugars shall preserve the right of exporting their clayed sugars, subject to such regulations as it may be necessary to make with respect to them.— Answer. Granted. In consequence, the duties upon white sugars shall be the same as were taken in the colony of Saint Domingo, in 1789.

ART. IX. That the catholic religion shall be preserved and maintained but that no other mode of evangelic worship shall be excluded.— Answer. Granted. On condition that such priests as have taken the oath prescribed by the persons exercising the powers of Government in France, shall be sent away, and replaced by others.

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ART. X. The local taxes to acquit the expenses of garrisons, and of the administration of the colony, shall be assessed in the same manner as in 1789, except the alleviations and remittances which shall be granted to the inhabitants whose property has suffered by fire, till their possessions are repaired. An account shall be kept by the colony of all the sums advanced on the part of Great Britain, for supplying the deficiency as well as all the public expenses of the colony (except those of his majesty's naval forces, destined for its protection) shall always be defrayed by the said colony.— Answer. Granted.

ART. XI. His Britannic Majesty's Governor of Saint Domingo, shall apply to the Spanish government, to obtain restitution of the Negroes and cattle sold in the Spanish territory by the revolted slaves.— Answer. Granted.

ART. XII. The importation in American bottoms, of provision, cattle, grain, and wood, of every kind, from the United States of America, shall be allowed at Saint Domingo.— Answer. Granted. On condition that the American ships, which shall be employed in this trade, shall have only one deck; and this importation shall be allowed only as long as it shall appear necessary for the reëstablishment or subsistence of the colony, or until measures have been taken for putting it in this respect upon the same footing as other English colonies; and an exact account shall be kept of the said vessels, with the description of the cargoes, and shall be transmitted every three months to the Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's treasure, as well as to one of the principal Secretaries of State; and on no account whatever shall any of the said vessels be allowed to take in return any production of the colony, except molasses or rum.

ART. XIII. No part of the aforesaid conditions shall be considered as a restriction to the power of the parliament of Great Britain, to regulate and determine the political government of the colony.— Answer. Granted.

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CHAPTER V

THE ENGLISH INVASION AND OTHER EVENTS TO THE FALL OF PORT-AU-PRINCE

Promptness of the English — Straits of the Commission — Sonthonax proclaims emancipation — Situation of the colony — Toussaint's proclamation — English account of the invasion — Rapid occupation by the English — Battle of Tiburon — Reënforcements — Port-au-Prince taken — Colored deputies sent to France — Their reception — Abolition of slavery — An old man's letter — Desertions to Toussaint — Toussaint's motives — Balancing between two powers — Toussaint never a Frenchman or Spaniard — Not affected by Sonthonax's proclamation — Vigorously presses the French — An ally of England — Captures Gonaives — Returns to the French service — His letter — The colored soldiers now the real force on the Island.

THE agreement between England and the colonists entered into in September, 1793, was so far anticipated or so promptly followed up that immediately after the conflagration at the Cape, the English had twenty-two vessels off the coasts of Saint Domingo and were prepared to occupy those posts which the Colonists were preparing to deliver up to them. The Commissioners, learning of this agreement and of the proposed invasion, were in their turn reduced to a most trying situation. Toussaint was safe over the Spanish border, and his army was enrolled as auxiliaries of Spain, while he and two of his companions were commissioned as generals. His troops were armed, equipped, paid and fed; consequently he could await events.

It was very different with the Commission. Ailhaud had left for France; Polverel went to Port-au-Prince to look after the West and South, while Sonthonax remained at

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the Cape with about one thousand European troops and seven or eight hundred colored militia. Sonthonax is now in a crisis. The supporters of the Colonial Assembly have gone over to the English; the European force has weakened; the Spaniards are pressing from the eastern end of the Island, and the English are landing in the West and South.

In this extremity, Sonthonax, on the 29th of August, forgetting the promises and oaths he had made in the Colonial Assembly, issued his proclamation, "that every kind of slavery is abolished in Saint Domingo and that the Negroes were thenceforward to consider themselves and to be considered free citizens." Sonthonax indulged the hope that this movement would bring to the Commission the force necessary to withstand both the Spanish and the English. As for the white troops, they had gone over in large measure in sympathy, at least, to the colonists.

Thus far the slave insurrection headed by Toussaint and his coadjutors had been everywhere successful. The slaves were still in the field and had been transformed into an efficient army, recognized in the service of Spain, and were henceforth bound by the laws of civilized warfare. In order to get a correct view of the situation at this time, it will be necessary to examine a little more minutely the political movements going on in Saint Domingo, as well as those on a grander scale which were affecting the destinies of France.

The situation in the colony may be briefly described. There were three parties, all armed and belligerent. There were, first, the irreconcilable whites, who, because of their prejudice of race and their pro-slavery inclinations, were seeking to betray the colony into the hands of the English. With these, so far as the history shows, there were practically no colored people. The center of this aggregation was the old Colonial Assembly. Secondly, there were the partisans of the Civil Commissioners. These were loyal to the Republic of France, and had in the field a strong army, as we have seen, composed of both Europeans and native

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soldiers. In this army the bulk of the free colored men were enrolled; the chief places were occupied by the colored generals. Thirdly, there was Toussaint and his host, now in the service of Spain.

On the same day that Sonthonax issued his forced proclamation of emancipation, Toussaint L'Ouverture issued his proclamation from his camp on Spanish territory addressed to the slaves of the North.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE'S PROCLAMATION

"In Camp Turel, August 29, 1793.

"BROTHERS AND FRIENDS:

"I am Toussaint L'Ouverture; my name is perhaps known to you. I have undertaken to avenge your wrongs. It is my desire that liberty and equality shall reign in Saint Domingo. I am striving to this end. Come and unite with us, brothers, and combat with us for the same cause.

"Your very humble and very obedient servant,

"Signed: TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE

"General for the public welfare."

About this time France was invaded on all sides and her situation, declares M. Duruy, seemed desperate. This may have helped to bring about the concession of Sonthonax. The object in emancipating the slaves at this time, as we have seen, was to create soldiers of them to resist England; and also to draw Toussaint's army from Spain.

The colleague of Sonthonax, Polverel, was not in accord with this proclamation, believing that it transcended the powers of the Civil Commission, and belonged properly to the National Assembly. He yielded however, seeing no other way out of the dilemma; and called upon the colonists of the South and the West to concur by personally emancipating their slaves. Some time later came the famous decree of the National Assembly abolishing slavery throughout the colonies and making all the inhabitants,

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without distinction of color or origin, citizens of the French Republic.

The actual invasion of the Island by the British and their partial occupation for the space of five years caused prodigious changes in the relations of the various warring elements and contributed vastly to the evolution and display of the wonderful talents which subsequently attained ascendency in the person of the black General Toussaint L'Ouverture. Although with him and to be mentioned are others, both Negroes and mulattoes of uncommon ability and heroism. I state the account of the English invasion abridged chiefly from English sources.

The English account of the invasion begins with the description of the forming of the armament at Jamaica, which consisted of the 13th and a part of the 49th regiments of infantry, and a detachment of artillery numbering 870 men. On the 19th of September a division of this army took possession of Jeremie. Lieutenant-Colonel Whitlocke commanded the land forces above described; he was joined by Commodore Ford who commanded the naval station at Jamaica. On the 22nd the Môle St. Nicholas was taken, the town back of it refusing to capitulate. Attempting to take the neighboring port to Jeremie, Colonel Whitlocke was repulsed with a loss of twenty men and his troops became disheartened. General Williamson then sent some enforcements from Jamaica, viz., the remainder of the 49th regiment, the 20th regiment and the 1st battalion of the Royals. Having taken the provinces of St. Mare, Arcahaye and Bouccassin, on the 2d February, 1794, an attack was made on Tiburon which was stormed and captured by British troops under the command of Colonel Spencer. This gave the British the command of the whole bight of Leogane, and they now awaited only sufficient reënforcements that they might attack and capture Port-au-Prince. It was from this point that Colonel Whitlocke attempted to bribe General Laveaux to surrender Port-de-Paix by an offer of 5,000 pounds sterling.

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The fort of L'Acul near Leogane was next taken, February 14, with the loss of two British officers, Captain Morshead of the 20th Grenadiers and Lieutenant Caulfield of the 62nd Infantry. Soon after this one of the lieutenants of Rigaud with 1,500 men attempted to retake L'Acul but was repulsed by British and colonial troops under the command of Baron de Montalembert. Rigaud himself also attacked Tiburon but was defeated, although the British lost 28 men, and the colonists about 100.[1]

At this time (May 19, 1794) reënforcements came to the British. Three vessels, the *Belliqueux*, the *Irresistible* and

[1] The report of the Battle of Tiburon was made by the Chevalier de Sevre who commanded on the occasion. His report was addressed to Colonel Whitlocke, commander-in-chief of the British troops in Saint Domingo, and is dated Tiburon, April 7, 1794. He says: "At 3.30 in the morning my advance post placed at Vigie, was surprised by an army of brigands, at least 2,000, who had with them two four-pound field-pieces; at the same time they surrounded the fort and the town. The brigands had all in their favor; they could see the fort and commanded it from all points, and as it was dark we could not see them. The combat lasted about two hours when two caissons of powder took fire in the grand battery and entirely dismounted it, blowing the cannons clear out of the fort. This unfortunate event killed or wounded twenty men and for a moment discouraged the garrison. They soon recovered, however, and reopened a vigorous fire upon the enemy. I then ordered some negroes under John Kina to go out upon the road along the river; they combated with the brigands and forced them to retire to the hills.

I then went out with about 200 men, negroes and whites, and marched to the side of the town, dividing my troops into two columns, giving the command of one to M. Philbert, and myself at the head of the other. I made a circuit to the rear of the enemy and tried to seize their pieces, but the first column not having come up in time the brigands succeeded in carrying away their cannons.

I had about 100 men victims of the combat, of whom 30 were killed in the place, and 100 wounded, of whom many have died. The English troop conducted itself with the courage which characterizes it everywhere.

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the *Fly* arrived in the harbor of St. Nicholas, bringing the 22d, the 23d and the 41st regiments of infantry under the command of Brigadier-General Whyte. These troops had come from Guadeloupe and were seasoned veterans. General Whyte, having landed his sick at St. Nicholas, took on board 160 men of the garrison and proceeded toward Port-au-Prince to coöperate with Commodore Ford who was then holding the city in blockade. The fleet now under command of Commodore Ford comprised four ships of the line — the *Europa,* the *Belliqueux,* the *Irresistible* and the *Sceptre,* and four or five smaller vessels. The land forces under command of General Whyte were 1,465 rank and file fit for duty and 2,000 colonial troops. On the morning of May 31, a flag was sent demanding the surrender. On the 4th of June, 1794, the outposts being taken, Colonel Spencer of the advance guard was approaching the city when he was informed by a mulatto woman that the city was evacuated. In the harbor were twenty-two vessels laden with sugar, indigo and coffee, thirteen of which were from three to five hundreds tons burden, and seven thousand tons of shipping in ballast. It is reported that the party evacuating carried away a vast amount of valuable property. The Commissioners, soon after in obedience to a decree of the National Assembly passed July 16, 1793, which discontinued their office, returned to France.

While the disaffected colonists were trying to turn over to England the territory which their adventurous predecessors had forced from Spain, those citizens white and colored, who were coöperating with the Civil Commission and who were loyal to France, managed in the midst of the turbulence to hold an election in accordance with the decree of April 4, 1792. Three deputies were chosen to represent the colony in the National Assembly, called at that time the Convention, and as the majority of those siding with the Commission were the newly enfranchised colored men the deputies chosen were two colored and one white. The

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deputies were, Belley, Negro, who had purchased his freedom; Mills, a man of color, and Dufay, white. Nothing is known of the previous life of these men, or even of their after career; but we have a very graphic account of their reception by the Convention, cited from the official record by Benito Sylvain which I here translate.

"THE REPORTER—'Citizens: Your committee on credentials has verified the powers of the deputies of Saint Domingo as national deputies. I move that they be admitted to seats in the Convention.'

"(The three deputies of Saint Domingo entered the hall. The black face of Belley, and the yellow face of Mills called forth applause several times repeated.)

"LACROIX (Euse and Loire)—'The assembly has wished to have in its midst some men of color, so many years oppressed. To-day we have two of them. I move that their introduction be signalized by the fraternal embrace of the President.'

"This motion was adopted in the midst of acclamations. The three deputies advanced toward the President, and received the fraternal kiss. The hall again resounded with acclamations.

"The next morning the Negro Belley delivered a speech in the Convention in which he conjured the Convention to cause the colonies to enjoy to the full the benefits of liberty and equality. His speech was warmly applauded and at its close Lavesseur said:

"'I ask that the Convention do not yield one moment to enthusiasm, but remaining firm to the principles of justice and faithful to the declaration of the rights of man, decree from this moment that slavery is abolished in all the territories of the Republic. Saint Domingo is a part of the territories of the Republic and slavery still exists there.'

"LACROIX—'In preparing the Constitution for the French people we have failed to think of the unhappy Negroes. Posterity will have great cause to reproach us in

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this respect. Let us remedy this wrong. Let us proclaim the freedom of the blacks. Mr. President, do not allow the Convention to dishonor itself by discussion.'

"The assembly rose up and voted by acclamation. The President pronounced the abolition of slavery in the midst of great applause and shouts of, 'Vive la Republique!' 'Vive la Convention!'

"The two colored deputies were embraced amid great enthusiasm. Lacroix conducted them again to the President who again gave them the fraternal kiss.

"GAMBON —'A citizen of color who attends regularly the sessions of the Convention was so overcome with joy in seeing liberty accorded to all his brethren, as for a time to be unconscious. (Applause.) I ask that this fact be entered upon the minutes, and that that citizen be admitted to the session and receive at least this recognition of his civic virtues.'

"The proposition was adopted.

"The citizen appeared wiping tears from his eyes and took a seat on the bench of the amphitheater on the left of the President.

"N——'I move that the Minister of Marine make all necessary arrangements to carry to the colonies the happy news of their emancipation.'

"This brought about a discussion. Lacroix finally offered the following substitute which was adopted.

"'The National Convention declares the abolition of slavery in all the colonies; and in consequence it decrees that all men without distinction of color, domiciled in the colonies, are French citizens, enjoying all the rights assured by the Constitution.'

"Returned to the Committee of Public Safety for them to report immediately upon the measures necessary for the execution of the present decree."

Thus on the 4th of February, 1794, while the majority of the slaves were in revolt either as soldiers of Spain with

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Toussaint or fighting with Rigaud and his coadjutors against the English, the National Convention solemnly abolished slavery in Saint Domingo. This appears to us now, looking back upon it after events have crystallized, as almost a work of supererogation. It is to be admitted, however, that the rabid colonists were able to employ some of their slaves in behalf of English occupation, and also that the English were also able to hire some and enroll them as auxiliaries.

A few days after the passage of this emancipation decree the Convention gave a popular reception and in the procession filing by the bar of the Convention appeared three Negroes from Martinique of remarkable stature and appearance. Stepping out of the line they laid a letter on the table, saying: "We were not able to bring this sooner; the royalist authorities prevent colored people from leaving the Antilles."

The President of the Assembly took the letter and caused it to be read. It ran thus:

"CITIZENS:

"I am a Negro. It is said in the Antilles that we are not worthy to be Frenchmen. I am eighty-one years old, broken by thirty years of slavery and fifty years of labor. I am too old to fight. I must die without seeing France. I send you my three sons; they are young; they are strong; they will perform their duty valiantly. O, you who have no prejudices! You who have proclaimed the Declaration of the Rights of Man! Accept this gift of a father. I supplicate you to receive my sons in your ranks; they wish to share their blood for the country. An old man will bless you."

On the reading of this letter the Assembly and the crowd shouted "Vive la Republique!" "Vive les Noirs!" The young men were enrolled as volunteers, to lose themselves in the awful maelstrom of war to which the nation was rapidly

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approaching, leaving behind them not even the records of of their names.

It will be necessary to return in our narrative again to the stirring happenings of Saint Domingo. We left the colonists with what Negroes they still held in slavery, coöperating with the English against the Commissioners and their army of free colored men. Toussaint with his army, now clothed, armed and fed, is in the service of Spain and has published a manifesto declaring the willingness of himself and his staff to shed the last drop of their blood for the Bourbons. The party of the Civil Commissioners had established a line of defense extending from some point north of Port-au-Prince to the neighborhood of Cape François. That part of the line, designated the Cordon of the West, was under the command of M. Neuilly, to whom Toussaint directed his memorable reply. Instead of winning Toussaint to the cause of France, M. Neuilly shortly afterward deserted to the blacks. He was followed in this course by the mulatto Brandicourt, who succeeded to the command of the line. Other important officers, white, black and colored, deserted the service of the Commissioners and took service with Toussaint, combating as he professed, on behalf of royalty; but with the primary purpose of "making liberty and equality reign in Saint Domingo."

The services of Toussaint in behalf of Spain continued for more than a year. He entered the Spanish territory not later than November, 1792; himself and men were warmly welcomed by the Spanish, and although classed as brigands they carried on a kind of desultory warfare for eight or ten months, one authority says, before becoming regularly enrolled as auxiliary troops. The period of regular service extends from March, 1793, to April, 1794.

The general consensus of opinion among Haitian writers is that Toussaint L'Ouverture changed from being the leader of a slave revolt into a Spanish general only that he might make the purpose of the revolt and his own purpose

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more sure of accomplishment. M. Firmin says, apropos of Toussaint's leaving the service of Spain: "Toussaint L'Ouverture — who was retained in the ranks of the Spanish army only by the single reason that there he found a guarantee of liberty for himself and his — had no longer a motive for remaining after the general liberty of the blacks was proclaimed in the French part of Saint Domingo. He responded to the overtures of General Laveaux who urged him to return to his old territory."

Yet considerable time elapsed between the issuing of the emancipation proclamation by Sonthonax, August 29, 1793, and Toussaint's return, April 6, 1794. During this interval he also fought some severe battles, defeating the troops of Sonthonax, reducing that officer to severest straits. If this alone was the motive of Toussaint's action it is difficult to explain why he did not at once join in with Sonthonax.

To understand Toussaint's action it is necessary to recall the occasion of his seeking asylum in Spanish territory. He had retired because of the violent pro-slavery attitude of the Commissioners and the presence of their large and well-equipped military force. It was on his part a military measure necessary for the preservation of his army. The coming of the English had changed all this and Toussaint now knew that these invaders and the rebellious colonists were taxing to the utmost the forces at the disposal of the Commissioners, and that the question of slavery was solved. The circumstances of war had at least removed it from the forum. Himself and men were free by their own arms and did not need the proclamation of Sonthonax or even the decree of the Convention. They had been enjoying their liberty since August 22, 1791, masters of themselves and of the territory they had occupied in the North before crossing the frontier, and when the proclamation came were veteran soldiers in a civilized army.

Toussaint knew that both Spain and England were slave-

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holding nations; and his resolution in leaving Spain was not to place himself and his men as beneficiaries but as masters, in accordance with his previous declaration of making liberty and equality reign in Saint Domingo. He had no notion whatever of receiving emancipation for himself or his men as a gift from Sonthonax or from the French Assembly. He was already free, and it was himself who proposed to abolish slavery and inequality not by paper proclamations but by the sword of his power. Will the reader note here how the proscribed *men of color* have now transformed themselves into an army with their leaders commissioned as French generals; and the *savage slaves* have become a Spanish army with their leaders as generals also; and then remember that the *colored* soldiers are for the most part those resentful mulattoes of the South and West; and the *slaves* those most enlightened and Christian of the North. All this has been accomplished through two years of war: How long would it have taken the mild measures of peace to bring about such prodigious changes? One remark made by Price deserves to be quoted here ere we proceed further in the development of Toussaint's motives. M. Price says Toussaint never believed himself a Frenchman and never became a Spaniard. He remained a Negro.[1]

The Great African served himself with Spain, and employed the protection and prestige of that nation as auxiliaries in the first extensive work of emancipation recorded in Christian history. Toussaint had written to General Laveaux who commanded for the Commissioners the department of the North, that he was combating for the general liberty of the blacks, and yet it is known that he did not hasten to come into accord with Sonthonax, and that he utterly ignored his proclamation. His thoughts later expressed were these: "We are free to-day because we are

[1] "He was Negro to the marrow of his bones."—SCHOELCHER.

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the stronger; we will be slaves again when the government becomes the stronger." To every recruit received into his ranks he was accustomed to deliver the gun in person, accompanying the act with these words: "This gun is liberty; hold for certain that the day when you no more have it, you will be returned to slavery." Toussaint was far stronger than Sonthonax and was conscious of his power.

The failure of the well-planned *coup* of the Commissioner to produce any favorable effect upon Toussaint or his army rendered that officer furious; he gave orders to Laveaux, who had now become military governor of the colony, to burn whatever towns or plantations they were compelled to abandon to Toussaint and to resort to extreme measures toward those who should be suspected of sympathy with him, hoping thus to ultimately overcome the great chief. Against this course on the part of Sonthonax, his colleague Polverel protested in very vehement language in a letter written December 1, 1793. Toussaint, although not counting himself a Spaniard, was, at the time to which our narrative now brings us, the most powerful military commander the Spanish government had in the island; indeed, it can be truthfully said that he and his army constituted the only respectable force that Spain was employing in this war. What then was Toussaint's purpose? The territory conquered by him from the French was left under his command, and he and his chiefs enjoyed practical independence. In June, 1795, Biassou signed himself Governor-General. The plan was to make liberty and equality reign by his own power, acting under the suzerainty of Spain, from whose arsenals he was receiving arms and munitions of war. Spain did nothing of consequence in this war beyond furnishing aid to Toussaint and his black warriors; and had no complications arisen the star of Toussaint would have guided him to that resplendent supremacy under Spain to which he afterward attained beneath the tricolor of France.

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The arrival of the English, the rapidity with which they, through the treachery of the colonists, occupied the coast cities and military points of vantage, caused Toussaint to recast his plans. On December 6, 1793, five days after Polverel wrote his protest against the violent measures proposed by Sonthonax, Toussaint with his army reached Gonaives. The English were bombarding the city at that time, as the mulatto officer in command there refused to surrender the city on demand. Toussaint's force came in the name of the King of Spain, a power in coalition with England against republican France. The English therefore withdrew, and the city surrendered to Toussaint.

At this moment Toussaint was an ally of the English and was accordingly aligned with the slaveholding colonists and against the Commissioners who were now abolitionists; and, what was worse, his political relations made him the enemy of the free colored people who constituted the most reliable French force on the island. A most remarkable and unexpected condition. Toussaint was able to see that with his power joined to that of England the island would soon be lost to France. England now possessed all the coast towns of the South and West, while his own force proceeding from the East could at any time overwhelm the North. Here were two slaveholding nations who would soon have the island between them; then: What would be the fate of the black warriors? Now it is the Commissioners who are caught between the two blades of the shears; then it would be the black warriors.

Toussaint was always the man of judgment and action, not of imagination, sentiment, and emotion. He decided to leave the service of Spain without apology or explanation. Gonaives had surrendered to him and from a military point of view his position was flattering. He addressed a letter to Laveaux, sending it by one of his lieutenants named Chevalier; the contents of this letter are unknown but in answer Laveaux among other things wrote: "France will

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count you among her children with satisfaction." His own letter following the receipt of this, written April 6, 1794, is as follows:

"Toussaint L'Ouverture, General of Brigade, to Etienne Laveaux, Governor-General, etc.

"The citizen Chevalier, commander of Terre Neuve and Port-a-Pinent, has delivered your letter to me, bearing date 5th courant; and, animated by the most ardent recollections, I appreciate as I ought the truth it contains. It is indeed true, General, that I was led into error by the enemies of the Republic. You should recall that the object desired and awaited by me, before the disasters which occurred at the Cape, and as may be seen from the measures offered by me now in your possession, was only to unite in order to fight successfully the enemies of France, and so put an end to the war among the French of the colony.

"Unfortunately for all concerned, the methods of reconciliation proposed by me — the liberty of the blacks recognized, and a general amnesty declared — were rejected. This caused my heart to bleed, and I again took up arms against the unfortunate situation of my country, foreseeing the misfortunes which followed; and in this I was not mistaken as a fatal experience has proven the realities of my prediction.

"In the meantime, the Spanish offered me their protection, and liberty to those who would fight for the cause of the kings: I accepted their offers, seeing myself entirely abandoned by my brethren, the French. It is, however, true now that the national flag floats over Gonaives, as well as through all the subjugated territory; and I have driven the Spanish and emigrants from Gonaives; but my heart has been wounded by the sad results which have fallen upon some of the unfortunate whites who were victims in the days of tribulation. I am not one, as some others, who can look upon horrible events in cold blood. I

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have always had the disposition to interfere, and grieved when I found myself unable to prevent the evil. There have been several insurrections among the laborers and working men; but I have now established order, and all are at work as heretofore.

"Gonaives, Gros Morne, Cantons d'Ennery, Plaisance, Marmalade, Dondon, L'Acul, and all the dependencies, with the Limbé are under my jurisdiction, and I have an army of 4,000 men, without counting the citizens of Gros Morne who number 600.

"I am now at this moment at Port Margot, occupied with the affairs of Camp Bertin, the chief of which appears to have the intention of attacking our forces. I have ordered my troops to march from Limbé and Plaisance in order to fight him. I imagine myself already in possession; and as soon as taken will inform you in order that you may march against Borgne from your side if you should judge proper. I will then commence a similar movement from my side and in this way we will surround the parish and if necessary attack him. After the subjugation of these two places we will be free in camp to see and arrange more fully for the Republic's interest. As for the enemy's forces, they will amount to but little without General Jean François who holds to, and throws his influence on the side of, the Spanish. He is at present at Fort Dauphin, where he repaired with his troops after having been defeated at Trou and Caracol. The Spanish are not strong at San Raphael nor at Saint Michael; but they have surrounded themselves with fortifications. Nevertheless, I am persuaded there is nothing to fear so far as they are concerned."

The perusal of the above letter will show what has been maintained all along; viz., that the Spanish power consisted almost exclusively of Toussaint and his troops. Now that he has left and has under his control important parts

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of French territory he speaks of what is left of the Spanish as amounting to but little apart from the remaining fragments of his own army under the command of his old general, Jean François. The events occurring between this date and the evacuation of Port-au-Prince one month later may be passed over. Captain Rainsford, whose book was published in 1805 while many of the officers mentioned were still living, gives color to the opinion that the evacuation of Port-au-Prince was brought about by a private understanding between the English commodore and the Commissioners. These latter had been discontinued in office and may have taken this method to get out of the country with the vast wealth they had by some means so suddenly amassed. From this time, although the English were strongly reënforced, their affairs rapidly declined, and the reason is plain: Toussaint and Rigaud were now side by side. This English writer says:

"Having previously arranged their affairs, and finding the people of color (of whose aid they had only intended to avail themselves temporarily) possessed of the whole natural strength of the island under the mulatto Rigaud, and a Negro named Toussaint L'Ouverture, they soon after quitted the colony, consigning immense wealth both to America and France, leaving General Laveaux in the character of commander-in-chief and returned to France where they received from the government presiding at that time a sanction of their proceedings."

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CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION OF THE WAR WITH THE ENGLISH

Toussaint and Rigaud side by side — The English reënforced — Rigaud captures Leogane and attacks Port-au-Prince — Is repulsed and proceeds at once to attack Tiburon — British officers killed — Williamson arrives to take command of all the English forces — Laveaux and Toussaint meet — Toussaint and Rigaud in practical possession of the colony — Treaty of Basel — Toussaint's part therein — Rigaud's appreciation of Toussaint — Rigaud attacks forces of Major-General Bowyer, is repulsed, but English lose heavily — General Laveaux rescued from mutiny by Toussaint — The new Commission — General L'Ouverture's sons taken to France to be educated — The General becomes commander-in-chief and lieutenant-governor — General Simcoe arrives to take command of the English troops — Is no match for Toussaint — English capitulation — Was Toussaint L'Ouverture offered a crown? — The Commissioner Roume — Correspondence with President of the United States — Character of the generals, etc.

THE evacuation of Port-au-Prince and its occupation by the English took place June 4, 1794, and from that time onward the war was between the English on one side and the forces of Rigaud and Toussaint on the other. With the English were also a number of colonists who with as many of their slaves as they could control were still bent upon carrying out their dishonorable contract. There were also a few whites coöperating with Toussaint and Rigaud, or perhaps with General Laveaux. Their number was small, and the aid they gave of but minor importance.

Not long after the occupation of Port-au-Prince, the English were reënforced by the remainder of the troops which had been ordered from the Windward Islands. These consisted of eight flank companies belonging to the 22d, 23d and 41st regiments. They were under command of Lieu-

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tenant-Colonel Lennox. It was at this time that the English troops began to suffer from disease; and that also as stated by their own historian, they were harassed by new modes of warfare on the part of the blacks, "who, particularly those under Toussaint, a Negro general of uncommon ability, in the interior had been trained with singular care." Within two months after the surrender of Port-au-Prince, forty-two officers and six hundred men had fallen victims of the fever. General Whyte resigned command on account of ill health, and General Horneck, bringing only fifty men from Jamaica, succeeded him.

Before the Civil Commissioners had abandoned Port-au-Prince they had been informed by General Laveaux of the coming over to the side of France of Toussaint with, as he said, "more than 5,000 armed blacks." The Commissioners, Polverel and Sonthonax, received this news on May 24, 1794, at which time the English with the colonists were preparing to close in on Port-au-Prince. It was therefore indeed true that the real military power of the island was in the hands of Rigaud and Toussaint.

In the month of September Rigaud's forces captured Leogane and St. Marc and were preparing to attack Port-au-Prince. The attack did not take place until December 5 and then failed, the English accounts say with great slaughter of the attacking forces. Instead of being discouraged by this failure Rigaud immediately prepared for an attack upon Tiburon, assembling his forces at Aux Cayes for that purpose with such dispatch that he sailed from that port on December 23 with an armament consisting of a brig of sixteen guns and three schooners of fourteen guns each. His force consisted of three thousand men, whites, mulattoes and blacks. The attack began Christmas Day and continued throughout four days. The English account states that the garrison at Tiburon consisted of four hundred and eighty men, the majority of whom were colonists, and that the garrison held out until three hundred of

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these had fallen. The survivors under Lieutenant Bradford of the 23d regiment escaped from the fort and fought their way to Irois, about five miles distant. Lieutenant Baskerville, who failed to escape, committed suicide. With the close of the year Tiburon, Leogane, Jean Rabell, La Petite Riviere, and L'Artibonite were in the hands of Rigaud's men; while the whole of the North, excepting Fort Dauphin and the Môle St. Nicholas, were in the hands of Toussaint. The British were weakening by both disease and warfare, and the colonists were losing heart. Early in 1795 the British lost two important officers, Colonel Brisbane killed while reconnoitering and Lieutenant-Colonel Markham killed while attacking an outpost.

In April reënforcements consisting of the 81st and 96th regiments and a few men of the 82d arrived, followed in May by General Williamson, the governor of Jamaica, who had signed the treaty to receive the colony under British care. He came as commander-in-chief of all the British forces and was given the honor of membership in the Order of Bath. He applied himself diligently in putting the British posts in an excellent state of defense and also in organizing an army of blacks, composed of slaves purchased from the colonists. Later in August the remainder of the 82d regiment arrived, nine hundred and eighty men strong. Williamson's plans all failed, however, through the activity of Rigaud and Toussaint, and he was superseded by Major-General Forbes.

On the other side, it was during these closing months of the year that Laveaux, Toussaint and Rigaud had come into more intimate understanding. We have from C. W. Mossell the only account of the first meeting of Laveaux and Toussaint, which is so interesting that I transcribe it. The meeting took place at Dondon in November, 1794. General Laveaux was accompanied by General Perroud. "Laveaux congratulated the Commander (Toussaint) of the line of works known as the Western Cord, not forgetting to men-

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tion his numerous victories and triumphs and his devotion to the Republic. After which Toussaint presented to the Governor-General his principal officers: Moyise; Dessalines, Commander of St. Michael; Dumenil, Commander of Plaisance; Christophe, Murray, Desrouleaux, Clervaux, Maurepas, Benaventure, etc., all of whom had won distinction in the many battles fought under the generalship of Toussaint L'Ouverture."

The year 1794 closed leaving the forces of Toussaint and Rigaud in possession of the colony in fact, although the English were still holding a few posts, and the Spanish under Jean François had not wholly ceased hostilities. With 1795 came General Forbes, who succeeded General Williamson and who secured the frontiers near Mirabalais for the purpose of having communication with Spanish Saint Domingo in order to procure beef cattle and other necessaries for his troops. His garrison at Banica consisted of a small body of British troops, some colonists, and some Spaniards in British pay. This command was placed under Sir William Cockburn, whose duty it was not only to keep open the way of communication with the Spanish territory, but also to strive to secure free access to the plain of the Cape. It was for this reason that Mirabalais became so important an objective to the armies of the Republic as we shall now call the armies of Toussaint and Rigaud.

July 22, 1795, a treaty was entered into between the French and Spanish in Saint Domingo, known as the Treaty of Basel, by which Spain ceded her possessions in the island to France. This was a great drawback to the English as it deprived them of their allies and gave the French army larger fields for maneuvering and, what was much more important, opened up to them the cattle ranches of eastern Saint Domingo. The English account says: "Towards the close of this year (1795), in consequence of the intrigues of a negro-general the Spanish government ceded its interest in a colony it could no longer hold to the

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representatives of the French Republic." Toussaint is therefore in the eyes of the English to be blamed for this great loss. It is not here explained by what kind of intrigues he was able to effect so important a political result.

Soon after this treaty had been made, Toussaint planned an attack upon Mirabalais and after a hard fought battle took the post by assault. He treated the garrison with great consideration and was specially generous to the Spanish troops that were in British pay. Rigaud learned that Mirabalais had fallen and wrote to Laveaux August 24, 1795: "I have learned with pleasure from comrade Toussaint that Mirabalais is under the authority of the Republic. I have also learned of the conquest of Las Cahobas. I admire the zeal and conduct of this brave republican. He gives us an example of how all the French ought to act; and the enemy would not find it play." Toussaint himself gave an account of the taking of the place in his official report of August 15, 1795, addressed to General Laveaux.

In May, 1796, a reënforcement of seven thousand men under command of Brigadier-General Howe arrived at the Môle St. Nicholas. With this fresh force General Forbes attempted to retake Leogane. The English took with them no artillery beyond a few light field pieces. The besiegers, it is claimed, fired a twenty-four pound cannon from the church tower with such effect as to enable their forces to cross the ditch and seize the guns of the besiegers who retired without accomplishing anything. Rigaud attacked Major-General Bowyer at Irois and although repelled the British loss was severe, including that of General Bowyer himself who was killed in the engagement. So passed away the year 1796, when General Forbes, merely placing himself on the defensive, was succeeded by General Simcoe, an officer of great skill and experience. He arrived at the Môle St. Nicholas, May, 1797.

We must now return to observe something of the national

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affairs of France as they relate to this storm-rent colony. The reports which Laveaux forwarded to the National Convention were favorable to the colored generals. Of Toussaint he said: "He is a soldier, intrepid and at the same time respectful to authority." The National Convention was strongly stirred and voted that the men in Saint Domingo who had taken up arms for the defense of the Republic deserved consideration at the hands of France. Laveaux was given the rank of general of division with the title also of provisional governor. Toussaint was made general of brigade; also Colonel Villatte, Rigaud and Beauvais received the commissions of generals of brigade.

On March 20 there culminated an insurrection or rather mutiny against General Laveaux during which the general was wounded and cast into prison. The conspiracy was large and embraced men of eminence. Toussaint sprang to the rescue at once and after making all his dispositions for a combat sent word to General Villatte who commanded at the Cape that if in two hours General Laveaux and all the other officers arrested with him were not released he would come to their release with force. This act on the part of Toussaint was gratefully received and in recognition on April 1, 1796, Governor-General Laveaux proclaimed Toussaint the savior of constitutional authority and nominated him general of division and lieutenant to the government of Saint Domingo.

A new commission was appointed May 24, 1796, consisting of two persons already known to our readers, Sonthonax and Roume, with Julian Raymond, the mulatto who pleaded before the convention for the rights of his people; and two others, Giraud and Leblanc. They were accompanied by a force under the command of D. Rochambeau. This commission, after having inquired into the conduct of Toussaint, and following the nomination made by Laveaux, concluded to elevate him to the grade of general of division as a special mark of approbation. The Directory ratified

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this promotion August 17, 1796,[1] accompanying his commission with a saber and brace of pistols and directing that his two sons should be sent to France to be educated at the expense of the government. Some time in the month of November following, Toussaint received his commission and the compliment of the saber and pair of pistols.

Perhaps in partial return for favors bestowed, although none the less merited, Toussaint labored to have both Sonthonax and Laveaux chosen to represent the colony in the National Convention. There were six deputies to be chosen and when the election came off in September, 1796, both of Toussaint's candidates were elected and Laveaux soon after left for France. The departure of Laveaux left

[1] The Decree of July 22, 1795.

Article I. The men armed in the colony of Saint Domingo for the defense of the Republic have merited well of the country.

Art. II. The brevet of general of division shall be expedited to General Laveaux.

Art. III. The citizen Peroud is maintained provisionally in the grade and functions of ordinator of the colony.

Art. IV. The brevets of general of brigade will be expedited to the commandants Villatte, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Beauvais, and Rigaud.

This was voted without discussion upon the recommendation of Defermont of the Committee of Public Safety.

DECREE OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY

August 17, 1796.

Article I. The arrete of the agents of the Directory at Saint Domingo which names the citizen Toussaint L'Ouverture general of division is confirmed. The two children of this officer will be sent to France to receive instruction and education at the expense of the government. He will be sent a saber and a pair of pistols from the manufactory of Versailles.

Art. II. The other arretes of the private agents by which the citizens Pierre Michel, Pajeot, Leveille and Pierrot have been promoted to the grade of general of brigade are likewise confirmed. The four generals of brigade named in this article will receive each one a saber from the manufactory of Versailles.

Signed: REVEILLERE-LEPEAUX, *President.*

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Toussaint the ranking officer on the island and the chief command naturally devolved on him. Sonthonax still remained as the direct representative of France and the head of whatever civil government was in existence.

During the month of February, 1797, the French government, faithful to its promise, caused his two sons Placide and Isaac to be placed on board the ship *Watignies,* described as a vessel of seventy-four guns capable of forcing her way through the British lines. The youths were from fourteen to sixteen years of age. From what followed it is clear that he had determined that their education should be military in part at least. They were admitted at first in the military school at Leancourt and afterward matriculated at the College de la Marche.

Toussaint had been the military chief in all but name (although Laveaux gives him credit for respect for authority) from the time that he delivered his chief (Laveaux) out of the hands of the conspirators. In the month of May, 1797, Sonthonax, and whatever other members of the commission were then assembled, nominated Toussaint commander-in-chief of the army of Saint Domingo. The address delivered by him on that occasion cited by Mossell from the official bulletin of Saint Domingo is as follows:

"Citizens, Commissioners: — I accept the exalted position to which you have called me, only in the hope of being more certain of bringing about the extirpation of all the enemies of Saint Domingo, and of reëstablishing and assuring the happiness of those who inhabit the colony.

"If it is necessary to entertain proper views and do what is right to accomplish the very difficult task which my position imposes upon me, then I hope, by the help of God, to be successful in confounding the tyrants, that they may no more defile the localities where the standard of liberty and equality ought to float, and where the sacred rights of man ought to be known and respected.

"Officers and Soldiers: — If there is a recompense in the

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painful work which I have undertaken, it is found in the satisfaction that I am to command such brave soldiers. Let the sacred fire of liberty animate us, and let us not take repose until we have overthrown the enemies of our country."

To return now to English sources. We read concerning the people with whom General Simcoe was to contend the following: "Instructed in the science of empire by the inconsistency of one power, and improved in the art of war by the impolicy of others, the blacks had arrived at a degree of perfection in both that, notwithstanding the inveteracy of prejudice, compelled itself to be accredited by its effects. An acknowledgment of this fact incontestably took place the same month in which the command of the English army was confided to the wisdom and activity of General Simcoe, by the appointment of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the celebrated Negro officer, by the French government to be general-in-chief of the armies of Saint Domingo." In the judgment of the French government Toussaint was the best man at hand to cope in military prowess with general Simcoe; and so well did Toussaint "adopt every mode to harass him and turn the war in his own favor by every stratagem that could be devised" that by August, "wearied with the kind of warfare in which he was thus unavailingly engaged, General Simcoe returned to England to procure a force sufficient to pursue a career of glory or to abandon the scene." He did the latter, vanquished by Toussaint. General Simcoe was succeeded by General Whyte who gave but little satisfaction, and was succeeded by General Nesbit who died before reaching his post, and lastly came the Honorable Brigadier-General Maitland. This officer arrived in April, 1798, only, as it is said, "to perform the humiliations of his country with the grace which that country demanded, and which no one could have better executed in all that appertained to the gentleman."

Toussaint had now an army of 51,000 men; 48,000 na-

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tives of Saint Domingo and 3,000 European troops. These were all treated alike, occupying barracks together and fighting side by side, the whole army having arrived at a high state of efficiency through its varied and severe experience. Before the general-in-chief were two objects to be accomplished; the occupation of the part of the island ceded by treaty of Basel, and the expulsion of the English. After the coming of Maitland, fighting ceased and negotiations began. He effected with Toussaint an armistice, gave up Port-au-Prince and concentrated his forces at Jeremie, planning, it is said, to coöperate with Admiral Parker in an effort to reduce Tiburon; the attack never came, owing, it is said, to stormy weather, and the only place left to the English was the Môle St. Nicholas. To this place Maitland retired for the purpose of making his last negotiations "with the triumphant Black General, Toussaint." The English possessions were here given up as well as those colonial black troops they had organized; and some commercial stipulations were also entered into which involved on the part of England the recognition of the island as a quasi-neutral power; thus England resigned all her pretensions to Saint Domingo forever.

The writer followed above remarks that Toussaint's "intercourse with General Maitland was of the noblest kind."

Upon the authority of General Pamphile Lacroix of the French army, it is asserted that General Maitland tried to corrupt Toussaint as other British officers tried to do with other generals of the revolution. Lacroix says: "I saw in the archives of the government at Port-au-Prince, and all the officers of the staff of our army saw with me, the secret propositions which were presented to induce Toussaint to declare himself king of Haiti." M. Benito Sylvain says: "General Maitland, commander-in-chief of the English forces, offered to Toussaint L'Ouverture to have his government recognize him (L'Ouverture) as king of Haiti, if he would consent to sign a treaty of commerce according to

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Great Britain the exclusive right to export all the products of the island and to import exclusively English manufactures. A strong British squadron would be stationed permanently in the waters of Saint Domingo to protect the island against aggression." Toussaint declined this insidious offer; but nevertheless the English general was able to secure from him an honorable capitulation. At this date it is perhaps impossible to pronounce definitely upon this point; but the evidence makes it highly probable that some such offer was made; as General Maitland would certainly desire to give some form of successful termination to a campaign which had been so costly in the lives of men, the fate of officers, and in money.

While it has been asserted that Toussaint may have been actuated by sentiments of gratitude in seeking the election of Sonthonax and Laveaux to represent the colony in France, it is also perhaps more probable that he was not altogether disinterested, and that other sentiments helped in shaping his conduct. That Toussaint was ambitious, was indeed possessed of a towering ambition, is becoming more and more apparent; and it was this intelligent comprehensive ambition that renders him so useful to his race. The departing of Laveaux allowed him to exercise supreme military control; but Sonthonax still lingered, holding on to civil power. Remaining, he had in the name of the Commission named Toussaint commander-in-chief of the army of Saint Domingo. It was hardly possible that Sonthonax could be useful further and Toussaint now wished him to depart to enter upon the duties for which he had been elected, and Toussaint's wish at this period was becoming almost self-executing. M. Price describes him at a period but little later than this, thus: "Whoever refused to bend under his iron will was impitiably broken. The military governors, the civil authorities representing the authority of the metropole, Laveaux, Sonthonax, Hedouville, etc., after having each in turn served as step-

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ping stones to his elevation, were successively shown the door by the omnipotent general-in-chief." The same writer, in estimating the character of Toussaint, says: "The dominant trait of his character was incontestably ambition, an ambition insatiable, served by a will of iron," and this ambition is justified by his convictions. He was sincerely and profoundly devoted to his race. He regarded himself as the incarnation of the Negro ideal. His race-love was not contemplative but active, combative. "All the griefs of his race, its long humiliations, its ardent thirst for rehabilitation, all its hopes, all its aspirations, swelled in the soul of the former slave and enkindled his devouring ambition. This was the source of his ambition, and this was also its justification in the eyes of his conscience. To whatever height he was elevated he still wished to rise higher; for that which was elevated in him and with him, was his race, THE NEGRO."

To go back a little in our narrative, it is to be related that previous to the evacuation of Port-au-Prince by the English (May 15, 1798), General Hedouville, the pacificator of La Vendee, arrived at the Cape, May 8, 1798. Naturally he expected to occupy the more important part in such negotiations as might be made between Maitland and the French forces. In this he was disappointed, the English appearing to prefer not to recognize the French Republic, consequently all negotiations were made solely with Toussaint, general-in-chief.

The final capitulation took place October 1, 1798, at which time both Laveaux and Sonthonax were out of the colony, the former leaving apparently by his own choice, and the latter accelerated in his going by the powerful wish of the general-in-chief. General Hedouville remained the sole representative, and his stay ended in little over twenty days after the surrender; viz., October 23, 1798. Toussaint was now supreme to the close of the year. About January 12, 1799, Roume arrived as a representative from France.

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One of the first acts performed by Toussaint after having reached his exalted position was to address a letter to President Adams of the United States, November 6, 1798, expressing regret that American shipping had ceased to come to the ports of Saint Domingo, and soliciting a reëstablishment of trade relations. He gave his title as general-in-chief of the Army of Saint Domingo, and described the colony as a part of the French Republic. Port-au-Prince now became the seat of government, although most of the foreign business appears to have been conducted at the Cape. Edward Stevens, who was the special agent of the United States, sent out in response to Toussaint's letter, in his first communication from Cape François, dated May 3, 1798, and addressed to Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State, describes Roume as "the particular Agent of the Executive directory." This Edward Stevens who filled so important a place in bringing about a renewal of trade relations, was an intimate friend of Hamilton, both being West Indians by birth, and the two may have been closely related by blood, as there was a striking similarity in appearance between them. Stevens' dispatches are very valuable as throwing side-lights upon the political situation of Saint Domingo during Toussaint's ascendency. Congress had suspended trade with Saint Domingo in respect to the wishes of France, June 13, 1798, and it was the desire of Toussaint to have this restriction removed.

Although Roume was the nominal head of the civil administration, Stevens discovered that nothing could be done without the sanction of the general-in-chief whose good sense and peculiar penetration he appreciatively acknowledges. The further history of Toussaint's short but brilliant reign will be reserved for the next chapter.

We close the present with another brief résumé of the situation. The Spanish part of the island ceded to France, is still unoccupied; the French representatives have left the island; the two latest to depart being Sonthonax and

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Hedouville, neither of whom carried with him the kindest of feelings toward Toussaint; Roume was on the ground as the special agent of the Directory but could do nothing without the general-in-chief; the British had capitulated. That part of Toussaint's programme had been carried out; his promises made to the Civil Commissioners to that extent have been fulfilled, and the historian of the expedition closes his recital with the following interesting reflections:

"Having recounted the progress and termination of the British affairs, it is necessary to recur to the circumstances of those who were left in sole and uninterrupted power in Saint Domingo. It will be recollected that the first consequence of the appearance of the English was the entire abolition of Negro slavery by the French commissioners, who therefore recognized all who enlisted under their standard, as free citizens, and perfected them in the knowledge of arms; likewise, that immediately after the first onset of the insurrection in the plain of the Cape, the Negro, Jean François, who was then principal in command, had evinced a foresight which exhibited the determined intentions of his followers, in employing the time of those who were unoccupied, with the women and children, in the cares of agriculture, for their future preservation. To this general was soon added several others, not inferior in ability, of whom the most conspicuous were Biassou, Boukmant, and Toussaint; but, although the last of those who declared himself, the latter eclipsed all the others by his conduct in a regular warfare. While Spain yet ranked among the coalesced powers who avowed the restoration of royalty in France, the first and last of the black chiefs had arrived at such consideration from their acknowledged merit as to be presented (perhaps as an inducement to declare on the side of royalty, to which they appeared to lean, as the enemies of the Commissioners, whose invitation they had not accepted) with the rank of general in the Spanish army, and the ancient military order of that country."

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CHAPTER VII

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE AND RIGAUD

The armies of both in the service of France — Both have become generals — The phases of the Revolution — Toussaint L'Ouverture's ascendency — Preponderance of numbers with L'Ouverture — Rigaud's army — Civil officers favor Rigaud — Did Bonaparte dislike Negroes? — General Dumas — Bonaparte supreme — Rigaud supported by the French government? — Toussaint L'Ouverture's complaint against Rigaud — Real causes of the mutual hostility — Hannibal Price — The United States Diplomatic agent, Edward Stevens — English interference — Bonaparte's letter to L'Ouverture — L'Ouverture and Lincoln — L'Ouverture triumphs over Rigaud; latter leaves the island — Agitation against the Agent, Roume — General Toussaint L'Ouverture orders Roume into retirement — Did L'Ouverture at that time plan Independence?

In this chapter we shall have to deal with the saddest part of the history of the Revolution, and the part the most difficult to understand. We have traced the political and military history of the two insurrections and have seen the two bodies finally become incorporated in the French army, as the Army of Saint Domingo. We have seen the leader of the slave insurrection become commander-in-chief of this army and lieutenant-governor of the colony. The man to whom the Commissioners offered a conditional pardon at the beginning of the conflict now proclaims a general amnesty. The great Revolution has had its three marked phases; the social, the military, and the political. Socially its work is complete. The slaves are free and have made themselves soldiers and are accepted as citizens. The free colored people have also transformed themselves into sol-

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diers and are equal citizens. The sentiment of some of the colonists, at least, has acquiesced in these facts. Numbers have thrown aside their disdain for the colored man as they see him a victorious soldier, and have welcomed the peace which came, even if with it came also the abolition of slavery and Negro domination. Toussaint as military governor was magnanimous and able; and those who were at all reasonable in their ways of thinking soon became reconciled to his government.

There were two elements, however, not satisfied; a portion of the originally free colored people; and the intractable among the whites. Both of these elements carried the story of their griefs to France where they found sympathizers. It was the same story with which we in the United States are familiar, the story of Negroes ruling, of ignorance dominating intelligence; it differed from our story in this respect, however, that in Saint Domingo it was true that Negroes were ruling. But as the struggle had been a free one, it is unreasonable to conclude that those distinguished black and colored generals had reached eminence without merit.

Recurring to the terraine of the separate insurrections, the reader will recall that the majority of the free colored people of the South and West were mulattoes, the direct offspring of white men of moderate means and attainments and Negro women with whom they lived. In some cases they were regularly married, and in most cases they lived openly together, the white fathers acknowledging their natural children. The free colored people of the North on the other hand were mostly black, were further separated from the whites, were more orderly and peaceful in their habits, and prided themselves upon their good character and respectability. Among them were a few who entertained similar feelings to those of their brethren of the South and West, as the episode of Ogé and Chavanne with their two hundred and fifty followers manifest. Chavanne favored

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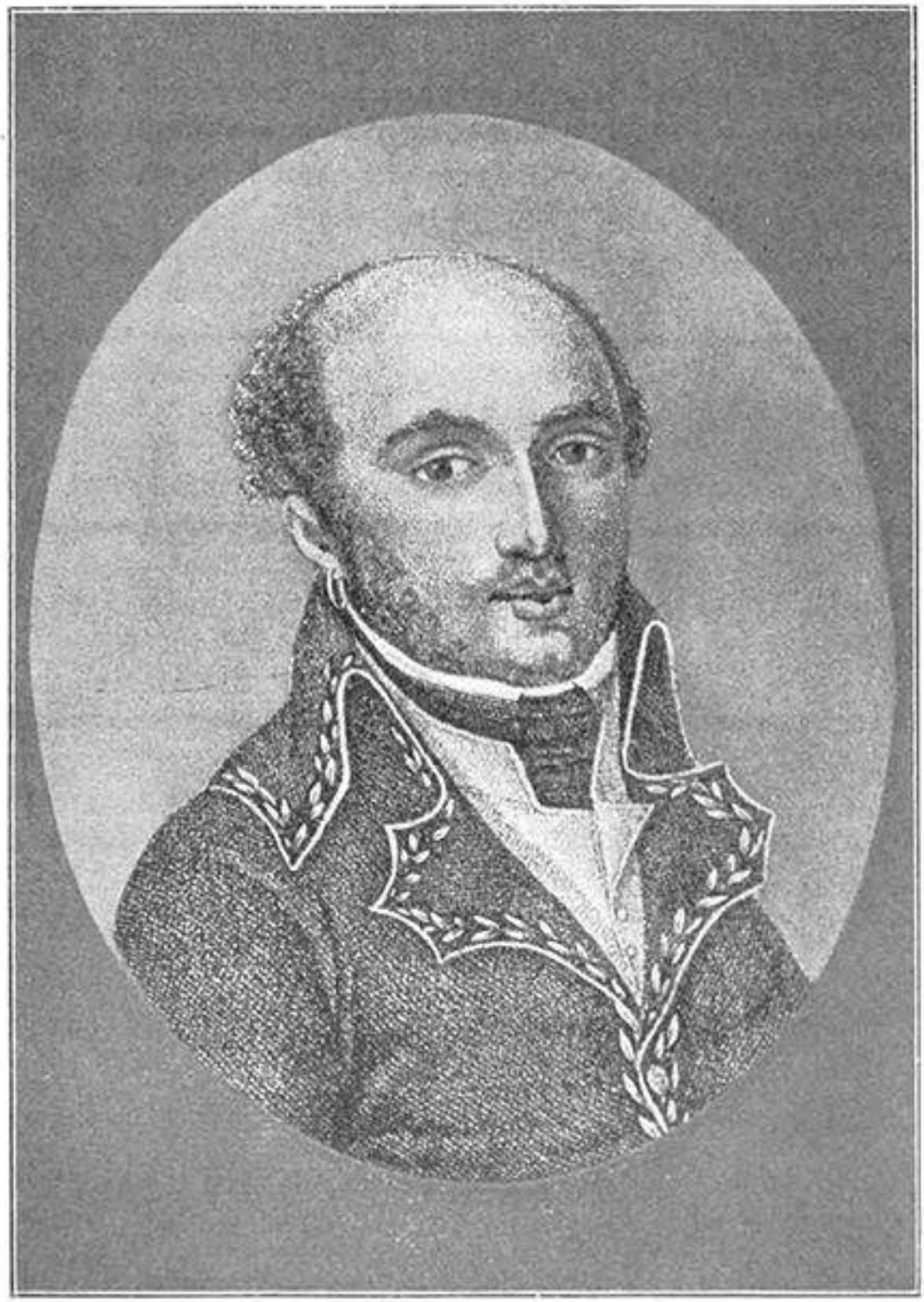
calling out the slaves of that section who as we know were ready to strike; but we know also that they at that time had their own leaders.

From the circumstances so far described it will be seen that while it was possible for André Rigaud to raise a very respectable army and gather around him some very intelligent and daring men, he could not command the numbers. His mulatto cavalry was the best on the island, the men being fine horsemen and well mounted. There were probably all told about thirty-five thousand mulattoes in the colony; but at no time were all of these, or even all the *free* mulattoes, in Rigaud's army; nor were all the blacks at any time with Toussaint. It was true, however, that the major part of the free colored people who were in arms, hence the major part of the free mulattoes, were with Rigaud; and the major part of the revolted slaves with Toussaint. This unfortunate circumstance led to evil results, the effects of which have not yet passed away.

The French civil officers who came to the colony appear to have discriminated in favor of Rigaud and his forces, perhaps because of his supposed superior claims. He had been faithful to France all through the struggle, while Toussaint had fought against the French Republic on behalf of royalty. The elevation of Toussaint to the grade of commander-in-chief brought Rigaud directly subject, and the former free man was obliged to take orders from the former slave. When Hedouville arrived in 1798, he had orders directing Toussaint to arrest Rigaud and send him to France. Toussaint declined to execute the orders, pleading in extenuation the valuable services which Rigaud had rendered to France. Nevertheless Hedouville later became apparently enamored of Rigaud, and on leaving the island in October of that year delivered himself of a proclamation unfavorable to harmony.[1]

[1] The proclamation dated October 22, in which he warned the inhabitants that a project of independence, concerted upon with

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GENERAL DUMAS. SERVED UNDER NAPOLEON.
CALLED BY HIM THE "HORATIUS COCLES."

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It was during this period that Bonaparte was making his famous campaign in Egypt, having as commander of cavalry, General Dumas, a mulatto of Saint Domingo. This general had had thus far a remarkable military career; he had been made general-in-chief of the army of the Pyrenees when thirty-one years of age; the next year he was placed at the head of the army of the West; then of the army of the Alps; distinguishing himself everywhere by his ability. But this general was relieved of his command by Bonaparte. Was it because he disliked the man whom the Austrians called the Schwarts Teufel (black devil)? Dumas had protested to the little Corsican in the following strong language:

"I have decided not to present myself again to your quarters after the manner in which I was received; as I was told, by your orders. I respectfully ask to be assigned a rendezvous that I may no more be humiliated in the presence of the public."

General Dumas died February 26, 1806, and it is said that under Napoleon his widow pleaded in vain for two years' pay which was due her husband, that she was denied her pension, was not permitted to enter the Tuileries, and her son was not allowed to enter the government school.[2]

the court of Saint James and the United States was about to be put into execution. Not content with this, on the same day, the day of his sailing, he wrote to Rigaud: "Forced to quit the colony, citizen general, by the ambition and perfidy of General Toussaint L'Ouverture who is sold to the English, the emigrés, and the Americans, and who has not feared to violate the most solemn oaths, I disengage you entirely from the authority which is attributed to him as general-in-chief, and I invite you to take command of the department of the South as it is defined by the law of the 4th Brumaire, etc." (P. Lacroix, and Madiou, the *Moniteur*, Dec. 2, 1799, as cited by Schoelcher.)

[2] General Thomas Alexandre Dumas was the son of the Marquis Pailetrie, commissary general of artillery, and of Louise-Marie Cassette Dumas, a black woman of Jeremie. He married Marie-Louise-Elizabeth Laboural, daughter of the commandant of the

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Early in 1799 the influence of the Directory had so diminished that the absence of Napoleon with his best army led to great internal disorganization. The powers were again encouraged to unite against France. England, Austria, Russia, a part of Germany, Naples, Piedmont, Turkey and the Barbary States all joined their forces in the purpose to crush republican France. They did not know republicanism had already bowed in fact to the new Cæsar. On November 9 of that year, the famous 18th Brumaire, Napoleon by the bayonet dismissed the Directory and set himself up for the State, as emphatically as had the most absolute of the Bourbons.

Roume, the "particular Agent of the Directory," followed Hedouville in discrimination in favor of Rigaud. Edward Stevens, the agent of the United States, writing from Saint Domingo, June 24, 1799, says that "Rigaud's army is well fed, well clothed and well paid," and that trade with his part of the island had not been interrupted. This writer says also on the same date and referring to a previous dispatch, "I hinted to you some time ago my suspicion that Rigaud was privately supported by the French government, from the cruel policy of weakening both mulattoes and Negroes by fomenting and keeping up a contest between them. Every day confirms me more in this opinion, and I have now no doubt that the Agent is

National Guard at Villers-Cotterets, November 28, 1792. They had three children — Louise, who died in early age; Marie Aimie, who married M. Letettier and left a daughter who married M. du Hoax, and was the last member of that branch of the family — she may be still living. The other child was Alexandre, who became the great Alexandre Dumas, père. Alexandre never married, but left two children whom he recognized: — Marie, married to M. Peynal, and Alexandre Dumas, fils. The last named left two daughters, Collette Dumas, married to M. Lippman director of the arms factory at Saint Etienne, by whom she had two sons Alexandre and Serge. Divorced from Lippman she contracted a second marriage with D. Achille Matza. Jeannine Dumas married Ernest d'Hauterie, lieutenant of artillery.

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the secret and diabolical instrument employed by them for this purpose. He certainly is privately in the interest of Rigaud, and Toussaint seems well acquainted with this fact. Policy, however, induces him to temporize." According to this same authority Hedouville had previously nominated Rigaud to command an expedition against Jamaica, despite the unwillingness of Toussaint that the army should be thus engaged.

Toussaint himself in setting forth his accusations against Rigaud in a letter to President Adams dated August 14, 1799, makes no mention whatever of a contemplated invasion of Jamaica. His contention is that "Rigaud who commanded under my orders the Department of the South of Saint Domingo, in order to gratify his pride and his ambition has raised the standard of revolt against his legitimate chief and against the national authority." He also lays to the charge of Rigaud the act of beginning hostilities. Monsieur A. Firmin speaks of the trouble as the "rebellion of Rigaud"; and remarks that "the vanity and irascibility of that general of color are historic"; but makes no allusion to any understanding between Rigaud and Roume. Honorable H. Price says that Rigaud, in order to avoid the fatal conflict, several times offered his resignation to the French representative, Roume, and that Roume refused to accept it, preferring that the war should come; and that Toussaint being confident of victory did not wish to interfere. He further represents that Toussaint after taking all precautions to secure the defeat of his rival, actually sought a pretext for bringing on the war. He induced Roume to place two important arrondissements of the South under the command of Laplume, a Negro general devoted to Toussaint, though serving under Rigaud. Rigaud submitted. Other unusual demands were made, to all of which Rigaud made no resistance. Failing of pretext, appeal was made to the jealousy which existed between the blacks and the mulattoes and a war of castes was inaugurated. The

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philosophy of the situation is best presented in the following paragraphs from Price:

"These two Haitians, had they been of one and the same color, as all illustrious ambitious ones whose rivalries fill the pages of the history of Europe have been — Toussaint might have been a mulatto like Rigaud, or Rigaud a black like Toussaint — their rivalry would have been none the less inevitable, none the less fatal.

"The pride of triumph, the sense of power of which the black race had now a revelation, the ambition even of their race to exercise in its turn domination in the places which had so recently been witnesses of their humiliation — all this condensed, was incarnated in these two sons of the Negress.

"They owed everything to one another it is true; but they did not know it; for they had given nothing, and received nothing from one another directly and visibly. They did not know that each one of the two insurrections which had made them what they were, would have succumbed infallibly without the other. Taking advantage of all the circumstances of their double struggle without seeing each other, without consent, the supreme chief came out of each of these two insurrections believing his own to be the principal, the essential, and considering the other as a mere favorable incident.

"Moving on parallel lines to the same end, only unwittingly aiding each other by their providential separation which caused the diversions of all the political and military means of the common foe, they came as best they could to the realization of the end, to the accomplishment of their providential mission, without having ever known or seen each other. Liberty had been won by conquest; slavery had ceased to exist by law or in fact; two powerful armies, disciplined, war-seasoned, obedient to their valorous chiefs who were loved and adored by their soldiers of all colors, held respectively the North and South in their power."

. . . . . .

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"The civil war broke out then between Toussaint L'Ouverture, not the ex-slave of Breda struggling for the rehabilitation of his class, but the French general, lieutenant-governor of the colony of Saint Domingo; and André Rigaud, not the late freedman of Aux Cayes, struggling for the rights of his caste, but the French General Rigaud, military governor of the province of the South of Saint Domingo."

On the date of June 24, 1799, in the letter already mentioned, Mr. Stevens says that Toussaint had siding with him in the controversy with Rigaud, most of the blacks, and all of the whites of the colony; that the public acts of Roume were all in favor of Toussaint; that he did not dare do otherwise; that he was "no better than a dignified prisoner at the Cape from whence he is not permitted to depart"; he further said that Roume "will be tolerated for a time as useful in such edicts as Toussaint dictates, and giving an appearance of legality to his proceedings. As soon as Rigaud falls, Roume will be sent off, and from that moment the power of the Directory will cease in the colony."

The war between Rigaud and Toussaint raged for months and was characterized by marked bitterness and some cruelty, even upon the side of Toussaint, who was noted in those troublous times for mildness and humanity. The English also interfered more or less with Toussaint's plans, capturing at one time an armament which he had sent by sea. In a dispatch sent from Cape François, October 26, 1799, the statement is made that Toussaint at that time possessed an army of 55,000, and of these 30,000 were troops of the line, regulars as we would call them, well disciplined; the remainder were militia. This army he divided into two columns, placing one under the command of Christophe and the other under Dessalines; it appeared then that everything was ready for decisive action; but we learn from a dispatch dated December 3, 1799, that activities then had

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but just commenced. Christophe was advancing upon Jacmel and Dessalines was moving against Petit Goave and Grand Goave. In the latter place Rigaud commanded in person. Rigaud, seeing this activity, made overtures for peace, but it was not until August, 1800, that peace was completely restored.

During the conflict it is claimed by some Haitian writers that not a single person deserted from Rigaud to take service under the general-in-chief, while desertions in the opposite direction were notable. It may be remarked again that while the war between these chiefs was not logically a war of color, yet it became so in the popular mind; and the effects of this popular prejudice are still seen in the political turmoil of the country. Rigaud's army was not all of mulattoes, his infantry was composed largely of Negroes.

While this civil war was in progress, the Directory came to an end; the consulate, or rather the direct personal rule of Napoleon began. That ruler through his Minister of Marine Forfait wrote to Toussaint, confirming his grade as general-in-chief of the army of Saint Domingo and saying at the same time that he expected these forces never to be employed against any other than the English, the enemies of France; that he (Toussaint) ought to recollect that the man who stains himself with the blood of his fellow citizens will bring down upon his head the malediction of man and Heaven; and that he therefore expects by the first dispatch coming from Saint Domingo to be informed that he has made peace with Rigaud and restored tranquillity to the colony. These were fine words to come from the hero of "a whiff of grape shot," and they did not fail to exasperate the chieftain to whom they were addressed. He made peace with Rigaud, but it was the peace of conquest. Rigaud's army destroyed, he himself was allowed to depart to France.

Toussaint is now more supreme in Saint Domingo, if such a condition were possible, than was Napoleon in

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France. His first step is to fulfill the prophecy uttered by the shrewd American observer months before — to debarrass himself of the presence of Roume, the agent and representative of France. The Agent had long been so completely in the hand of Toussaint that he did nothing except as ordered. There was no civil government but such as Toussaint directed and yet it is evident that Toussaint tired of his very presence.

Toussaint L'Ouverture must be classed with Lincoln in his habit of not only waiting for the people, but also of carrying the people with him; he was a general, a politician and a statesman in the same sense as was Lincoln. Although our martyr president did not command armies in the field he gave proof of military talents of a high order; and with no sinister meaning attaching to the word we may also place him among the most penetrating of politicians.

Allusion has been made to British interference; it will be in place to recount briefly the details of the capture of the vessels previously mentioned. Toussaint had dispatched a squadron of six armed vessels from Port-au-Prince in November, 1799, destined for Jacmel, to blockade that port and to coöperate with the army in reducing the different sea ports and towns in the South then held by Rigaud. Passports had been secured from the British agent in Port-au-Prince, and the authorities in Jamaica and on the naval station had been informed of the destination of the fleet. Notwithstanding all these precautions the squadron was captured by the British, taken to Jamaica, condemned and sold. This act on the part of the British, provoked no doubt through fear of servile insurrection in their own islands, served to prolong the war though it could not change its issue.

As impatient as Toussaint was over the presence of Roume he was far too politic to commit a rash act or to place himself in advance of the people. Speaking of himself he said in 1798: "I know how to move the people;

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but I know also where to stop in my own actions so that when I strike I shall be felt and not seen." As soon as Jacmel was taken he began to move directly toward his political objective. Roume and his secretary were arrested or at least imprisoned in the government house, all his immediate assistants were placed under arrest, their papers seized and communication with them cut off. These stringent measures were taken because the Agent had refused to comply with the general-in-chief's request to join him at Port-au-Prince to aid in suppressing the rebellion. All other chiefs of the colony had been invited likewise and perhaps came; the refusal of Roume furnished the occasion needed.

The municipality of Dondon, of the Cape, and of other places arose and demanded that the Agent should comply with the general's request. The people became much aroused and Roume's attempt to pacify them only added to their fury. In the midst of the disorder General Möise prevailed upon them to suspend their resentment until they could hear from General L'Ouverture. A dispatch and deputation with a letter was sent to that officer requesting him to come at once to the Cape and restore order. He after the manner of Alcibiades when called by the Athenians, replied that his military operations in the South left him no time to take such a journey; that his presence was not necessary; that the Agent had it in his power to restore tranquillity in the North immediately, by complying with the request he had formerly made to him. This reply had its effect; Touissant had set the people in movement, had stopped himself at the right place, had struck and the blow was felt. The people demanded that the Agent be deprived of his office and embarked for France, and that the supreme power be vested in the general-in-chief. By addresses, by deputations and by petitions they requested the general, aye urged him, to receive as from their hands the full control of the colony. When this re-

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quest came to him from all quarters so that it was like the popular vote Toussaint saw the situation was ripe. He requested the Agent to take possession of the parts of the island ceded by Spain in 1795. This again the Agent refused to do; then terrified by the clamor resulting agreed to do. An armament was fitted out consisting of white troops to go by sea; these were captured by the British and put ashore. The garrison however finally reached its destination and took station in Santo Domingo. Toussaint, as soon as everything had settled away in the South, prepared to occupy Santo Domingo by his forces.

On the 25th of November, peace being now restored throughout the colony and French jurisdiction extending pretty nearly over the whole island, Toussaint made a triumphal entry into Cape François. He had bowed to the will of the people and was now first in peace as he had been in war. Enemies were now to become friends; Rigaud himself had been tendered a commission as general of brigade, with command of his old department. But the wounds of civil strife cannot be healed by celebrations no matter how gorgeous. The jubilations of the victors are never grateful to the vanquished. Rigaud would not serve under Toussaint, and himself and several of his lieutenants and partisans, in no happy mood, retired to France. The next day after this rejoicing Roume received his dismission by the following order:

"Toussaint L'Ouverture, General-in-chief of the Army of Saint Domingo, to her citizens:

"The duties of the place of the citizen Roume, in his quality of representative of the French government, were to consecrate his energies, moral and physical, to the happiness and prosperity of Saint Domingo. Very far from doing this, taking council only from the intriguers who surrounded him, he has sown discord among us and fomented the troubles which have not ceased to disturb us. My re-

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spect for his public character cannot be allowed to prevent me from taking the most prudent measures to deprive him of the means of further plotting against that tranquillity which, after so many revolutionary uprisings, I finally have had the happiness to establish.

"Consequently, in order to isolate him from the intriguers who have not ceased to surround him, General Möise, present military governor of the Cape, will procure for Citizen Roume two carriages and a safe escort, which will conduct him with all the respect due his official standing to the village of Dondon, where he will remain until the French government shall recall him to render his reports."

"Cape François, November 26, 1800."

Toussaint L'Ouverture is now at the height of his power, filling a rôle similar to that which Napoleon had played a year before, when Sieyes had remarked, "Gentlemen, we have a master." The American diplomat who has so carefully watched the proceedings and who successfully penetrated the designs of Toussaint so far as Roume was concerned, sends off his dispatch February 13, 1800, containing the following: "The command of the treasury and control of the civil as well as military departments has been openly assumed by the general-in-chief and his subordinate officers. Everything announces a speedy dissolution of those ties which once connected this important colony with the mother country. While I was uncertain of the real intentions of Toussaint, I was loath to say anything to you about them. Now that I think I know them it is my duty to announce them to you. He is taking his measures slowly but surely. All connection with France will soon be broken off. If he is not disturbed he will preserve appearances a little longer. But as soon as France interferes with this colony he will throw off the mask and declare it independent."

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Whatever credit we may give to the writer above quoted, it must still remain a problem unsolved, whether Toussaint intended to break with France. Benito Sylvain, writing in 1901, affirms: "No one can affirm it with certitude." A. Firmin, writing in 1905, is of the same way of thinking. One expression coming from him in 1799 is most important as revealing the man within the commander.[3] When he was requested by the French government to inscribe upon the banners of his army the legend: "Brave blacks, remember that the French people alone recognize your liberty and the equality of your rights." He received the order but immediately made an energetic protest against the slavery which France had reëstablished in its other

[3] The Arrete of Bonaparte, December 25, 1799.

Article Premier. The citizens Vincent, engineer; Raymond, man of color, ex-agent, and General Michel will depart without delay; they will report at Saint Domingo.

Art. II. They will be the bearers of the proclamation annexed.

Art. III. The citizen Michel will be placed under the direction of the agent of the government, Roume, to be employed in his grade in the troops of Saint Domingo under the orders of the General in Chief, Toussaint L'Ouverture.

Art. IV. The citizen Raymond will be employed in the re-establishment of agriculture under the orders of the Agent-governor, Roume.

Art. V. The words following, "Brave blacks, remember that the French people alone recognize your liberty and the equality of your rights," will be inscribed in gold letters upon all the colors of the battalions of the national guard of the colony of Saint Domingo.

Vincent presented this message to Toussaint and the latter refused to put the inscription on the banners for the reason which he formulated as follows. "It is not a liberty of circumstance conceded to us alone that we wish; it is the adoption absolute of the principle that no man, born red, black, or white can be the property of his fellow man. We are free to-day because we are the stronger. The Consul maintains slavery in Martinique and in Bourbon; we will be slaves then, when he becomes the stronger."

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colonies and expressed the views of the mass of blacks whose soul he was, in the following strong language: "It is not a liberty of circumstance conceded to us alone that we wish; it is the adoption absolute, of the principle that no man red, black or white, can be the property of another man." In this declaration you have the man Toussaint L'Ouverture.

It is claimed by M. Price that in imprisoning Roume in Dondon the general-in-chief committed an act which was equivalent to a direct rupture with the mother country — equivalent to a declaration of independence. That the *thought* of independence involved in this act and the proceedings leading up to it was later formally expressed in the constitution which the whites of Saint Domingo, who were almost unanimously with Toussaint, adopted, conferring upon the black general the title of governor for life with power to name his successor. Of this matter we will inquire further in our next chapter as we come to consider the government which Toussaint as governor established in Saint Domingo.

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CHAPTER VIII

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE ADMINISTERS THE AFFAIRS OF THE COLONY AND HAS A CONSTITUTION FRAMED

The government established military in character — Makes an entry into Santo Domingo — François and Biassou — The Constitution; views of M. Firmin — Central Assembly asks that it be put in force — "First of the Blacks" — L'Ouverture tyrannical but wise — Bonaparte sees the Constitution — Intriguers against L'Ouverture — Expedition determined upon — Its purpose — Duruy, Madame Junot — Napoleon sends home L'Ouverture's sons — The Fleet to follow — Bonaparte's Letter to General L'Ouverture.

THE colony being now entirely pacified, and measures taken to make the peace permanent as well as to secure order throughout the island, the general-in-chief, being "invested by the inhabitants" with the supreme power both civil and military, turned his attention altogether toward "the establishment of such wise and salutary regulations as must eventually tend to promote the happiness of Saint Domingo." The colony had already commenced its march on the road to prosperity before the breaking out of the Rigaud rebellion, and as soon as this interruption had been removed immediately resumed its progress.

The government which Toussaint set up was very largely military; the people were subject to the soldiers; although the general was not cruel he was strict and energetic. He meant that the plantation hands, although no longer the property of other men, should nevertheless be compelled to labor; he believed in compulsory labor. Arriving at the

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acme of his power during the closing months of 1800, in January, 1801, accompanied by a magnificent army he entered the walls of Santo Domingo, took down the Spanish colors and hoisted there the flag of the French Republic. Jean François, his early lieutenant, who would not leave the service of Spain, left the island at the close of Spanish rule and went to Spain. He was raised to the grade of nobility and lived in retirement in Cadiz until the time of his death, receiving all the honors and courtesies due his rank. He was a man of gentle temper, black, very intelligent, brave and of fine appearance. Biassou, his comrade, was violent and impulsive although brave. He remained in Saint Domingo, and it is said died by the hand of an assassin.

The entire island was now under the French flag and Toussaint L'Ouverture, feeling that the destiny of his brothers in black was in his hands and having misgivings as to the steadfastness of the mother country, thought it best to have the advantages his race had gained made secure by a written constitution. It was the age of constitution-making. France had labored hard and long in getting a constitution that would fit; the United States had made and adopted a constitution, and Saint Domingo though a colony must have a constitution. Stevens, forecasting the career of Toussaint L'Ouverture, said in his dispatch of April 19, 1800: "He will accept of the unanimous invitation of the colony, and from that moment it may be considered as forever separated from France." A part of this prediction is now fulfilled; Toussaint L'Ouverture has upon invitation of the people become sole ruler; as to his further purpose events must determine.

As has been said, Toussaint was not free from apprehension that after the enthusiasm had died away France might again fall back to the common attitude of the Christian nations, and seek to reëstablish slavery. By his constitution he meant to prevent this result in Saint Domingo; by his policy he labored also to forward the ex-slave as rapidly

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as possible in civilization and political discipline; and to infuse within him the determination to maintain his freedom even at the cost of his life.

The men who framed this constitution were for the most part white men, the most enlightened on the island. Toussaint in all branches of his government sought the most advanced men within his reach, and by his engaging personality attracted them to his service. The Constitution was made under his direction. It created a government so nearly national that of it M. Firmin says: "It was, speaking truthfully, an organization so distinct from that of the mother country that one would be tempted to call it national. Not an allusion was made to the Independence of Saint Domingo; nevertheless the colony was to enjoy complete autonomy, recognizing to France only the right of pure suzerainty with such prerogatives as are therein involved." This is the description of the Constitution given by this renowned lawyer and statesman who was free from prejudice with respect to Toussaint.

The Constitution declared slavery forever abolished and that all men born and living in Saint Domingo were freemen, and Frenchmen. The men who made the Constitution were: Bernard-Borgella, mayor of Port-au-Prince, formerly a barrister of Bordeaux; Etienne Viart and Julien Raymond, men of color, the latter of whom we have met before; Juan Mancebo, Francis Morillas, Collet and Gaston Nogeree, Carlos Roxas, Andros Munos. Borgella presided and Viart served as secretary. By the names we may infer that the Spanish part of the island was well represented.

While these colored and white men were laboring together in formulating the Constitution, the general himself was regulating domestic and foreign affairs with a masterly hand. He had become so much of a soldier that he governed all society much as he commanded his army. He fulfilled the part of an enlightened despot, or, as some might say, of a benevolent monarch, as well as any have

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done. The stories told of his intercourse with the people are very greatly to his credit as being at heart a man of broad and practical views and also of lively sympathies. M. Firmin declares that his ability for administrative construction was astonishing. Without precedents, he established a series of ordinances for the good of the colony such as no government of the colony since has furnished an intelligent imitation.

The Constitution being perfected, the people demanded that it be put in force at once. Accordingly in July, 1801, it was officially promulgated with becoming ceremonies in the Place d'Armes at the Cape. The general then forwarded an official copy to the First Consul, accompanied by a letter of explanation concluding with these words:

"The Central Assembly having requested me in consequence of the absence of laws, to put in force provisionally this constitution as necessary to the more rapid march toward future prosperity, I have acceded to its desires. This constitution has been received by all classes of citizens with transports of joy, which will not fail to be reproduced when it shall be returned invested with the sanction of the government." These words breathe the spirit of confidence in the work done, and express an assurance that it will be acquiesced in by France. It was to this letter and others of its class addressed to Bonaparte that it is pretended Toussaint signed himself "The First of the Blacks, to the First of the Whites." Victor Schoelcher, the latest author of the life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, says: "No such formula exists anywhere in Toussaint's letters." He adds: "It is an invention of the whites too desirous to ridicule a black. Toussaint L'Ouverture was vain, as can be said of the men of all countries whatever may be the color of their epidermis; but the general-in-chief of the army of Saint Domingo who had refused a crown, was not equal to such puerility."

The Constitution was far from being liberal. Although

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it declared slavery abolished, it nevertheless established compulsory labor and prohibited voluntary change of domicile. In a word it established a severe form of serfdom. Toussaint's audacity had been shown earlier as has been seen in his reply to the government of France in 1799 when he was asked to inscribe upon the banners of the colonial army the legend: "Brave blacks, remember that the French people alone recognize your liberty and the equality of your rights." His declaration that he wished the "absolute adoption of the principle that no man born red, black or white can be the property of another man" is a natural and logical forerunner of the act which proclaims the Constitution and then sends it to France with the assurance that it will be returned with the sanction of the government. If not, then according to Toussaint every member of that army had been taught that his gun was his liberty. "With our guns in our hands we are free, and free because we are the stronger." Toussaint was a materialist, and a firm believer in force.

His administration as governor from an economic point of view though short was marvelously successful. A year's harvest valued at more than thirty million francs attested his wisdom; but there was dissatisfaction and discontent. It could not be otherwise. The government was practically military throughout; the army was kept up to about twenty thousand, well paid, well fed, and well clothed, their uniforms having been made in Philadelphia. Society had been reconstructed, but unfortunately this reconstruction had been brought about by an iron arm. Everything was compelled to bow before the organizing and tyrannical will of the talented general-in-chief. With immense power has come also that confidence which is its usual accessory and Toussaint was probably quite indifferent as to the course Bonaparte might take respecting his constitution.

To those familiar with the situation of Bonaparte during the latter half of 1801 it will not be difficult to imagine

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how he would receive such a constitution accompanied by a letter breathing so much of the spirit of a fellow sovereign. We have not forgotten the circumstances of the 18th Brumaire, when Napoleon being only thirty years of age swept away the Directory and became supreme. Two years have passed since and now France, admirably governed, appears in the eyes of the world humane after barbarity, and sane after her wild orgies; armed and victorious, she is tranquil and moderate; she has broken the Second Coalition, and although experiencing some reverses in Egypt she has been so successful in Europe that all the nations warring against her are now willing to make peace. It was at this time that Bonaparte was at the summit of his glory, and despite his prodigious talents it is said of him at that time that "unhappily he showed more and more the temper of a master and was every day more and more impatient of contradiction." He, too, like Toussaint, was a man of force, and but thirty-two years of age; and he, too, had become chief of the state by virtue of his sword; and his new constitution had been adopted by a vote almost unanimous. With unbounded ambition and immeasurable power, with youth on his side and surrounded by flatterers, it is evident that the career of Toussaint culminating as it did at a point of quasi-independence could but be irritating to him. We may fancy him as impatiently soliloquizing: "Has that black member of that contemptible race dared to present to the world a counterpart of myself, performing upon a smaller scale and in a smaller theater, it is true, the part that I have enacted in Europe, and with even more brilliancy than I have done?" It could but disgust, and we might expect an answer corresponding more with this state of feeling than with any high reasons of state.

M. Firmin, describing the state of Bonaparte's mind on receiving the documents, employs these words: "The First Consul was furious; and resolved to crush the black

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chief whose ideas were entirely too pretentious for a former slave. He thought that France must be the sole mistress of the affairs of her superb colony."

To a ruler in such a state of mind aroused by the occasion described, the enemies of General L'Ouverture, who were in fact the enemies of the well-being of the colony, were not long in finding access. Rigaud and his partisans, the displaced colonists who for five years had been horrified by the transactions which had gone on in Saint Domingo, and the malcontents of Paris, united in their intrigues and poured their joint calumniations in the ear of the First Consul. That Negroes should be raised to the dignity of French citizens was a grievance severe enough, especially when these Negroes but a few years before had been their maltreated slaves; but that a former Negro slave should be at the head of their most notable colony both as commanding general and as governor was intolerable. Stories of massacre and other forms of barbarity were related and the government was urged to send an expedition to Saint Domingo to restore things to normality.

This agitation was very grateful to Napoleon at this time for another reason. He had formed already the plan of empire; and those good, brave and loyal republican soldiers like Dumas, who were the companions by whose aid his glory had been created, might not incline so readily to his new purpose. He had read the story of Alexander's army, and probably feared that the men who had performed the impossible with him while infatuated with the idea of a republic might not willingly stand and see their idol smashed to pieces — might not willingly take part in the burial of its fragments. An expedition to Saint Domingo could but result favorably no matter which way it terminated, by it he would temporarily relieve himself of the presence of republican veterans and during their absence further his political plans and reconstruct his army in accord with them.

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Victor Duruy says the expedition was sent out in the interest of a general plan to restore the navy and commerce of France; a plan which "naturally led to the idea of restoring also her colonial empire. He, the First Consul, made a prudent sacrifice, selling Louisiana to the Americans for 60,000,000 francs. San Domingo had been lost to France. Excited by the events of 1789, the blacks had massacred the whites, and had lapsed into barbarism. The First Consul desired to recover this richest jewel of the old French Empire." For these reasons this historian avers the First Consul sent the expedition. Let us analyze these reasons for a moment. Napoleon wished to restore the navy and commerce of France. Granted; and a worthy desire it is. Saint Domingo had been lost to France. Perhaps. The blacks had massacred the whites; and had thus saved themselves from being massacred, we might say in reply. The blacks had lapsed into barbarism; and yet they had just made and adopted a constitution which had been framed through the aid of the most enlightened white men on the island.

The reader is invited to read the following extract from the versatile pen of Madame Junot, written with all the memories of the expedition fresh in her mind. In this extract will be seen the statement that Toussaint would gladly have continued to rule the island for France; and that in effect it was far from being lost to the metropole at the time that Toussaint's constitution arrived in France. "The expedition to Saint Domingo encountered in its day plenty of approbation and plenty of censure. The censurers alleged that it was folly to oppose the entire population of a distant colony whose savage disposition refused all quarter to their adversaries, thus exposing our troops to the double perils of a murderous warfare, and a no less murderous climate. They were grieved to see so fine an army dispatched to America before the remnant of that which the deserts of Africa had nearly engulfed was

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restored to us. They contended that in spite of his profound ambition, in spite, even of his cruelty, it was necessary to guarantee to Toussaint L'Ouverture the government for life which had been conferred upon him by the colonists. He had very distinguished military talents; a political address, or rather an ingenious cunning which had saved Saint Domingo from the English yoke, and above all, from its own passions. They were, therefore, of opinion that the First Consul should leave Toussaint L'Ouverture at liberty still to call himself, if he so pleased, the first of the blacks; and that he should be acknowledged governor of Saint Domingo, subject to the dominion of France — terms to which he would most willingly have agreed. But the First Consul justly observed that Toussaint was a hypocrite, who, while protesting his devotion to the Consular government, was meditating the liberation of the French Antilles from the authority of the republic."

Thus does Madame Junot, an intimate friend of Bonaparte and of his sister Pauline, as well as of General Le Clerc who was to command the expedition, describe the events relating to Saint Domingo while she herself was living in and breathing the political atmosphere of her times. Going on, she accepts the current statement: "I am the Bonaparte of Saint Domingo; I must be preserved to her," as the genuine expression of Toussaint, of which, to say the least, the genuineness is doubtful; while as to the phrase, "First of the Blacks," we may eliminate it from the written expressions of Toussaint.

Commenting upon the statement in which L'Ouverture is said to have compared himself to Bonaparte, Madame Junot grows eloquent. "Such language on the part of such a man must have excited alarm for the future fate of the island and its dependencies, especially considering the character of his two lieutenants, Christophe and Dessalines. A cousin of mine in the marines who having arrived at Saint Domingo, served as a volunteer in the army and

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was a prisoner to Dessalines, has told me stories of this monster — for he does not deserve the name of man — which surpass in sanguinary terror all the most tragical conceptions of the most gloomy and terrific imagination. Bonaparte knew the character of these men of blood; but he was desirous of restoring peace and abundance to that fine colony, and it could be accomplished only by maintaining the blacks. In the short interval between the submission and the second insurrection of the island, Saint Domingo had recovered its prosperity; the lands were cultivated and commerce revived."

That the purpose to reduce and humiliate General L'Ouverture was formed before Le Clerc set sail from France, and that the expedition was organized for this express purpose, is clear. Duruy, the historian above all others deserving of credit in home affairs, relates that "the First Consul sent considerable forces, under the command of General Le Clerc, his brother-in-law, against the Negro general, Toussaint L'Ouverture." While this passage from Duruy is before us we may anticipate so far as to give his summing up of the enterprise. He says: "The capture of this remarkable man was the only successful event of the inopportune expedition, which doubly irritated England, and which was decimated by yellow fever. The successors of Toussaint drove the French from the island and founded the republic of Haiti."

Napoleon's reply to the letter which Toussaint had addressed to him, accompanying the copy of the Constitution which had been sent for government's approval, was threefold. The two sons of the general accompanied by their preceptor were returned to their home with new military uniforms and compliments direct from the First Consul; a letter flattering and conciliatory in tone which the reader shall have the privilege of perusing also followed, to be placed in the hands of General L'Ouverture; and finally a powerful fleet under the command of Le Clerc, was dis-

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patched to the island "against the Negro General Toussaint L'Ouverture." This fleet we shall describe in the succeeding chapter; the letter is now placed before the reader.

"To Citizen Toussaint L'Ouverture, General in Chief of the Army of Saint Domingo.

"CITIZEN-GENERAL,

"Peace with England and all the powers of Europe, which places the Republic in the first degree of greatness and power, enables at the same time the government to direct its attention to Saint Domingo. We send thither Citizen Le Clerc, our brother-in-law, in quality of Captain-General, as first magistrate of the colony. He is accompanied with the necessary forces, to make the sovereignty of the French people respected. It is under these circumstances that we are disposed to hope that you will prove to us, and to all France, the sincerity of the sentiments you have constantly expressed in the different letters you have written us. We have conceived for you esteem, and we wish to recognize and proclaim the great service you have rendered to the French people. If their colors fly on Saint Domingo, it is to you, and your brave blacks, that we owe it. Called by your talents, and the force of circumstances, to the chief command, you have concluded the civil war, put a stop to the persecutions of some ferocious men, and restored to honor the religion and the worship of God, from whom all things come.

"The situation in which you were placed, surrounded on all sides by enemies and without the mother country being able to succor or sustain you, has rendered legitimate the articles of that constitution which otherwise could not be so. But, now that circumstances are so happily changed, you will be the first to render homage to the sovereignty of the nation, which reckons you among the number of its most illustrious citizens, by the services you have rendered

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to it, and by the talents and the force of character with which nature has endowed you. A contrary conduct would be irreconcilable with the idea we have conceived of you. It would deprive you of your numerous claims to the gratitude and the good offices of the Republic, and would dig under your feet a precipice which, while it swallowed you up, would contribute to the misery of those brave blacks, whose courage we love, and whom we should be sorry to punish for rebellion.

"We have made known to your children, and to their preceptor, the sentiments by which we are animated. We send them back to you. Assist with your counsel, your influence, and your talents, the Captain-General. What can you desire? — the freedom of the blacks? You know that in all the countries we have been in, we have given it to the people who had it not. Do you desire consideration, honor, fortune? It is not after the services you have rendered, the services you can still render, and with the personal estimation we have for you, that you ought to be doubtful with respect to your consideration, your fortune, and the honors that await you.

"Make known to the people of Saint Domingo that the solicitude which France has always evinced for their happiness has often been rendered impotent by the imperious circumstances of war; that if men came from the Continent to nourish factions, they were the produce of those factions which destroyed the country; that in future peace, and the power of government, ensure their prosperity and freedom. Tell them that if liberty be to them the first of wants, they cannot enjoy it but with the title of French citizens, and that every act contrary to the interests of the country, the obedience they owe to the government, and the Captain-General, who is the delegate of it, would be a crime against the national sovereignty which would eclipse their services, and render Saint Domingo the theater of a cruel war, in which fathers and children would massacre each other.

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"And you, General, recollect, that if you are the first of your color that attained such great power and distinguished himself by his bravery and his military talents, you are also before God and us the principal person responsible for their conduct.

"If there be disaffected persons, who say to the individuals that have borne a principal part in the troubles of Saint Domingo, that we are coming to ascertain what they have done during the times of anarchy, assure them that we shall take cognizance of their conduct only in this last circumstance, and that we shall not recur to the past, but to find out the traits that may have distinguished them in the war carried on against the Spanish and English, who have been our enemies.

"Rely without reserve on our esteem, and conduct yourself as one of the principal citizens of the greatest nation in the world ought to do.

"The First Consul,

"BONAPARTE."

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CHAPTER IX

BONAPARTE'S ATTEMPT TO DISPOSE OF "THE GOLD DECKED BLACKS"

The Expedition sails — Malenfant's views — English officer's prediction — Ambitions back of the Expedition — Madame Le Clerc — Court beauties in England — Arrival at the Cape — Christophe refuses permission to land until he can hear from Governor L'Ouverture — Thiers' description of Toussaint L'Ouverture — Condition of the colony — Early submission of La Plume — Bonaparte's proclamation — Toussaint L'Ouverture's army — Letter to General Domage — General Clervaux — Toussaint L'Ouverture receives his sons from France — Report of their preceptor — Chagrin of Le Clerc — Proclamation outlawing Toussaint and Christophe — The campaign — Maurepas repulses two divisions — Fierce battle at Coulevres — Maurepas is enveloped, submits — Valient defense of Crête à Pierrot — Bravery of Dessalines — Siege and evacuation — Skill of black troops — Toussaint threatens the Cape — Overtures for peace — Negotiations — Christophe submits — Reports of Le Clerc — Toussaint L'Ouverture comes to the Cape — Received with full military honors — Signs peace compact — Dessalines not deceived — Le Clerc's letter to Toussaint, side by side with his false report of the transaction.

THE expedition sailed from Brest and other ports in December, 1801. It consisted of fifty-four vessels carrying 20,000 men, nearly all from the army of the Rhine. One, Colonel Malenfant, is reported to have joined the expedition unwillingly, in the capacity of inspector. Observing that several general officers were talking lightly of the Negroes and mulattoes they were to meet in Saint Domingo, he took occasion to caution against that improper course of despising an enemy. A colonist refugee who was present asserted that with four thousand men he could re-

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duce all the Negroes. Malenfant disputed this strongly, whereupon this colonist or his friends, reported him to General Le Clerc, representing that he was holding dangerous opinions. That officer sending for him and rebuking him, uttered the declaration: "All the Negroes when they see an army will lay down their arms; they will be only too glad to obtain pardon." Malenfant replied: "You have been led into an error, General." [1]

"What?" said he. "A brave man talk that way?"

"It is because I speak the truth, General."

"Why," said General Le Clerc, "here is a colonist who has made me the offer to arrest Toussaint with sixty grenadiers."

The colonel did not yield his view and Le Clerc asked to have him relieved, which was done.

An English author, contemplating the intended movement on the part of the First Consul to subdue the blacks and people of color of Saint Domingo, published a pamphlet before the expedition sailed in which he graphically described the fate of the deluded army. He used the narrative present tense in order to make his story as vivid as possible. He pictures it thus: "The hitherto victorious troops of the Republic land in various directions, beneath the heavy fire of forts well appointed; and mounted chiefly with brass ordnance: they press forward to what? — not to enter towns from which the enemy has fled precipitately, leaving behind them every comfort necessary for an army requiring early rest to recruit; they enter cities, not merely evacuated, but no longer cities! to be mocked by the ruins of repose, and the destruction of necessaries they required.

"Recruited from their own magazines, or the trifling aid to be forced from a few Americans, they proceed into a country, every foot of which when obtained is deprived of all that can aid their enterprise. Troops dispirited by novel tactics, and an enfeebling climate, are to pass their

[1] Malenfant was a colonist and knew the country.

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nights in the open air, and exposed to the nocturnal vapors, alone fatal to European habits, sustained only by provisions furnished from their own stores, with no more water than they have conveyed with them, unable to proceed or to return."

Having thus pictured the rôle of the invading army, the writer now turns to the patriot army who are to defend their homes.

"A country is raised to repel a horde of invaders to whom are attributed the intentions of despoiling the land and enslaving its inhabitants; a well-disciplined army in every part, intimately acquainted with every quarter of the island, inured to the climate, and habituated to the soil; trained to a long expectation of the attack, is prepared to meet them. Hardy, unencumbered with stores, they sport with a harassed enemy; and when the day decides against them, leaving the enemy to burning towns and mined plantations, they recede in safety within the next line of fortifications. . . . Almost impenetrably fortified up to the very top of the mountains, Toussaint recedes with ease faster than the wasting army can, with pain, pursue him. . . . I feel no hesitation in saying that Le Clerc, lamenting his laurels, which have withered so untimely, will assimilate Macbeth and exclaim with heart-felt regret —

"There is no going hence, nor tarrying here."

The writer of the above passage was a soldier and he based his forecast upon the experience of the English with which he was thoroughly familiar. He says: —

"The English government in three years employed above twenty thousand men, and expended thirty millions of money on Saint Domingo; and its army, even then, was never able to penetrate five miles into the country; yet the French government proposes to exterminate the whole race of color without the least delay."

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It is claimed that the ladies of Bonaparte's court had much to do with the sending out of this expedition, and that these court beauties had not been without influence in spreading the mania in England, turning both the ministry and people of that country away from the enthusiastic anti-slavery policy which they had partially adopted back to their old pro-slavery attitude; and leading them to wish that those black men who had been completely emancipated by their own valor might be returned to slavery. Madame Le Clerc, partaking of the ambition of her brother, had urged the measure of reducing the island, dreaming of nothing but conquest and glory for her husband. Merchants had been enlisted in support of the enterprise; England, whose navy had kept France shut from the sea for nine years, had been consulted and informed of the destination of the fleet; the expedition was therefore cleared and at sea on its sinister mission with favorable perspective.

General Le Clerc had with him his ambitious wife and her younger brother, Jerome. General Rochambeau, son of the general by that name who commanded the French troops in our revolution; General Kerverseau, and General Boudet, held subordinate commands in this army of invasion. The fleet was commanded by Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse. The sons of Toussaint, of whose departure we must make special mention, accompanied by their preceptor Coisnon, sailed with the fleet. Also in this fleet returned to the island the vanquished General Rigaud, Villatte who had fled from the North, Petion the educated military officer, and other colored officers originally from Saint Domingo.

We have mentioned L'Ouverture's two sons, Placide and Isaac, who were returning with this expedition. M. Coisnon, their preceptor, had received orders to bring the young men to the Tuileries a few days before the time for the fleet to sail. Complying, the young men met there the First Consul and his brother-in-law, General Le Clerc.

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Bonaparte conversed with them very pleasantly, and the next day a fine reception was prepared for them by the Minister of Marine, at which many officers of high military and naval rank were present. The two young cadets were subsequently presented by the government with rich uniforms and magnificent side-arms, and in company with their preceptor were made the bearers of the flattering letter of the First Consul to Toussaint L'Ouverture with which the reader is already acquainted, but which he will do well to return to and read again with this additional light upon it.

The fleet sailed in December, 1801, assembling January 28, 1802, in Samana Bay, from which rendezvous it dispersed according to a well-formed plan of investment. General Kerverseau was dispatched with a division of troops to the city of Santo Domingo; Rear-Admiral Latouche was ordered to carry the troops under the command of General Boudet to Port-au-Prince; and Captain Magon was instructed to land a division, under General Rochambeau, on the shore of Mancenillo Bay on the north coast — the intention being to produce consternation by the simultaneous appearance of the forces mentioned. General Le Clerc himself proceeded with the remainder of the troops with the intention of landing at the Cape, and if necessary carry this capital by storm. His fleet arrived off Cape François, February 5, 1802.

One authority states that General Christophe who was in command of the post at Cape François at that time, on seeing the approach of the fleet, sent the captain of the port, an experienced black officer named Sangos, to acquaint the commander of the expedition, with the fact "that the general-in-chief was absent; and that it was necessary to await the return of a courier whom he had dispatched to him, previous to any steps for the disembarkation of a military force." To this message General Le Clerc replied with mildness of manner, stating the benign

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intentions of the First Consul and of himself toward the island, and inviting General Christophe to return to his duty as a French citizen, promising him due consideration. Along with this reply he sent also copies of the proclamations he had brought with him, and also, it is said, a copy of the First Consul's private letter to General L'Ouverture. These were all delivered to General Christophe by a naval officer named Lebrun. To this officer General Christophe repeated his former message with more emphasis than it had been delivered by Sangos. A deputation from the town headed by the mayor went out to the fleet and, terror-stricken, declared that "on the first signal of a debarkation, the city and adjoining estates would be set on fire and the white people put to the sword; and entreated General Le Clerc to take their unhappy circumstances under consideration." As this deputation returned another messenger was sent to General Christophe indicating that an army of 15,000 men would land without regard to the orders of the captain of the port. To this Christophe replied indignantly: "They take us for slaves then; Go, say to General Le Clerc that the French will find here only a heap of ashes and that the very ground will burn them."

M. Thiers in picturing the state of the colony at this time describes Toussaint L'Ouverture as a Negro endowed with true genius, who had achieved a humble imitation of that which the First Consul had done. He had subdued and established a government over a revolted people, had stopped the Negroes from slaughtering one another, had reëstablished the agriculture and commerce of the country. He claims that Toussaint L'Ouverture had been produced in accordance with the laws of human society which everywhere alike, after long storms and commotions bring on that fatigue which calls for "a master, a superior being, qualified to become such." The master in this case was Toussaint L'Ouverture, of whom he disparagingly says, he

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was not much of a soldier, acquainted at most with the art of ambuscade, "gifted with profound dissimulation and a most extraordinary turn for government." He also says that "in 1801, after ten years of commotion, the soil of Saint Domingo, drenched with so much blood, presented an appearance of fertility nearly equal to that which it exhibited in 1789." He accredits Toussaint with profound political intelligence, and reiterated the statement that "the English on evacuating Port-au-Prince had offered him the royalty of Saint Domingo and the immediate recognition of that royalty," which he refused, preferring to remain "a general in the service of France, under the hand of the First Consul himself," and thus to belong "to the first military nation in the world." According to M. Thiers who, notwithstanding his greatness as a historian, was in some respects attorney for the First Consul, Bonaparte, after confirming all the Negro generals of Saint Domingo and making "Toussaint L'Ouverture lieutenant-general commanding in Saint Domingo for France," with the most benign intention sent Le Clerc with his vast army only that there might be on the island a French captain-general to whom Toussaint should be first lieutenant. His conduct is but another realization of the aphorism that great men are not always wise.

The colony was peaceful and prosperous and well governed when Le Clerc proceeded to land his troops in the environs of the Cape and thus to inaugurate afresh, tumult and war. Rochambeau's division had landed also, and having captured Fort Dauphin, Christophe after having set fire to the town, beginning by firing his own house, retired with his forces to the mountains.[2] Much the same

[2] CONFLAGRATION OF THE CAPE

Arrived last evening, Capt. Rogers, of the schooner *Nelly*, from Cape François, which he left on the 14th February. The news by Capt. Rogers is most distressing, both on account of the American property which has been destroyed at the Cape, and the scenes of horror and bloodshed which have and will take place.

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GENERAL HENRI CHRISTOPHE.
"KING" OF HAITI.

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things occurred at Port-au-Prince; General Boudet landed, took possession of the city and the troops retired to the hills. Through the offers of General Boudet and upon the basis furnished by the First Consul's proclamation which we shall soon see spread broadcast, Laplume whom we have met before secretly agreed to surrender his whole

It appears that a division of the French fleet, consisting of fourteen sail of ships of the line, and eleven other ships of war, with about 20,000 men, arrived off the Cape on the 3d of February, when negotiations were entered into by the commandants on each side, as to the terms on which the one party were to be permitted to land, and the tenure on which the other was to hold their liberty and property. During those negotiations, General Le Clerc refused to recognize any such character as a governor in the island, whose sanction, it was pretended by the blacks, was wanting to permit him to land. This impolitic step immediately roused the suspicions of the Negroes, who peremptorily forbade him to land, and threatened, if force were used, to repel it by force — to fire the town and murder the whites. On the evening of the following day one of the ships hove in near shore, and was fired on by the battery with red-hot shot: which was at the same time the signal for the conflagration of the town. Fire and fagots lighted up the flames in many parts at the same time, and the place, during the night, exhibited a scene of horror and destruction beyond the power of description, and equaled only by the dreadful fate it experienced in the year '92. Many massacres took place, and the brutal rage of the Negroes spared neither age nor sex, not of their own color, except Americans, only one of whom (Mr. Lancaster of Charleston) was killed. Those that escaped the sword were preserved to witness more horrid sensations, being dragged by the Negroes (who evacuated the town during the fire, and after the demolition of the forts) to their strong places in the mountains, to serve as hostages, or to glut their fury. On the morning of the 5th, of 2,000 houses, 59 only had escaped the ravages of the flames, and their tenants, except a wretched few on board the American shipping, were nowhere to be seen. Sugars and other property either rolled in liquid fire along the streets, or mounted in cloudy volumes to the skies. All the plantations of the extensive and once flourishing plain around the Cape for many miles exhibited the same tremendous appearance. Port de Paix was also consumed, and every town in the island, except Fort Dauphin, it was expected, would share a similar fate

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department, which included Leogane, Grand Goave, Petit Goave, Tiburon, Aux Cayes and Jacmel. General Kerverseau who had been sent with about 2,000 troops to Santo

with the Cape. Fort Dauphin had been preserved by another division of the fleet taking possession of it after a short resistance. Four divisions having arrived at different points of the island about the same time. Besides the two mentioned, one had gone into the bite of Leogane.

After the total evacuation of the Cape, by the blacks, the French shipping hauled into the harbor, and took possession of the town and forts. Capt. Rogers was permitted by the intendant to sail on the 14th with dispatches, we learn; but all other Americans were still detained.

It was not known where Toussaint was during the conflagration, but he was supposed to have been at the Cape *incog.*, directing the hand of destruction. He is now at the head of his army in the mountains, in a place strong by nature, and which he had for some time been fortifying and rendering impregnable, by art. To this strong post he has retired with his treasury, and his myrmidons; and from it will make his murderous excursions, and harass its assailants. Rigaud, his old and implacable rival, was with his enemies, and much was expected from his knowledge of the island, and his influence with the inhabitants of the South.

It was reported at Cape François that the fleet destined for Guadeloupe had arrived, and that the same tragic scenes had occurred there.

Extract of a letter from a captain at Cape François, to his owner in this city —

"February 10.

"On the 3d inst. the French fleet arrived off the harbor, and sent in a cutter to know on what terms they were to be received; when generrl (sic) Christoper, (sic) thought proper not to let them come into the harbor, and sent out the cutter again with orders to the admiral, that if he attempted to come in by force, he would set fire to the town. On the 4th there being very little wind all day until afternoon, one of the French ships came very near the fort, intending we supposed, to have come in, when the fort immediately fired on them, and obliged them to haul off again, and in one hour afterwards the town of Cape François was set fire to in several places, when it exhibited the most shocking sight I ever saw."

— *Columbian Centinel*, Boston, March 13, '02.

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Domingo city had through the influence of the French bishop Mauvielle succeeded in securing possession of about one-half of the Spanish part where Paul L'Ouverture, brother to the General, governed; Captain Magon who rested in Fort Dauphin, by adroit negotiations and through the influence of the same bishop, had gained the mulatto General Clervaux, and thus secured control of the rich plain of St. Iago. Thus during the first ten days of February the French troops had made themselves masters of the coast, the sea-ports, the chief towns of the island and the greater part of the cultivated lands, *according to their reports.*

True there had been some fighting, and the black troops had suffered, but their army was far from being subdued. The victories had been won chiefly by negotiation. The forces of the island had not become solidly united against the French; the people were not prepared to enter at once into a war with the mother country whose uniforms they wore, and whose commissions their officers carried. They were in a state of bewilderment; the proclamation of the home government, supported by the personal representations of the First Consul's brother-in-law, could but have a powerful effect upon those generals, especially who had combated for France. And we must remember that when the white colonists tried to betray the colony to English hands, it was the steadfast loyalty and valor of the colored generals and their armies which prevented that consummation.[2] Alone these colored men stood in their honorable loyalty to France, disdaining bribes, and breasting the

[2] "The Negroes and the mulattoes, sole defenders of Saint Domingo have gloriously sustained their name of Frenchmen. Reduced to their own forces, isolated from all succor, nearly without munitions of war, their courage put to all proofs has never been abashed. They have combated with energy, honor, perseverence and success against the Spanish and the English." (Defermont, delegate, Report to Committee of Public Safety, July 22, 1795.)

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foe. That they were bewildered when they read Bonaparte's proclamation we may well imagine.

THE PROCLAMATION

"Paris, Nov. 8, 1801.

"INHABITANTS OF SAINT DOMINGO,

"Whatever your origin or your color, you are all French; you are all equal, and all free, before God, and before the Republic.

"France, like Saint Domingo, has been a prey to factions, by intestine commotions, and foreign wars. But all has changed; all nations have embraced the French, and have sworn to them peace and amity; the French people have embraced each other, and have sworn to be all friends and brothers. Come also, embrace the French, and rejoice to see again your European friends and brothers.

"The government sends you the Captain-General Le Clerc: he has brought sufficient force for protecting you against your enemies; and against the enemies of the Republic. If it be said to you their forces are destined to ravish from you your liberty; answer, the Republic will not suffer it to be taken from us.

"Rally round the Captain-General; he brings you abundance and peace. Rally all of you around him. Whoever shall dare to separate himself from the Captain-General, will be a traitor to his country, and the indignation of the country will devour him as the fire devours your dried canes.

"Done at Paris, &c.

(Signed) "The First Consul, BONAPARTE.

"The Secretary of State, H. B. MARET."

Although there had been the serious defections mentioned, the invaders had not gained so much territory without cost. In an action near Port-au-Prince three hundred had been swept down by a fierce fire of grape and musketry,

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among the wounded being the gallant General Pamphile Lacroix, to whose pen we are indebted for many high tributes to the skill and bravery of the troops against whom he fought. The retiring black armies had also, according to Thiers, "carried with them troops of whites"; in another paragraph described as "a great number of whites carried off as hostages." The army of Toussaint L'Ouverture as described by Thiers consisted of "but three or four demi-brigades, with Generals Maurepas, Christophe and Dessalines, with his treasures and stores of arms buried in the bluffs at Chacos."

It is proper here again to inquire into the causes which led to this active resistance on the part of the blacks of Haiti to the policy of the First Consul. Summed up, it was the old question of slavery; Toussaint L'Ouverture did not believe in the sincerity of the French government upon the subject of emancipation. In 1799 he had said:

"It is not a liberty of circumstance, conceded to us alone, that we wish; it is the adoption absolute of the principle that no man, born red, black or white, can be the property of his fellow man." 'Thiers in explaining the purpose and policy of the First Consul says that this august person had "at first, acquiesced in the state of things"; but conceiving doubts of Toussaint L'Ouverture's fidelity, and "without wishing to bring back the Negroes to a state of slavery, he meditated taking advantage of the maritime armistice which succeeded the preliminaries of peace in London, to dispatch an expedition to Saint Domingo consisting of a squadron and an army. With regard to the blacks, the First Consul contemplated the continuance of that condition which events had brought about," i.e., that state which L'Ouverture appropriately characterizes as "a liberty of circumstance." He goes on to say further that the First Consul "intended, in all the colonies which the spirit of revolt had not pervaded, still to uphold slavery, relaxing somewhat its rigor; but in Saint Domingo to

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tolerate freedom which had now become impossible to restrain." That is, he proposed to "concede" a liberty to them alone, contrary to the wish of that people, as expressed by Toussaint L'Ouverture two years earlier. This attitude of the First Consul justifies the impassioned words of Toussaint uttered to his followers when he said: "We are free now because we are the stronger." How Toussaint now viewed the situation may be seen by the letter which he wrote to General Domage and which General Laplume gave over to General Boudet, when he gave in his adhesion to the French.

"Feb. 9, 1802.

"My Dear General,

"I send to you my aide-de-camp Chaney, who is the bearer of the present dispatch, and who will communicate to you my sentiments.

"The whites have resolved to destroy our liberty, and have therefore brought a force commensurate to their intentions. The Cape, after a proper resistance, has fallen into their hands, but the enemy found only a town and plain in ashes; the forts were blown up, and all was burnt.

"The town of Port Republican (Port-au-Prince) has been given up to them by the traitor, General of Brigade, Ogé, as well as Fort Bizotton, which surrendered without an effort, in consequence of the cowardice and treachery of the Chief of Battalion, Bardet, an old officer of the South; but the General of Division, Dessalines, maintains at this moment a line at La Croix des Bouquets, and all our other places are on the defensive.

"As Jeremie is rendered very strong by its natural advantages, you will maintain yourself in it, and defend yourself with the courage which I know you possess. Distrust the whites — they will betray you if they can; their desire, evidently manifested, is the restoration of slavery.

"I therefore give you a carte-blanche for your conduct.

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All which you shall do will be well done. Raise the cultivators in mass, and convince them of this truth,—that they must place no confidence in those artful agents who may have secretly received the proclamations of the white men from France, and would circulate them clandestinely, in order to seduce the friends of liberty.

"I have ordered the General of Brigade, La Plume, to burn the town of Cayes, and every other town and plain in the district, should they be unable to resist the enemy's force; thus all the troops in the different garrisons, and all the cultivators, will be enabled to reënforce you at Jeremie. You will entertain a perfect good understanding with General La Plume, in order to execute with ease what may be necessary. You will employ in the planting of provisions all the women occupied in cultivation.

"Endeavor as much as possible to acquaint us with your situation. I rely entirely upon you, and leave you completely at liberty to perform everything which may be requisite to free us from the horrid yoke with which we are threatened.

"I wish you good health,

(Signed) "TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

"A true copy,

(Signed) "The General of Brigade commanding the Department of the South,

"LA PLUME."

This letter written February 9, 1802, shows that the general-in-chief was fully informed of the actions of the French, and was firmly convinced of their intentions. He believed that this great armament meant the reëstablishment of slavery in Saint Domingo; and, despite the evasive words of Thiers, the student of history must admit the naturalness, if not the reasonableness, of Toussaint L'Ouverture's convictions. He was too recently from slavery not to be ever alert upon this subject. The consensus of his-

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tory is to the effect that his convictions were well founded, and that the First Consul had the intention ultimately to reëstablish slavery. Yet with all of Toussaint L'Ouverture's talents and influence, he was not able to hold his people intact against the protestations and promises of Le Clerc and his subordinates.

Attention was now given during the lull which had succeeded to the debarkation, to the work for which Coisnon had been prepared. The general-in-chief was to be won through his love for his children. We have several accounts of the methods taken to effect this purpose; all agreeing, however, in displaying M. Coisnon as the principal actor. One account says that the preceptor arriving at the L'Ouverture home and finding the general absent, passed the day in applying "his powers of elocution on the wife of Toussaint with an ardor equal to the baseness of his design"; that in the evening when the general arrived unexpectedly to her, he having been informed that the sons were at home, "the mother shrieked and became unconscious; his sons, dressed in the uniform of his enemies, ran to meet him, and with eyes glistening he clasped them without utterance to his arms." The preceptor then used his utmost skill to induce the general to accede to the purposes of Le Clerc. The sons also sided with their preceptor; but Toussaint remained firm and within two hours returned a formal answer to General Le Clerc, sending it by Granville, the French tutor of his younger son. Another account describes the mother and her two sons as appealing jointly to the general to give in his adhesion to General Le Clerc. "But the inflexible mind of the African could not be moved from his purpose, and after an arduous struggle between affection and duty, he returned to his camp to share in the dangers and abide the destiny of his countrymen." Still another writer relates: "Toussaint received his two sons and preceptor at Ennery, his usual retreat. He clasped them long in his arms." After

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due deliberation, "sometimes alarmed by the danger of an unequal struggle, sometimes swayed by the ambition of being sole master of the fine empire of Haiti; sometimes also enraged at the idea that the whites should come to plunge the blacks again into slavery. Ambition and the love of liberty got the better of paternal affection. He sent for his two sons again, he embraced them, left them to their choice between France which had made them civilized creatures, and himself the author of their existence, and declared that he should continue to love them were they even in the ranks of his enemies. One of them throwing his arms around his neck declared he would die a free black by his side. The other undecided accompanied his mother to one of the seats of the dictator." Under the pen of General P. Lacroix this interview becomes a most touching scene in this intense drama.

"My children, take your choice and whatever it shall be, I shall always cherish you," said the general in a firm voice amid the effusion of affectionate caresses.

"Very well, my Father," said Isaac, the younger. "Behold in me a faithful servant of France who can never resign himself to bear arms against her."

"I am for you, my Father," declared Placide; "I fear the future; I fear slavery; I am ready to combat against it."

Placide received immediately the command of one of the famous battalions of Toussaint's guard; Isaac retired with his mother and remained neutral. (See note at the end of chapter.)

The failure of Coisnon's mission exasperated Le Clerc greatly and he saw at once that there was before him a trying campaign and that no time must be lost. Toussaint had three lieutenants upon whom he thought he could rely, Maurepas, an accomplished officer who commanded in the valley of the Three Rivers; Dessalines, an officer of remarkable talent and energy who was commanding at St.

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Marc; and Christophe, a general of caution and prudence who commanded near the Cape. Toussaint himself with a body of picked troops occupied the center of the line in the rear. To Dessalines had also been consigned the care of the important fort Crête à Pierrot. Just how many men were in these several commands it is impossible to state. It has been asserted that Toussaint L'Ouverture's army even before the defections occurred did not number over 15,000 men and this seems to be about a correct estimate. Mossell, quoting from manuscripts in the possession of the L'Ouverture family, finds in all the army as described in the preceding paragraph, exclusive of Maurepas's army, fifteen battalions and one squadron of cavalry.

Before setting out upon this campaign which Le Clerc intended should be short and conclusive, he issued a proclamation which exhibited the chagrin he had experienced, and also foreshadowed his purpose of negotiation.

"CAPE-FRANÇOIS, Feb. 17.

"TO THE INHABITANTS OF SAINT DOMINGO.

"*Citizens:*

"I come in the name of the French government to bring you peace and happiness. I was apprehensive of meeting with obstacles in the ambitious views of the chiefs of the colony. I have not been mistaken.

"These chiefs, who, in their proclamations constantly published their attachment to France, thought of nothing less than becoming French: they wished for the possession of Saint Domingo for themselves; and if they sometimes spoke of France, it was because they did not think themselves as yet in a situation to discard their allegiance.

"To-day their perfidious intentions are made known. General Toussaint had sent me his children, with a letter, in which he assured me, that he wished for nothing more than the happiness of the colony, and that he was ready to obey whatever orders I might give him.

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"I ordered him to wait upon me. I pledged my word to him, that I would employ him as my lieutenant-colonel. He answered me only by protestations.

"My orders from the French government are, immediately to reëstablish in the colony prosperity and abundance. Were I to permit myself to be amused by his wily and perfidious ambiguities, the colony would soon be the theater of a tedious civil war.

"I am entering the field, and soon shall I convince this rebel what the power of the French government is.

"From this moment he should only be regarded in the eyes of every good Frenchman who inhabits Saint Domingo as a monster who has sacrificed the safety of his country to a lust for power.

"Every inhabitant of this island must be convinced by the oppressive rule he has exercised over all that he only looked upon the word Liberty, a word which he so constantly made use of, as a means to arrive at the most absolute despotism in Saint Domingo.

"*I* have promised liberty to the inhabitants of Saint Domingo. I know how to make *my* promise good. I shall cause persons and properties to be respected.

"I order as follows:

"Art. 1. That Generals Toussaint and Christophe be outlawed, and every citizen is hereby ordered to attach and treat them as rebels to the French republic.

"2. From the day that the French army shall have taken possession of any quarter, every officer, civil and military, who shall obey the orders of any others than those of the generals of the army of the French republic which I command, shall be treated as a rebel.

"3. Cultivators who (through error, or induced by the perfidious insinuations of the rebel generals) may have taken up arms, shall be looked upon as children who have been led astray, and be sent back to their cultivations; provided, however, that they have not contributed to the excitement of sedition.

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"4. Soldiers of the demi-brigades, who shall have quitted the army of Toussaint, shall be enrolled in the French army.

"5. Gen. Augusten Clairvaux, commandant of the department of Cibao, having acknowledged the French government and the authorities of the captain-general, continues to enjoy his grade and command.

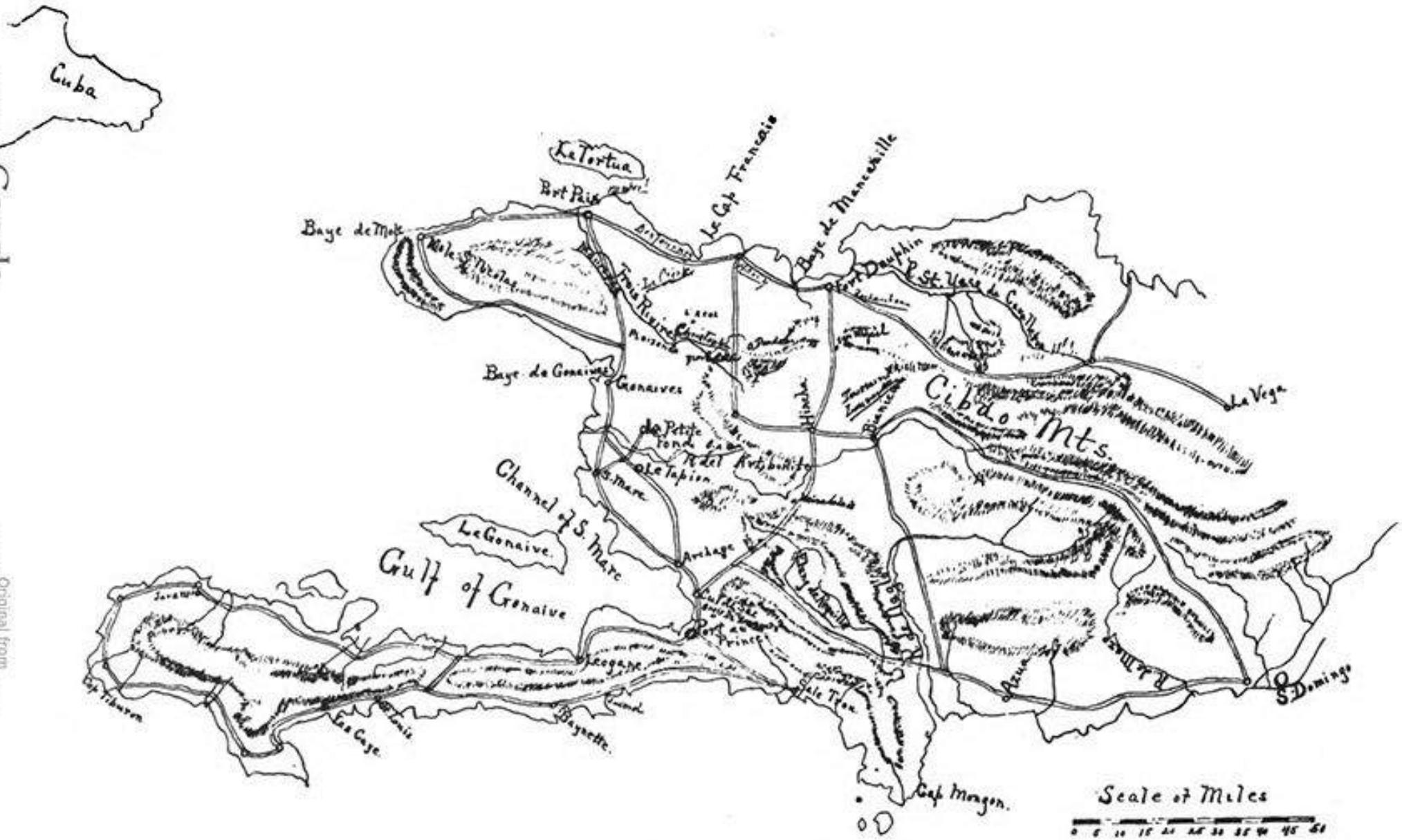
"6. The general head of the staff shall cause the present publication to be printed and published.

(Signed) "LE CLERC."

Only Toussaint L'Ouverture and Christophe are outlawed, leaving all the other officers of the army free to act as they might be inclined; the soldiers also, who were with the outlawed generals, were promised admission into the French army upon deserting their commands.

To read the reports of the few days' fighting which followed the issuing of this proclamation as the details are given by Le Clerc, one might fancy there was but little opposition. Let us try to follow up the fortunes of the several divisions of the French army first, in order to get a true conception of the campaign. The adjoining map will show the positions of Le Clerc's forces on February 17, as well as their several objectives which were reached in the main on the day following. The invading army at that time numbered about 18,000 men, while the black army of defense could not have been over 8,000, if indeed as many. The army of Saint Domingo which L'Ouverture commanded, previous to the outbreak, numbered about 15,000 effectives; but these were scattered throughout the whole island. General Rochambeau's division was in camp southeast of Mancenillo Bay and was to move against San Miguel and San Raphael; Hardy's division was south of the Cape with orders to move southward against Dondon and Marmelade; Desfournez was at Limbé, to move southward to Plaisance; Humbert was at Port de Paix with

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MILITARY MAP MADE DURING THE CAMPAIGN.

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directions to enter the valley of Trois Rivieres and dislodge the black General Maurepas; Le Clerc was at Gros Morne in advance between Desfournez and Humbert. The movement began on the 17th, and on the 18th the positions indicated were gained with no severe fighting, but nevertheless with some loss to the invaders. Desfournez, Hardy and Rochambeau encamped respectively, near Plaisance, Dondon, and San Raphael. The next day, Jean Pierre Dumesnil, a mulatto who commanded the canton of Plaisance under Toussaint L'Ouverture, gave the place up, and with two hundred cavalry and three hundred infantry, joined Desfournez' army. General Hardy's division had met with like success on their way to Marmalade, and General Christophe finding himself betrayed evacuated the place having with him twelve hundred regular troops whom he led away in good order. General Rochambeau had some fighting to take possession of San Miguel.

General Humbert who attempted to advance up the valley of Trois Rivieres was repulsed by Maurepas, and General Debelle was sent to his assistance. Le Clerc also ordered Boudet to move northward from Port-au-Prince by way of La Petite Riviere in order to be able to cut off the retreat of Maurepas whom he supposed would try to reach Gonaives. Maurepas, however, instead of being defeated, repulsed both Humbert and Debelle, causing their armies to retreat with difficulty and loss. Boudet on starting northward was completely outgeneraled by Dessalines acting under Toussaint; but La Plume who, up till that time had concealed his defection joined Boudet's army and placed his whole district under his command, thus enabling Boudet to coöperate with Le Clerc at the North. On the 24th Rochambeau's division met the personal forces of Toussaint L'Ouverture in the Ravine of Coulevre. L'Ouverture had about 4,000 men of whom Le Clerc says "Toussaint's troops fought man to man." Thiers recites that the

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French troops suffered in their advance from the fire of troops under cover "who were good marksmen"; but that the old soldiers of the Rhine when they had reached the field, "finished the affair with a single charge," capturing all of Toussaint's artillery and leaving eight hundred blacks dead or wounded on the field. A British officer says: "It was an affair deserving an accurate description in the military annals of the time. The ability and bravery of the French troops were called forth, and every maneuver of the black tactics was displayed. On a bloody field at the close of the day victory remained doubtful, and each party was more anxious with regard to their future movements than to the honor of superiority so dearly bought. Rochambeau retired to Gonaives and Toussaint to the banks of La Petite Riviere." The L'Ouverture manuscripts quoted by Mossell says: "From four o'clock in the morning until eleven o'clock, both sides fought valiantly, now losing and then gaining the vantage ground without decisive success; but from the moment that General L'Ouverture, followed by Colonel Magny, placed himself at the head of his grenadiers, General Rochambeau was driven back to the river where the battle was pitched in the morning."

General Desfournez and Rochambeau now came to the aid of Humbert and Debelle against Maurepas. General Boudet also through La Plume's defection had now been able to reach St. Marc and by order of Le Clerc had moved northward to join in the attack; General Hardy's division posted in Gros Morne was also ordered to join, and two hundred men of Le Clerc's own guard were also ordered forward to join the attacking force. Hence there were six divisions, with an addition of two hundred men from the captain-general's guards, concentrated against Maurepas; while he himself was cut off from all immediate assistance either by land or sea. The fortunes of war had decided against the brave and accomplished black general and he surrendered to Debelle on the conditions of the

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promise of Le Clerc, viz.: "To continue in their rank such as surrendered." This promise was carried out in the case of General Maurepas during the life time of Le Clerc, although after the death of that general he met a horrible fate which we shall hereafter relate. General L'Ouverture although greatly affected by the loss of Maurepas did not disapprove of his action. His bravery had been well attested. The army of Maurepas was incorporated into that of Le Clerc.

General L'Ouverture is now reduced to his own guard and to the forces of Christophe and Dessalines so far as the army of the North is concerned. Dessalines, experienced, talented, energetic and brave; — Christophe, cautious, prudent and no less brave, remained at present true to their old commander. That Le Clerc had less hope of winning Christophe than of Dessalines may be inferred from the fact that the latter was not named as outlawed in his proclamation.

When the condition above described had been reached Le Clerc sent off his first communication to the minister of marine in which he reports that in the course of five days the army of Saint Domingo, as he calls his army, has routed the chief of their enemies, obtained possession of a considerable quantity of their baggage and a portion of their artillery. Desertion, he says, is frequent in the rebel camp. Clervaux, La Plume, Maurepas and many other chiefs have submitted. The plantations of the South are entirely preserved, the whole of the Spanish part of the island has surrendered. Such was his view; yet up to this time his army had not visited the South, and was lying still in the Spanish part. His army had debarked, as we have seen, quite simultaneously at Santo Domingo, Port-au-Prince, Cape François and Fort Dauphin, yet those in the French part, had been able to make a junction only through the defection of La Plume. And notwithstanding the movements they had made and the great losses Tous-

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saint had experienced through the submissions of his lieutenants, that general still held his position and moved his forces at will. Neither his own camp nor the camps of his subordinates were ever surprised, although they frequently surprised the enemy. The surrender of Maurepas, following the drawn battle of Coulevre, did not cause Toussaint to abandon his positions. He had forces on the bluffs of Chaos as well as at Crête à Pierrot which must be overcome before he could be subdued. The next move of the French was against this fort.

Crête à Pierrot was situate upon the right bank of the Artibonite not far from La Petite Riviere. I shall give the succinct account of its reduction as it is found in Thiers' Consulate, etc. "The captain-general ordered Hardy's and Rochambeau's divisions to advance from one side and Boudet's from the other. Some hundreds of men were lost in attacking with too much confidence the works of the Crête à Pierrot which were better defended than they were supposed to be. It was found necessary to undertake a sort of regular siege, to execute works of approach, to establish batteries. Two thousand blacks, good soldiers commanded by officers less ignorant than the others, guarded this repository of the resources of Toussaint. The latter, seconded by Dessalines, strove to interrupt the siege by night attacks, but without success; and, in a short time the fort was pressed so closely that assault became practicable. The garrison, reduced to despair then resolved to make a nocturnal sortie in order to break through the lines of the besiegers and to escape. In the first moment they contrived to elude the vigilance of our troops and to traverse their encampments; but being discovered and attacked on all sides they were partly driven back into the fort and partly destroyed by our soldiers. This sort of arsenal was stormed and in it were found considerable stores of arms and ammunition, and many whites cruelly murdered."

Crête à Pierrot was a fort about one hundred feet long

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GENERAL JEAN JACQUES DESSALINES,
LIBERATOR OF HAITI.

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surrounded by a wide and deep fosse. It was garrisoned with about one thousand men and armed with twelve cannon, eight and twelve pounders. The officers in charge were Magny, Lamartiniere, Morisset Montpont and Larose. It was under the command of Dessalines who had placed the cannon there. March 4, Generals Debelle and Devant made the first attack upon it with about two thousand men expecting to carry it with the bayonet. They were met by a fierce fire of musketry and artillery which mowed down over four hundred of their men, wounding both generals, and forcing them to retreat. Pampour, chief of artillery, conducted the retreat, the command falling back to La Petite Riviere. On March 11, all the divisions of the French army deployed proudly in the plain around the fort. Dessalines who was absent when the first attack was made, was now within the fort. Lifting a torch he held it over a caisson of powder and said to the garrison: "I want only brave men with me. We are going to be attacked this morning. Let those who wish to be slaves to the French leave the fort. Let those, on the contrary, who wish to die free men rally to me." The whole garrison shouted: "We will all die for liberty." Then waving the torch again, Dessalines said: "I will blow up everything if the French enter this fort."

Boudet's division advanced resolutely to meet a storm of bullets and held its ground until six hundred valiant men had fallen, among them General Boudet himself. The command of this division then fell into the hands of General Pamphile Lacroix. General Dugua immediately came up commanding Debelle's division; the fire recommenced, Dugua being wounded twice, and over three hundred of his men falling. Le Clerc himself who was personally conducting this attack received also a slight contusion.

A regular siege was now ordered. The divisions of Dugua and Boudet were united and placed under the command of General Lacroix; this united division occupied

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the northwest approach; Rochambeau's division held the southeast, and tried there to erect a battery of seven pieces of heavy artillery on a knoll which commanded the fort; Dessalines allowed this to go on until the men were massing confidently, and then by a deadly fire swept off hundreds of them causing the enterprise to fail. This occurred March 22, eleven days after the siege had commenced. Hardy's division lay between those of Rochambeau and Lacroix, to the north. Le Clerc had retired to the village of La Petite Riviere to watch the progress of the siege. Dessalines left the fort with a body of men on the night of the 24th for the purpose of interrupting the siege. In his sortie he encountered Hardy's advance guard, a skirmish ensued, nevertheless Dessalines effected his purpose. For two days more, the bombardment continued; the garrison now reduced to not over five or six hundred effectives, Lamartiniere commanding, resolved to evacuate the fort in the face of the enemy without terms, and executed his daring project to the astonishment of the assailing army. The reader is permitted here to read the account of this brilliant feat as given by General Lacroix who commanded the most important division in the attack and the siege.

"The retreat that the commandant of Crête à Pierrot had the courage to conceive and execute was a remarkable feat of arms. We were surrounding his post to the number of more than twelve thousand men; he escaped without losing the half of his men, leaving us only his dead and wounded. Our losses were so great that they greatly distressed the captain-general; he obliged us for policy, to disguise them; and he himself minimized them in his official reports." The Haitian statesman M. Firmin says: "The retreat at Crête à Pierrot, where the troops of Dessalines opened for themselves a passage by the bayonet through an enemy ten times more numerous than themselves is one of the most brilliant feat of arms in the history of Haiti." Could not this Haitian whose modesty

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compelled him to restrict his comparisons within the limits of Haitian history safely have compared this feat with that of any similar movement in modern times? The black soldiers of Saint Domingo at that time were superbly trained in the use of the bayonet. A European officer who had witnessed their drills said: "Their chief dexterity, however, was in the use of the bayonet. With that dreadful weapon, fixed on muskets of extraordinary length in their hands, neither cavalry nor artillery could subdue infantry, although of unequal proportion; but when they were attacked in their defiles no power could overcome them." In another place this officer describes their maneuvers: "At a whistle a whole brigade ran three or four hundred yards, then separating threw themselves flat on the ground, changing to their backs or sides, keeping up a strong fire the whole time, till they were recalled; they then formed again in an instant, into their wonted regularity. This single maneuver was executed with such facility and precision as totally to prevent cavalry from charging them in bushy or hilly countries."

Toussaint still possessed the army with which he successfully resisted Rochambeau; Christophe maintained an important command; and Dessalines yet had an effective force. These held communication with one another and were not dispirited, as subsequent events demonstrated. The evacuation of Crête à Pierrot by Lamartiniere took place on the 26th of March, 1802; Le Clerc then flattered himself that his authority would soon extend throughout the island. Almost the whole army had been engaged in the siege, and a good portion of them were marauding and murdering in the valley of the Artibonite. Toussaint and Christophe taking advantage of the unprotected condition in which had been left the territory in the rear, joined their commands and poured an accumulated force down into the plain of the Cape, attacking Desfournez at Plaisance and completely routing his forces. General L'Ouver-

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ture then in command passed on through Dondon and Marmalade, not meeting any serious opposition, halting within a mile and a half of the Cape. General Boyer[4] attempting to oppose him with the whole force left at the Cape augmented by the marines and sailors from the fleet, was driven back to the very hospital. The divisions of Rochambeau and Hardy were recalled with all haste and they returned by forced marches, harassed by the forces of the merciless Dessalines, of whom it was said: "In Dessalines' methods there were no changes. He would fly, disappear, return, slaughter and burn everything." When they reached the seat of conflict, however, General Toussaint and Christophe with their army had retired to the mountains near Hincha.

General Toussaint L'Ouverture now contemplated taking the offensive and planned to divide the army of Le Clerc. The soldiers and officers who had gone over he knew could not be relied upon in case of actual fighting and he still had an army. He directed Dessalines to reoccupy Crête à Pierrot and other points on the right bank of the Artibonite; that General Vernet should take possession of Gonaives, and he himself, would attack Plaisance and Limbé. He knew that with the losses the French had sustained and the demoralization produced by the climate and labor, that his army was now fully the equal of the army of invasion. He had also saved his stores and his arms, and was prepared to continue the war. Although reënforcements came Le Clerc did not regard himself prepared to attack Toussaint's army in their defenses, with the lessons of Crête à Pierrot so fresh in mind.

Le Clerc on May 8 wrote very flatteringly of the success which had been won by French arms. "Previous to the arrival of the succors from Europe the rebels were beaten and dispersed in every direction; terror filled their camps; their magazines were exhausted; their gunpowder

[4] Jean Pierre Boyer who afterward became president of Haiti.

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failed; and for food they were obliged to eat bananas. The arrival of the squadrons from Flushing and Havre gave the finishing blow to their hopes." This was the roseate view that the brother-in-law wished might obtain in France. Perhaps two weeks before this time General L'Ouverture received a letter through an officer, direct from General Boudet then commanding at Port-au-Prince, stating that General Le Clerc seriously desired to enter into negotiations to end a war which had resulted originally from a misunderstanding. A few days later Toussaint L'Ouverture received a letter from the Cape bearing the signature of Le Clerc, brought to him by General Fressinet, a former staff officer under Laveaux, who had arrived with the reënforcements. This officer also said he had no doubts of the good intentions of Le Clerc. The letter appealed to General Toussaint L'Ouverture in the name of patriotism to take into consideration the horrors of war of which Saint Domingo was the theater. L'Ouverture replied that he had nothing to reproach himself for in regard to the war which might have been avoided; and that although his position was quite different from what it had been it gave him the hope of conquering or dying in glory. He would not hesitate, however, to accept for the good of the country any propositions which might be made to him providing they were honorable in their character and based on equity. Thiers' verbose narrative at this juncture becomes almost puerile. He says: "The chiefs struck by the courtesy shown by the Captain-General Le Clerc to those who had surrendered, and whom he suffered to retain their ranks and their possessions began to think of laying down their arms. Christophe addressed himself through the medium of the blacks who had already submitted to the captain-general and offered to make his submission if he were promised the same appointments as the Generals La Plume, Maurepas and Clervaux. The captain-general who had as much humanity as good sense assented cheerfully

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to the proposals of Christophe and accepted his offers. The surrender of Christophe soon led to that of the ferocious Dessalines, and lastly of that of Toussaint." Of Toussaint he says: "The captain-general who had little hope of taking him unrelentingly as he might pursue him among the numerous and remote fastnesses of the island consented to grant him a capitulation similar to that which he had granted to his lieutenants. His rank, appointments, and property were restored to him on condition that he should reside in a specified place and not change his abode without the permission of the captain-general."

Baines who wrote his history before Thiers' work appeared says: "The terms of the negotiation on which the submission of the Negro generals was grounded have been studiously concealed but they no doubt had for their basis the personal freedom of the chiefs and a recognition and security of their property."

Captain Marcus Rainsford[5] from whom I have quoted several times already, states that at the time of his first publication of his sojourn in Haiti, he had been "twenty-four years an officer in His Majesty's service"; he it was he claims who first employed the appellation, Black Republic, to Haiti. He wrote his account while the things were fresh in mind. He was contemporary with the events and wrote not as a literary man, but as a soldier. A letter received by the author from the British War Office dated October 26, 1911, states that he served as captain in the 3rd West India Regiment from July 1, 1795, to March 19, 1800. His book appeared in 1805, although some of the same material it contains had been published as newspaper and review articles in 1801-2. His description of

[5] The "Annual Register" London, for 1803, referring to Captain Rainsford said:

The view of French proceedings in Saint Domingo has been continued, and in this, as in the former Volume, great reliance has been placed on a narrative published by a British Officer, who had means of seeing the events he has related. (Preface.)

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the capitulation is most interesting. He says that Le Clerc dispatched his aide-de-camp to France with an account of *the surrender* of the blacks. "In this dispatch he describes them as begging their lives, and surrendering at discretion, being hunted down, and made prisoners in their different residences." Baines quotes from that dispatch: "Christophe sent to inform me that he had always been a friend to the whites, whose social qualities and information he had esteemed most highly, etc." In a word he was anxious to know whether there remained any hopes of safety for him. "The orders I sent were that he should repair to the Cape alone,[6] dismiss all the laboring Negroes whom he had collected with him, and collect all the troops under his command. Everything was punctually executed; and the submission of this chief completed the consternation of the rebel cause." So much for Christophe; how unfortunate that Thiers did not read this dispatch and thus save himself from falling into the errors he has related concerning Christophe's capitulation. Of Toussaint he says: "Toussaint employed every means to acquaint me with the afflicting situation in which he was placed, and with what pain he saw hostilities continued without object and without end. He added, that though adverse circumstances had impaired his strength, yet that he still remained sufficiently powerful to burn, ravage and destroy; and to enable him to sell dearly a life which had been use-

[6] Capt. Lee, from Cape François, which he left the 28th April, informs, that two days before, an interview had taken place, at Haut de Cap, between Gen. Le Clerc and Gen. Christophe. The whole result was not known; but not a doubt existed, that the black General had negotiated terms for himself and troops. He was to have been at the Cape the day Capt. Lee sailed, and to have dined with Gen. Hardy. It was generally supposed, that Toussaint was to become a party to Christophe's treaty. Gen. C. would not come within the French lines until a white officer of equal rank, was sent over as a hostage. Great joy was diffused throughout the Cape, on these tidings.—*Columbian Centinel*, Boston, May 19, 1802.

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ful to the mother country. I caused Toussaint to be informed that he had only to repair to the Cape and that the hour of pardon might still return. He did not fail to profit by the permission I had given him; he came to see me, entreated that he might be restored to favor, and took an oath of fidelity to France. I accepted his submission and ordered him to repair to a plantation near Gonaives, and never to leave it without my permission. Dessalines I have placed at a plantation near St. Marc."[1] Now that is the way perhaps that a captain-general ought to talk. But the historian Thiers with all his good wishes toward the First Consul does Le Clerc the great kindness not to give publicity to this dispatch. It may now be exhibited as a master piece of cheap falsifying.

Public hostilities ceased about the first of May upon the

[1] Charleston, May 25.

Yesterday arrived the ship *Halcyon*, Manley, Cape François, 14 days. . . .

Capt. Manley brings the most important intelligence: — Two days before he sailed from Cape François, a sloop of war arrived there, in twenty-three days from Havre-de-Grace, dispatched by the government of France to communicate the ratification of the Definitive Treaty. In consequence of this information, a general display of military rejoicings and illuminations had been made at the Cape, and on board the national vessels, by order of Gen. Le Clerc.

We learn further from Capt. M. and letters brought by him, that a compromise had taken place between General Le Clerc and Toussaint; hostilities had subsided, and the forces of the latter were disembodied. Toussaint and Christophe had been several times at Le Clerc's and continued in town thro' the day, but withdrew from it at night. Toussaint resides at his country seat near the town. What the nature of this compromise is, we are not able to collect, but have no doubt of its reality, as Capt. Manley saw Toussaint at the Cape.

It is stated that all the ports of Saint Domingo are opened, and the commercial interest rapidly increasing. Captain Rogers and another American captain, confined at the same time, are liberated, but ordered to leave the island.— *Aurora*, Philadelphia, June 8, 1802.

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submission of Christophe; and Toussaint did accept an invitation to come to the Cape and bore himself with such dignity and gentleness that he won all hearts and returned to his camp without making a treaty. He wished no more than what Christophe had obtained coupled with a dignified retirement. Before Le Clerc sent off his highly colored dispatch he penned these painful lines (lines that must have cost him deep soul-pangs), to the man he affected to despise. "General, you and your troops will be employed and treated like the rest of my army. With regard to yourself, you desire repose and you deserve it; after a man has sustained for several years the government of Saint Domingo, I apprehend he needs repose. I leave you at liberty to retire to which of your estates you please. I rely so much on the attachment you bear the colony of Saint Domingo as to believe you will employ what moments of leisure you may have during your retreat, in communicating to me your ideas respecting the means proper to be taken to cause agriculture and commerce again to flourish. As soon as a list and statement of the troops under General Dessalines are transmitted to me I will communicate my instructions as to the positions they are to take." It is but just to say for Dessalines that he never heartily joined in the treaty of peace. He coincided in the acts of the general-in-chief but he did not believe the avowals made on the part of the captain-general. He alone perhaps, was not deceived.

The day before Le Clerc sent off this letter the adjutant-general Dampierre sent Thouvenot chief of staff the following: "General Le Clerc has been closeted last evening several hours with a chief of brigade, aide-de-camp of Toussaint. Nothing came of the conference." Schoelcher says of the same interview: "Without doubt they had settled the basis of capitulation in terms: Liberty inviolable to all citizens of Saint Domingo; maintenance in their grades and functions of officers indigenes, civil and

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military; Toussaint to retain his staff and retire to whatever part of the territory of the colony he might choose. If these conditions should be accepted by the two parties then it was agreed that Toussaint and Le Clerc should meet at the habitation Mornets, May 5, for the purpose of signing the pact.

Toussaint always prompt, on May 5, instead of resorting to the place named came directly to the Cape. He was received with military honors, saluted by the artillery of the forts and of the ships. In the evening the city was illuminated.

General Debelle who had before been worsted in battle tried a little pass at raillery. He expressed his doubt of the sincerity of Toussaint in his presence and in a discussion with him said with a view of turning a laugh: "Que d'un sac a charbon on ne faisait pas sortir de la farine." [8] Toussaint looking around upon the circle of officers who were standing by replied: "C'est possible, general, mais de ce sac il peut sortir une matiere qui mette le bronze en dissolution." [9]

Toussaint had with him, says Normin, all his guard, a numerous troop of cavalry, remarkable on account of the choice men, the beauty of the horses and the brilliancy of their uniforms. Lacroix says: "Toussaint arrived followed by three or four hundred guides on horse who, during his interview with General Le Clerc remained constantly in order of battle swords drawn, in front or in the court of the government building." [10]

[8] "One does not pour flour out of a charcoal sack."

[9] "True, general, but out of such sack one can pour out something that will put brass in dissolution."

[10] In earlier days Toussaint had a special guard composed apparently quite like Washington's guard. The men were carefully selected from those most distinguished for military qualities and soldierly bearing. They wore helmets ornamented with purple feathers tipped with silver. There were ninety of them, mounted. On the front of the helmet was a plate bearing the device: "Qui

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The next day Toussaint, Christophe and Dessalines dined with Le Clerc. In the morning, however, before dining with the captain-general Toussaint visited his headquarters. The grenadiers and dragoons were drawn up in parade on the plateau; he announced to them that peace had come; he praised their courage; thanked them for the devotion they had shown him; had them pass before him in review for the last time, and embracing the principal officers in the presence of the men bade them all an affectionate adieu.

Toussaint L'Ouverture signed the treaty May 5, 1802, the basis of which contained the following three propositions.

I. The inviolable liberty of all citizens of Saint Domingo.

II. The maintenance in their grades and in their functions of all officers, military and civil, of the indigenes.

III. Toussaint L'Ouverture to retain his staff and to retire to whatever part of the colonial territory he might choose. Once more we see peace in Saint Domingo. Is it another coming of "transient and deceitful peace" of which we have seen so much? This treaty of May 5, 1802, was the basis of the dispatch of May 8, 1802.

From the *Aurora*, Philadelphia, June 10, 1802. Things appear different to different eyes.

Extract of letter from Cape François, dated, May 8, 1802.

"Toussaint came into town the day before yesterday, with the sound of the trumpet, accompanied by about thirty Negroes on horseback. He alighted at the captain-general's, and was desired to walk up stairs to his apartment. Le Clerc was not at home, having a quarter of an hour before set off in a row-boat to visit the shipping in the harbor. General Boyer who represented him, received the

pourra en venir à bout." Toussaint L'Ouverture himself was a superb horseman; and during his latest days rode an animal which he called Belargent, horse and man seeming almost a unified personality.

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general of the rebels with all possible civility, and dispatched an express to the general-in-chief, who made answer he would come instantly, and sent orders to give Toussaint his dinner.

"Immediately on entering the room this brigand sat himself down, troubled, disconcerted, and with much personal embarrassment. He, however, endeavored to assume an attitude suitable to his dignity. Rocking himself on his chair, with his saber between his legs, and affecting an air of consequence, he cast his eyes on the ceiling and then on the floor alternately. . . .

"Le Clerc came. He requested all the officers to withdraw, and the two generals remained a considerable time together. It was ten o'clock at night when Toussaint went out of town."

A private letter from the Cape, of the same date (May 8, 1802), observes —

"The intelligence of peace has made Toussaint listen to terms. The whole island is restored to quiet. The chiefs have submitted to the laws of the Republic. I saw Toussaint yesterday at General Le Clerc's, and I saw a man! everything he spoke was the result of deep reflection; he possesses a solid judgment and talent, and had the air of one accustomed to command. This man is far superior to the rest of his color. His character is very much mistaken in Europe . . ."—*American Daily Advertiser*, August 12, 1802.

Notes

Full text of Le Clerc's letter to Toussaint L'Ouverture, and official dispatch

The war in St. Domingo has terminated, and the "infuriated blacks," who have been seeking to maintain their rights and liberties, "through blood and slaughter," have been obliged to submit to the "ultima ratio" of Gen. Le Clerc. It appears by the following address that Toussaint has obtained honorable terms, and that he is not that black "villain, hypocrite and scoundrel," which he has been called.

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IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT

THE GENERAL IN CHIEF TO GENERAL TOUSSAINT

It is with pleasure, Citizen General, I see the part you have taken in submitting to the arms of the Republic. Those who have endeavored to deceive you, with respect to the real intentions of the French government, are extremely culpable. It is not, however, our business, at present, to seek for the authors of past evils; but to endeavor to restore the colony, as speedily as possible, to its former prosperity.

You, General, and the troops under your command, as well as the inhabitants of the colony who are with you, need be under no apprehension for any past transactions. I will draw a veil of oblivion over all that has happened before my arrival at St. Domingo. In this I imitate the example which the First Consul gave to France after 18 Brumaire.

A new order of things has taken place; hereafter we shall know of no distinction among the citizens, but of those of the good and the bad.

Your Generals and your troops shall be employed, and treated like the rest of my army. As for you, you desire repose; repose is due to you. He who has supported the burthen of the government of Saint Domingo for several years, I know must have need of it. I leave you perfectly free to retire to any one of your dwellings which you may think the most expedient. I have such confidence in your attachment to the Colony of Saint Domingo, as to expect that some of the leisure hours you will enjoy during your retreat, will be employed in communicating to me your views and sentiments respecting the measures most proper to be pursued, to renovate the agriculture and commerce of this country.

So soon as I learn the state and situation of the troops under the orders of Gen. Dessalines, I will make known to you my intentions, respecting the position they must occupy.

At the end of this letter is an Arete (sic) which abrogates that of the 28th Pluvoise (sic), which related personally to you.*

Headquarters at the Cape, 13 Floreal, 10th year of the French Republic, I salute you.

LE CLERC, General in Chief.

— *Columbian Centinel*, Boston, June 5, 1802.

Editorial—Accounts from Cape François, are to the 19th ultimo; when every thing was tranquil. Toussaint had surrendered on

* The Arete (sic) here alluded to is a repeal of that which outlawed the Black General.

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the terms announced in Gen. Le Clerc's letter to him. The most interesting article from this quarter is, "That six thousand troops had passed the Cape, in a squadron destined to take possession of Louisiana."

— *Columbian Centinel*, Boston, June 5, 1802.

ARMY OF ST. DOMINGO

The General in Chief to the Minister of Marine and Colonies.

Headquarters at the Cape, May 8.

CITIZEN MINISTER,

"I take the earliest opportunity of dispatching citizen Bruyeres, my aid-de-camp, to acquaint you of the happy events which have reëstablished tranquillity throughout this fine and immense colony.

"You must have received the dispatches by which I informed you of the military occurrences which took place in the course of the month of Germinal [March 22, April 20]. Beaten and dispersed in every direction, terror filled the camps of the rebels. Destitute of stores, and almost without powder, they were reduced to eat bananas.

"The arrival of the squadron from Flushing and Havre gave the finishing blow.

"Christophe sent to inform me that he had always been a friend to the whites, whose social qualities and information he had esteemed more highly than any other man of color; that all the Europeans who have been in St. Domingo could bear testimony to his principles and his conduct; but that imperious circumstances, which govern and frequently decide the conduct of a public character, had not left him the power to act as he could have wished: in a word, that he was anxious to know whether there still remained any hopes of safety for him. I returned in answer, that with the French people the door of repentance was always left open; that the constant habit of the first consul was to weigh the actions of men, and that a single misdeed, whatever were its consequences, never effaced the remembrance of services formerly rendered; that, in fact, the information received by me previous to my departure, was personally favorable to him; and, in short, that if he was willing to place himself at my discretion, he would have reason to be satisfied.

"He still hesitated. Several columns marched in pursuit of him, and some slight encounters took place. At length Christophe apprized me that I had only to send him my orders. Those I sent were, that he should repair alone to the Cape, dismiss all

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working Negroes whom he had still with him, and collect all the troops under his command. Everything was punctually executed. More than 2000 inhabitants of the Cape, who were in the most distant mornes, have returned. His magazines and artillery are in our hands, and about 1200 of the troops of the line, whom he had still remaining, joined our troops. A part of them have been disarmed and sent to work at the plantations. The rest I retain, in order to be incorporated with the Colonial troops.

"The submission of Christophe completed the consternation of Toussaint. He employed every means to acquaint me with the afflicting situation in which he was placed, and with what pain he saw hostilities continued without an object, and without an end. He added, that very unfortunate circumstances had already occasioned many calamities; but that, however great the force of the French army, he should remain sufficiently strong and powerful to burn, ravage and sell dearly a life which had once been useful to the Mother Country.

"All these communications, frequently repeated, gave rise to profound reflections.

"Three-fourths of the colony had still escaped the ravages of fire; Toussaint and the blacks, though they have done much mischief and conducted the war with extreme barbarity, had never seen France, and, for twelve years had received only false impressions of our force and our character.

"I caused Toussaint to be informed that he had only to repair to the cape, and that the hour of pardon might still return.

"Toussaint did not fail to profit by the permission I had given. He came to see me, entreated to be restored to favor, and took an oath of fidelity to France. I accepted his submission, and ordered him to repair to a plantation near Gonaives, and never to leave it without my permission.

"I have placed Dessalines at a plantation near St. Marc.

"All the planters, who had been carried off, are returned.

"I shall incorporate with the colonial troops such part of the trained blacks as I shall think fit to be entrusted with arms.

"The stores and pieces of artillery which they had dragged to the tops of the precipices, or concealed in the woods, are daily brought in. They had still more than a hundred. A new era commences. From all the arretes and measures I have taken you will perceive that we are busily occupied with the internal administration of the country.

"The bad season has commenced; but the repose which the troops enjoy will enable us to pass it with the least possible loss. In

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consequence of your attention, we are abundantly supplied with provisions.

"Health and respect.

(Signed) "LE CLERC."

—*Aurora*, Phila., August 13, 1802.

FROM THE FRENCH PAPERS

The *Moniteur* contains a very long letter, dated the 20th of February, from Citizen Coisnon, Director of the Institution of the Colonies, to Gen. Decres, Minister of the Marine and Colonies.

"On the 7th of February," says the writer, "Toussaint's children and I took our departure from the Cape at 8 o'clock in the evening, the weather being very bad at the time; we went to the plantation of Hericourt, where the Captain-general thought their criminal father was; we did not, however, find him there — and only saw about 20 armed blacks, whom we attempted to bring back to the path of duty, but in vain; one of them, almost in a state of nudity, told us that Toussaint was at Marmelade; we immediately set off for that place — as we proceeded we found but a few blacks at the scattered posts. When we reached Marmelade, we learned that Toussaint had been there the night before, and that it was probable he was gone to Ennery, where he usually resided; we got there about eleven o'clock at night and found his wife at home,— when she saw her children, that good mother melted into sensibility. She sent several messengers to find out her husband, and make him acquainted with the arrival of his sons, informing him at the same time that we were bearers of the dispatches from the First Consul.

"The next night Toussaint made his appearance — his arrival awoke us — the father and the two sons ran in each other's embrace — I saw them shed tears of joy; and wishing to avail myself of an opportunity, which I conceived to be a favorable one, I stopped him, when he offered to take me to his arms, and thus addressed him —'Is it true that you are Toussaint the friend of France?' He answered as he approached me, 'Can you doubt it?' I then spoke to him as follows: 'General, you will now hear what your children have to say to you; they will be the faithful interpreters of the First Consul, and of the captain-general of the colony. Believe their innocence and the integrity of their sentiments.'

"Isaac then spoke to his father, and repeated all the First Consul had told him at Paris, and mentioned everything that the captain-general had said relating to Toussaint, at Brest, on the passage at the Cape.

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"Toussaint observed a studied silence while his son was speaking. I then presented the box that contained the First Consul's letter; he took and read it, and it seemed to please him much. I advised him to go to the captain-general, but he told me, that having received letters from several of his military chiefs, who threatened to burn and destroy everything, he would not comply with their wish; he requested I would write to the captain-general and beg of him to suspend the attack, telling me he would give orders to the same effect. I wrote my letter to the captain-general in his presence, he said he would send it off, and at four o'clock in the morning he left us.

"Just, however, as he was setting off, I prevailed on him to write to the captain-general, and to entrust it to Citizen Granville, on whose fidelity I could rely.

"We immediately set off with the young Toussaints, for the Cape, where we arrived the same day at eight in the evening; as we traveled, Citizen Granville, who was preceptor to one of Toussaint's sons, communicated to me very many shocking features in that villain's character.

"The letter was delivered to the captain-general, who immediately answered it, and commissioned his sons to carry it, telling them to assure their father, that he was disposed to forget the past; invited him to come to headquarters for the purpose of adopting measures to prevent farther destruction, promising at the same time on his honor, that he should be second in command, and be treated with marked distinction. He moreover granted him an armistice of four days.

"At ten o'clock at night the young Toussaints set off, and remained with their faithless father.

(The letter concludes with this passage.)

"Pity me, Citizen Minister, for not having more satisfactory intelligence to transmit to you; be persuaded that I have done everything in order to succeed in my mission — I request you will communicate the same to the first consul, while you present him my respects, and the sentiments of my zeal."

— *Aurora*, Philadelphia, June 14, 1802.

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CHAPTER X

FROM THE PEACE (?) TO THE DEATH OF GENERAL LE CLERC

Toussaint L'Ouverture lays aside his arms — Perfidy — Review of the circumstances — Blacks had secured all they had been fighting for except the continued governorship of L'Ouverture. Toussaint willingly retires to his home — Brunet's letter — Was Toussaint to be blamed for trusting him? — The arrest — Toussaint defends his course in being deceived by the officer's letter — His deportation — Le Clerc's letter — Humiliations — The mills of the gods — Le Clerc attempts to administer the colony — Shock produced by the seizure of Toussaint — Negroes refuse to give up arms — War breaks out again — Rochambeau in the South and West — Toussaint and Petion two remarkable exceptions — Petion and Dessalines — Dessalines heads the revolt — Petion joins, his demi-brigade goes with him — The 10th and part of the 6th follow — Every black general except La Plume quits the service of France — Le Clerc dies — Rochambeau's bombastic proclamation — Le Clerc's remains sent to France — Sad return of the ambitious Madame L. C.

THE peace concluded was surely an honorable peace doing credit both to the arms of Toussaint L'Ouverture and to the heart of Le Clerc had that general been sincere. We now know that the deepest treachery lay at the base of these specious negotiations. Le Clerc had no intention of carrying out the agreement, but was still possessed of the intention to get rid of his great rival, and himself become in fact the governor of the island. Toussaint L'Ouverture trusting to the honor of this representative of Napoleon's government, laid aside his arms and retired to his estate and to the bosom of his family, his home naturally becoming the center of a large number of friends to whom he showed commendable hospitality. This alone was a part

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of the pretext for the accusations so soon made against him.

The capture of Toussaint was so perfidious and dastardly that so far it has never been justified by a single historian. All respectable writers either condemn it or slur it over with false statements, or ignore it. It is an act which cannot be justified. It was plain treachery. Let us briefly review the situation in order to sustain the view here expressed.

Seduced by the false promises of General Le Clerc who assured them that they should receive honor and due consideration in the French army, the bravest and most intelligent among his officers including even Christophe had abandoned their chief and made their submission. It must be remembered also that there were some native colored men from Saint Domingo who were holding honorable rank in Le Clerc's army through whom it was comparatively easy to approach and influence those who were in arms against the French. Under the circumstances described, Toussaint L'Ouverture felt himself justified in listening to propositions of peace; and all will agree that the terms proposed by Le Clerc were highly honorable. To these Toussaint had assented and a solemn agreement pledging the inviolable liberty of all citizens of Saint Domingo, as well as the maintaining in their grades and functions of all the civil and military officers had been signed. Thus having secured all that was desired, the blacks at once agreed to a suspension of hostilities; although the soldiers were not then called upon to give up their arms. Toussaint also was to remain a general of division and retain his staff.

One month and two days after the signing of this agreement, General Brunet whose name now appears for the first time in these affairs addressed to Toussaint the following letter.

"MY DEAR GENERAL:

"We have some arrangements to make together that it

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is impossible to explain by letter, which we may terminate in a conference of an hour. If I had not already gone beyond my strength in the work and arrangement of details, I would have been the bearer of my own message to-day; but not being able to go out at this time, I must ask you to do what I have done — if you have got over your indisposition. Let it be to-morrow. When the question is the accomplishment of good we ought not to postpone.

"You will not find in my rural habitation all the entertainment and comfort that I would wish in receiving you, but you will find the hearty welcome of a brave man whose strongest desire is the prosperity of the colony and your own personal happiness.

"If Madame Toussaint, whose acquaintance I very much desire to make, wishes to accompany you it will afford me great satisfaction. If she requires a horse I will send her mine. I assure you, general, that you will never find a friend more sincere than myself. With the confidence of the captain-general, and the friendship of all who are subordinate to him, you will enjoy perfect tranquillity.

"I cordially salute you,

"BRUNET.

"P. S. Your servant who is on his way to Port-au-Prince, passed here this morning. His passport was in due form on his departure."

Such was the letter that the French general, Brunet, wrote to Toussaint L'Ouverture acting under orders of Le Clerc. The servant mentioned in the postscript was one Mars Plaisir and instead of being on his way to Port-au-Prince he was at that very time held as a prisoner by Brunet. When the son of Toussaint L'Ouverture made public this letter in later years there were some who blamed Toussaint L'Ouverture for not being able to see in it the hand of the deceiver. This is not fair. It was now a time of peace, and the letter was from a general in the French

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army. Upon what ground should Toussaint have suspected treachery before the ink had scarcely dried upon the articles of agreement, and especially a treachery so grave? How could he imagine an officer of rank to be so depraved? It is therefore not at all to his discredit that he accepted General Brunet's invitation. Every statement in the letter itself by its method of approach, reveals the lofty character of the man betrayed. Only the highest motives are appealed to. When Toussaint received this letter he was on his estate at Ennery. He had been solicited by General Le Clerc to assist General Brunet in stationing and cantonizing the troops; and it is probable that this is what Brunet pretends to refer to when he says in his letter: "We have some arrangements to make together, etc."

Arriving at the house of General Brunet in Gonaives, who was also a general of division and therefore of equal rank with L'Ouverture, he was received with great cordiality. After a short time spent in conversation with Brunet in the parlor that officer asked to be excused for a moment and left the room. Immediately about a dozen officers with swords and pistols in hand entered the room. The intrepid soldier, taking them to be assassins, drew his sword and prepared to defend himself, skilled swordsman as he was. These officers were agents of Brunet. The chief of squadron, Ferrard, who commanded them, advanced with arms lowered and said: "My General, we have not come to make an attempt upon your life. We have orders only to make ourselves sure of your person." At these words Toussaint L'Ouverture returned his saber to its scabbard without uttering a word. "One can see here still the habitual firmness of his character. All resistance being impossible he resigned himself to his lot, calm and with perfect self-mastery as though bred in the school of the stoics." In speaking of his capture afterwards he said: "I was informed that an aide-de-camp of General Le Clerc passing through Ennery, was said to be the bearer of an

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order for my arrest directed to General Brunet. But General Le Clerc having given me his word of honor and promised the protection of the government, I refused to believe this." This was the 8th of June; he was placed immediately on board of the frigate *Le Creole*, in company with his wife, his sons, and several officers of his staff, and taken to the Cape. Here he was transferred to the warship *Heros* which immediately sailed for France, arriving at Brest July 21, 1802.

The letter which the captain-general sent along with this distinguished prisoner is so important and withal so illuminative that it is here presented entire to the reader. From it he will gain further insight upon the mind of its author, and also get a clearer view of the influences that were dominant in the transaction.

"Headquarters at the Cape, June 11.

"I informed you in one of my last dispatches of the pardon I had been induced to grant General Toussaint. This ambitious man, from the moment of his pardon did not cease to plot in secret. Though he surrendered, it was because Generals Christophe and Dessalines intimated to him that they clearly saw he had deceived them, and that they were determined to continue the war no longer; so finding himself deserted by them, he endeavored to form an insurrection among the working Negroes, and to raise them in a mass. The accounts which I received from all quarters and from General Dessalines himself, with respect to the line of conduct which he held since his submission, left no room for doubt upon the subject. I intercepted letters which he had written to one Fountaine who was agent at the Cape. These afforded an unanswerable proof that he was engaged in a conspiracy, and that he was anxious to regain his former influence in the colony. He waited only for the result of disease among the troops.

"Under these circumstances it would be improper to

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give him time to mature his criminal designs. I ordered him to be apprehended — a difficult task; but it succeeded from the excellent dispositions made by the General of Division Brunet, who was entrusted with its execution, and the zeal and ardor of citizen Ferrari, a chief of squadron, and my aide-de-camp.

"I have sent to France, with all his family, this so deeply perfidious man, who, with so much hypocrisy, has done so much mischief. The government will determine how it should dispose of him.

"The apprehension of General Toussaint occasioned some disturbances. Two leaders of the insurgents are already in custody, and I have ordered them to be shot. About an hundred of his confidential partisans have been secured, some of whom are sent on board *La Muiron*, frigate, which is under orders for the Mediterranean, and the rest are distributed among the different ships of the squadron.

"I am daily occupied in settling the affairs of the colony, with the least possible convenience, but the excessive heat, and the diseases which attack us render it a task extremely painful. I am impatient for the approach of September, when the season will restore us activity.

"The commissary of justice is dead, Mont Peson is dead. The colonial prefect, Benezech, is breathing his last. The adjutant-commandant, Dampier, is dead; he was a young officer of great promise. I have the honor to salute you,

"Le Clerc."

The government willingly acceded to Le Clerc's suggestions and incarcerated this accused general of division in Fort Joux in the Jura Mountains where, without trial, he lingered until the following April 7, 1803, when from the effects of climate and harsh treatment he died, still holding his rank as a general of division in the army of France. On leaving Haiti he said to his captors: "In overthrow-

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ing me, you have broken down only the trunk of the tree of liberty for the blacks; it will spring up again from its roots which are many and deep." While in prison, vainly pleading for a trial, by order of Bonaparte he was deprived of his uniform. His remark on giving it up was in the form of a question: "Is it necessary," he asked, "to add this humiliation to my misfortune?" When, later, he was deprived of his razor, he remarked: "They must have made a bad judgment of me, since they suspect me of lacking the necessary courage to support my misfortunes." Eleven years later the great Napoleon was himself a prisoner. He passed six years in exile, and though surrounded with many comforts suffered great mental tortures[1] and finally died in the hands of his enemies. It is said the mills of the gods grind slowly; but sometimes they appear to whirl with startling rapidity.

When Toussaint L'Ouverture was captured by the French and unceremoniously hurried off to France, Christophe and Dessalines were both serving nominally in the French army, having been received by Le Clerc in their military grade as generals. It was in June, and with the fresh force at hand Le Clerc felicitated himself that he could now proceed to settle the affairs of the colony. The government which he tried to reëstablish was about the same as that which Toussaint was carrying on when the French fleet arrived. Putting himself in the place of the former black governor and general-in-chief, he assumed the latter title in order that the substitution might appear complete. On June 22, 1802, he issued a decree which it will be better for the reader to peruse entire than to have it presented in any abbreviated form.

"HEADQUARTERS AT THE CAPE, June 22, 1802.

"In the name of the French Government, the General-in-chief, Captain-general, decrees as follows:

[1] Papers of Sir Hudson Lowe.

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"In the French part of Saint Domingo the administrations of the quarters and communes is confined to military commandants and councils of notables. The commandants to have the jurisdiction of police in their respective districts, and the chief command of the gens d'armerie. The councils of notables to be composed of proprietors or merchants, and to consist of five members in the towns of Port Republicain, the Cape, and Des Cayes, and of three members in other communes. The members to be appointed by the colonial prefect; and every one so appointed to be compelled to accept the office. The military commandants are charged with the delivery [granting] of passports for traveling in the colony, the suppression of vagrancy, the care of the police, the maintenance of cleanliness and health, the care of citizens newly arrived, the police of prisons, and the regulation of weights and measures, in concurrences with the council of notables. Except in the case of flagrant crimes, the military commandants cannot arrest any citizen without an order from the Commandant of the quarter. The communes to provide for their own expenses; the sums to be regulated by a decree of the general-in-chief, with the advice of the colonial prefect. No military commandant can put in requisition the laborers or the cattle of any plantation; the general-in-chief reserves that power to himself. The councils of notables to provide for the expenses of the communes and for the imposts adopted by the commander-in-chief with the advice of the colonial prefect. Those councils alone to deliberate upon the communal interests; all other assemblies of citizens are prohibited, and shall, if attempted, be considered as seditious and dispersed by force. The councils to correspond immediately with the sub-prefects, by whom their member may be suspended, and finally dismissed by the colonial prefect. There shall be in each parish a commissary to register the public acts.

"LE CLERC."

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To carry out this scheme of personal government, principally military, Le Clerc depended upon the European officers of his army mainly, although he made some use of the generals who had surrendered, and who still held their military rank. It is impossible to follow the movements of each of these chiefs during this short lull. Of Maurepas, the French general, Ramel relates that after his submission he was given command of Port de Paix, and that he had served under his orders; the others cannot be distinctly traced, although they seem to have been most of the time near the captain-general.

The deportation of General Toussaint produced not merely some disturbances, as Le Clerc wrote; it produced at first a profound shock; and this was soon followed by a bursting flame of insurrection which was fed and strengthened by the tidings that slavery had been reëstablished in Guadeloupe and in Martinique. From the farm laborers to the generals, the people were thrilled with indignation. A storm of rage was spreading all over the colony. The European army becoming weaker daily through the effects of the climate, and Dessalines and Christophe being especially active in giving encouragement to feelings which would further separate the blacks and the whites, Le Clerc, now fully alarmed and acting upon the advice of Napoleon, set out to disarm the black soldiers. Nothing could have been more perilous, unless it was not to disarm them. Dessalines recommended this measure most earnestly, and took an energetic part in carrying it out. He knew that the blacks could never forget the charge that had been given them as the gun had been placed in their hands; he knew also that this attempt would call fresh to their minds the treatment that had been meted out to the great Toussaint L'Ouverture who had said to them, "this gun is your liberty." Thiers remarks that the measure, which appeared reasonable and necessary, was approved by La Plume and Clervaux, whose principles were upright; "but

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those blacks who harbored perfidious intentions, like Dessalines, recommended it most earnestly." This historian admits that great numbers of the blacks fled to the bluffs; others submitted to torture rather than give up what they conceived as liberty itself — their muskets. Nevertheless, about 30,000 muskets were gathered in, mostly of English manufacture provided through the foresight of Toussaint L'Ouverture. It is also related that the men whom Dessalines commanded, sometimes when going into the mountains to collect muskets would be attacked fiercely, and finding occasion to retreat, would leave behind them important military stores. (See note at the end of the chapter.)

The fear of slavery and the love of liberty had now become a violent passion, and was so dominant and widespread among the blacks that they were prepared to brave anything and to subordinate everything in obedience to it. Maurepas and Christophe left the French service, forsaking rank, pay and nation without regret; and of these two men even Thiers is honest enough to say they did so because they were mastered by a sentiment stronger than themselves — the love of their threatened liberty. He cannot say so much for Dessalines, whose submission was never regarded as sincere. La Plume, Clervaux, Maurepas and Christophe were believed to have honestly gone over to the captain-general, having been deceived by his promises.

Rochambeau, who was working in the South and West, was even more impolitic and therefore more unfortunate than his chief, Le Clerc. He sent away Rigaud, much as Le Clerc had done Toussaint, and by this step had united and inflamed against him the mulattoes of that region whose idol Rigaud was. They were again prepared to cooperate with the infuriated blacks of the North. Rigaud had come out with the expedition, holding commission in the French army, but does not appear to have enjoyed the confidence of the commanders. He had hoped to be established in his old command in the South; instead, he is kept

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in the background and finally deported as a dangerous man. Petion, another colored officer who had received his military education in France, served in the artillery and took part in the siege of Crête à Pierrot as major, doing notable service in the siege. He is described by M. Price as one of the only two men of color who came to the knowledge that a "man cannot really belong to a nation in which he is proscribed on account of race or color or origin, within a narrow circle out of which he cannot go, and made to form an inferior caste." The author from whom this is quoted says that up to the present only two men of the black race have demonstrated by their acts that they were in full possession of this truth. These two men were Toussaint L'Ouverture, who always knew it, and Alexandre Petion, who learned it by a long and humiliating experience. The latter fancied himself, according to Price, a French officer at the time he was serving against his countrymen; but later France destroyed this illusion. Spain allowed Jean François to die in the illusion that he was a Spanish general. When, therefore, Dessalines, Christophe, Maurepas, Clervaux, and others of less note broke with Le Clerc and raised again the standard of revolt, and when the mulattoes of the South and West, goaded by the outrages of Rochambeau, cast in their lot with them, Petion began to realize that he was not a Frenchman.

Promoted to the position of chief of the 13th demi-brigade, he met Dessalines at Plaisance, July 7, 1802, one month after the deportation of Toussaint L'Ouverture. Petion was then wavering, but Dessalines distrusted him. Discussing Toussaint's capture, it was remarked that he had always been very lenient toward the whites; he had been accused of being too partial toward them. Petion finally broke out warmly: "But how could General Toussaint count upon the sincerity of the whites, he their former slave, when I have not even the friendship of my own father for the simple reason that I have African blood in my

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veins." Upon this Dessalines extended his hand cordially to Petion with the words: "You are right, my son." Dessalines, however, did not encourage a revolt at this time. He spoke of the affection for France which still existed, of the ambitions of some of the chiefs who might stand in the way. Nevertheless, observing the disaffection growing in proportion as French vexations increased, the two men agreed to profit by the first favorable occasion.

On the 8th of August, Le Clerc wrote to his brother-in-law: "Now that our plans with respect to the colonies are perfectly known, if you wish to retain Saint Domingo, send here a new army. However disagreeable my position, I am making some terrible examples, and since the only thing left me is terror, I continue to employ it." The disarming, arresting, shooting and drowning went on, the most shocking case being the judicial drowning of General Maurepas and his family. Le Clerc was employing the "terror," and in so doing was taking away the chief obstacle that lay in the way of Dessalines, the affection for France. Le Clerc and Rochambeau had prepared the land for action, and the action came. I shall quote the story from the pen of the Haitian writer, Cligni Ardouin.

"The moment came. The partial insurrections had increased. In the West, Lamour Desrance had greatly augmented his bold enterprise. This progress itself was one of the determining causes of the resolution of Dessalines. Lamour had taken arms after the deportation of Rigaud. Dessalines had come to the Cape, bringing Charles Belair taken with arms in his hands in revolt against the government. Petion saw him again in the city. The death of this general who, caressed by Toussaint after the tragic death of Möise, had hoped to be able to succeed him, was regarded by Petion and Dessalines as a new motive for going over to the insurrection; and the progress of Desrance's making him fear that he might very soon be too powerful a competitor, Dessalines agreed with Petion that

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as soon as he returned to St. Marc, they should both throw themselves on the side of the insurrection.

"But a fortuitous circumstance precipitated the movement of Petion. He was stationed at Breda, an advance-post of the Heights of the Cape, the line of which was commanded by General Clausel with General Claparede under his orders. A French officer returning from a mission to the interior stopped at Petion's post, his horse being about worn out from the journey. Seeing a beautiful horse he demanded with a tone of authority that this horse be given him in exchange for his own. Captain Francisque (died general of division commanding the arrondissement of Aquin), to whom the horse belonged, refused to give him up; and finally, irritated by the manner of the French officer, he said that his horse would not go out of his possession except at the point of the sword. The French officer at this hardihood, flew into a passion, and said to Francisque: 'All right; I have taken note of this and will report you to the Admiral.'

"Petion was present. He had observed with an eye of scorn the impertinence of the French officer, and admired the resoluteness of his captain of grenadiers. But at the threat of the officer he abandoned this calmness and said to him: 'Ah, then, is this the fate you have reserved for all of us — to be drowned? Very well; we will see.'

"It appears that the officer made his report of the affair and the arrest of Petion was determined upon; the least pretext at this time sufficed to occasion the death of a native, much more that of an officer of the importance of Petion. In the afternoon — the usual time for this sort of arrests so as to take advantage of the darkness of the night in their infamous executions — Petion was ordered to report to General Claparede. But Petion, suspecting the design of this order and its probable results, had decided to revolt immediately. Before complying with the order to report to Claparede, he called his chiefs of bat-

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talions, J. L. François and Moreau, and made known to them his intentions and arranged with them for the prompt realization of his object — the defection of the 13th.

"Reporting to Claparede, Petion there learned that Clausel had ordered him to appear at his quarters, and he went there. Clausel invited him to take dinner, saying he wished to talk over things of importance. Petion declined dinner, but remained at the quarters of Clausel. Meanwhile, Petion had hardly left camp when J. L. François called a trusty soldier, Corporal Germain, and confided to him the secret. Then under a frivolous pretext he struck him in the presence of the other soldiers. Germain took flight and went to carry his complaint to Petion. Petion put him off gently, and said to him that on his return he would investigate the matter. But Germain insisted and with accents of despair said, 'Colonel, my comrades are indignant. If you do not come and put an end to the unjust treatment carried on by Commandant Jean Louis, you will see what will happen.'

"Clausel, observing the threat of the soldier, said to Petion: 'Well, go; and reëstablish order in your corps; I will see you again.'

"Petion left with the appearance of quiet, and arrived at his camp in Breda. It was the evening of October 13, 1802. He found his demi-brigade in an uproar. He profited of the occasion to make them an address, and with little difficulty led them all into the insurrection. At midnight the movement was decided upon. It was immediately followed by the 10th, and a part of the 6th, who were on the same line. Clervaux, in whom Petion had not much confidence, did not learn of the movement until it was impossible for him to take any other course; he also took part in this important defection." (See note at the end of this chapter.)

This was when, as Thiers says, "the barbarous Dessalines threw off the mask"; and the mulattoes uniting

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with the blacks ravaged the South; every black excepting La Plume left the French service. Notwithstanding the optimistic dispatches which Le Clerc had sent off, the French army of Saint Domingo had only the Cape and a few surrounding positions in the North, Port-au-Prince and St. Marc in the West; and Jeremie, Aux Cayes and Tiburon in the South. General Le Clerc was much reduced in health and could no longer recuperate in Tortugas as the blacks had taken possession of that island. On November 2, 1802, after eleven months of hard service on the island in which he had really won neither victory as a warrior nor renown as an administrator, he came to a melancholy death just when the fortunes of his army were rapidly approaching a climax of disaster.

The proclamation issued next morning announcing his death was as follows: —

ARMY OF SAINT DOMINGO

The Colonial Prefect to the Army, and the Inhabitants of Saint Domingo.

Citizens, Soldiers:

The night passed has been a mournful night to us. The general-in-chief, Le Clerc, your captain-general, is no more. He has fallen; an irresistible malady has borne him from you.

Having scarcely attained the meridian of life, he was already a conqueror in battle and vigorous in council — at once a hero and a sage. Possessing dignity without pride, generosity without ostentation; his heart was just; your sorrows and his were perpetually the same.

Soldiers, although the brother of Bonaparte is no more — he will live in your hearts. The brigands, whose terror he was, will rejoice in his death; you will punish their detested joy.

The general of division, Rochambeau, is about to succeed General Le Clerc. He has already delivered the South

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and West from the brigands who ravaged them. He is the choice of the government and of the general whom you lament. Under his standard you will continue to conquer, and your hearts alone can inform you what loss you have sustained.

Inhabitants of Saint Domingo, rally with confidence around the new chief who is given to you. You have long known him, you have often blessed the success of his arms. You will have to applaud new triumphs. Forget not, soldiers and inhabitants, that union constitutes force; and that the only mode of honoring a man whom you loved, and who loved you, is to conduct yourselves as if he were still in the midst of you.

The French government watches over you; it will never abandon you.

The Colonial Prefect, D'Aubr.

The statement that Rochambeau had delivered the South and West from the "brigands" must have provoked a smile on the part of many a native as he read this proclamation in November, 1802. At that very time Dessalines was general-in-chief of a larger and much more effective army than what fell to the command of Rochambeau and was well furnished with arms and other means of war. The body of the deceased general was embalmed and placed on board the man-of-war *Swiftsure*. The resting of his saber and hat upon the bier, on shipboard, served as a funeral ceremony, and was attended by all officers of the vicinity. Madame Le Clerc, the still beautiful though greatly disappointed sister of the First Consul, escorted by Admiral Latouche, chief-in-command of the naval forces, accompanied by General Netherwood aide-de-camp, went on board, her dream of glory ended, to return to France not as the wife of the hero welcomed by salvos of joy, but as the widow of the unfortunate soldier the home-coming of whose remains would awaken only the most painful dirge.

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FROM PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE, APRIL 6, 1803

FROM ENGLISH PAPERS

Journal of proceedings at Cape François, between April and November, 1802, given by a French officer of rank to an officer of a British man-of-war, then lying at Cape François, November 30, 1802.

Three or four days after the departure of the *Cerberus*, of 32 guns, in April last, Christophe, the Black General, third in command, entered the town, with a flag of truce, and negotiated a peace between the negroes and whites, by authority of Toussaint. In ten days Generals Toussaint and Dessalines, first and second in command, came also and surrendered to General Le Clerc, by whom Toussaint was pardoned, and permission given to reside at any of his plantations in the island; in consequence of which he retired to one near Gonaives.

Christophe and Dessalines now began to act in union with General Le Clerc — one was appointed commander of the northern district over the Negroes, the other inspector general of cultivators in the island. In this pleasing dream of security they continued for some time, until Dessalines denounced Toussaint a conspirator against the French republic; in consequence of which he was arrested at his plantation, put on board a French frigate at Gonaives, and sent to France. For some time after tranquillity seemed to reign, till Commandant Maurepas roused the Negroes to their former depredations. They began by destroying and burning the plantations in the island of Tortugas, burnt Port au Paix, and all the adjacent country. Dessalines was sent against them; but always contrived to leave, on every retreat, his stores and ammunition in possession of the Negroes. They now became more enterprising by burning again the plains of the Cape. Christophe was now ordered to act against them, who also contrived to let them into the possession of his camp-stores; and everything wore a serious aspect.

General Dessalines accused a General Bellair and his wife as the principal instigators of the rebellion; they were arrested, brought to the Cape, and shot. The conspiracy among the Negroes now began to be very ripe; General Clairvaux (a mulatto commandant), together with the other two, contrived to get all the Negroes in the town to join them; also a regiment of blacks, the 6th, which was in the barracks. Dessalines was to join Christophe and the brigands privately, then to march to Haut de Cap, where Clairvaux waited for them; from thence immediately to proceed to the

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Cape, where they had no obstacle to fear, as the Negroes and the 6th regiment were ready to join them, and the white inhabitants unarmed by a general order from the Commander-in-Chief, directing their firearms to be taken from them, that they might be issued to the blacks well inclined to the republic. Such was Le Clerc's infatuation. Clairvaux (who is naturally said to be a coward) feared to wait the *denouement*, it should appear, for he all at once deserted Haut de Cap, took the 10th, and another regiment in garrison there, and went over to the enemy. This step alarmed Le Clerc; the whites were immediately embodied as a national guard, all the regulars mustered, and every active exertion made to prepare for their reception, which was hardly accomplished before the whole host of Negroes fell on Haut de Cap, the 14th October, at midnight, and carried the town and works by storm. At one A. M. two regiments of the Polonese troops, then on duty, frightened by the horrid wild cries and yells of the blacks, gave way with great loss. The French retreated to a pass a mile and a half from the town of Cape François and there made a stand until the morning; the firing of the musquetry was heavy while it lasted, but neither side lost many men. At 8 A. M. the Negroes set [*sic*] fire to the camp of the French, taking with them cannon, &c. We then continued about ten days quiet. Le Clerc evacuated all the small posts on the coast, drew all his strength to the Cape, appearing much panic struck, for he embarked everything from the Cape for Tortugas, and even spiked all the guns of the town that bore on the shipping; these circumstances raised a general alarm among the inhabitants, they immediately shipped all their property; there is scarcely now a dollar to be seen, and vessels arrived from France with merchandise are preparing to return. At the expiration of another ten days they attacked Haut de Cap again, about six o'clock in the morning, carried it and the works before ten, and drove the French to their old stand at De la Cour, showing a determined resolution of entering the Cape; for this purpose they raised works on the hill, and opened two batteries on the French below them; they fortunately, however, had only 12-lb. balls for 19 pounders and this, together with their being bad engineers, prevented them from cutting the French to pieces; the latter returned bomb shells, well directed, which appeared to discommode them much. The Negroes at three separate times, at dead of night, attempted to surprise them, making the most desperate attacks, but were driven off with loss; the French increased, and the Negroes slackened their fire, until the 6th of November, when they once more set fire to Haut de

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Cap, destroying everything as usual. They are now encamped on a river, four leagues from Cape François. In the meantime Le Clerc had disarmed, shipped and drowned the whole of the 6th regiment, with a great number of the town Negroes, together with their wives and children; no trial was wanting at this time, their color condemned them innocent and guilty, and their corpses floating in the harbor occasioned such a pestilence that General Le Clerc was compelled to retire out of the garrison, and died three or four days before the Negroes were driven off. Madame Le Clerc sailed the 9th from the Cape, in the *Swiftsure*, for France; three line-of-battle ships were in the harbor, with two frigates, one of which had only seventy men left out of a complement of two hundred and seventy. It is not an uncommon thing on shore to see eight or ten carts full of dead bodies every day being taken from the hospital for interment, a dozen in each; and upon the nearest calculation it is estimated, that there are not more than two or three thousand effective men remaining out of the whole original number.

Great praise is said to be due to the inhabitants of the town (merchants, Creoles, Americans, &c.) for their active support against the brigands; it is said their assistance entirely turned the scale of the last day's attack; they are regularly called upon duty, and furnish horses, &c., for the use of the troops. Thus it seems that the French have made a Quiberon business of it, and are, as far as I can see, likely to lose the island altogether; if it turns out so, property here will become very precarious in all parts.

—*Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 6, 1803.

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CHAPTER XI

ROCHAMBEAU AND DESSALINES — GREEK MEETS GREEK

The "pacification" of the West and South — French army at the Cape — Lull in military operations — Rochambeau calls for reenforcements — Neither side anxious for general engagement — The affair at Acul — French make vigorous attack — Blacks retreat — French in pursuit commit the error of weakening their lines — Black generals observe it and take advantage returning to the attack and disastrously repulsing the French. French murder prisoners — Dessalines takes fearful reprisal; says he shall not hesitate to repeat the act if occasion is given — The drowning of Bardet — Effect of this act upon the South and West — Dogs brought from Cuba to fight for France — Enthusiasm and contempt of death among the blacks — Dessalines besieges Port-au-Prince — Enemy evacuates and concentrates at the Cape — City bristling with fortresses supposed to be impregnable — Dessalines takes no rest and assembles his army under the walls of the Cape — Begins assault — Brilliant conduct of Capoix la Mort — Compliments of enemies — Rochambeau at the end of eight days sees defence is impossible — Capitulates to Dessalines — Articles of Capitulation — Correspondence with the commander of the English fleet — Dessalines is with difficulty restrained from sinking the French ships which he was prepared to do — The cost of the Expedition the Harvest.

THE obsequies with respect to the departed general were scarcely over and the ship which bore his remains cleared for sea before it became necessary to prepare for repelling the blacks, who with rekindled zeal and vociferous enthusiasm were advancing upon the Cape. The proclamation had correctly described their feelings when it declared "the brigands will rejoice in his death." General Rochambeau was still at Port-au-Prince and although appointed chief-in-command he could not leave his post in the West until

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General Watrin who had been ordered to relieve him should arrive. General Clausel with the army at hand did not appear to be equal to the constantly growing demand now that his own men were sick and dispirited while the spirits of the blacks were becoming daily more hopeful and determined.

General Boyer, whom we have seen before attempting to repel the assaults of Toussaint L'Ouverture, soon fell under the displeasure of the new commander and was relieved of his command and placed in arrest. As the order for his arrest bears date of December 8, it may be presumed that Rochambeau reached his post with no delay. Thiers describes the new commander as not deficient either in valor or military talents, but regards him as lacking in coolness. He planned to do more than his predecessor, as a matter of course, and set out to quell the insurrections in all parts simultaneously, but prompt as he had been in taking up the reins and vigorous and unscrupulous as he proved himself to be in his mode of warfare, he found himself surpassed by the incidents of climate and disease and by the sleepless vigilance of his enemies.

The earlier part of the year 1803 was passed in comparative quiet. General Rochambeau did not manifest any remarkable military talents beyond repeating the disheartening call for reënforcements. Some time in the month of March he intimated that upon the arrival of four thousand more troops offensive operations might be commenced. Dessalines meanwhile was collecting and restraining his troops and preparing them for what he recognized as the final conflict. He already had a strong force of veterans near the Cape; Rochambeau was also rapidly drawing in the troops of that vicinity to his headquarters, nevertheless, neither commander desired a general engagement. When hostile troops are in proximity, however, for any considerable period, contact usually ensues; it was so in this case; skirmishes occurred and finally Rochambeau, believ-

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ing the advantage to be with him, initiated the battle of Acul.

In this battle the blacks were commanded by Generals Christophe and Clervaux, the French being commanded by Rochambeau. Thiers in describing the battle represents the French as fighting chiefly on the defensive, resisting the determined attempts of the black chiefs to possess themselves of the capital. The present writer doubts if such experienced soldiers as Clervaux and Christophe, both of whom were of cool judgment and deliberation, expected to secure by this assault an immediate reduction of the Cape. It is more probable that they intended to harass and annoy the enemy in accordance with the general purpose of Dessalines to strike and fly. The French troops, however, behaved so well on this occasion that the blacks, concluding that the expected reënforcements had arrived, retreated. The retreat though hurried was not a rout; the French advancing eagerly made the mistake of weakening their lines which, being observed by the blacks, the attack was suddenly renewed and the French were disastrously repulsed. Chagrined by this defeat the French committed the worst of all military crimes; they murdered the prisoners that were in their hands. In their rapid advance when victory seemed to them certain they had penetrated the lines of the blacks and taken a number of prisoners; these they murdered in cold blood and it is also related that about twelve hundred others whom they claimed not to be able to guard were drowned. At the same time this mode of execution then being somewhat like the guillotine in France, there was drowned a distinguished mulatto in the South by the name of Bardet. The prisoners on the field were butchered in such a precipitate manner that some of them were left half dead and their moans and cries could be heard by their exasperated comrades throughout the night.

During the early part of the engagement a body of

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French troops were moving to strengthen one of the wings of their army and were unfortunate enough to be cut off and all, officers and men, taken into the camps of the blacks as prisoners of war. When morning came after this dreadful night, Dessalines was on the ground. Up to this time even he had acted upon the humane maxim of Toussaint L'Ouverture, that there should be no retaliation; but he now saw reason to depart from this rule. Early in the morning he caused a large number of gibbets to be erected and ordered every French officer held as prisoner to be hanged upon them, and upon the gibbets left over after executing the officers he hanged private soldiers. The opening day disclosed this spectacle to the French army who were near enough to see it. Dessalines followed this act by sending a message to Rochambeau "that he should not hesitate to repeat this act if occasions were given." Thiers does not mention this retaliation, although he mentions and condemns the action of Rochambeau; nor do the Haitian writers of the present dwell upon it, preferring to let it pass from memory between the nations most concerned. The fact, however, is incontestable. Quoting from Baines: "The Negro chief, though he had hitherto acted upon the humane maxim of Toussaint which forbade all retaliation, was now irritated to an act of terrible revenge, and ordering a number of gibbets to be erected he selected all the French officers who had fallen into his hands, and suspended them in every direction in sight of the French army."

The drowning of Bardet simultaneously with the butchering and drowning of these prisoners at the Cape produced most disastrous results for the French in the South, in one of those provinces which Rochambeau, according to the proclamation issued on the occasion of the death of Le Clerc, had cleared of brigands and effectually pacified. "From that day," says Thiers, "the mulattoes who had still wavered joined the Negroes, slaughtering the whites

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GENERAL JEAN PIERRE BOYER, PRESIDENT.

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and completely ravaging the fine province of the South." The blacks now began on their part the most energetic and thoroughgoing offensive operations, compelling all the French forces on the island to concentrate in the two points, Port-au-Prince and the Cape.

The period between the affair of Acul and the movement of Dessalines against Port-au-Prince was taken up with guerilla warfare whenever possible and stained with horrible barbarities. Thiers closes his recital with a partial description of the bloody deeds following the battle, remarking that the doleful recital contains nothing further worthy of record, and summing up all with the reflection that the final catastrophe which overwhelmed the French forces in the island with all the dreadful chain of horrors leading up to it yielded in return only the "deplorable compensation of the death of a black genius."[1]

[1] Our readers will be interested in this report of affairs in the South, when it is understood that the "Boyer" whose name is signed is the man who later became president of Haiti.

ARMY OF ST. DOMINGO.

Expedition in the South, March 8.

General of Brigade Sarrarin, landed at Tiburon, with the 1st battalion of the 14th demi-brigade of light infantry, that came from France in the ship *Atalante*. On the 9th this General marched at the head of his troops to form a junction with General Laplume, in the plain of Cayes; he at first met the rebels at the Cahoune, which post was taken by charging with the bayonet. On the 10th, at six o'clock in the morning, he attacked the entrenchments the rebels had made at the foot of, and along the morne, called the English morne, and at 7 o'clock he was master of all their works and had totally routed them. On the 12th, the height of Port Salat was attacked: there the column had to fight, during five hours, a great number of banditties [*sic*] lying in ambuscade on this morne; they, however, fought their way as far as the plain in which they had again to overturn the ambuscade in the fields of sugarcane, on both sides of the road; they pushed on the same day as far as Torbeck, and the next day entered the Cayes. After forming a junction with the column

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Among the events which Thiers would thus consign to oblivion is the introduction of dogs, sometimes classed as bulldogs, sometimes as bloodhounds, as auxiliaries to the French army. Schoelcher says: "It is too certain that we must add this barbarity to all the others which dishonored the expedition."[2] The fact is attested by Haitian authors

commanded by the Chief of Brigade, Berger, who advanced to meet them, two leagues off the town.

The troops in this march, suffered a great deal from the badness of the roads, and the passage of the rivers, swelled by heavy rains that fell on the 12th and 14th; but their courage and constancy overcame every obstacle. The loss of the enemy is estimated at more than 100 men killed and at least 400 wounded; ours does not amount to more than 50 men either killed or wounded.

April 7.

Ammunitions that are stored in the towns shall be put for the greater safety &c., &c. (Signed) BOYER.

—*American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, March 9, 1803. (?)

[2] In the (New York) *Daily Advertiser*, notice was taken of the sailing of a French frigate from the Havanna, having on board two hundred bloodhounds, to hunt the Negroes of Saint Domingo! This race of dogs has been cherished in the island of Cuba, ever since its earliest settlement, when they were employed by the first adventurers to extirpate the aboriginal inhabitants. Lord Balcarras imported a pack into Jamaica, to assist in the reduction of the Maroons. The Negroes, throughout the West India Islands, are more afraid of a bloodhound than of a musket. The scent of this animal is keen, and his ferocity surpasses that of any of his species; his aim is always directed at the throat of his prey, which if he once discovers, he infallibly seizes and destroys.

—*American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, March 9, 1803. (?)

A letter received at Baltimore, dated Cape-François, July 1, 1803, says, "Everything remains tranquil here. No appearances of hostilities commencing on this quarter of the island. Gen. Rochambeau has returned to this port and makes it the seat of government. Everything wears a more favorable appearance, and trade revives. The American brig *Success*, captain Novao, arrived here on the 26th of June from the Havanna, with 340

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and by French and English eye-witnesses; it is also recognized in the official report of Rochambeau himself. General Ramel, who is quoted by all the writers as a man of honor, in his memoirs reports: "Like myself, General Lacroix disapproved of this war of extermination and these wholesale drownings. At this time General Noailles wrote me that he was arriving bringing in a reënforcement of six hundred bulldogs from Havana intended to make war upon the blacks. I showed this letter to General Lacroix; he was more indignant if possible than myself. I allowed myself to write to General Rochambeau. I spoke to him of the universal execration that had followed the Spanish for having employed such means. What was my astonishment to receive at Tortuga, where I was at the time, a letter from General Rochambeau thus written: 'I am sending to you, my dear commandant, a detachment of one hundred men of the national guard of the Cape, com-

blood hounds, and the Brigands who have been taken have been given to them, whom they instantly devoured. Troops daily arrive; but the fever cuts them off beyond all description. There are at present 4 seventy-fours, one 64, and 4 frigates here, which are making preparations to depart for France, having received orders to repair there without delay. A number of Brigs and barges are cruising in and about the different parts of the island. Jeremie has been closely besieged. Four French schooners arrived here from thence full of inhabitants (women and children) but an arrival last night brings the intelligence that the Brigands were defeated with loss."

—*American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, July 23, 1803.

The ship *Fanny*, whose passengers and crew excited such tender feelings in the board of health as to induce them to pass a resolution for their admission *ten days* only after her arrival, touched at Jamaica, for the *pious* and *humane* purpose of taking in a cargo of *ninety bloodhounds*, to hunt and devour the Negroes at Saint Domingo. The connection of one of the members of the board with the owner of the *Fanny*, will at once explain the reason of the admission of the crew and passengers.

—*Aurora*, Philadelphia, June 13, 1803.

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manded by M. Bari; he is accompanied by twenty-eight bulldogs. These reënforcements will enable you to completely terminate your operations. I must not leave you uninformed that no rations or other expense will be passed to your credit for the *nouriture* of the dogs. You must give them Negroes to eat. I salute you affectionately, Rochambeau."

It was at this very time when the warfare was marked by most atrocious cruelties on the part of the French that the firmness and heroism of the Negroes reached their highest plane. The enthusiasm for liberty was universal controlling both men and women. Schoelcher quotes a woman condemned to death who saw a compatriot under the same condemnation going to his fate with a dejected mien. Seizing a sword she gave herself a mortal wound and shouted: "Man, it is sweet to die when liberty is lost." A mother seeing her daughter led away to the scaffold cried out: "Rejoice, my daughter; you will never be the mother of a slave." A correspondent reports that "several of the black Cosmopolitans, as they are called, have been captured and executed; but have exhibited a thorough contempt of death, menacing their executioners with the threat 'that it will be their turn next.'" Schoelcher adds that no people fighting for liberty have sustained a more brilliant rôle, and that possessing such spirit their subjugation was impossible.

On the 9th of October, 1803, Dessalines with an army of 22,000 seasoned veterans, and with ample supplies of military material laid siege to Port-au-Prince. General Lavallette commanded the French troops enclosed within the city and its environs; it is impossible to give the exact strength of his command. Dessalines maintained the siege with frequent attacks for about a month with the apparent purpose of bringing about the evacuation which finally resulted. The whole French force then concentrated at the Cape. Here within a few square miles of territory all

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that remained of the splendid army that France had sent to reduce a handful of Negro and mulatto brigands were to make their last stand. The Cape, surrounded with walls and bristling with fortifications, Rochambeau believed practically unassailable. He could hardly fancy that a general attack would soon be made.

Dessalines, however, was now fast approaching his zenith. Leaving Petion to hold Port-au-Prince, and without giving his army any repose, he turned his march northward and by the time Lavallette's forces were landed and stationed at the Cape he with his victorious army was under the walls of the Cape.

Here will be the fitting time to take a brief view of these two commanders who are now to engage in their final passage at arms. Schoelcher halts in his narrative at this point to say of Rochambeau that although a man of rare courage yet, what was most extraordinary, coupled with that courage was a cruelty that spared neither his own nor his enemies. He instances in support that being pressed by necessity at the Cape, owing to the English blockade particularly against North American importations, Rochambeau laid a forced loan upon eight European merchants who were supposed to be rich, to the extent of thirty thousand francs each; one of them, Fedox, saying that he was not able to pay the money, he had him shot immediately and within two steps of the national palace.

Of Dessalines it is said that during the whole time of this irregular warfare he was never once surprised, although he frequently surprised his enemies; that he was impetuous, endowed with an energy and military genius which no one of those who fought against him denied, nor any of his bitterest detractors have been able to belittle. Says Madiou, "We are struck with shuddering as we see this thunderbolt of arbitrariness forcing its way by forced marches through so much human blood. He forced his soldiers to cross impassable mountains, to traverse plains at giant's

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pace without pay and badly fed, and to assault and carry towns in the face of blazing artillery. He did not fear to assume upon his own head the entire responsibility of his measures. 'What to me is the opinion of posterity,' said he, 'so I save my country?'"

The siege began with great energy and was carried on with increasing success for eight days. Schoelcher gives a vivid account of the assault upon one of the outlying forts which is so remarkable that it is here reproduced.

"The assault of Verdieres, one of the small forts situated upon the mount, merits to be related. Dessalines had ordered General Capoix to take it. This Negro, surnamed Capoix la Mort, advanced with a demi-brigade which, horribly mutilated, soon recoiled before the fire of the fort. He led it back, but was again driven to the bottom of the hill by the *mitrailleuse*. Boiling with rage, Capoix ran to seek other new troops, and mounting his horse advanced for the third time; but again the thousand deaths that vomited from the fortress repulsed him and his brigades. Never had soldiers shown greater contempt of death than did his; they were seized with Homeric ardor. It required only a few words from him to induce them again to follow him to the attack, now for the fourth time. Forward! Forward! A shot killed his horse — he fell, but soon disengaging himself from the dead and wounded around him he ran to place himself again at the head of his blacks. Forward! Forward! His *chapeau*, garnished with plumes, is carried away by a shot. He replies to the insult which leaves him hatless by drawing his sword as though shaking his fist, and again throws himself to the assault. Forward! Forward!

"At the sight of such intrepidity on the part of the chief and his soldiers, great acclamations broke out from the ramparts of the city. 'Bravo! bravo! Vivat! Vivat!' cried Rochambeau and his guard who were observing the

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attack. The roll of drums resounded and the firing in the fort ceased. An officer from the Cape advanced at a gallop to the front of the surprised indigenes and saluting said, 'The Captain-general Rochambeau and the French army send their expression of admiration to the general who has covered himself with glory.' The fortunate officer cavalier charged with this magnificent message pulled in his bridle, quieted his steed, retraced his steps — and the assault recommenced."

We can suppose that the General Capoix la Mort and his soldiers performed new prodigies of valor; but that the besieged themselves, electrified, would not allow themselves to be vanquished. Dessalines sent orders to his lieutenant to withdraw. Rochambeau, like all men of great valor, loved courageous men. The next morning an officer followed by a groom led to the headquarters of the indigenes a horse caparisoned and delivered him with these words: 'The Captain-general offers this horse as a mark of admiration to the Negro Achilles, to replace the one of his that the French army regrets to have killed.'

Reduced by fever and hard pressed for food, Rochambeau reported his condition as desperate. 'Pressed almost to death by absolute famine,' he wrote, 'and after waiting for a considerable time wretchedly appeasing the desperate calls of hunger by feeding on our horses, mules, asses, and even dogs, we had no way to escape the poniards of the enraged Negroes, but by trusting our fate to the sea.' The blacks were preparing to take the city by storm, expecting to accomplish it within thirty-six hours. Rochambeau, not feeling himself able to longer resist, offered terms of capitulation. The terms agreed upon two days later are here presented to the reader, asking attention to the striking fact that notwithstanding all the aspersions made concerning Dessalines and his army Rochambeau leaves to them the care of all their sick.

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ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION BETWEEN THE FRENCH GENERAL ROCHAMBEAU AND THE BLACK GENERAL-IN-CHIEF OF SAINT DOMINGO

French and Native Army.

This day, the 27th Brumaire, of the 12th year, according to the French era, and the 17th of November, 1803, according to the common era, the adjutant-commandant, Duveysier, having received full power from General Rochambeau, commander-in-chief of the French army, to treat

New York, Nov. 17.

Cape-François.— By the politeness of Mr. Dawson who came passenger in the Eliza Snell from Cape François, we learn particularly the extremities to which the French are reduced. Port de Paix had been taken by storm by the brigands, and 500 soldiers made prisoners, but all well used by the Negroes. This was attributed to articles of agreement made with them by the British.

Rochambeau was still at the Cape, and would have evacuated that place into the city of St. Domingo, but in the intermediate space between Fort Dauphin and St. Domingo there were about 4000 brigands cutting up the roads.

From a letter intercepted by the Vanguard, British 74; it was known that he could only hold out, about 8 or 10 days, being almost without provisions. The three French frigates at the Cape — the Servillante, la Virtue and le Clorinde, will of course, fall into the hands of the British. The city of St. Domingo was much in the same situation, and almost without troops.

Kingston, July 9, 1803.

MARINE INTELLIGENCE.

The *Cumberland*, of 74 guns, Commodore Bayntua (?), arrived on Wednesday at Port-Royal, having under her charge the following vessels detained by the squadron:

The schooner *Diligente*, from Cape François, bound to the Mole, with bloodhounds.

— Suppl. to *Royal Gazette*, Kingston, Jamaica, July 2, 1803.

MARINE INTELLIGENCE.

(Extract from the log book of the *Vanguard* about the battle on July 24.

"Rochambeau is determined to keep his post till the last bloodhound is eaten."

Additional Postscript to *Royal Gazette*, July 23–30, 1803.

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for the surrender of the Town of the Cape and Jean Jacques Dessalines, general of the native Army, being also authorized to treat on the occasion, having agreed on the following articles, viz.:

I. The Town of the Cape, and the forts dependent thereon, shall be given up in ten days, reckoning from to-morrow, the 28th of Brumaire (Nov. 18), to the general-in-chief, Dessalines.

II. The military stores which are now in the arsenals, the arms, and the artillery of the town and forts, shall be left in their present condition.

III. All the ships of war, and other vessels which shall be judged necessary by Gen. Rochambeau, for the removal of the troops and inhabitants, and for the evacuation of the place, shall be free to depart on the day appointed.

IV. All the officers, military or civil, and the troops composing the garrison of the Cape, shall leave the place with all the honors of war, carrying with them their arms, and all the private property belonging to their demi-brigades.

V. The sick and wounded who shall not be in a condition to embark, shall be taken care of in the hospitals till their recovery; they are specially recommended to the humanity of Gen. Dessalines, who will cause them to be embarked for France in neutral vessels.

VI. General Dessalines, in giving the assurance of his protection to the inhabitants who shall remain in the country, calls at the same time upon the justice of General Rochambeau to set at liberty all the natives of the country (whatever may be their color), as they cannot be constrained, under any pretext of right, to embark with the French army.

VII. The troops of both armies shall remain in their respective positions, until the tenth day after the signature hereof, which is the day fixed on the evacuation of the Cape.

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VIII. The General-in-Chief Rochambeau will send, as a hostage for the observance of the present stipulation, the Adjutant-General Commandant, Urbain de Vaux, in exchange for whom the General-in-Chief Dessalines will send an officer of the same rank.

Two copies of this convention are hereby executed in strict faith, at the headquarters on the Heights of the Cape, on the day, month, and year aforesaid.

(Signed) DEVEYSIER.
DESSALINES.

On the same day that the final negotiations with Dessalines were signed, General Rochambeau addressed to Captain Loring of His British Majesty's ship *Bellerophon*, who was at that time commanding a blockading force off Cape François. He sent this letter off by two officers, an army officer and a naval officer, and to these he gave authority to treat of a surrender, entirely ignoring the agreement already entered into. The letter read as follows:

(Correspondence between the Commander-in-Chief of the French Army of Saint Domingo, and Captain Loring, of His Majesty's ship the *Bellerophon*, commanding a blockading force off Cape François.)

ARMY OF SAINT DOMINGO

Headquarters at the Cape, 27th Brumaire,
An. 12, of the French Republic.

The General-in-Chief to Commodore Loring, commanding the Naval Force of his Britannic Majesty before the Cape.

Sir,

To prevent the effusion of blood, and to save the remains of the army of Saint Domingo, I have the honor to send you two officers charged with instructions to enter into an arrangement with you. The General of Brigade Boye, &c., and the Commodore Barre, are ordered to transmit

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this letter to you. I have chosen them to have the honor of treating with you.

I have the honor, &c., &c.,

D. ROCHAMBEAU.

We know the precise propositions of Rochambeau from Loring's copy of them and from his letter in reply.

COPY OF THE PROPOSITIONS MADE BY THE GENERAL ROCHAMBEAU, TO EVACUATE CAPE FRANÇOIS

I. The General Rochambeau proposes to evacuate the Cape; himself and his guards, consisting of about 400 or 500 men, to be conveyed to France without being considered prisoners of war. Not granted.

II. The *Surveillant* and *Cerf* to be allowed to carry him and suite to France. Not granted.

(Signed) JOHN LORING.

REPLY

Bellerophon, off Cape François,
Nov. 19, 180–.

Sir,

I have to acquaint you, on the subject communicated to me by General Boye and Commodore Barre, of your desire to negotiate for the surrender of Cape François to His Britannic Majesty, that I send for the purpose, and to know your final determination, Captain Moss, of His Majesty's ship *La Desiree*, in order to agree with your wishes in so much as is consistent with the just rights of His Brittanic Majesty on that point.

I have also to inform you my instructions confine me to the French officers and troops in health being sent to Jamaica, and the sick to go to France or America. The transports to convey them being first valued, and security given by the commander-in-chief, for the due payment of the valuation by the French Republic. The white inhabitants of the Cape will not be permitted to go to Jamaica.

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Such are the parts of my instructions, with which I am bound to comply in any agreement for the surrender of Cape François.

I have the honor to be, &c.,
(Signed) J. LORING.
General Rochambeau, Commander-in-chief, &c., &c., &c.

To this communication Rochambeau promptly replied:

COLONY OF SAINT DOMINGO

Headquarters at the Cape, 27th Brumaire, in the Year 12.

The General-in-chief of the Army of Saint Domingo, &c., &c., &c., to Commodore Loring, &c.

Sir,

I have received the letter which you have done me the honor to write to me. As your propositions are inadmissible, I must beg of you to consider the preceding letter as not having been received.

I have the honor to be, &c.,
D. ROCHAMBEAU.

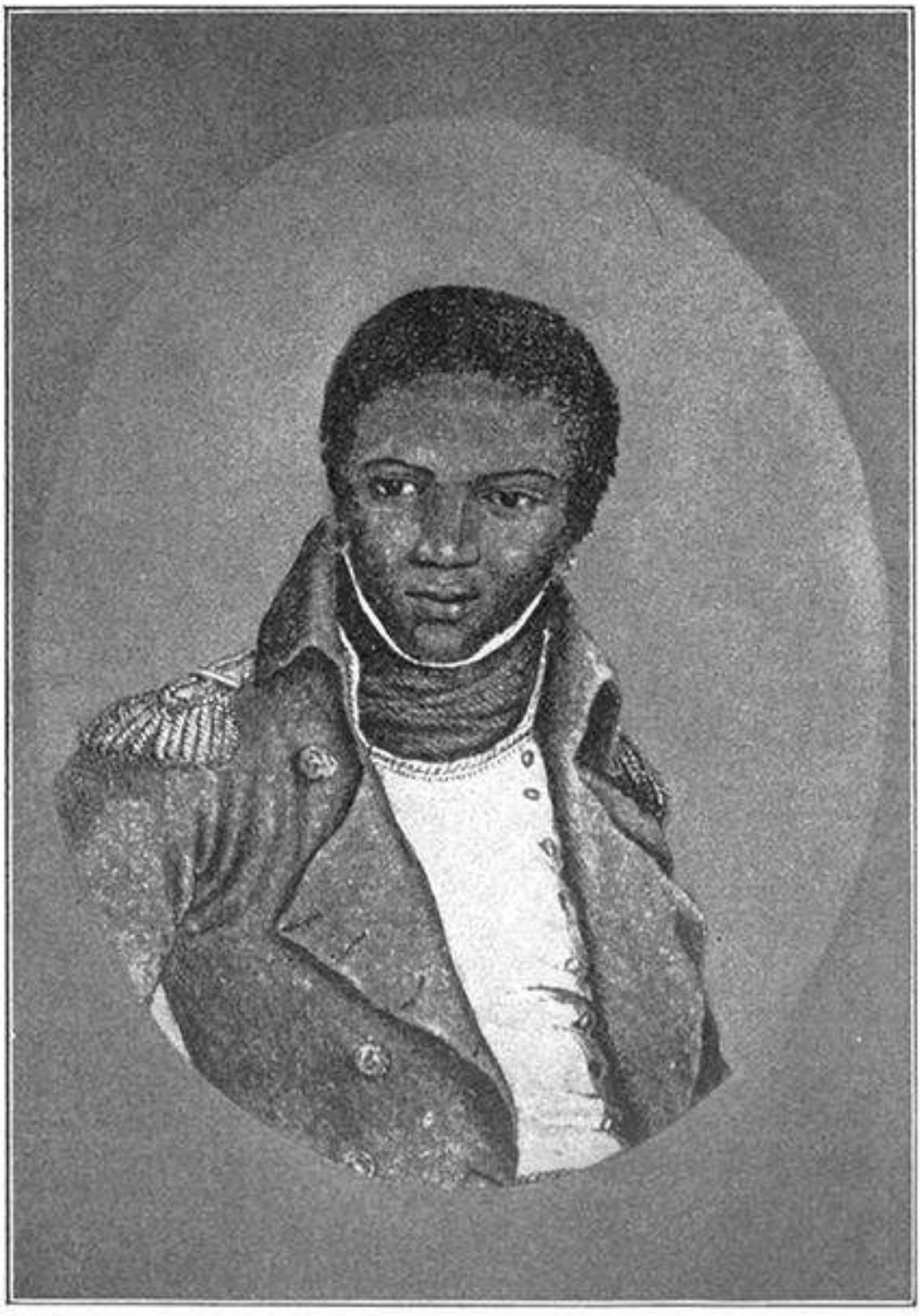
Loring, hearing no more from Rochambeau and having been made acquainted with that general's capitulation to Dessalines, addressed to the latter some inquiries respecting the situation as it was now within one day of the time for the French to quit the Cape. In his inquiries he proceeded as though ignorant of Dessalines' full position in the matter and asked for pilots to conduct a part of his own squadron into the harbor in order that he might take charge of the French shipping. The answer of Dessalines was entirely characteristic.

HEADQUARTERS, Nov. 27.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Native Army to Commodore Loring, etc.

Sir: "I acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and

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ADJUTANT GENERAL E. V. MENTER. SERVED UNDER DESSALINES.

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you may be assured that my dispositions towards you and against General Rochambeau are invariable. I shall take possession of the Cape to-morrow morning at the head of my army. It is a matter of great regret to me that I cannot send you the pilots which you require. I presume that you will not have occasion for them, as I shall compel the French vessels to quit the road, and you will do with them what you will think proper.

I have the honor to be, etc.

DESSALINES.

The report of Admiral Duckworth will give to the reader the final view upon this concluding scene of the last act in this part of the drama leading up to the freedom and independence of the blacks in Saint Domingo.

REPORT OF SIR THOMAS DUCKWORTH

PORT ROYAL, Dec. 18, 1803.

Sir,

Having, in my letter No. 3, by this conveyance stated to you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that General Rochambeau had made proposals for capitulating, which though inadmissible, I thought soon must lead to others more reasonable; the event has justified my opinion; but I am sorry to say that officer, whose actions are too extraordinary to account for, had, on the 19th ultimo (previous to his proposal to Captain Loring, through the General of Brigade Boye, and Commodore Barre), actually entered into a capitulation with the black General Dessalines, to deliver up the Cape to him, with all the ordnance, ammunition, and stores, on the 30th; I conclude, flattering himself that the tremendous weather, which our squadron was then, and had been, experiencing for three weeks, would offer an opening for escape, but the perseverance and watchfulness thereof precluded him from even attempting it. On the 30th, the

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colors of the Blacks were displayed at the forts, which induced Captain Loring to dispatch Captain Bligh, to know General Dessalines' sentiments respecting General Rochambeau and his troops; when, on his entering the harbor he met Commodore Barre, who pressed him in strong terms to go on board the *Surveillante,* and enter into some capitulation, which would put them under our protection, and prevent the Blacks from sinking them with red-hot shot, as they had threatened, and were preparing to do, which Captain Bligh complied with, when they hastily brought him a few articles they had drawn up; which he (after objecting to some particular parts, that they agreed should be altered to carry his interpretation to Jamaica) signed, and hastened to acquaint General Dessalines, that all the ships and vessels in port had surrendered to His Majesty's arms, and with great difficulty he obtained the promise to desist from firing, till a wind offered for carrying them out (it then blowing hard directly into the harbor); this promise he at length obtained, and the first instant the land-breeze enabled them to sail out under French colors, which, upon a shot being fired athwart them, the vessels of war fired their broadsides, and hauled down their colors, except the *Clorinde,* a large frigate of thirty-eight guns, who unluckily took the ground abaft and was forced to throw most of her guns overboard, and knocked her rudder off, when there was great apprehensions for her safety; and I am informed by the captains of the squadron, that we must attribute the saving her (apparently without further damage) to the uncommon exertions and professional abilities of acting Lieutenant Willoughby, with the boats of the *Hercule,* who, I trust, will be honored with their lordships' protection.

Captain Loring, after seeing the generality of the prizes taken possession of, left the *Theseus* and *Hercule* to fix a temporary rudder to the frigate, and bring the remainder with them, bearing away for the Mole, and on the 2d sum-

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moned the General of Brigade Noailles, who commanded there, to capitulate; this he declined doing, asserting that he had provisions for five months; and herewith I transmit a copy of his letter. The numerous and crowded state of the prisoners on board all the prizes, and their being without provisions, making it necessary for Captain Loring to proceed to Jamaica, he arrived here the 5th with the *Elephant* and *Blanche*, also the *Surveillante* and *Vertu* thirty-eight gun frigates, and various other prizes, leaving the *La Pique* to blockade the Mole, who anchored in this port the 8th, and acquainted me that General Noailles had evacuated the night he refused to capitulate, bringing in with her five out of the six vessels in which the garrison had embarked, a brig with the general on board only escaping. I send a vessel of war to England, with General Rochambeau and those officers who are said to have participated in his cruelties at the Cape. I am, &c.

J. T. Duckworth.

Thus closed this expedition, or this attempt to return self-liberated people with arms in their hands to the bitter slavery whose pangs they so well knew; this attempt to force the escaped waters of the mountain spring back into their primeval prison. Altogether there had been sent out from France in this undertaking, according to Poyen, 43,039 men, not counting the number of European troops already on the island who readily joined Le Clerc. Of this whole body scarce 8,000 departed from the Cape with the English fleet. This expedition reflected more of Bonaparte's exasperation than of his military judgment. His negrophobia, which expressed itself in the instructions to Le Clerc to "rid us of these gold-lace decked Negroes," and still further in his wrathful declaration: "I will not leave an epaulette on the shoulder of a Negro," shows the punitive intent of the expedition. The Negroes were to be punished for daring. It is all over now; the Negro

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generals still wear their epaulettes and sport gold lace, forty thousand young Frenchmen are in their graves, the eggs are broken and sad is the omelette that results. The relics of those mighty legions before whom Europe once trembled are, in tattered garb and depleted health, returning as prisoners of war. Duruy, the judicial historian, thus summarizes the action of the First Consul in this affair and sets forth the balance coming to France. "He sent considerable forces under the command of General Le Clerc, his brother-in-law, against the Negro general, Toussaint L'Ouverture. The capture of this remarkable man was the only successful event of this inopportune expedition, which deeply irritated England, and which was decimated by yellow fever. The successors of Toussaint drove the French from the island and founded the republic of Haiti."

From the 22nd of August, 1791, to the 28th of November, 1803, twelve long years, this island has been in almost constant warfare. The people who have driven away the last of their foes stand now with sword in hand obedient to their great chief whom they believe invincible.

The harvest — the sole harvest of this costly expedition, the "deplorable compensation," as Thiers justly calls it, is the capture of the genius Toussaint L'Ouverture, whom we have last seen safely placed on board the *Heros* in the hands of his most envious foes. We must now leave the island while its victorious warriors are taking breath, and before they address themselves to the more complex problems of statesmanship, and follow the fortunes of the Negro genius, the most remarkable as well as the most unfortunate of the great men his era produced.

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CHAPTER XII

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE IN PRISON

The Blacks did not all accept the terms of capitulation — Distrust everywhere; greatest among the French — Clamors for the deportation of L'Ouverture — Le Clerc watching for pretext — The incriminating letter — Did Toussaint L'Ouverture write it? — Times in exactly the condition to produce such evidence — Moral condition of his enemies capable of forging such a letter — The present author does not believe the letter genuine — Comments upon it, and upon the fate of Toussaint L'Ouverture — Orders for his confinement as an extremely dangerous person — Toussaint L'Ouverture's manly letters to Bonaparte, and the Minister of Marine — Efforts to secure from him a confession — Signal failure — Was Bonaparte affected by prejudice of color? — Treatment of Toussaint L'Ouverture's family — Cruel sufferings and death of Toussaint L'Ouverture — An assassination by cold and misery — Final resting place of his remains.

A DISPATCH going from Cape François immediately after the capitulation of Toussaint to an American journal announced the fact that all the Negroes of Plaisance had not surrendered; another adds there were supposed to be about 8,000 wandering Negroes on the mountains without leaders, provisions or military stores, and relates that since the surrender of Toussaint a French post between the Cape and Gonaives consisting of thirty-two soldiers had been taken and the soldiers murdered. The act was disowned by the leaders. We are now well prepared to say that although the chiefs with their commands had surrendered or consented to peace, there were masses of the people who were distrustful and who would never consent to yield their arms.

General Le Clerc stands plainly convicted of trying to

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play soldier and intriguer at the same time — of most shameful double dealing. It is everywhere said by French historians that he signed the peace treaty full of distrust, believing Toussaint to be dissimulating, and regarding the act more as a *ruse de guerre* than as an honest compact. Thiers states, "The Captain-General Le Clerc was far from supposing that the submission of Toussaint would be definitive; but he kept a good guard over him ready to secure him on the first act that should prove his bad faith." Suspicion begets its kind; and it is not improbable that among all the black generals there was an unfortunate doubt of the reality of the peace promised.

Another writer, M. Norvins, says Le Clerc did not believe that Toussaint was sincere; consequently we can readily see that he would be on the alert for evidence, however slight, which might confirm his suspicions. It was not long before the evidence came in what was claimed to be an intercepted letter. This was enough. Toussaint was arrested as we have seen and rushed out of the country with all haste.

To justify his act in arresting and deporting the ex-chief, Le Clerc published at once the order to the army and people:

"THE GENERAL-IN-CHIEF TO THE CITIZENS OF SAINT DOMINGO

"General Toussaint, not being contented with enjoying the amnesty which had been granted him, attempted again to kindle the flames of civil war. I have thought proper to cause him to be arrested. The proofs of his bad conduct, since the amnesty, shall be extensively published. This measure, which insures tranquillity to the colony, should by no means alarm those who have laid down their arms, and have submitted with good faith to the Republic.

"LE CLERC."

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Within three days "the proofs" of Toussaint's bad faith were published thus:

PROCLAMATION

Army of Saint Domingo; Headquarters at the Cape, 22 Prairial (June 10), 10th year.

The General-in-Chief of the Colony of Saint Domingo to its inhabitants:

Citizens,

Toussaint was a conspirator: this you will be judge of by the inclosed letter, directed to citizen Fontaine. I thought it my duty not to endanger the tranquillity of the colony. I caused him to be arrested and embarked, and I send him to France, where he is to account for his conduct to the French government. In another letter directed to the citizen Fontaine, he discharges heavy invectives against General Christophe, and he complains that General Dessalines has abandoned him.

He forbids Sylla to lay down his arms, and the cultivators to work on any plantation but those intended for provisions.

He sent one of his accomplices to General Dessalines to induce him not to submit with good faith.

He depended much on Massinet, in St. Mark.— He is arrested.

I have inflicted punishment upon that miscreant; and I order all the generals of divisions of the army to compel all cultivators who are still in arms, in the mountains, to retire to their duty.

The cultivators are not the most guilty — it is those that mislead them — in consequence of which every commandant of the national guard, every officer, overseer, or planter, who shall be found in armed meeting, shall immediately be shot.

As to the inhabitants of Ennery, I order that they shall

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be immediately disarmed, for having been so tardy in submission.

General Bonnet shall cause this order to be executed.

The chief of the general staff shall cause the present order, together with General Toussaint's letter, to be printed, published and posted; and he will, with all speed possible, send it to the whole army throughout the colony.

(Signed) LE CLERC.

COPY OF EX-GENERAL TOUSSAINT'S LETTER TO CITIZEN FONTAINE

You give me now (*sic*) news. Endeavor to stay at the Cape as long as you can.

It is said that General Le Clerc is in a state of bad health at Tortuga — this you must be very particular about informing me of.

You must see ——, for arms from America (Nouville).[1] As to flour, for we are in want of some of the last kind, it ought not to be sent without passing through Savna, that we may know the depot where it might be placed with safety.

If you see the general-in-chief tell him positively that the cultivators won't obey me. They want to make them work at Hericourt, but the overseer ought not to do it.

I ask you if you can bribe some of the attendants of the general-in-chief that we might free D——,[2] he would be very useful to us, through his credit both in America and somewhere else.

Inform Gengembre that he must not leave the Borgne, where it is necessary that the cultivators should not work.

Write to me at the planters Nojar.

(Signed) TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

True copy from the original.

[1] It is understood by "Nouville" the United States.

[2] Suppose to mean Develcourt, one of Toussaint's aides-de-camp.

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The general of division, chief of the general staff of the army.

DUGUA.

COMMENTS UPON THE LETTER

Aurora, Phila., July 12, 1802.

Extracts from editorials of a London paper: "A squadron of line of battle-ships and frigates, under command of Admiral Magon, has arrived at Brest from Saint Domingo, having on board General Toussaint and his family. The charges against the black chief are of a very flimsy nature, but the publication of Le Clerc's letters accusing him, shows that the French government intends to give him no indulgence." From the *Royal Gazette,* Jamaica: "A French journal of the 19th inst. states that Toussaint has arrived at Paris. Some particulars respecting his arrest afford ground for believing that the charges of perfidy made against him by Le Clerc are false; no symptoms of guilt appearing in his conduct at the time he was taken." The editor of the *Columbian Centinel,* July 17, 1802, says: "Accounts from the West Indies mention that some reënforcements had arrived at the Cape from France; and that tranquillity was restored, and business reviving. Toussaint has been transported to France for trial. Le Clerc having conjured up a letter of the black chief's which he has been pleased to call treasonable — it is to be wondered at, that when Le Clerc was about it, he did not fabricate something more pregnant with treason, than the milk and water epistle he has published. He could easily have done it; and there is no one to contradict him."

Toussaint himself firmly denied writing the letter, maintaining this denial to the last. Did he write it? This is a question which must forever want a definitive answer. It is not out of the range of the events of its surroundings to believe that the letter was spurious. The mental and moral atmosphere that could produce the letter by which

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Brunet decoyed Toussaint into captivity; that could send the unblushingly false dispatches to the home government, could easily produce the letter by which Toussaint was condemned. It would require no greater degree of moral abandonment in the one case than in the other; and the same reasons and motives would serve for this last act that were so effective in producing the former; and he who could fabricate the letter sent out by Brunet, might easily forge the letter addressed to Fontaine.

The situation was altogether one of distrust, Toussaint appearing to be the only prominent actor unaffected. All the whites and several of the blacks were full of suspicion and on their guard; Toussaint was not. He who was skilled in ambuscade in warfare and exceedingly penetrating with regard to political affairs; how does it happen that he is now so confiding as to be taken by Brunet's letter? Schoelcher says, leaving out of view these letters, the captain-general had been urged by the French generals to cause the arrest of the old black chieftain. The correspondence between them indicates that none believed that the indigene generals had surrendered without an afterthought. Of Toussaint they say: "His presence is sufficient to keep the public mind in agitation." The indigene generals who had rallied to the captain-general also desired his deportation; they feared he would avenge himself for their defection if circumstances should ever return him to power. All therefore, according to this portraiture, desired some pretext by which Toussaint might be put out of the country; but how to accomplish what all desired was the question. "To lay hands upon him would be a dangerous enterprise; if there should be a failure, his voice could arouse the masses and renew the war."

While this state of feeling, involving so much unrest and suspicion, existed at the Cape and elsewhere Toussaint is quiet. He says: "I was informed that an aide-de-camp of General Le Clerc passing through Ennery was reported

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to be the bearer of an order for my arrest addressed to General Brunet. General Le Clerc having given me his word of honor and promised me the protection of the government, I refused to believe this proposition." This confidence indicates a conscience so tranquil, says Schoelcher, "that it is truly inexplicable alongside of the letters to Fontaine." Le Clerc had issued such orders, and the information given to L'Ouverture was true. Schoelcher calls the method by which Brunet secured the arrest by its right name — *treachery*. He also says it seems impossible to believe that Le Clerc, unscrupulous as he was, would not have feared to forge and publish such a letter; and as between Le Clerc and Toussaint he thinks the latter is responsible for the letter. While it is not possible, as has been said, to pronounce with assurance upon this fact, the present author prefers to think that neither Le Clerc nor L'Ouverture wrote the letter; but that the former acting under the influence of what are usually denominated state reasons, procured the existence of the evidence he so strongly desired. The Boston paper already quoted, of June 30, 1802, says: "The fate of Toussaint, the late chief of Saint Domingo, appears to be decided. Poverty and chains are to be the lot of him to whom the First Consul lately expressed his gratitude for preservation of the island; and whom Le Clerc, in his proclamation, promised ease, affluence, and honor. The story of his meditated treason bears all the marks of fabrication; and when 'an innocent man is to be sacrificed, it is easy to find fuel to supply the altar.'"

The *Heros* left the Cape, June 15, and arrived at Brest on the 12th of July. Orders were given on the 24th that Toussaint must be incarcerated in the castle of Brest under a strong guard, and to have with him only his servant. The prefect of the marines is to be in charge of him under orders from the commandant of the post who will receive instructions from the Minister of War. Placide is to be sent to

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Belle-isle-en-Mer; the two other sons of Toussaint, his wife, their two nieces and "their negress" must be sent to Bayonne, by sea. Placide is to be in charge of the commandant of Belle-Isle; the rest of the family will be left under the surveillance of the commandant and the municipal authorities of Bayonne. Two days later it was ordered that Toussaint be transferred to Fort Joux.

On the 13th of August it was officially reported that an officer of the gendarmerie with four gendarmes took "the general Toussaint and his domestic" and put them on board a small vessel to take them to Landerneau. From Landerneau, escorted by two companies of cavalry they were conducted to Paris, arriving in that city on the 17th, passing the night there under guard. The next morning he was taken in a carriage by gendarmes from Paris to Fort Joux, his prison and his tomb.

In the harbor of Brest while still on board of the *Heros* he addressed to Bonaparte this letter:

General Toussaint L'Ouverture to General Bonaparte, First Consul of the French Republic.
On board the vessel *Heros,*
Thermidor 10.
[July 20, 1802.]

Citizen First Consul:

I will not deny or disguise to you my faults. I have committed some. What man is exempt? I am entirely ready to admit them.

After the word of honor of the captain-general who represented the French government, after a proclamation in which he promised to cast the veil of oblivion over the events which had taken place in Saint Domingo, as with you the 18th Brumaire, I retired to the bosom of my family. Hardly a month had gone by ere malevolent persons had ruined me in the mind of the general-in-chief. I received a letter from him which ordered me to confer with

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General Brunet. I obeyed; he caused me to be arrested. The next morning my house was given over to pillage; my wife and children arrested — they have nothing; not even clothing.

Citizen First Consul, a mother of a family fifty-three years old surely merits the indulgence and the benevolence of a generous and liberal nation. She has nothing to answer for; I alone am to be held responsible for my conduct by my government. I have too high an idea of the greatness and justice of the First Magistrate of the French people to doubt for a moment his impartiality. I love to believe that the balance held in his hands inclines no more to one side than to the other. I appeal to your generosity. Salutation and respect.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

To the Minister of Marine he wrote:

Citizen Minister:

I was arrested with all my family by the order of the captain-general, who had given me his word of honor, and had promised me the protection of the French government. I make bold to claim both his justice and his benevolence. If I have committed faults, I alone should suffer the penalties. I beg you, Citizen Minister, to interest yourself with the First Consul both on behalf of my family and myself. Salutation and respect.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.[3]

[3] The family of Toussaint L'Ouverture comprised the following persons:

Suzanne Simon Baptiste, his wife,
Placide, Isaac and Saint-Jean, his three sons,
Louise Chancy, his niece.

Saint-Jean died unmarried. Isaac married his cousin, Louise Chancy, and died in Bordeaux, without issue. Placide after spending twenty-six months in prison obtained his liberty and in 1821 married Marie-Josephine de Lacaze, daughter of the Marquis Joseph de Lacaze, former bodyguard of Louis XVI. Of this

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On October 27, 1802, the Minister of Marine sent to the commandant of Fort Joux instructions which the reader is invited to peruse with a mind as calm and impartial as it is possible for him to bring to the task. Herein he will see something of the man Napoleon. "I received your letter of the 26 Vendémiaire, relative to the state prisoner, Toussaint L'Ouverture. The First Consul directs me to inform you that you will answer for him with your head. Toussaint L'Ouverture has no right to any other consideration than those commanded by humanity. Hypocrisy is a vice as familiar to him as honor and loyalty are to you, Citizen Commandant. The conduct that he has maintained since his detention is sufficient to form your opinions of what may be expected of him; you have seen yourself how he has sought to deceive you, and you were effectively deceived into admitting one of his satellites disguised as a doctor.

"You must not stop in your examinations to make yourself sure that he has neither money nor jewels. You must investigate closely everywhere to see that he has nothing hidden or buried away in his prison. Take from him his watch; if he desires the use of it you can replace it by putting in his chamber one of those wooden clocks of the

marriage there were two children, Armand, who died in infancy, and Rose-Zora. Rose-Zora in 1841 married Auguste de Lavergne and had two daughters. The first, Pauline-Alice de Lavergne, married Ferriol de Lamothe in 1865 and has a daughter, Marie-Josephine Edith, married to Ivan Beynier. The second, Gabrielle de Lavergne, married in 1864 to Doctor Fontan and has three children: — Jerome Fontan L'Ouverture, now retired non-commissioned officer in the French army; Jeanne Fontan-L'Ouverture, wife of M. Sabardu, professor in the Lyceum of Draguignay; and Martha Fontan-L'Ouverture. Rosa-Zora L'Ouverture, daughter of Placide, received a pension of 1500 francs from the French government on her father's account; but since her death, which occurred in 1900, no government aid has been furnished to any member of the family.

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cheapest price which will serve well enough to mark the course of time. If he becomes sick, the health officer best known to you must alone see him and care for him; but only when it is necessary, and in your presence and with the utmost precaution, in order that these visits shall not carry any information beyond those to whom it is indispensable.

"The only means that Toussaint would have had to ameliorate his lot would have been to lay aside his dissimulation. His personal interests, the religious sentiments by which he ought to be penetrated in order to expiate all the evil he has done, impose upon him the duty of truthfulness; but far from fulfilling it, by his continual dissimulation he approaches (*sic*) those who approach him of all interest with regard to his fate. You can tell him to make himself easy as to the condition of his family; their existence is committed to my care and nothing is wanting to them.

"I presume you have taken away from him everything that can have any connection with a uniform. Toussaint is his name; it is the only denomination which must be given to him. A warm suit, gray or brown, very large and comfortable, with a round hat must be his vestments. When he vaunts of having been general, he only recalls his crimes, his hideous conduct and his tyranny over Europeans. He merits, then, the most profound contempt for his ridiculous pride."

There is Bonaparte! There he stands revealed in all the baseness and littleness of his soul.

General Cafferelli, who by order of Bonaparte took from Toussaint L'Ouverture, actual general of division of France, his uniform, reports that he contented himself with saying: "Is it necessary to add this humiliation to my misfortune?" On another occasion to Cafferelli he said: "Doubtless I owe my treatment to my color; but has my color hindered me from serving well my country?" This

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general was sent seven times to gain from Toussaint, imprisoned, something in the form of a confession; his final word is:

"He declares himself to be an honest man and defies any one to prove that he has departed in any way from strict probity. Recalled to this subject at different times he has always answered in the same manner. He speaks of his family and asks for information concerning them with pressing interest. He does not admit that his conduct had given cause for his arrest; he complains only that General Le Clerc did not keep his word. He believes the only cause for reproach that he has given, was in proclaiming his Constitution and putting it in effect without the sanction of the government."

Bonaparte took away his servant, the faithful Mars Plaisir. The story need not be pursued further; the tragedy is closed. The commandant of the fort wrote March 19, 1803: "Toussaint is always sick; he has a constant cough, for several days he has been compelled to carry his left arm in a sling, and his voice is singularly changed." The officer was then ordered to procure for him a health officer favorably known, *if it was absolutely necessary,* under the express condition that he should be always present when the officer came, and that nothing should be spoken of on the occasion except the malady of Toussaint. On the 7th of April, 1803, the "Citizen Amiot, commandant of arms of the fort, in entering at eleven o'clock in the forenoon in the dungeon, found the prisoner seated upon a chair his head against the chimney dead." An autopsy was held and the conclusion given out that Toussaint "succumbed to an attack of apoplexy."

Schoelcher, who writes the exhaustive life of L'Ouverture, closes his recital with the statement that his body was buried in the graveyard connected with the chapel of the fort, and that later his son Isaac, who had established his residence at Bordeaux, took up the body and buried it in

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the cemetery of that city where it now rests. Over the remains now stands a monument erected through the leadership of M. Gragnon-Lacoste.[4] He justly states:

"His death was an assassination more hideous still than that of the Duke of Enghien. This was slow death by cold and misery."

Thus died Toussaint L'Ouverture, accused and defamed by Bonaparte and Le Clerc, his uniform and rank of general taken away without process, so far as unlimited brutality could effect such purpose. The man incarcerated and immolated was to be simply Toussaint, worthy only of "profound contempt" according to the dictum of the First Consul; but that man was in reality General of Division, Toussaint L'Ouverture, of whom the same First Consul had said not long before, and after he had formed his adverse decisions as we shall see: "I have conceived esteem for you, I am pleased to proclaim the great services you

[4] Seeking to verify this statement the author addressed a note to the mayor of Bordeaux, receiving in reply the following:

BORDEAUX, February 8, 1912.

Monsieur,

Dès la reception de votre lettre du 15 Janvier, j'ai fait opérér des recherches afin de savoir si les restes de Toussaint L'Ouverture étaient réellemente déposés au cimitière de Bordeaux.

J'ai le regrèt de vous faire part de l'insuccès de ces recherdches. J'ai pu cependant constater qu'une tombe construite en 1864 pour les familles de Mondenard et Gragnon Lacoste, a recu, en 1866, le corps d'Isaac L'Ouverture, decédé le 26 Septembre 1854, et plus tard en 1878, les restes de sa veuve Louise Chancy décédée le 22 Juillet 1871.

Rien n'indique que, à une epoque quelconque, Isaac L'Ouverture ait fait transporter à Bordeaux, et inhumer, les ossements de son pêre.

Des renseignements recueillis au fort de Joux permettent de croire, au contraire, que le crâne du "Bonaparte Noir" aurait été transporté à St. Domingue, il y a une quinzaine d'annés, sur la demande de l'administration de cette isle.

Mayor's office of Bordeaux.

Evidently Schoelcher had been led into an error.—T. G. S.

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have rendered the French people; the nation counts you in the number of its most illustrious citizens." This declaration was made November 18, 1801; on the 29th of October preceding he had ordered: "The taking possession of the Spanish part of the island by Toussaint is null and disavowed. When General Le Clerc shall judge it proper he will arrange for the formal taking possession, in which he will have regard due to all the allied powers who have ceded this territory to the Republic. All the acts done in the Spanish part by Toussaint L'Ouverture are null and disavowed. The commandant-in-chief of the army of Saint Domingo will exercise the attributes of captain-general for the Spanish part." It will be noticed in this that no title whatever is applied to Toussaint and that another is spoken of as commander-in-chief of the army of Saint Domingo. Cafferelli, who was to sound Toussaint by all methods while in prison, was directed by Bonaparte to make him know that "we have considered him a rebel from the moment that he had published his constitution." Under the silken glove of that insinuating letter of the 18th of November he had concealed the sinister instructions to Le Clerc: "From the moment that you are rid of Toussaint, of Christophe, of Dessalines, and the other principal brigands, send and have the mass of blacks disarmed, send to the Continent all the blacks and men of color who have played an important part in these civil troubles." Without trial, without a hearing, uncondemned, was this great man Toussaint L'Ouverture pressed to death, and, had it been possible, a like or worse fate would have been visited upon his lieutenants.

Was Bonaparte affected by color prejudice, or did insane jealousy prompt him to use any means to rid him of a real or imaginary rival? We have noticed his conduct with reference to General Dumas; but it is somewhere said that on learning of the death of Kleber, he remarked, "One rival less." His invective about the *noirs doré*, his threat

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that he "would not leave an epaulette upon the shoulder of a Negro," all show that he was either a victim of this feeling himself or was willing to make use of this vulgar prejudice in order to sustain his course of action. In dealing with General Toussaint L'Ouverture's family we see the same; he directed that the mother and children who were at Bayonne should be lodged, clothed, and supported, without luxury, but with decency, appropriate to the condition of free Negroes cared for by the government; and he directs that special oversight be kept in order that the two young men do not wear their uniforms. Again he orders that "the lodging and subsistence must not be above the modest necessity appropriate for colored people."

The Bonapartists have attempted, without success, to blacken the character of Toussaint L'Ouverture by claiming for him a corrupt and licentious life. The words of Thiers are too unjust for transcription. Against this calumny is the whole testimony of contemporaries.

It is well known that Placide, the eldest of his sons, was his step-son only; yet this is the son who decided to go with him, and commanded Toussaint's guard. When at the height of his power he addressed these sons a letter which exhibits his soul as a father. It is headed: "Toussaint L'Ouverture, general-in-chief of the Army of Saint Domingo, to Isaac and Placide, his sons at The National Institute, Paris." And here are the contents.

"CAPE FRANCOIS, April 14, 1799.

"The Citizen Bonnet has brought to me, my dear children, the letter which you wrote me last 5th Pluvoise. The respect with which you honor your papa and your mamma has given pleasure to us both. I will embrace, for you, your brother Saint-Jean and your cousin Pauline, when I see them. I have put the little Saint-Jean at Port-de-Paix with Citizen Granville, an instructor of youth. You will soon see the son of this respectable citizen at the

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National Institute. It will be proper to cultivate his friendship; he is your compatriot; his father is my friend; these are very mild claims for this young man.

"My dear children, many respectable persons are interested in you and very many have their eyes upon you. You must redouble your zeal and application, so as not to deceive my hopes. But without religion, without the assistance of God, your efforts will be useless; it is strictly necessary that you pray night and morning in order to inspire you with virtuous sentiments. Avoid and detest everything that may have the imprint of vice; respect your teachers, and all of your superiors; be solicitous, civil, and honorable towards your associates then you will be well thought of by all; and thus make the consolation of your good papa and your good mamma who cherish you so tenderly. Your mamma and myself embrace you, my dear children, thousands and thousands of times. I am, your good papa,

"TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE."

From his prison tomb he wrote to his wife, September 17, 1802.

"MY DEAR WIFE:

"I profit of the occasion of a good general to let you hear from me. I was sick on arriving here; but the commandant of this place, who is a man of humanity, has given me all aid possible. Thanks to God, I am much better. You know my fondness for my family and my devotion to the woman that I cherish. Why have you not let me hear from you? Greet all for me. I pray them to conduct themselves well, to exercise much wisdom and virtue. I have said to you already that you are responsible for their conduct before God and with respect to your husband. Let me know if Placide is with you. I embrace you most tenderly. I am for life, your faithful husband."

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Toussaint L'Ouverture takes his place among the great. "One of the men the most extraordinary in a time when so many extraordinary men appeared."— Beauchamp. "After God, this man was a nation."—Lamartine.

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CHAPTER XIII

INDEPENDENCE. CHARACTERS, ETC.

Dessalines — Madiou describes him as a "Thunderbolt of arbitrariness"— A scholar's description of him — Energy and military talents, genius. Schoelcher compares him to Murat in some respects — Christophe — Siege of Savannah — His life summarized — Remarks made by writers concerning these black, and colored, generals — Their wives — Proclamation of Independence — Abjuration of the French government — Invitation to Haitians to return to their homes — Against those who had aided Le Clerc and Rochambeau in committing atrocities — Communication on accepting the appointment of Governor-general for life — Warning to the Spaniards — His coronation — Remarks on his civil administration — Death.

THE last European soldier has left Saint Domingo, the blacks and mulattoes are now in possession and control of the finest colony which France up to that time had governed. The foremost man on the island, December 1, 1803, standing sword in hand, is the indomitable Dessalines. Let us look upon his portrait as drawn at length by Madiou, the early mulatto historian of Haiti.

"Dessalines understood better than Toussaint the natural sympathy of the man of color with the blacks. The French determining in October, 1802, to reëstablish slavery, the blacks and men of color rushed to arms, and the war of Independence broke out. Dessalines appeared then more glorious upon the scene; and everything was changed never to return. Providence had charged him with the mission of founding Haiti, by reuniting in one solid body the black and the brown. He tore from the tricolored flag the white, and uniting the red and blue he symbolized, to

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our eyes, the alliance of the African with his descendants. To him it only confirmed in his heart the ambition for independence which at that time aroused the whole nation. His temperament and his mind had all the vigor necessary for the arbitrary pursuit of his vast project. Of ordinary stature, he was brave, intrepid, indefatigable, with veritable military talents; he was at the same time pitiless and generous.

"In rank above his contemporaries, he had surpassed them, and had led them through fourteen years of struggles; he drew them on in spite of their hesitation at first. We are struck with shuddering as we see this thunder-bolt of arbitrariness forcing its way through forced marches and through so much blood; it is only by the virtue of human sacrifices that he appears to be able to render the eternal favorable; on the account of the grandeur of the end which he wished to attain will not posterity pardon the means that he employed? He forced his soldiers to cross impassable mountains, to traverse plains at giants' pace, without pay and badly fed; and harassed and fatigued to assault and carry towns in the face of blazing artillery. He did not fear to assume upon his own head the entire responsibility of his measures. 'What to me is the opinion of posterity,' said he, 'so I save my country?' Words which show him predestined and enchained to an inevitable end. A giant of antiquity who has erected his monument only in sweat and blood! His work resulted from his profound conviction that the Haitian people ought not to be happy only through independence. He immolated all those of his brothers who resisted his undertaking, or who tried to rob him of the glory of its success. Thus he caused to perish some hundreds of farm laborers who were faithful to France, delivered Charles Belair to the executioners, and Lamour Desrance to the sad fate of solitary confinement for life. Often he shed a tear over his victims; but the avenging angel of races who had died in slavery did not

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recoil before any obstacle; he gloried in the sacrifices made for the triumph of his plan. The enemies of independence found always in him a being without pity. But, without strong passions, who ever became great? And does not one under the influence of passions go beyond the proper end and reach the extremes? It is passion alone that engenders great natures, but it fills them with both vices and virtues. Even while giving full swing to his implacable hatred toward the colonists, he had the feelings of a brother toward the Polonaise who had not taken part in the outrages of the colonists. The incarnate principle of independence, he was barbarous only against the colonial barbarity."

To this description we will add another, from Haitian sources. This is from the pen of that distinguished statesman, publicist, and scholar, who has recently left us, the late Honorable Antenor Firmin.

In a work published in Paris in 1885 he thus describes Dessalines: "Completely illiterate, it is true, but endowed with an energy and military genius which no one of those who fought against him denied, nor any of his bitterest detractors have been able to belittle, this man to whom was confided in a sovereign degree the difficult and glorious task of directing that revolutionary movement out of which came the independence of Haiti, conducted his work with marvelous tact, without ever for a moment forfeiting the confidence of the people. He was ever ready; and met every necessity of the situation promptly. When the greater part of men would have weakened, overcome by a misplaced sentimentality in dealing with an enemy who regarded him and his as only so many wild Africans, he remained firm and inflexible, returning outrage for outrage, torture for torture. Although others may see in his conduct only ferocity, counting for nothing the atrocious crimes committed by the French of which the acts of Dessalines were only reprisals, for ourselves, sons of those who have suffered the humiliation and martyrdom of slavery,

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we can see in his actions the primary manifestations of that common manhood of which Dessalines remains the symbolic personification in Haiti."

What boy will not read with enthusiasm the picture of this man painted by the Frenchman Schoelcher?

"Dessalines, whose instinctive military qualities enabled him to play a grand rôle in Saint Domingo, was a type very different from that of Christophe. He was a barbarous force, but nevertheless a force. Impetuous, violent, hardened to pain, he had always been a slave rebel, often a fugitive, he had been many times flogged with that atrocious cruelty which had become natural to the slave-masters. His whole body was covered with scars from the atrocious corrections that his indomitable temper had brought upon him. Later, every time that he changed his uniform he would throw his eyes down upon himself and exclaim with fury: 'For these marks which appear upon my flesh I will wage a war of extermination upon all whites.' We do not blame him at all.

"He was of audacious courage, bold, and, like Murat, as though he had been invulnerable, although always in the thickest of the battle, was never wounded. When he went into battle, it was like a workman preparing himself for work; he put off his coat, rolled up his shirt sleeves and with arms bare as the blade of his sword, he was a blaze of fire, intrepid, and at the same time full of resource. But victorious, he made nothing of it; he thought of nothing but amusement, and the dance. His life was passed between the contra dance, and the combat.

"He did not wish to borrow anything from the whites. He repelled all civilization; he would not consent to learn anything beyond rudely making some marks which represented his name. He affected to speak only creole, and not to understand French; and although born in Saint Domingo, he vaunted himself as being only a 'savage African.'

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"This voluntary barbarian had a certain originality of mind. When he was elected chief of the army indigene, he went into the South to cause his title to be recognized there. He met three chiefs of bands, Goman, Nicolas Regnier and Gilles Benech. The two first were colonels, each having two epaulettes, while Benech had only one epaulette. Dessalines showed in a droll manner the opinion he formed of their merits. He took one epaulette from Goman and one from Regnier, and handing them to Benech said: 'You are colonel; Goman and Regnier are chiefs of battalion.'

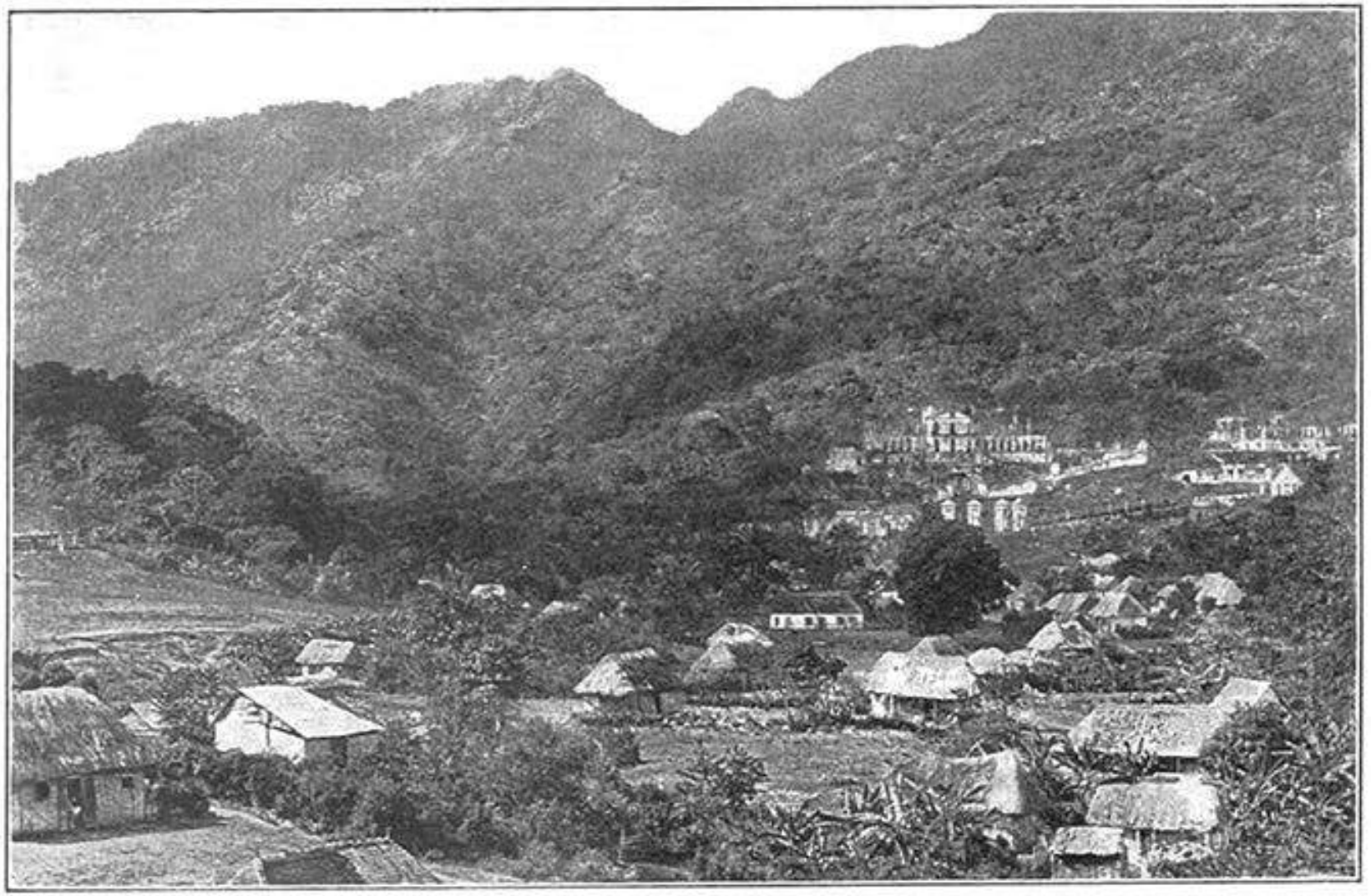
"Some unscrupulous people who had seized upon the property whose owners had left during the revolutionary troubles, made out titles to the property and then smoked them to make them appear old. Dessalines discovered this, and when he became ruler and these titles were brought to him that he might give them authority, he would never open them; he would smell them and tearing them up say: 'This is not good; it smells of smoke.'"

Henri Christophe was born in Haiti, the date of his birth unknown, but in 1779 he took part in the battle of Savannah, distinguishing himself there by his bravery, and receiving a dangerous gunshot wound. He early joined the insurrection and ere its close came to be one of Toussaint L'Ouverture's most trusted generals. His life prior to his arriving at military eminence is thus summarized; he had been a slave; a keeper of a hotel; the commander of a privateering vessel; a captain in the National Guard. By Haitian writers he is described as being worthy a place by the side of their brilliant Capoix in courage and military aptitude.

Although but just escaped from slavery, he developed a genius for administration, the memory of which still commands the admiration of his countrymen. Gifted with quickness of perception and decision, and endowed with an iron will, he united in his personal character all those

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RUINS OF CHRISTOPHE'S PALACE.

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qualities essential to the ruling over men. He has left the monuments of his memorable reign as king of the northern part of Haiti, in the magnificent ruins of his palace, and especially in the fortress known as Sans Souci, pitched like an eagle's nest upon one of the highest mountains of the island.

Of all these generals, Pamphile Lacroix says they learned quickly how to rule; they maintained dignity that one would not have thought them capable of, considering the brutal state of slavery out of which they came. In respect to the firmness and dignity that they manifested in commanding, he says they showed themselves superior to the common people of Europe. "None of our artisans or our laborers passing suddenly out of their condition to a rank so elevated could have attained so quickly and so well the exterior habits, aptitudes in the exercise of power, as have done the men of Haiti." "As to the military men," says Roume, the civil commissioner, "I submit, in fact, that it would be impossible to find among the whites, generals, who could command with more coolness, firmness, and honest impartiality than have the black and yellow chiefs of Saint Domingo." Maurepas, who was of an old free family, not mulatto, but black, is thus described by General Ramel: "He possesses the military art to the last point. He reads much. I have served under his orders. I regularly ate at his table. At first I was astonished to see the ease with which he did the honors in his home." Schoelcher concludes a survey of these characters with this just reflection: "It is no longer possible to deny: the examples which we have cited are proofs; the Negroes of the Saint Domingo Revolution are the living demonstration of the equality of their race with the white race, where there is equality of circumstances favorable to the complete development of the human being. Toussaint, Christophe, Maurepas, Dessalines, Pierre Michel, were full men; Madame Toussaint, Madame Christophe, Madame Des-

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salines[1] possessed the virtues of the most beautiful souls. We salute in them, Negroes whose capacity, although they had been till then deprived of instruction, has proved, we repeat it, that the race black is not a race inferior."

Had any of the French lingered on shore the day they were driven from the harbor by Dessalines, they might have read the following proclamation — a proclamation which I think the reader of my book will peruse with admiration if

[1] Madiou relates the following story exhibiting in beautiful light the womanly sympathy of Madame Dessalines in contrast with her husband's severity. While the slaughter was raging and the cries of victims were filling the village where Madame Dessalines was resting, two young Frenchmen overcome by terror fled for their lives to her apartment crying: "Madame, in pity, save us." Madame Dessalines stood for a moment not knowing what to do. Then her feelings of humanity made her brave and she said resolutely: "Hide yourselves under this bed." Almost at that very instant Lamartiniere, Bazelais, Laurettes and other officers entered the house, accompanying Dessalines.

"Every drop of white blood shed," said they, "gives more vigor to the tree of liberty."

Resting themselves against the bed they began talking of the resources which Toussaint still had, when all of a sudden they heard a violent sneeze. The poor victim could not prevent it.

"What!" blazed Dessalines, "Is there a white concealed here?" The officers looked under the bed and discovered the young men; and the one nearest the front was soon killed with sword cuts and thrusts. The other was dragged out with violence and the sword raised to slay him when Madame Dessalines fell on her knees before her husband, crying in accents capable of softening the hardest heart: "Mercy! Mercy! O, Messieurs, beg mercy with me; this is a doctor; he can be useful to us." Dessalines pushed her away with fury; she caught hold of his uniform and begged him with tears flowing down her cheeks, holding him fast with her arms, to spare the life of this unfortunate man. Dessalines pushed her away violently and said in angry voice, "He shall die!" She fell almost lifeless. Then the other officers moved by her great courage and pity joined with her. Dessalines yielded, and the Frenchman's life was spared. It was Descourlitz the naturalist, the author of "The Flora of the Antilles."

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he can reproduce in imagination something of the grand and inspiring circumstances which are attending the birth of this new nation. It is circulated as the booming of the guns of the departing enemy die away, and proclaims the coming of the new nation in the presence of the armed veterans whose sacrifices and valor have cleared for it a place not the least honorable among the governments born of war.

Declaration of the Independence of the Blacks of St. Domingo

Proclamation of Dessalines, Christophe, and Clervaux, Chiefs of Saint Domingo

In the Name of the Black People, and Men of Color of Saint Domingo:

The Independence of Saint Domingo is proclaimed. Restored to our primitive dignity, we have asserted our rights; we swear never to yield them to any power on earth; the frightful veil of prejudice is torn to pieces, be it so forever. Woe be to them who would dare to put together its bloody tatters.

Oh! Landholders of Saint Domingo, wandering in foreign countries, by proclaiming our independence, we do not forbid you, indiscriminately, from returning to your property; far from us, this unjust idea. We are not ignorant that there are some among you that have renounced their former errors, abjured the injustice of their exorbitant pretensions, and acknowledged the lawfulness of the cause for which we have been spilling our blood these twelve years. Toward those men who do us justice, we will act as brothers; let them rely forever on our esteem and friendship; let them return among us. The God who protects us, the God of Freemen, bids us to stretch out towards them our conquering arms. But as for those, who, intoxicated with foolish pride, interested slaves of a guilty pretension,

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are blinded so much as to believe themselves the essence of human nature, and assert that they are destined by heaven to be our masters and our tyrants, let them never come near the land of Saint Domingo; if they come hither, they will only meet with chains or deportation; then let them stay where they are; tormented by their well-deserved misery, and the frowns of the just men whom they have too long mocked, let them still continue to move, unpitied and unnoticed by all.

We have sworn not to listen with clemency towards all those who would dare to speak to us of slavery; we will be inexorable, perhaps even cruel, towards all troops who, themselves forgetting the object for which they have not ceased fighting since 1780, should come from Europe to bring among us death and servitude. Nothing is too dear, and all means are lawful, to men from whom it is wished to tear the first of all blessings. Were they to cause rivers and torrents of blood to run; were they, in order to maintain their liberty, to conflagrate seven-eighths of the globe, they are innocent before the tribunal of Providence, that never created men to see them groaning under so harsh and shameful a servitude.

In the various commotions that took place, some inhabitants against whom we had not to complain have been victims by the cruelty of a few soldiers or cultivators, too much blinded by the remembrance of their past sufferings to be able to distinguish the good and humane landowners from those that were unfeeling and cruel; we lament with all feeling souls so deplorable an end, and declare to the world, whatever may be said to the contrary by wicked people, that the murders were committed contrary to the wishes of our hearts. It was impossible, especially in the crisis in which the colony was, to be able to prevent or stop those horrors. They who are in the least acquainted with history, know that a people, when assailed by civil dissensions, though they may be the most polished on earth, give

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themselves up to every species of excess, and the authority of the chiefs, at that time not firmly supported, in a time of revolution cannot punish all that are guilty, without meeting with new difficulties.

But nowadays the aurora of peace hails us, with the glimpse of a less stormy time; now that the calm of victory has succeeded to the trouble of a dreadful war, everything in Saint Domingo ought to assume a new face, and its government henceforward be that of justice.

Done at the Headquarters, Fort Dauphin, November 29, 1803.

(Signed) DESSALINES.
CHRISTOPHE.
CLERVAUX.

True Copy, B. AIME, Secretary.

This act of independence was written by Boisrond-Tonnerre, while, as was said, the blood was not yet dry upon the battlefields; the soldiers still resting upon their guns were momentarily expecting the cry of, "To arms." He, "burning with the fire of enthusiasm and of inspiration, consecrated his sharpened pen to this first phase of our national history." (Delorme.)

No other events of a national character occurred after this date until the first of January following, at which time a convention, composed principally of the generals who had conducted the war, assembled at Gonaives. The convention had been called by Dessalines and he was naturally its moving and guiding spirit. This convention formally declared the independence of the country, restored its old Carib name Haiti, adopted a national flag, provided for a constitution and code of laws, and elected Dessalines governor-general or president for life. Thus formally came into the world on January 4, 1804, a new nation, the second republic in the Western hemisphere, and the Black Government of modern times, brought into existence through, in all, thirteen years of fierce and bloody strife.

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At the time of the assembling of this convention, Dessalines as general-in-chief put forth a proclamation for "a solemn abjuration of the French nation."

Proclamation for a Solemn Abjuration of the French Nation

LIBERTY OR DEATH! — NATIVE ARMY

The General-in-Chief to the People of Haiti

Citizens,

It is not enough to have expelled from your country the barbarians who have for ages stained it with blood — it is not enough to have curbed the factions which, succeeding each other by turns, sported with a phantom of liberty which France exposed to their eyes. It is become necessary, by a last act of national authority, to ensure forever the empire of liberty in the country which has given us birth. It is necessary to deprive an inhuman government, which has hitherto held our minds in a state of the most humiliating torpitude, of every hope of being enabled again to enslave us. Finally, it is necessary to live independent, or die. Independence or Death! Let these sacred words serve to rally us — let them be signals of battle, and of our re-union.

Citizens — Countrymen: I have assembled on this solemn day those courageous chiefs, who, on the eve of receiving the last breath of expiring liberty, have lavished their blood to preserve it. These generals, who have conducted your struggles against tyranny, have not yet done. The French name still darkens our plains; everything recalls the remembrance of the cruelties of that barbarous people. Our laws, our customs, our cities, everything bears the characteristics of the French — Hearken to what I say! The French still have a footing in our island! and you believe yourselves free and independent of that republic, which has fought all nations, it is true, but never conquered those who would be free?

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What! Victims for fourteen years by credulity and forbearance! conquered not by French armies, but by the canting eloquence of the proclamations of their agents! When shall we be wearied with breathing the same air with them? What have we in common with that bloody-minded people? Their cruelties compared to our moderation — their color to ours — the extension of seas which separate us — our avenging climate — all plainly tell us they are not our brethren; that they never will become such; and if they find an asylum among us, they will still be the instigators of our troubles and of our divisions. Citizens, men, women, young and old: Cast round your eyes on every part of this island! Seek there your wives, your husbands, your brothers, your sisters! What did I say? Seek your children — your children at the breast; what is become of them? I shudder to tell it — the prey of vultures. Instead of these interesting victims, the affrighted eye sees only their assassins — tigers still covered with their blood, and whose terrifying presence reproaches you for your insensibility, and your guilty tardiness to avenge them. What do you wait for, to appease their manes? Remember that you have wished your remains to be laid by the side of your fathers — When you have driven out tyranny — will you descend into their tombs, without having avenged them? No: their bones would repulse yours. And ye, invaluable men, intrepid generals, who, insensible to private sufferings, have given new life to liberty, by lavishing your blood; know, that you have done nothing if you do not give to the nations a terrible, though just, example of the vengeance that ought to be exercised by a people proud of having recovered its liberty, and zealous of maintaining it. Let us intimidate those who might dare to attempt depriving us of it again: let us begin with the French; let them shudder at approaching our shores, if not on account of the cruelties they have committed, at least at the terrible resolution we are going to make — To devote to death

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whatsoever native of France should soil with his sacrilegious footstep this territory of liberty.

We have dared to be free — let us continue free by ourselves, and for ourselves; let us imitate the growing child; his own strength breaks his leading-strings, which become useless and troublesome to him in his walk. What are the people who have fought us? What people would reap the fruits of our labors? And what a dishonorable absurdity, to conquer to be slaves!

Slaves? — leave to the French nation this odious epithet; they have conquered to be no longer free — Let us walk in other footsteps; let us imitate other nations, who, carrying their solicitude into futurity and dreading to leave posterity an example of cowardice, have preferred to be exterminated rather than be erased from the list of free people. Let us, at the same time, take care, lest a spirit of proselytism should destroy the work — let our neighbors breathe in peace — let them live peaceably under the shield of those laws which they have framed for themselves; let us beware of becoming revolutionary firebrands — of creating ourselves the legislators of the Antilles — of considering as a glory disturbing the tranquillity of the neighboring islands. They have not been, like the one we inhabit, drenched with the innocent blood of the inhabitants — they have no vengeance to exercise against the authority that protects them; happy never to have experienced the pestilence that has destroyed us, they must wish well to our posterity.

Peace with our neighbors, but accursed be the French name — eternal hatred to France; such are our principles.

Natives of Haiti — my happy destiny reserves me to be one day the sentinel who is to guard the idol we now sacrifice to. I have grown old fighting for you, sometimes almost alone; and if I have been happy enough to deliver to you the sacred charge confided to me, recollect it is for you, at present, to preserve it. In fighting for your liberty, I

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have labored for my own happiness: before it shall be consolidated by laws which shall ensure individual liberty, your chiefs whom I have assembled here, and myself, owe you this last proof of our devotedness.

Generals, and other chiefs, unite with me for the happiness of our country; the day is arrived — the day which will ever perpetuate our glory and our independence.

If there exist among you a lukewarm heart, let him retire, and shudder to pronounce the oath which is to unite us. Let us swear to the whole world, to posterity, to ourselves, to renounce France forever, and to die rather than live under its dominion — to fight till the last breath for the independence of our country.

And ye, people, too long unfortunate, witness the oath we now pronounce: recollect that it is upon your constancy and courage I depended when I first entered the career of liberty to fight despotism and tyranny, against which you have been struggling these last fourteen years; remember that I have sacrificed everything to fly to your defense — parents, children, fortune, and am now only rich, in your liberty — that my name has become a horror to all friends of slavery, or despots; and tyrants only pronounce it, cursing the day that gave me birth; if ever you refuse or receive with murmuring the laws which the protecting angel that watches over your destinies shall dictate to me for your happiness, you will merit the fate of an ungrateful people. But away from me this frightful idea: You will be the guardians of the liberty you cherish, the support of the chief who commands you.

Swear then to live free and independent, and to prefer death to everything that would lead to replace you under the yoke; swear then to pursue for everlasting the traitors and enemies of your independence.

J. J. Dessalines.

Headquarters, Gonaives, 1st January, 1804,
1st Year of Independence.

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On the 14th of January the following proclamation was sent forth:

"LIBERTY OR DEATH"

GOVERNMENT OF HAITI

HEADQUARTERS, January 14, 1804.
1st Year of the Independence of Haiti

The Governor-General considering that a great number of Native Blacks, and Men of Color, are suffering in the United States of America for want of means of returning,

Decrees,

That there shall be allowed to the captains of American vessels the sum of Forty Dollars for each individual they may restore to this country. He orders that this Decree shall be printed, published, and posted up, and that a copy thereof be immediately forwarded to the Congress of the United States.

By the Governor-General,
DESSALINES.

On the 22d of February, Dessalines comes forth with another vigorous proclamation.

"LIBERTY! INDEPENDENCE! OR DEATH"

The Governor-General considering that there still remains in the Island of Haiti individuals who have contributed, either by their guilty writings, or by their sanguinary accusations, to the drowning, suffocating, assassinating, hanging, and shooting, of more than sixty thousand of our brethren, under the inhuman government of Le Clerc and Rochambeau, considering that every man who dishonored human nature, by prostituting himself with enthusiasm to the vile offices of informers and executioners, ought to be classed with assassins and delivered up without remorse to the sword of justice, decrees as follows: —

1. Every commandant of a division shall cause to be arrested within their respective commands those persons

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who are, or shall be known to have taken active part in the different massacres and assassinations ordered by Le Clerc or Rochambeau.

2. Before proceeding to the arrest of an individual (as it often happens that many are innocent who nevertheless may be strongly suspected), we order each commander to make all necessary inquiries for producing proofs, and above all, not to confound with true and faithful reports those denunciations too frequently suggested by hatred or envy.

3. The names and surnames of persons executed shall be inscribed and sent to the general-in-chief who will make them public. This measure is adopted in order to inform the nations of the world that although we grant an asylum and protection to those who act candidly and friendly towards us, nothing shall ever turn our vengeance from those murderers who have delighted to bathe themselves in the blood of the innocent children of Haiti.

4. Any chief who in contempt of the orders and unalterable will of the government shall sacrifice to his ambition, to his hatred or to any other passion, any person whose guilt shall not have been previously well ascertained and proved, shall undergo the same punishment which we shall have thus inflicted; and the property of every such unjust officer shall be confiscated, one-half to the government, and the other half to the relations of the innocent victim, if any there may be in the island at the time of his death.

(Signed) DESSALINES.

A true copy,

B. AIME, Secretary.

Done at Headquarters, February 22, 1804.

By some form Dessalines, who was nothing if not a despot, had himself made governor-general for life by what was assumed as the authoritative voice of the people of Haiti. In accepting this appointment of his own procuring he put forth the following:

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Communication of the Intentions of the Government on Accepting the Appointment of Governor-General for Life

Liberty or Death

A Proclamation

Jean Jacques Dessalines, Governor-General, to the Inhabitants of Haiti

Crimes, the most atrocious, such as were hitherto unheard of, and would cause nature to shudder, have been perpetrated. The measure of their cruelty overflowed. At length the hour of vengeance has arrived, and the implacable enemies of the right of man have suffered the punishment due to their crimes.

My arm, raised above their heads, has too long delayed to strike. At that signal, which the justice of God has urged, your hands, righteously armed, have brought the ax to bear upon the decrepit tree of slavery and prejudice. In vain had time, and more especially the infernal politics of Europe, defended it with triple brass; you have stripped it of its armor; and have placed it upon your heart, that you may become (like your natural enemies) cruel and merciless. Like an overflowing and mighty torrent, that bears down all opposition, your vengeful fury has swept away every obstacle to its impetuous course. Perish thus! all tyrants over innocence, all oppressors of mankind!

What then? Bent for many ages under an iron yoke, the sport of the passions or the injustice of men and of the caprices of fortune; mutilated victims of the cupidity of white Frenchmen; after having fattened by our toils, these insatiate bloodsuckers, with a patience and resignation unexampled, we should again have seen that sacrilegious horde attempt our destruction, without any distinction of sex or age; and we, whom they call men without energy, of no virtue, of no delicate sensibility, should not we have

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plunged in their breast the dagger of desperation? Where is that Haitian so vile, Haitian so unworthy of his regeneration, who thinks he has not fulfilled the decrees of the Eternal, by exterminating these blood-thirsty tigers? If there be one, let him fly; indignant nature discards him from our bosom; let him hide his infamy far from hence; the air we breathe is not suited to his gross organs; it is the air of liberty, pure, august, and triumphant.

Yes, we have rendered to these true cannibals, war for war, crime for crime, outrage for outrage; yes, I have saved my country; I have avenged America. The avowal I make in the face of earth and heaven constitutes my pride and my glory. Of what consequence to me is the opinion which contemporary and future generations will pronounce upon my conduct? I have performed my duty; I enjoy my own approbation; for me that is sufficient. But, what am I saying? The preservation of my unfortunate brothers and the testimony of my own conscience are not my only recompense: I have seen two classes of men, born to cherish, assist, and succor one another — mixed in a world, and blended together — crying for vengeance, and disputing the honor of the first blow.

Blacks and yellows, whom the refined duplicity of Europe for a long time endeavored to divide; you, who are now consolidated and make but one family; without doubt it was necessary that our perfect reconciliation should be sealed with the blood of your butchers. Similar calamities have hung over your proscribed heads; a similar ardor to strike your enemies has signalized you: the like fate is reserved for you, and the like interests must therefore render you forever one, indivisible and inseparable. Maintain that precious concord, that happy harmony, amongst yourselves; it is the pledge of your happiness, your salvation, and your success; it is the secret of being invincible.

It is necessary, in order to strengthen these ties, to recall to your remembrance the catalogue of atrocities committed

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against our species; the intended massacre of the entire population of this island, meditated in the silence and *sang-froid* of the cabinet; the execution of that abominable project to me was unblushingly proposed, when already begun by the French, with the calmness and serenity of a countenance accustomed to similar crimes. Guadeloupe pillaged and destroyed; its ruins still reeking with the blood of the children, women, and old men put to the sword; Pelage (himself the victim of their craftiness), after having basely betrayed his country and his brothers; the brave and immortal Gelgresse, blown into the air with the fort he defended, rather than accept their offered chains. Magnanimous warrior! that noble death, far from enfeebling our courage, serves only to rouse within us the determination of avenging or of following thee. Shall I again recall to your memory the plots lately framed at Jeremie? The terrible explosion that was to be the result, notwithstanding the generous pardon granted to these incorrigible beings at the expulsion of the French army? The deplorable fate of our departed brothers in Europe? and (dread harbinger of death) the frightful despotism exercised at Martinique? Unfortunate people of Martinique, could I but fly to your assistance, and break your fetters! Alas! an insurmountable barrier separates us; yet, perhaps a spark from the same fire which enflames us will alight on your bosoms: perhaps at the sound of this emotion, suddenly awakened from your lethargy, with arms in your hands, you will reclaim your sacred and indelible rights.

After the terrible example I have just given, sooner or later Divine Justice will unchain on earth some mighty minds, above the weakness of the vulgar, for the destruction and terror of the wicked. Tremble! tyrants, usurpers, scourges of the new world! Sixty thousand men, equipped, inured to war, obedient to my orders, burn to offer a new sacrifice to the manes of their assassinated brothers. Let

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that nation come who may be mad or daring enough to attack me. Already at its approach, the irritated Genius of Haiti, arising from the bosom of the ocean, appears; his menacing aspect throws the waves into commotion, excites tempests, and with his mighty hand disperses or dashes fleets in pieces; to his formidable voice the laws of nature pay obedience; disease, plague, famine, conflagration, poison, are his constant attendants. But why calculate on the assistance of the climate and of the elements? Have I forgot that I command a people of no common cast, brought up in adversity, whose haughty daring frowns at obstacles and increases by dangers? Let them come, these homicidal cohorts? I wait for them with a firm and steady eye. I abandon to them freely the shore, and the places where cities have existed, but woe to those who may approach too near the mountains! It were better for them that the sea received them into its profound abyss than to be devoured by the anger of the children of Haiti.

"War, even to death, to tyrants!" this is my motto; "Liberty! Independence!" this is our rallying cry.

Generals, Officers, Soldiers: Somewhat unlike him who has preceded me, the Ex-General Toussaint L'Ouverture, I have been faithful to the promise I made to you, when I took up arms against tyranny, and whilst the last spark of life remains in me I will keep my oath. "Never again shall a colonist, or an European, set his foot upon this territory with the title of master or proprietor." This resolution shall henceforward form the fundamental basis of our constitution.

Should other chiefs, after me, by pursuing a conduct diametrically opposite to mine, dig their own graves, and those of their own species, you will have to accuse only the law of destiny, which shall have taken me away from the happiness and welfare of my fellow-citizens. May my successors follow the path I shall have traced for them! It is the system best adapted for consolidating their power;

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it is the highest homage they can render to my memory.

As it is derogatory to my character, and my dignity, to punish the innocent for the crimes of the guilty, a handful of whites, commendable by the religion they have always professed, and who have besides taken the oath to live with us in the woods, have experienced my clemency. I order that the sword respect them, and that they be unmolested.

I recommend anew, and order all the generals of departments, etc., to grant succors, encouragement, and protection to all neutral and friendly nations, who may wish to establish commercial relations in this island.

Headquarters at the Cape, 28th April, 1804, first year of Independence.

The Governor-General, (Signed) DESSALINES.

A true Copy,

The Secretary-General, JUSTE CHANLATTE.

The division of French troops stationed at Santo Domingo were left on the island when Rochambeau departed. These had become on partly friendly terms with the Spaniards, but they were still confined to the capital city with little power to annoy the government which Dessalines was creating. The commander of this division was now one Freron or Frerand, who it was thought was trying to create trouble by arousing the Spaniards. Whether the report was true or not, Dessalines took occasion to send among the people of that part of the island a warning which they very promptly heeded.

Caution to the Spaniards

LIBERTY OR DEATH!

A Proclamation

Jean Jacques Dessalines, Governor-General, to the Inhabitants of the Spanish Part of the Island:

SOARCE had the French army been expelled, when you

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hastened to acknowledge my authority; by a free and spontaneous movement of your heart you ranged yourselves under my subjection. More careful of the prosperity than desirous of the ruin of that part which you inhabit, I gave to this homage a favorable reception. From that moment I have considered you as my children, and fidelity to you remains undiminished. As a proof of my paternal solicitude, within the places which have submitted to my power, I have proposed for chiefs none but men chosen from amongst yourselves. Jealous of counting you in the rank of my friends, that I might give you all the time necessary for recollection, and that I might assure myself of your fidelity, I have hitherto restrained the burning ardor of my soldiers. Already I congratulate myself on the success of my solicitude, which had for its object to prevent the effusion of blood; but at this time a fanatic priest had not kindled in your breasts the rage which predominates therein; the incensed Frerand had not yet instilled into you the poison of falsehood and calumny. Writings, originating in despair and weakness, have been circulated; and immediately some amongst you, seduced by perfidious insinuations, solicited the friendship and protection of the French; they dared to outrage my kindness, by coalescing with my cruel enemies. Spaniards, reflect! On the brink of the precipice which is dug under your feet, will that diabolical minister save you, when with fire and sword I shall have pursued you to your last entrenchments?

Ah! without doubt, his prayers, his grimaces, his relics, would be no impediment to my career. Vain, as defenseless, can he preserve you from my just anger, after I shall have buried him, and the collection of brigands he commands, under the ruins of your capital! Let them both recollect that it is before my intrepid phalanx that all the resources and the skill of Europeans have proved ineffectual; and that into my victorious hands the destiny of the Captain-General, Rochambeau, has been surrendered. To

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lure the Spaniards to their party, they propagate the report that vessels laden with troops have arrived at Santo Domingo. Why is it not the truth? They little imagine that, in delaying to attack them until this time, my principal object has been to suffer them to increase the mass of our resources, and the numbers of our victims. To spread distrust and terror, they incessantly dwell upon the fate which the French have just experienced; but have I not had reason to treat them so? The wrongs of the French, do they appertain to Spaniards; and must I visit on the latter the crimes which the former have conceived, ordered, and executed on our species? They have the effrontery to say, that, reduced to seek safety in flight, I am gone to conceal my defeat in the southern part of the island. Well, then! now let them learn that I am ready; that the thunderbolt is about to fall on their heads. Let them know that my soldiers are impatiently waiting for the signal to go and reconquer the boundaries which nature and the elements have assigned to us. A few moments more, and I shall crush the remnant of the French under the weight of my mighty power.

Spaniards! you, to whom I address myself, solely because I wish to save you; you, who for having been guilty of evasion, shall soon preserve your existence only so far as my clemency may deign to spare you; it is yet time; abjure an error which may be fatal to you, and break off all connection with my enemy, if you wish your blood may not be confounded with his. Name to me, without delay, that part of your territory on which my first blow is to be struck, or inform me whether I must strike on all points without discrimination. I give you fifteen days, from the date of this notification, to forward your last intentions, and to rally under my banners. You are not ignorant that all the roads of Santo Domingo in every direction are familiar to us; that more than once we have seen your dispersed bands fly before us. In a word, you know what I can do, and what I dare; think of your preservation.

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Receive here the sacred promise which I make — not to do anything against your personal safety or your interest, if you seize upon this occasion to show yourselves worthy of being admitted amongst the children of Haiti.

Headquarters at the Cape, May 8th, 1804, first year of Independence.

The Governor-General, (Signed) DESSALINES.
A true Copy,
The Secretary-General, JUSTE CHANLATTE.

DESSALINES IS CROWNED —

Programme issued to direct the Order of the Ceremonies on the Coronation of Jean Jacques, the First Emperor of Haiti

PORT-AU-PRINCE, September 8.

ON the 8th of October all the troops of the garrison, in the best order possible, will march under arms to the Champ de Mars at two o'clock A. M. precisely, and form in square battalions.

A detachment of grenadiers immediately to form a line to the house of the Commandant-General of Division.

At three o'clock the Members of all the Civil and Military Authorities, having assembled at the Government House, will proceed from thence to the Champ de Mars in the following procession:

A Platoon of Grenadiers, The Public Teachers, Conducting a great Number of their Pupils, The Deputation of the Body of Artisans, Preceded by a Chief Artisan, A Deputation of Agriculturists, Preceded by one of their principal Members, A Deputation of Foreign Commerce, Preceded by one of its Members, A Deputation of National Commerce, Preceded by one of its Members, The Members of Justice, and the Ministerial Officers, The Health Officers of the Army, attached to the Division, The Officers of the Military Marine, The État-Major of the place, connected with that of the Circuit, The Administrators, and those in

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their employ, The General commanding the Divisions, Accompanied by his État-Major, A Platoon of Grenadiers.

Arrived at the Champ de Mars, all the drums shall beat a march and the procession shall advance to an Amphitheater which shall be prepared for its use.

The Act announcing the nomination of the "Emperor" (DESSALINES), shall be read in a loud and intelligible voice!

A discharge of musketry and of cannon, which shall be repeated by all the forts of the city, and vessels in the harbor, shall follow the reading of the act.

The ceremony of the Coronation shall next take place on a throne, elevated in the midst of the Amphitheater, and surrounded by all the great Officers of the Empire.

The ceremony shall be announced by a triple discharge of cannon and musketry.

After the ceremony, the troops shall file to the church, and form in order of battle.

The Procession, in the order above mentioned, shall also advance to the Church, where a *Te Deum* in thanksgiving for this memorable day shall be sung.

During the *Te Deum* the Procession shall return, in the same order, to the house of the General of Division.

The Fête shall terminate by a grand illumination in all parts of the city.

Done at Port-au-Prince, the 6th of September, 1804, the first year of Independence,

The General of Division, (Signed) A. PETION.

These men who have shown themselves such apt students in the science of war have now to begin their apprenticeship in the art of government. It is common to ridicule the steps taken by Dessalines, as though he had converted a republic into an empire; but such was not his course. He had established *quasi*-civil government which in fact was but little more than government by the army, and of

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this army he was commander-in-chief. When the war ceased he was absolute, and it was but a necessary sequence of the situation that a despotism should follow and that Dessalines should be the despot. Dessalines as emperor of Haiti is the result of a severer logic than Napoleon as emperor of France. It is fortunate that the coronation of the black emperor took place two months before that of Napoleon. His was not a ceremony of imitation.

Dessalines could be nothing else but a despot. His gifts were simply unquestioned bravery and military energy, coupled with a fierce brutality — tempered during the war by a true and vehement patriotism. He had almost no qualifications for civil rule. He had been given by the unconscious people the title of governor-general for life with the right to make peace or war and to name his successor; the people had also sworn to obey blindly all laws emanating from his authority. There grew up around him the worst of all tyrannies. His show of honesty soon passed away and himself and his minions became robbers of the people.

"Pick the chicken, but don't let it squall," is said to have been a maxim of his government, probably invented by himself. Robbery and vice reigned everywhere. It was the hey-day of graft. When Dessalines finally became aroused and tried to curb the scandalous disorders that had gone even beyond his anticipation, he found the current too strong for him. One Mazereau of Port Salut raised a revolt. Soon the whole South was in arms. General Petion, who commanded the division of the West, joined the insurrection before Dessalines had suspected any defection on his part. Going out of his home town Marchand, situated in the plain of the Artibonite, he found himself confronted by the insurgent army drawn up in line of battle at Pont Rouge. He became furious because he did not receive from the army as he approached those military honors to which he was accustomed, and which he regarded as the

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attributes of his power. Spurring his horse he rode up to the head of the line, demanding in great indignation: "What does all this mean?" The only answer returned was in a fatal shot directed at him by a non-commissioned colored officer. He fell; and the army moved away, leaving his body lying where it fell,— where it remained for two days; when finally a poor unknown man took it up and gave it burial. Thus ended, October 17, 1806, the little more than two years' despotic rule of Dessalines, the first president and first emperor of Haiti. It should be remembered that at this time the mass of ex-slaves called the Haitian people were very ignorant, more than nine-tenths of them being unable to read. They were trained as soldiers and were commanded by able and valorous generals, but of civil government they knew nothing.

"One other remark rather damaging must be made as to the government of Dessalines and that is that the governing class of Haiti, which had constituted and accepted the degrading régime of an empire grotesque and despotic, endured it so long as they were left free to plunder the State, and never thought of rising against this order of things until the emperor tried to establish justice and administrative order in the land. This sad precedent has been the reason that our subsequent governments instead of laboring for the well-being of the community, which can be obtained only through order and honesty in the administration, have had to trim their policy to suit the most turbulent appetites of those who are always ready to cry out in the name of public liberty the moment they are hindered from filling their own pockets at the expense of the people."— FIRMIN.

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CHAPTER XIV

FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT TIME

The ruling class in the time of Dessalines — People devoted to liberty — Two political parties — Petion and Christophe — Slaves and soldiers — Suppose Arnold had been in Washington's place: What would have been early situation in the U. S.— Danger after War of Independence — Haitians had to create everything — Election — Petion the Constitution — Christophe the office — Division of the country — Christophe rules despotically — Revolt — Christophe commits suicide — Petion rules — The Petion-Bolivar affair — The correspondence — Boyer French recognition — Long and peaceful reign — Four ephemeral presidents — Soulouque; important character; vigorous reign — Bloodless revolution — Geffrard; enlightened administration; overthrown — Salnave et al. Social life — Literature — The presidents and their terms of office — List of Haitian authors and their works.

THE people of Haiti, who had fought to free themselves from bondage and whose guiding star through all those years of turmoil and bloody strife had been the burning desire of personal liberty, were facing a new problem. Free by their own valor from the foreign tyrant and pledged to die sooner than return to slavery, they now saw themselves falling into the hands of a fearful home-born and home-bred tyranny, and were ready almost to follow any leader who would proclaim anew — Make way for Liberty! Dessalines, the heroic avenger of his race, the deliverer of his country as he justly may be called, though apparently shielded by the splendor of his recent illustrious achievements, met his doom when he dared to trample too ruthlessly upon the liberties of his self-emancipated countrymen.

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After the death of Dessalines two strongly marked parties began more distinctly to assume political form. Petion, the mulatto, educated and wealthy, who held the rank of major in the Expeditionary Army, headed the moderate and democratic party; Christophe, who had been a general, and second to Dessalines in command in the Army of Independence, represented the autocratic, and even despotic, idea. The people of Haiti at this time were overwhelmingly a military people. They had lived as slaves under the French; and under Toussaint and his successors they had known no other rule but that of the army; hence, they were very far from being prepared to establish among themselves a harmonious or stable civil government. The people were too ready to look to the sword for the settlement of all difficulties.

A profound philosopher has said: "Put in the place of Washington, a Benedict Arnold, a man equally as brave, perhaps of greater intrepidity, but eager for power, and he would have accepted the monarchy offered by the soldiers. Then supposing that the Congress at Philadelphia, already accustomed to authority and possessed of great political prestige, should be powerful enough and energetic enough to combat the liberator of the country now transformed into a tyrant — what would it be but to come out of a foreign war to fall immediately into civil war to the ruin of the new state? In fact, the danger of national independence won through war — and unfortunately there is no other way through which it may worthily be won — is that the heroes of this war become necessarily, after their triumph, the effective representatives of power, having in their hands the military force which can become an instrument of coercion as well as it has been an instrument of defense." The Hon. J. N. Leger, Minister of that country in Washington, in a work on the Foreign Relations of Haiti, thus describes the situation of his fathers at the time we are now contemplating. He says: "After freeing

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themselves from the humiliating yoke, the blacks of Haiti, these slaves but recently the object of the contempt of the colonists, transformed themselves into statesmen and administrators. They had to create everything, and organize everything; an immense task beset by numerous and grave difficulties."

It was in accord with all their antecedents that the people should divide themselves into followers of Petion, and followers of Christophe; should resort to force, each party seeking to subjugate the other by the sword. They were so evenly balanced, however, that this result could not be brought about; and after a brief struggle the civil war was concluded through a reasonable compromise. Christophe was chosen ruler, but a constitution prepared by Petion was to be the fundamental law of the land. In this arrangement the Petion party won a victory of principle, in that the constitution adopted materially modified the powers of the chief executive and recognized the ideas of a democracy; the followers of Christophe however secured the concrete triumph — they elected their man.

Christophe once established in power, true to his despotic instincts and to those habits induced by his long experience in commanding men in times of war, immediately attempted to set aside the constitution and to rule according to his own will. For this purpose he employed the army which at that time numbered about 10,000 men, all of whom were loyal to their old commander. His efforts at despotism ignominiously failing through the determination of the people, now becoming awakened to pursue their old ideal of liberty, he seceded from the republic with most of the army, and set up in the northern part of the territory a kingdom of his own, making Cape Haiti its capital. Here he governed without let or hindrance and with awful ferocity. Spencer St. John, certainly no friend of Haiti or to the Negro race, says of Christophe: "He was no doubt a very remarkable man with indomitable energy,

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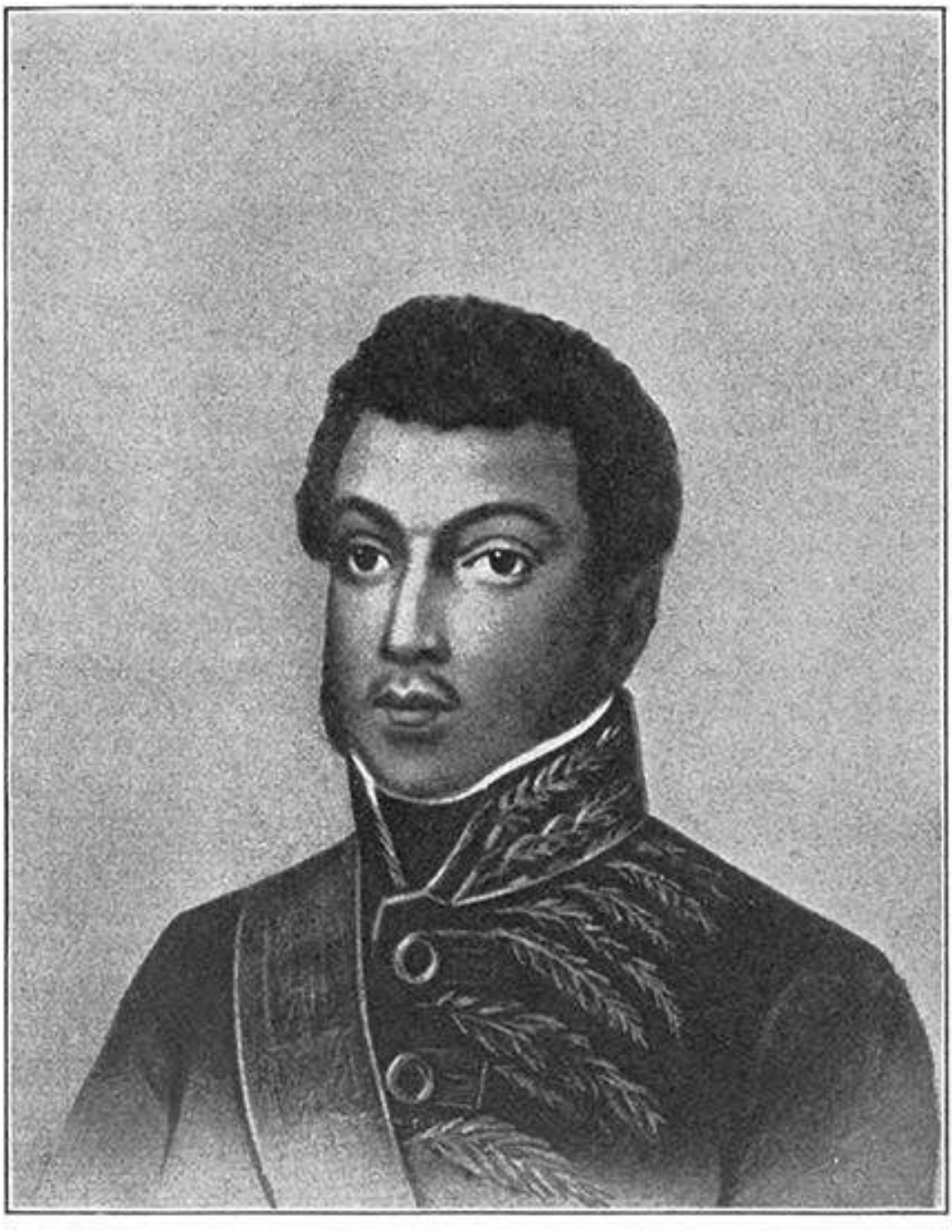
who saw the necessity of developing his country, but whose despotic nature cared not for the means, so that the end were obtained. In spite of many admitted atrocities, however, there is no doubt that he acquired a marked ascendency over the minds of the people which even to this day is not completely lost." His life ended by suicide. A trouble arising in his kingdom, it is said that he, attempting to mount his horse to take the field in command of troops and finding himself unable to do so on account of disease, shot himself because of chagrin and disgust.

M. Firmin gives a graphic description of the end of Christophe. He says that Christophe was stricken with apoplexy and in consequence partially paralyzed in his members. "His subjects learning that he was disabled by the malady, no longer subjugated by the terrible fear which his person inspired in them, immediately rose in revolt again his royal authority. Then he saw very clearly that he was only one man. He did not quail before his destiny. He distinguished himself still from the common lot of mortals, by the manner in which he finally drew the curtain upon the exciting scene of his political existence. After having carefully made his toilet, as obeying the laws of etiquette to the last minute, with a steady hand he sent a bullet directly to his heart." [1]

Petion, during the time that Christophe ruled in the north, carried on a liberal republic in the rest of the country, retaining his capital at Port-au-Prince. General Rigaud, under whom at one time Petion had served, came home from France and became Petion's chief general. The two were not harmonious, however, and Rigaud ultimately became a dictator in his sphere and was thoroughly insubordinate to the president. Petion died peacefully in office in 1818; and the divided country was reunited under Boyer, his successor, who remained in the presidency twenty-five years.

[1] M. Roosevelt et Haiti, p. 318.

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GENERAL ALEXANDE SABES PETION.
PRESIDENT, 1807-

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It was during the administration of Petion that Haiti was able to contribute a second remarkable service to the cause of liberty on the American continent. Having aided the united colonies of North America in 1779, her citizens again responded to the call of struggling freedom on the continent of South America in 1816. Emerson's "History of the Nineteenth Century" gives the following account of the event: "Bolivar, after his crushing defeat in 1816, retired to New Granada and thence to Jamaica. An attempt to assassinate him there failed; the Negro cut-throat, who had undertaken to murder him, killed the wrong person. Bolivar crossed over to Haiti. There he raised a new expedition. A Negro leader, Petion, then acting governor of Haiti, helped him in this enterprise, and strongly advised him to proclaim the freedom of all slaves as the first step on landing in his country, 'for how can you free your country,' said Petion, 'if you don't free all the people in it?' Bolivar heeded the advice. With six ships and one hundred and fifty men, he set out to reconquer Venezuela from Spain. He landed at Margarita, where he had the good fortune to capture several Spanish ships. With these he returned to Santo Domingo for more men and ammunition. Petion furnished him with funds. Thus reënforced, Bolivar made a dash for Barcelona in Venezuela. The end of the struggle was at hand." Firmin relates the facts in a more dignified manner substantially as follows: "Bolivar, who had failed and was forced to flee, implored help from the governor of Jamaica. Receiving an unfavorable reply, he resolved to visit Haiti, and carrying out this resolution he was cordially received by Petion, then president, and money, arms, and men, furnished him; Petion stipulating only that the men should depart as volunteers in such manner as not to complicate the infant republic with Spain; and that no mention of Haiti's part should be made in any official document. With the aid furnished by Petion, Bolivar's march was a succession of

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victories, resulting in the complete expulsion of the Spanish forces and the independence of Venezuela. The success of Venezuela aroused other South American States to aspire for independence; and to these Bolivar lent his aid and thus New Granada, Bolivar, and Peru were added to the list of western republics."

Had the United States, during their struggle for independence, been prepared to receive such sage advice as Petion gave to the liberator of South America in 1816, who could say what evils our country might not have been spared? Or, on the other hand, granting that Washington could have acted upon such advice, and noting the wonderful progress made by the country since the abolition of slavery in 1865 — who could say to what stage of advancement in all that makes a nation great we might not have arrived by this time had slavery been abolished in the Revolutionary War rather than in the Civil War? But alas! There was no Petion in the day of our struggle. Both England against whom we fought, and France, who was our powerful ally, were then slaveholding nations; and Washington, patriot as he was, held slaves; Haiti at that time was the most signal national witness against this iniquity.

It is a pleasure at this point of the narrative to lay before the reader some of the correspondence which took place between these two illustrious men, Bolivar and Petion.

AUX CAYES, February 8, 1816.

To his Excellency, The President of Haiti.

MR. PRESIDENT:

I am overwhelmed with the magnitude of your benefactions. Monsieur Villares has returned through the exceeding promptness of Your Excellency: in everything you are magnanimous and indulgent.

Our affairs are nearly arranged and we shall surely be ready to depart in about fifteen days. I am awaiting only

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your final favors; and if it shall be possible for me I shall come in person to express to you the extent of my gratitude.

By Monsieur Inginac, your worthy secretary, I have the temerity to make some new requests of you.

In my proclamation to the inhabitants of Venezuela and in the decree that I shall issue, announcing liberty to the slaves, I do not know that it will be permitted to me to demonstrate the real sentiment of my heart towards Your Excellency and to leave to posterity an undying monument to your philanthropy. I do not know, I repeat, if I ought to give publicity to your name as being in fact the author of our liberty. I pray Your Excellency to express to me your will in this regard.

Lieutenant-Colonel Valdes will present to you a petition which I beg to recommend to your generosity.

Receive, Mr. President, the respectful homage and the high consideration with which I have the honor to be, etc.,

BOLIVAR.

PORT-AU-PRINCE, February 18, 1816.
The 13th of Independence.

To his Excellency, General Bolivar.

GENERAL:

I received yesterday, General, your estimable letter of the 8th of this month. I have written to General Marion on the subject you have inquired about and I refer you to him in that matter.

You know, General, my sentiments toward the cause that you have the valor to defend and also toward yourself personally. You surely must feel how ardently I desire to see the oppressed delivered from the yoke of bondage; but because of certain diplomatic obligations which I am under toward a nation that has not yet taken an offensive attitude against the Republic, I am obliged to ask you not to make

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public the aid I have given you nor to mention my name in any of your official documents. In this matter I depend upon the sentiments which characterize you.

I have received the request of Colonel Juan Valdes and have attended to it. General Marion is charged to carry out the object of his request.

I extend my wishes for the happiness of Your Excellency and pray you to believe me, with most perfect consideration,

PETION.

Upon the death of Petion in 1818, the country passed peaceably into the hands of Jean Pierre Boyer, who was at this time forty-two years of age and whose life up to that point had been one of great activity. He held the office for twenty-five years, or up to the revolution of 1843. Like Petion, he belonged to the class of originally free colored people and was a mulatto. Toussaint L'Ouverture, Dessalines, and Christophe were blacks and all had been slaves; Petion and Boyer were both persons of mixed blood and had been free from birth.

It is recorded of Boyer that he was born in Port-au-Prince, February 2, 1776, and hence was but fifteen years old when the great insurrections broke out. At a very early age he was sent to France, where he received a military education and in 1792, when but sixteen years of age, entered the military service, and soon became chief of battalion, fighting against the English when not over eighteen years of age. He served under Rigaud until the final overthrow of that chieftain by Toussaint L'Ouverture in 1800, when he, with Petion and others, followed their defeated leader to Paris, arriving there in April of that year. It appears that all sought commissions in Le Clerc's expedition, and several of them succeeded. Boyer was made a captain in the French army and returned to renew the fight against L'Ouverture in Le Clerc's expedition of 1802,

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two years after the departure of the defeated Rigaudists from the island. Arriving, he was made general and commanded up until the capture of Toussaint L'Ouverture. He later joined with Haitians under the leadership of Dessalines and Christophe, and aided in expelling the French from the island. Under Petion he became military chief, being raised to the grade of major-general and placed in command at Port-au-Prince. He possessed decided military and administrative ability, and it was through his skill and energy that Christophe's forces were kept in check.

Soon after he came into power, the death of Christophe put an end to the rivalry and enabled Boyer to extend his rule over all the French part of the island. One year later, 1821, the Spanish part of the island voluntarily submitted itself to the rule of Boyer, and the two peoples, Spanish and French, were brought under one government and remained so during the whole of Boyer's administration.

As Boyer originally belonged to the Rigaud party and was now president over the whole country, he had on his hands several very important and withal very irritating questions. The people of the East and West were by no means homogeneous, differing not only in language and customs but also in fundamental ideas; although identical in religious belief. But more irritating than the differences which arose between Haitians and Dominicans were the differences between the late Rigaudists and Toussaintists — or, as it is called, the schism between the blacks and the mulattoes. In Boyer's time this line of cleavage was between the Christophe party and the Petion party; and the differences were partly territorial, partly historical, and partly complexional. It was in reality the prolongation of the fight between the old free colored people and the newly freed; between the blacks who were generally less educated and the mulattoes who were somewhat more enlightened; between the North, where the revolted slaves in the hands of Toussaint L'Ouverture had conquered their freedom,

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and the united South and West, where the free mulattoes had begun and, temporarily, won their battle for equal right with the white colonists.

It is generally conceded that Boyer's administration of over a quarter of a century was creditable. He did much toward consolidating the Haitian nation and gave to the country a fairly regular administration, despite the factional conditions by which he was surrounded. He caused many good laws to be passed and for years was successful in conciliating all parties. The most noteworthy acts of his administration were the invitation of colored emigrants from the United States to settle in the country, offering them very liberal terms; and the negotiation of a treaty with France by which that country recognized the independence of Haiti.

In securing French recognition, however, two things had been done which together had touched the pride and the purses of Haitian people in a way distasteful to them. The method adopted by France, and accepted by Boyer in 1825, was considered very humiliating. Instead of a treaty, a mere ordinance was issued by the French king to the following effect: The ports of the French part of Saint Domingo will be open to the commerce of all nations on equal terms except to the French. This latter nation to be favored by a reduction equal to one half of the established expenses to others. The present inhabitants of Saint Domingo to pay to France 150 million francs to reimburse the losses of the former colonists. On these conditions the ordinance agreed to concede to the inhabitants of the French part of Saint Domingo that which they had already won and held for over twenty years — the full and entire independence of their government. Eleven years later this was followed by a respectable treaty in which this former insulting ordinance was treated as a dead letter.

Besides the method, the people were not pleased with assuming this debt. These causes, added to the original

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EMPEROR FAUSTIN SOULOUQUE.

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sources of discontent, coupled with the natural desire for change, led to the downfall of Boyer. Like most men too long continued in power, Boyer himself had become very arbitrary and self-opinionated, declining to receive any suggestions from others, and neglecting the usual methods of conciliation in which during his early days he had been eminently successful, he hastened the coming of his own overthrow. He was forced to abdicate March 13, 1843, after having done much real service for his country. He was not wealthy, and during his administration had been very charitable with his own funds, though very strict and exacting concerning government funds. He had acquired sufficient, however, to maintain himself modestly in Paris to which city he retired in exile and ended his days there July 9, 1850, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

Charles Riviere Herard, of the same class as Petion and Boyer, the old free colored people, came into power by the revolution which overthrew the latter, December 31, 1843; and after holding office four months and three days, he was overthrown by Guerrier, and took refuge in Kingston, Jamaica, where he finally died. Guerrier was eighty-seven years old when he came into power and died in office April 9, 1845, having held the position eleven months and six days. He had been a slave. He was followed by Pierrot, who had also been a slave and who was also an old man, eighty-four years. He retained office ten months and twelve days when he was overthrown by Riché who had been free from birth, and who died in office after an administration of eleven months and twenty-six days, February 27, 1847. These four presidents passed through their periods of office all within four years. Boyer was overthrown March 13, 1843; and the last of these four ephemeral presidents died February 27, 1847, leaving little behind them to record save the names and the dates and manner of their coming and going.

March 1, 1847, brought Faustin Soulouque into power

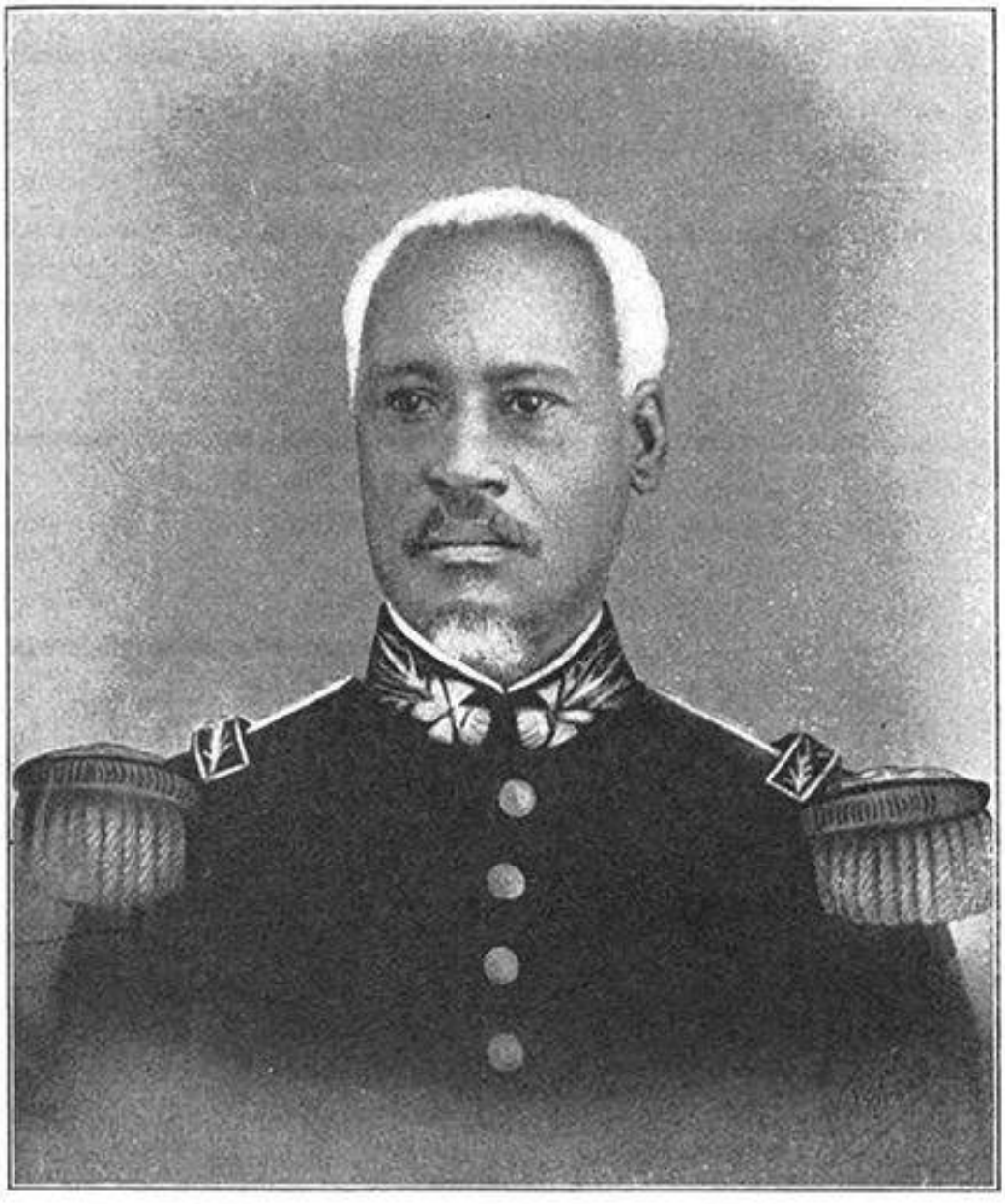
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and gave to the country a measure of rest for a period of nearly twelve years. Soulouque was sixty-five years old when he came into office and was without literary culture, having been born a slave in Petit Goave, a little coast town in the department of the West. He was noted for his handsome form and dignified appearance.

Soulouque was made president by the senators because he was illiterate and well advanced in years; it was thought he would become a pliant tool in the hands of the politicians. He belonged to the party of the blacks, and his election would therefore gratify that element of the population which greatly preponderated in numbers, and at the same time it was thought he could be used by the mulattoes who at that time composed the larger part of the governing class. But Soulouque, ruler, differed entirely from Soulouque, subordinate. Once established in power he developed great firmness of character and soon set aside both his tutors and their policy, and became master of himself and of them. He remained as president for about five years and then had himself proclaimed emperor, and created a nobility, the effects of which linger until to-day in an occasional meaningless title which the wearer uses for advertising purposes. Although Soulouque cajoled the lower classes and leaned toward their prejudices in oppressing the mulattoes, his administration eventually became hated by all classes. The army became permeated with disloyalty and the populace was ready for revolt. It was then that Fabre Geffrard appeared as a leader.

Fabre Geffrard was born in Anse a Veau in the northern part of the island, September 18, 1806, two years after the Declaration of Independence. At an early age he became active in military affairs and in politics, identifying himself with the Boyer-Petion party. He became a general under Riviere and served in that capacity under Riché and under Soulouque. He was probably one of those disappointed in Soulouque when that illiterate but strong-willed sovereign

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GENERAL LOUIS MONDESTIN FLORVIS HYPOLITE.
PRESIDENT, 1889-

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assumed a policy of his own, and threw off the leading-strings with which intelligent senators had sought to guide him.

In December, 1858, Geffrard headed a revolt, with plans so well laid that the government was captured by a remarkable *coup d'état* and a revolution accomplished without the loss of life or shedding of blood. Soulouque, overthrown, left the island January 15, 1859. Geffrard assumed the presidency, reëstablishing the republic on the basis of the constitution of 1846, and began an enlightened and progressive administration. He reorganized the work of public education, invited immigration and sought to induce foreign capital to invest in Haiti. He surrounded himself with men of character and ability; but he was in advance of his times, and his administration was attacked by scheming politicians who ultimately succeeded in his overthrow. Salnave came into power on the tide of the revolution which carried Geffrard into exile, but his stay was short. He ruled from 1867 to 1869 and then was overthrown by other revolutionists, taken captive and brought before a tribunal and sentenced to death. He was shot in accordance with this sentence in December, 1869. His administration was without significance.

Following him came Nissage-Saget, whose administration was conservative but rather non-progressive; then the stormy times of Domingue and Boisrond-Canal, followed by the positive statesmanlike administration of Salomon, a man of marked distinction, learned in law, politics and history, possessing strong literary tendencies. He was elected twice and ended his tour of duty in the revolution of 1888. He was followed by Legitime, a man of broad intelligence and good executive ability, but who was not able to retain his place against the powerful revolution headed by Hyppolite and supported by foreign influence. In 1889, Legitime was forced to abdicate and Hyppolite became president, holding the position six years, dying in office at the

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age of sixty-nine years. He was succeeded by Tiresias Sam, who served out his full term, and was followed by Alexis, who gave the country a strong and honest administration. He was eighty-four years of age when he came into power, but notwithstanding his age he pushed the work of reform with astonishing vigor. He retired by the usual route — revolution.

The reader who has followed this narrative thus far is liable to be affected with a feeling of disappointment, perhaps even of disgust, at the numerous and apparently causeless revolutions which have swept over the country during these later years. It will serve to modify these feelings to be reminded that the political history of Haiti does not differ greatly from that of the majority of South American republics, nor does it widely differ even from that of France. The causes of these revolutions are not to be found in race; but in conditions consequent upon past history. The first half century, and more, of Haitian history shows a high degree of stability; but it was then that the people had very little to do with their own affairs. The many were governed by the few. From the proclamation of Independence in 1804 to the overthrow of Salomon in 1888 a period of eighty-four years had passed. During this period five administrations had occupied sixty-three years, averaging little less than thirteen years each. We think of Haiti as the country of revolutions par eminence, but since the establishment of the French republic the following comparison can be made.

FRANCE	HAITI
Thiers, 1870-1873	Nissage-Saget, 1870-1874
MacMahon, 1873-1879	Domingue, 1874-1876
Grevy, 1879-1887	Boisrond Canal, 1876-1879
Carnot, 1887-1894	Salomon, 1879-1888
Cassimir-Perier, 1894-1895	Legitime, 1888-1889
Felix Faure, 1895-1899	Hyppolite, 1889-1896

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LOUIS ETIENNE FÉLICITÉ SALOMON.
PRESIDENT, 1879-88.

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PRESIDENT TIRESIAS SAM.

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FRANCE	HAITI
Loubet, 1899-1906	Simon Sam, 1896-1902
Faillieres, 1906	Nord Alexis, 1902-1909

The social life of Haiti is French creole. The chasm existing between the rich and cultured on the one hand and the poor and untutored on the other, is almost impassable. There is a peasantry, and also an aristocracy. Among the peasantry may be found simplicity with the usual virtues; while in the aristocracy, examples are often found who do no credit either to their class or their country. Arrogant and heartless, they trample upon the rights of the poor with no compunctions of conscience or fear of consequences. There is much of form and ceremony in social intercourse among the upper classes, but there is also much that is commendable both in private character and in domestic life. There are many fine examples of probity and honor, despite the false glitter that is so conspicuous.

Haiti has many of the usual appliances of civilization such as the telegraph, telephone, and other modern conveniences; and is of such importance to us that our government maintains there a minister resident, and has had a military attaché.

In 1904, the centennial year of the country, a committee was formed, consisting of Messieurs Solon Menos, Dantes Bellegard, A. Duval, and Georges Sylvain, to collect and arrange a fair representation of the work of Haitian authors. The task was undertaken heartily and well carried out, resulting in giving to the world two respectable volumes, one of poetry, the other of prose, in which were brought together choice selections from Haitian writers with brief sketches of their lives. Over one hundred persons are named and what is very significant is the fact that among them is to be found the name of only one woman. This fact alone is sufficient to show that the basis upon which Haitian life is constructed differs in important re-

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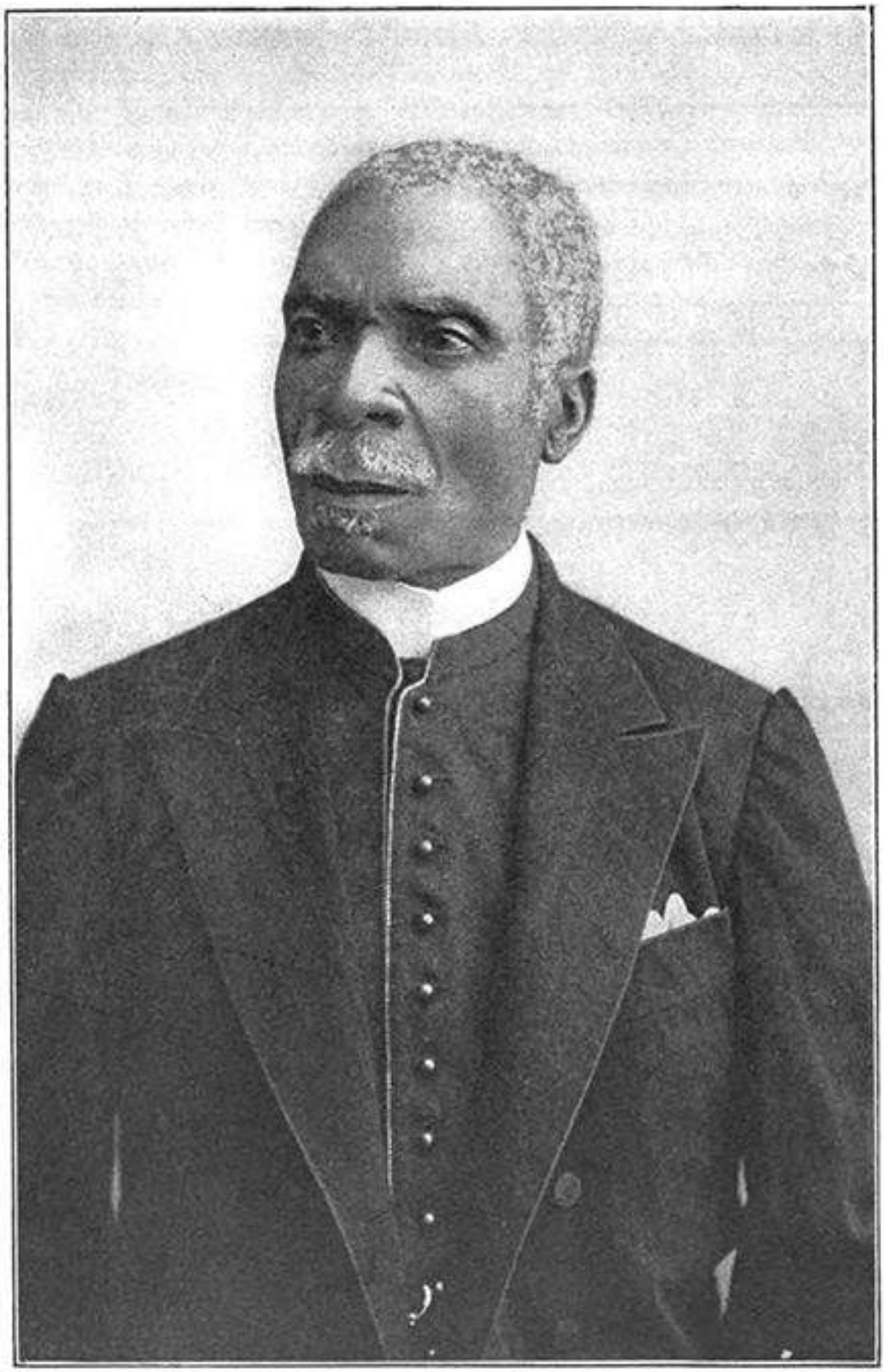
spects from that of American and European. Virginie Sampeur has the distinction of holding a place among men in the Haitian literary field. She was born in Port-au-Prince in 1839 and in 1904, at the age of sixty-five, was holding the position of Directrice of the National Pensionnat, or boarding school, for girls. Her contribution so short, modest and elegant is an address or supplication to Time.

AU TEMPS

Medecin de mon cœur naguere si soffrant,
Qu'as tu fait de mon mal que je regrette tant?
Rend-le moi, je t'en prie;
Rends-moi mon autre vie;
Rends-Moi des jours passés, le langoureux soupir,
Et l'espoir decevant dont j'ai failli mourir,
Et mes douces chimeres,
Et mes larmes ameres!
Mon pauvre cœur va-t-il saigner encor, o temps?
Connatitra-t-il encor la foi de ses vingt ans?
J'aurai trop peur d'y croire:
Cours a d'autres victories!

The literary work performed by this people in the first century of their existence is little less than marvelous when considered in its true light and shows how much Haiti has been helped by the civilization around her. Although the powerful nations looked on the Black Republic with disdain, the people of that infant republic did not turn away from the language, customs, and learning of civilized men. They accepted and taught in their schools the French and Spanish tongues of their former oppressors, and sent their sons to France to win honors in her academies. And although the Haitian has been much absorbed in the problems of government, and has indulged in the game of politics with the sword attached, he has nevertheless produced a number of representative agriculturists and merchants; and

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PRESIDENT ANTOINE SIMON.
1908 - 1911.

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has also sent a number of representatives to the financial and commercial centers of Europe. Ex-Haitians can be found in the front ranks, commercially, financially, and socially in England, France, and Germany. The people of that little storm center cannot be censured for lack of energy and activity. They have proven themselves tremendously active, restless, hopeful, and courageous. The Haitians have not relapsed into a state of indolent and barbaric quietude, nor have there been wanting among them at any time bold leaders ready to take the initiative in any scheme which met their sanction.

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THE PRESIDENTS OF HAITI, WITH THEIR TERMS OF OFFICE

Name	Age	Length of Term			Date	Where Born
		Yr.	Mo.	Days		
Dessalines	46	2	9	17	Jan., 1804–Oct. 17, 1806	Grande Riviere.
Christophe	39	13	9	10	Dec. 28, 1806–Oct. 31, '20	St. Christophe.
A. Petion	37	11	0	20	Mar., 1807–Mar. 29, 1818	Port-au-Prince.
Boyer	40	25 less		17	Mar. 30, 1818–Mar. 13, 1843	Port-au-Prince.
Herard	59	0	4	3	Dec. 31, 1843–May 3, 1844	Port Salut.
Guerrier	87	0	11	6	May 3, 1844–Apr. 9, 1845	Marmelade.
Pierrot	84	0	10	12	Apr. 16, 1845–Mar. 1, 1846	Cape Haitian.
Riché	69	0	12	26	Mar. 1, 1846–Feb. 27, 1847	Grande Riviere.
Soulouque	65	11	10	15	Mar. 1, 1847–Jan. 15, 1859	Petit Goave.
Geffrard	53	8	1	18	Jan. 23, 1859–Mar. 13, 1867	Anse a' Veau.
Salnave	41	2	6	5	Jan. 14, 1867–Dec. 19, 1869	Cape Haitian.
Nissage-Saget	60	4	2	6	Mar. 19, 1870–May 13, 1874	Port-au-Prince.
Domingue	64	1	10	4	June 11, 1874–Apr. 15, 1876	Aux Cayes.
Boisrond-Canal	44	3	—	—	July 17, 1876–July 17, 1879	Aux Cayes.
Salomon	64	8	9	18	Oct. 23, 1879–Aug. 10, 1888	Aux Cayes.
Legitime	47	0	8	7	Dec. 16, 1888–Aug. 22, 1889	Jeremie.
Hyppolite	62	6	5	15	Oct. 9, 1889–Mar. 25, 1896	Cape Haitian.
Sam	61	6	1	16	Mar. 31, 1896–May 15, 1902	Grande Riviere.
Alexis Nord	84	—	—	—	Dec. 21, 1902–1906	Cape Haitian.

Simon succeeded Alexis Nord in 1906 and in 1909 was succeeded by the present incumbent, Lecompte; both changes being effected by revolution.

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Of these chiefs of state, J. J. Dessalines, Christophe, Guerrier, Pierrot, and Soulouque had been slaves. Of the old free class, or, Affranchis as they were called, came Pétion, Boyer, Herard and Riché.

The following were born after independence had been won: Geffrard, Salnave, Nissage-Saget, Domingue, Boisrond-Canal, Salomon, Légitime, Hyppolite, Sam and Nord-Alexis.

Dessalines, Pétion, Christophe, Guerrier, Riché and Hyppolite died in office; ten were overthrown by revolution, one being killed in revolution and another tried and executed after being deposed.

HAITIAN AUTHORS OF MERIT WITH NAMES OF THEIR WORKS

HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

Beaubrun Ardouin, History of Haiti, 11 volumes.
Thomas Madiou, History of Haiti, 5 volumes.
Enclus Robin, Abridged History of Haiti.
Roche Grellier, Abridged History of Haiti.
Stenio Vincent, Historical Stories of Haiti.
Baron Emile Nau, History of the Caciques.
J. B. Dorsainirl, History of Haiti.
Justin Bouzon, Soulouque and his Empire.
Dr. Victor Lamour, Abridged History of Haiti.
Dantes Fortunat, Geography of Haiti, Elementary.
H. Chauvet and Robert Gentil, Geography of Haiti.

PROSE, POETRY AND JURISPRUDENCE.

Alcibiad Fleury Battier, Under the Bamboos; Anacaona; Miscellaneous Poems.
Pomeayrack, Miscellaneous Poems.
George Sylvain, Melancholy Lyrics; La Fontaine's Fables (trans. in Creole); Miscellaneous Articles and Interviews.

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APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

EXPOSITION OF THE REVOLUTION BY THIERS

The wealthy settlement of Saint Domingo had been the theater of the greatest horrors recorded in history. The white population had embraced with enthusiasm the cause of the revolution which they thought must lead to their independence of the mother country. The mulattoes had embraced it not less cordially, but they hoped for something more than the political independence of the colony, and aspired to the rights of citizenship which had always been refused them. The Constituent Assembly had recognized the rights of the mulattoes; but the whites who wanted to keep the Revolution to themselves, had then revolted, and a civil war had commenced between the old race of freemen and those who had been just enfranchised.

Taking advantage of this war, the blacks had appeared upon the stage, and fire and blood proclaimed their presence. They murdered their masters, and burned their property. From this moment the colony became the theater of the most horrible confusion. Each party reproved the other with the new enemy that had just started up, and accused its adversary of having supplied him with arms. The Negroes, without yet siding with either, ravaged the country. Excited, however, by the emissaries of the Spanish party, it was not long before they pretended to espouse the royal cause. To add to the confusion, the English had interfered. One part of the whites had applied to them in a moment of danger and had delivered to them the very important fort of St. Nicholas. Sonthonax, the commissioner, assisted principally by the mulattoes and part of the whites, had opposed the invasion of the English, which he could at last find but one expedient of repelling, and that was to recognize the freedom of

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the blacks who should declare themselves in favor of the republic. The convention had confirmed this measure, and by a decree proclaimed all the Negroes free. From that moment, a portion of those who had espoused the royal cause, had gone over to the party of the republicans; and the English entrenched in Fort St. Nicholas had no longer any hopes of securing that rich settlement which, after being long ravaged, was destined to become independent of any foreign power.—Thiers' "French Revolution." Vol. I, pp. 35-6.

THE DEATH OF BEAUVAIS

Beauvais, who was a cool and intelligent person of superior mind, who studiously strove to keep all feeling under proper control, when he saw himself overmastered by those who shone around him, and not having enough of energy of temperament to dominate them by taking upon his own personal motion the painful part, full of tribulation, of general-in-chief, and furthermore not wishing to become the tool of the ambition of others, Rigaud or Toussaint, whom he esteemed but little, left for France, determined never again to draw his sword except in the sacred cause of his country.

Many writers have claimed that Beauvais proved himself both a coward and a traitor by abandoning Jacmel during the siege. He would have been truly a coward and a traitor if after having accepted this siege he had embarked. But he left September 13, 1797, and Dessalines did not arrive before Jacmel until after the first of November. From Jacmel he set sail for St. Thomas; but captured by an English vessel and stripped of everything, he was taken to Jamaica. Shortly after he passed over to Curaçao, where his wife and two of his children hastened to come to him. After some months of sojourn in this isle he embarked for France, furnished with a passport by the agent Roume. Already many days of the voyage had passed, the sea was rolling and the bellying sails promised a happy voyage. Beauvais was plunged in deep reflections; he was dreaming over the unhappy lot of the colony; over the sad consequences of the civil war; he was ready to combat victoriously the accusations launched against him; or to deliver his head to the scaffold. All at once the ship

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sprang a great leak; a cry of despair came from all parts; the crew and passengers rushed towards the pumps; the working of the ship ceased; Beauvais ran up suddenly in the midst of the lamentations which surrounded him; his visage which until then had been so somber was immediately animated; his authority became absolute and every one hastened to obey him. But very soon the discouragement became general; in spite of the efforts of the crew the ship was filling; the pumps were abandoned and the boat was launched; but it soon became so crowded with people that the water began to come in; the captain seizing his arms ordered them to draw lots. The lot was favorable to Beauvais, but against his wife. While the passengers were giving themselves up to fears of death, Beauvais covered his children with kisses, gave up his place to his wife, embraced her with tenderness and obtained permission of the captain that his little daughters should be placed upon the bosom of their mother.

Madame Beauvais clung to her husband; she pleaded with accents of despair to be allowed to die with him; Beauvais was compelled to force her into the boat. Who could express what passed in this supreme hour,—in this moment of eternal separation—within this heroic soul! Tenderness of feeling, courage, talents, glory, all going into annihilation! The little boat that the waves threatened to swallow up at each moment was cleared by great efforts from the side of the ship. Beauvais remained upon the deck immovable, his face calm and reflecting a supernatural resignation. Some of the men condemned by lot to remain with him, struck by his attitude, seemed to return to the life which had been extinguished in them, and to feel the effects of that sublime courage that great souls inspire in the common. Beauvais had eternity before his eyes; a fatality followed this man whose life had been strewn with frightful tribulations; but the virtue that he had displayed on many occasions enabled him to support with heroism this last misfortune. In the meantime the ship filled rapidly; the water rushed in at her portholes, and General Beauvais, waving his handkerchief signifying his adieus, disappeared beneath the waves in the presence of his wife, who swooned in the boat.—"History of Haiti," Thomas Maidon.

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THE CAUSE OF THE FREQUENCY OF REVOLUTION IN HAITI

Bishop Holly of Port-au-Prince, Haiti, describes the condition of the Haitian people in 1804 in the following vigorous language: "The Haitian people when they set up their independent sovereignty in 1804, had twenty-five centuries of barbarism behind them capped by three centuries of chattel slavery to cruel taskmasters on this island. They had never had opportunity previously to take part in municipal or colonial government. They, therefore, may be compared in 1804 to the state in which Julius Cæsar found the savages in Britain B. C. 55. It took these latter seventeen centuries to reach stable government. They had various savage and brigand tribes such as the Picts, Scots, Danes, Angles, and the Norman freebooters. Here in Haiti, there are recognizable traces of fourteen different African tribes: Congo, Foulah, Jaloff, Mandingo, etc. These are to be molded into one homogeneous people by a complete intermingling in the evolution of the Haitian people. This will require time, say, at least eight generations; which will then be only one-eighth of the time it took the English to reach stability."

Revolutions are frequent and natural in States while they are in the earlier stages of evolution. In such nations there are always strenuous men who push themselves to the top, and who sometimes turn out to be great rascals. The inchoate nation is not sufficiently strong to reduce these prominent individuals without more or less political upheaval, regarded by outsiders as marks of retrogression. As a matter of fact, they are necessary steps in the nation's evolution; and in the case of Haiti they show the persistency with which the people cling to their sovereignty and their constitution.

The following exact description of the recent revolution, furnished by Bishop Holly, shows the national spirit of Haiti:

"Since the 12th of last May a political revolution has been under way in the Republic of Haiti. The cause of the same may be summed up in a nut-shell. General Simon Sam, whose presidential term of seven years expired on the 15th of that month, took unlawful steps to impose upon the country as his successor in the Presidency a man of his own personal and individual choice. The President of the Republic, ac-

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cording to the constitution, is to be chosen by the National Assembly, composed of Representatives elected by the suffrage of the people; every male citizen of mature years being a voter, if not deprived judicially of that right on account of crime. Those representatives are elected triennially. The last triennial election was held last January. The persons then elected would therefore have to elect the successor of President Simon Sam. He took it upon himself to name, as official candidates, the persons whom he wished to be elected, and brought a pressure to bear, by his military satraps, to prevent the nominating of any other candidates. The soldiers were made to vote *en masse* for his candidates, and other citizens were brow beaten and kept away from the polls. As a result, the whole of the deputies elected, ninety-five in number, chosen in this fashion, were the official candidates, so-called, imposed on the people by the President, forty-eight of whom are said to be his relatives.

"The 12th of last May was the day fixed for the election of the new President to succeed General Simon Sam, whose term of office expired three days later. He had the daring insolence to call these deputies to the National Palace, and to say to them openly whom he wished them to elect as President. The man he named was his own brother-in-law. When the National Assembly met on the day appointed, the citizens, arms in hand, surrounded the House of Assembly and drove them away, disavowing them as the representatives of the people. General Simon Sam was allowed to peacefully embark and go into exile. The news of the revolution thus begun at the Capital, was telegraphed throughout the Republic, and the citizens in all the chief cities of the Republic assembled in popular town meetings and named local committees of Public Safety. These committees sent representatives to the Capital to form a National Convention, and this Convention named seven persons to form a Provisional Government to administer the national affairs until the citizens shall have elected new representatives to form the National Assembly for the electing of a regular constitutional President.

"The revolution is strictly in conformity with the Haitian Constitution, which declares that "the national Sovereignty resides in the collectivity of the whole Haitian people," and

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"commits the safeguard of the Constitution to the patriotism of all the citizens." Hence the Constitution, which confers free suffrage with the elective franchise on all the citizens, having been arbitrarily violated by the late Chief Magistrate, it was the constitutional right and duty of the citizens to make this revolutionary movement.

"In the popular elections which have just taken place, there have been some disorders in several localities. The most notable point where these disorders have taken place is Cape Haitian. There a military satrap of the late President assumed to name official candidates so called, in his district, and to prevent any other candidate from being presented. One of the most notable men of Haiti, a native of that city, was a candidate. That military satrap insisted that his candidateship should be withdrawn. Neither he nor his friends would consent to do so, and that small tyrant decided to arrest this candidate and put him in prison. Happily, the Vice Admiral of the Haitian Navy was in the harbor of Cape Haitian at that time, on board his flagship, who decided to protect this candidate against the arbitrary and unlawful despotism of this military tyrant. To this end he landed one hundred marines to protect the persecuted candidate, by guarding his house. The petty tyrant made an attack on this guard, a battle ensued, and several persons were killed. The tyrant and his troops were repulsed and fled from the city temporarily for reinforcements. Meanwhile, to prevent the further effusion of blood, this heroic candidate, after maintaining valiantly his civic rights under the constitution, embarked for Gonaives, which is Haiti's city of independence, as Philadelphia is that of the United States. There he was acclaimed for his civic courage and patriotism. The election for deputies being on in Gonaives that time, the candidate from the Cape was elected its first deputy by the city, where he had just taken refuge."

The "candidate" mentioned but not named in the Bishop's letter was the honorable Antenor Firmin, from whose works we have frequently quoted.

The effort at revolution failed and this "persecuted candidate," M. A. Firmin, fled the country to take up his abode in St. Thomas. General Nord Alexis finally came into the pres-

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idency and at once took up the work of reform with great vigor and with marked success.

THE CRETE-A-PIERROT. ADMIRAL KILLICK'S DEATH

The Haitian gunboat *Crete-a-Pierrot* was acting under the Firmin government when she was attacked by the German man-of-war *Panther*. The true story of the sinking of the *Crete-a-Pierrot* has never yet been published. It has been furnished me from most reliable sources and I now for the first time relate it for American readers. The *Crete-a-Pierrot*, the only important vessel in the Haitian navy, was lying in the home harbor at Gonaives, anchored and awaiting a supply of coal. The commander, Admiral Killick, went ashore to have a surgical operation performed, and remained over night. The next morning the German steamer came into the harbor with no flag flying, and when within hailing distance, signaled to the Haitian to surrender. The admiral, when informed, immediately came on board and respectfully asked of the German only fifteen minutes to prepare to defend himself. His intention was to get up steam by wood which he had on board, get up anchor, and thus be able to manœuver his ship. The German refused, saying only five minutes would be allowed.

Admiral Killick at once dismissed his crew sending them ashore. He bade them good-by with a firm and cheerful voice. He then sent out the following despatch:

"Killick fears nothing; will blow up ship for nation's honor."

The surgeon of the ship and four others elected to share the fate and the honor of their commander and remained on board of the ship. The German sent a prize crew to take control of the ship; but before the crew could reach the ship, fire was discovered on board her, and orders were signaled from the German ship to the boat to come away from the burning ship as quickly as possible. The admiral immediately on the departure of the crew set fire to the woodwork, opening the way so the fire could reach the magazine. Within

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a few minutes the ship blew up, and six heroic patriots went to a voluntary death.

The next day the dismembered remains of Admiral Killick were fished up and buried with high military honors. The French Catholic priest, however, refused to use the rites of the church on the occasion, making the plea that Admiral Killick's death was that of a suicide. Thus, this priest, although greatly offending many of the citizens of Gonaives by his action, nevertheless unwittingly furnished the strongest confirmation to the story herein related that it was possible for him to give. Admiral Killick's death was suicide; and so was that of his brave companions. While giving all due praise to their lofty pride, it is to be regretted that such valuable lives had not been longer saved to do service to their country. Admiral Killick has, however, embalmed himself among the heroes of his country, and by his death has added to his country's inheritance. A man arose who loved the nation's honor more than life, and who, free from fear, could blow up his ship and himself in worship of that honor. Let Gonaives erect a statue to their great Admiral Killick.

NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS

Extract of a letter from Port Republican, dated March 17.

"My last letters informed you of the trifling losses I had then suffered at Miraguane. I call those now trifling, in comparison with what I have suffered by the almost total destruction of the South Department, which is, with few exceptions, in the power of the brigands. The flames have consumed the plains and the mountains. Miraguane and Arquin are reduced to ashes, and all the other towns are surrounded by the insurgents. Jeremie, however, still remains untouched, but menaced on every side. The mulattoes are at the head of the troubles of the South. Three days since, the town of Petit Gouave was given up by a conspiracy of the people of color. A great part of the garrison were massacred, the rest saved themselves by swimming to a frigate that was at anchor in the road, which vessel was fired upon by the insurgents, and had several killed and wounded.

"The greatest destruction was accomplished just on the ap-

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pearance of the reënforcements — 4,000 men have arrived, part of these landed at Tiberon — considerable forces are expected, and arrive daily.

"The evil is great, and I much fear it will require a length of time to conquer this unfortunate country. The frightful malady that rages among the troops is cruel and disastrous; it may well be called pestilential by the ravages which it daily makes. The utmost melancholy reflections have seized upon my mind, and I firmly believe (what possibly may appear astonishing to you) that we shall be obliged to abandon altogether this country, once so rich, luxuriant, and productive.

"This is fixed on as the seat of government, and daily expect General Rochambeau, appointed commander-in-chief by the First Consul; — we have considerable confidence in him, but I tremble at the apprehension that it will require a great length of time, if ever successful — yet can it be possible that the laurels of the greatest man on earth should wither and die before the victorious arms of Negroes and brigands?

"I will not speak to you about commerce, it is absolutely dead; there is no consumption in the town, where a great part of the people are supported by rations. Produce is at exorbitant prices, because there is none, and no source remains for deriving it, but Jeremie for coffee, and about one-third of the plain of Cul de Sac for sugar, the rest being burnt and deserted."— *American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, April 11, 1803.

From Port-au-Prince.— A recent letter from Port-au-Prince, to a respectable gentleman in Boston, after stating the circumstances of its evacuation by the French troops, observes, that but ninety-two white people remained in the town, when General Dessalines took possession of it; of this two were hung by order of the black General, and the remainder protected in their persons.— *American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, Dec. 7, 1803.

"Several parleys have been held lately between the government and a number of the Negroes in the country who protest against the conduct of Christophe, Clervaux, &c., live peaceably on their respective plantations, and solicit the protection of the whites. Without relying on these professions,

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the General takes the advantage of them by gaining time until he is able to take the field, which will shortly be the case, as the reënforcements from France begin to arrive. We expect soon to see better times."

Extract of a letter from the master of a ship, to his owner in this city, dated Cape François, February 27, received via Baltimore.

"On the 19th inst. this place was attacked by the Negroes, who got possession of the fort that commands the whole town; but could not get the guns to work, as they had been spiked previous to their taking possession. A great number were killed on both sides. On the 25th, 900 troops arrived — about 2,000 more are daily expected which are very much wanted. Business was never so dull as at present. The brig, *Paisley Johnson*, will sail for your port in a few days."— *Aurora*, Philadelphia, March 22, 1803.

"From Cape François.

"Arrived at Alexandria on Wednesday, brig *Active*, Capt. Haynes, twelve days from Cape François.

"When Capt. Haynes sailed, the Cape was besieged on the land side by the brigands within a mile of the town, and blockaded by four English, 74-gun ships, a frigate, brig and schooner. It was supposed they would surrender the Cape to the British in a few days as there was not more than fifteen days' provisions in it. General Rochambeau had established his headquarters there. The Hole [Mole] and Port-au-Prince was so closely hemmed in by the brigands that the inhabitants could not go half a mile out without being murdered.

ATROCITIES

"The war is carried on between the French and brigands with every species of barbarify [*sic*] their savage minds can invent. When the brigands take a prisoner they put him between two planks and fasten him with cords so that he cannot move, and then take a cross-cut saw and saw him nearly asunder in different places so as to terminate his existence in the most barbarous manner — and the French in their turn

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when they take prisoners tie them neck and heels and throw them into a place where they have a parcel of half-starved bloodhounds to be torn to pieces by them."—*American Daily Advertiser,* Philadelphia, July 25, 1803.

A letter from Cape François, dated the 2d inst., received by the ship *Elk,* arrived at Baltimore, mentions that the bloodhounds lately imported into Saint Domingo from Cuba have spread great terror among the Negroes. Several black prisoners, who would have expiated their guilt on the gallows, have been turned defenseless and naked upon the plains, and torn to pieces by those dogs! A number of the chief officers of the brigands lately held a conference, by a flag of truce, with the commanding officers at the Cape. The result was not known; but the report prevailed, that they offered to lay down their arms and return to the plantations, provided they could be treated as hirelings, and not like slaves.—*Aurora,* Philadelphia, April 29, 1803.

NEW YORK, September 26.

Captain Hamilton, of the brig *Gayoso,* who arrived at quarantine on Saturday from Cape François, informs us that Dessalines, the Negro general, was rallying his forces, for the purpose of making an attack upon the Cape in three or four days; and that Rochambeau (who was determined to hold out so long as he could procure provisions) was prepared to give him a warm reception. The British blockade the port, and refuse admission to all American vessels; in consequence, provisions are very high, especially flour, which is retailed in the Cape at 45 to 50 dollars per barrel.

Captain H. further informs that the accounts from Port Republican were extremely distressing. The French troops, it is generally imagined, would be obliged to evacuate it. This had been already done at Jeremie, and the troops and inhabitants had arrived at the Cape.

The British permit all French vessels with troops on board to pass without molestation; a conduct which it is conceived will eventually be less injurious to the interest of Great Britain, than making them prisoners of war.—*Aurora,* Philadelphia, September 28, 1803.

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Extract of a letter from Cape François, dated the 7th December, to a gentleman in Charleston.

"The conduct of the French army, on evacuating the Cape, differed very little from the accounts I have heretofore given you of it. Since the death of General Le Clerc a great number of persons, mostly people of color, have been arbitrarily arrested and drowned, whose fortunes were a great game for the town majors and the corps of gendarmerie; these circumstances induced many of the people of color to flee, and seek for safety among the brigands.

"The Captain General, Rochambeau, by a proclamation, insulting to the National Guard, who had bravely defended and saved the Cape the year before (from General Le Clerc's own confession), made known his determination to hold the Cape longer than he had held the Island of Martinique, of which he had the command-in-chief in the beginning of the Revolution. On the 25th of September he demanded the sum of one million from the inhabitants, which he said was necessary to enable him to hold possession of the Cape. In order to have his demand paid, he committed eleven merchants to the dungeons, and fixed the imposition at 5 and 6,000 dollars on each of them to be paid in twenty-four hours, under pain of death. The next day at eight o'clock P. M. Fedon (of whose fate you have before heard), not having complied with that order, was shot, although he had offered ten times the value of the sum, which the government owed him; the others were released from confinement on some of their friends paying for them.

"On the 19th of October the brigands attacked the Haut du Cap, distant one league from the city, and made their way under the heavy fires of the block-houses, and were stopped at Vertier's camp by 150 men of the 11th regiment, who killed or wounded 1,000 of the army of the brigands in less than two hours. General Pageot attempted to charge them with his cavalry, but was prevented by counter orders — 3,800 men of the regular troops, and 1,200 or 1,500 of the National Guard were more than sufficient to destroy this army of the brigands (which had been composed and gathered with great pains by their chiefs) and were waiting for orders to march, when they heard of General Rochambeau's capitulation with them, and his begging for ten days to prepare for the evacu-

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ation; and had he done his duty he might reasonably hoped to preserve the city, and perhaps the whole island, by the total distruction [*sic*] of the rebel army.

"The ten days granted by Dessalines were employed by General Rochambeau in selling privately, at low prices, those provisions which might have lasted three months for the use of his troops, and did not think in the least of the large quantity of powder and ammunition which he wisely abandoned to the enemy.

"The garrison and part of the inhabitants sailed from the harbor in different vessels, preceded by three frigates, and passed under the Picolet fort, then in possession of the brigands, who might have destroyed the whole of the fleet. It soon after was surrendered up to the British.

"Neraud, one of Rochambeau's satellites, gained a sword of honor in that shameful evacuation, although he was not at the Cape on the attack of the blacks."—*Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 1, 1804.

Captain Moffat, arrived at Norfolk from Gonaives, informs that agreeably to Rochambeau's terms of capitulation he embarked for Jamaica on the eighth day after his surrender; and the troops were embarked on board the shipping, and went out and surrendered to the British blockading squadron, consisting of four line of battle-ships and four frigates, who took them back into the harbor; but the French troops were kept on board the shipping.

The attack, at the conquest of the Cape, was very severe, and the slaughter immense on both sides; numbers of the wounded black troops had been sent to Gonaives; several French white people had been permitted to remain unmolested at the Cape. General Dessalines was preparing to go against Cape Nichola-Mole, and the troops would be ready to March in a few days.—*Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 11, 1804.

NEW YORK, March 19.

Extract of a letter from a merchant at Cape François, to his correspondent in this city, dated March 3, received via Baltimore.

"On the 19th ult. the blacks proceeded in four columns to

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attack the Cape. One of them took possession of the hospital and Fort Belair; the second of the Gate Bouteille; and the third and fourth, who came down by the plantation D'Estaing and the Fort Bourgeois, were to assail Haut-de-Cap and the posts that lay on the north side of the city; but acting without concert, the two first columns (which were waiting for the other to commence the attack) were defeated before the arrival of the third and fourth. Having no way to retreat, because Haut-de-Cap was untouched, they were ultimately obliged to fly to the tops of the mountains, whither they were closely pursued as far as the rocks and precipices permitted our troops to go. Their loss on this occasion cannot be estimated, because the greater part have carried their death blow along with them — 150 dead bodies have been found on the field of action, and on the paths through which the fugitives retreated. Amongst the prisoners (who were immediately shot) were five officers, four of whom were hanged in the market place; the fifth has not yet undergone the fate of his companions, because he expressed a willingness to make some important discoveries respecting a number of the friends of the blacks in the city, who are daily arrested, and dealt with according to their deserts.

"Tortuga has experienced another crisis, occasioned by a gang of invaders, who succeeded in crossing the channel. They were joined by the Negroes of Labatut and some others, and have done much mischief. Troops have been sent against them. Mr. Labatut and his wife are said to be detained in the woods by these brigands."

THE END

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