HAITI

HER HISTORY AND HER DETRACTORS

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in the United States

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FOREWORD

Although at a comparatively short distance from the United States, Haiti is nevertheless very little known in this country, where in most cases books written in English by unscrupulous travelers or authors are their only source of information. In this manner errors and prejudices became rooted in the minds of many Americans, who believe that my fellow-countrymen are addicted to all kinds of gross superstitions and are reverting to barbarism instead of progressing in civilization. This rather severe arraignment of my fellow-countrymen is founded upon slanders which everybody repeats without taking the trouble of examining facts in order to ascertain the truth.

One cannot pass judgment upon a nation at first sight. In order to form an impartial appreciation of a people one must be acquainted with its origin and customs; it is necessary to make a study of the causes which have hindered or facilitated its evolution; and to look carefully into the various phases of this evolution; one must even be acquainted with the telluric and climatological conditions, which exert a certain influence over the successive changes of a country. A foreigner who spends but a few days in a country cannot be in a position to speak with the accuracy of thorough knowledge of the inhabitants of this country; he is likely either to repeat all the gossip gathered from his new-made ac-

quaintances or to give rein to his imagination. Those who hasten to judge a nation whose history and temperament they have not taken the trouble to study are either guilty of bad faith or ignorance.

My only aim in putting this book into English is to give to the Americans the means of forming an impartial opinion on Haiti for themselves. Consequently this work is divided in two parts. The first part is composed of the entire history of the island from before its discovery by Christopher Columbus up to the election of General Nord Alexis to the Presidency; the many horrors of which Haiti was the scene have been mentioned as well as the vicissitudes of the fierce struggle that occurred when its inhabitants sought to conquer their liberty and independence.

The second part deals with the natural conditions of the country, its general organization, the customs and manners of the people, and their continued efforts to better their condition. I have of course availed myself of the opportunity to refute the most current calumnies, of which Haiti has of late had a full share.

In speaking of slavery and of the Haitian war of independence I could not avoid recalling some of the acts of cruelty committed by the French. I hope that no one will think on that account that my intention is to revive any ill feeling against France. The Haitians have great affection for that country, to which as a rule they entrust the instruction of their children. In the books, pamphlets, and newspaper articles concerning Haiti, it has been the custom to speak of Dessalines and of the soldiers of the Haitian war of independence as monsters devoid of any human feeling, whilst the authors generally remain silent about the crimes of Rochambeau and of the French colonists. Any one of unbiased opinion who reads the history of Haiti will readily perceive that the reprisals of the Haitians had been occasioned by the inhuman treatment inflicted on them. The facts stated in this book will, I hope, show the injustice of the charges brought against my fellow-countrymen, who have labored earnestly and at the cost

of much sacrifice of life to found a nation, whilst abolishing forever the iniquitous institution of slavery. The Haitians claim with pride the honor of having been the first ones to put an end to the barbarous system which, abasing human beings to the level of beasts, had made man the property of man. The wrath they have incurred and the ill-will they have met with have been occasioned in many instances solely by the grudge of the partisans of slavery and the spite of the French colonists or their descendants who had ceased to find in Saint-Domingue a source of wealth more or less honestly acquired.

By mentioning in this book some facts observed in the United States my intention is not to criticise or to make any comparisons. My only aim is, on one hand, to refute some unjust charges made against my country, and on the other to show that Haiti has not the monopoly of superstitions and superstitious practices which exist everywhere, in the United States as well as in Europe. However, if I have unwittingly given the least umbrage to the American people, I earnestly hope that a wrong motive will not be ascribed to my words; they may rest assured that, in remembrance of the kind hospitality they have shown me, I shall always do my utmost to avoid hurting their feelings in the slightest degree. They are truth-lovers, therefore I can afford to speak to them in a frank and open manner.

In saying what I think to be the truth I am of the opinion that I can benefit the United States as well as my country; for two nations need to know each other well in order to enjoy mutual respect and esteem. Through prejudice or lack of information the Americans neglect Haiti, where their capital and their energy might find profitable investment; and others take advantage of their abstention. When they become better informed they will be in a position to have their share of the profits which their competitors alone are now harvesting. Cordial relations, free from ulterior design and prejudice, cannot fail to give full confidence

to both nations; and this reciprocal confidence will be beneficial to all concerned. I would feel more than rewarded if my book could contribute toward establishing such a confidence by giving to the American people a fair idea of the Haitians!

It gives me great pleasure to express my profound gratitude to Miss Louise Bourke for having undertaken the revising of the English text of this work; I also heartily thank Mr. P. Thoby, who helped me in my search for documents; and the employés of the State Department as well as those of the Library of Congress who so graciously placed at my disposal the books and manuscripts I desired to consult.

J. N. LÉGER.

Washington, December, 1906.

HAITI
HER HISTORY AND HER DETRACTORS

PART I

HISTORY OF HAITI

CHAPTER I

Quisqueya or Haiti—[1]Geographical position—The First Inhabitants: their manners, religion and customs—Divisions of the territory.

Between 17° 55′ and 20° north latitude, and between 71° and 77° west longitude from the meridian of Paris, lies the island which in the United States is often called "the mysterious Haiti." [2]

Before the fifteenth century its inhabitants, numbering about one million, used to be relatively happy: the Old World was unaware even of their existence.

They were very tawny, rather small in stature, with long, black, and smooth hair. Simple in their manners, more indolent than active, they were contented with little; moreover, their wants were not very great.

The men and the girls wore no clothing; the women only had around their waists a cloth reaching to their knees.[3] They supported themselves by fishing, hunting, and by raising corn and vegetables of an easy culture; from their cotton they made nets, hammocks, etc.; they took great pleasure in smoking the dried leaves of the tobacco plant. Polygamy was practiced.

Through the coarse ceremonies of their religion can be traced the idea of the immortality of the soul and the existence of a Supreme Being, whose mother, Mamona,

[1] Pronounce: A-e-t (*a* as in alone).

[2] According to the Encyclopedia Britannica, Haiti somewhat resembles a turtle, its eastern projection forming the head, and the two western peninsulas the hinder limbs of the animal.

[3] Placide Justin, Histoire d'Haiti.

was especially worshipped. In the life to come the good would be rewarded; and in their Paradise they would meet once more their relatives, their friends, and principally many women.[4] They held sacred a cavern [5] whence, according to their belief, the Sun and Moon escaped and went to shine in Heaven. Every year they celebrated in that grotto a kind of public feast; the "Cacique" [6] or one of the notables headed the procession of men and women marching to the place. The ceremony began with the offerings that the priests or "butios" [7] presented to the gods or Zémès,[8] whilst the women danced and sang the praises of the deities. Afterward prayers for the salvation and prosperity of the people were said. Then the "butios" distributed among the heads of the families pieces of cake, which they preserved with great care; these consecrated cakes, according to a belief the vestiges of which can be found even up to the present among some civilized nations, had the virtue of warding off all dangers and diseases.

Their gods were strangely typified; they took the form of toads, turtles, snakes, alligators, and of hideous human faces. The "butios" were at once soothsayers and doctors. By tradition and through personal observation they knew the power of many plants; the simples helped them to make cures; and the art of healing increased their prestige.

The aborigines called their island Quisqueya (big land) or Haiti (the hilly land). The authority was divided between five military chiefs or "caciques," each one independent of the others.[9] The weapons of the

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[4] Placide Justin, Histoire d'Haiti, p. 5.

[5] This cavern, called nowadays "Grotte à Minguet," is in the neighborhood of Cape-Haiti.

[6] Pronounce: Ka-sick (*a* as in alone).

[7] Pronounce: boo-ci-o.

[8] Pronounce: Zem-s.

[9] The five "cacicats" or kingdoms were (*a*) Le Marien, under the command of Guacanagarie, in the North; its capital was in the neighborhood of Cape-Haiti; (*b*) Le Magua, called afterward "Vega Real," in the Northeast: the "cacique" was Guarionex; its capital stood where the Spaniards built the town of "Concepcion de la Vega"; (*c*) Le

people consisted of clubs, arrows, and wooden spears the sharp ends of which were hardened by fire. Often they had to protect and defend themselves against the attacks of their insular neighbors, the Caribs (Caraibes), who were cannibals.

The people enjoyed dancing to the beating of a drum. There were no public or private festivities without such dancing and singing. On the whole they were kind, polite, and merciful. Their good qualities caused their ruin.[10]

Maguana, in the Cibao, acknowledged the authority of Caonabo, who resided at San Juan de la Maguana; (*d*) Le Xaragua, commanded by Bohechio or Behechio, in the West and South, had as its capital Taguana, known to-day as Léogane; (*e*) Higuey, in the East, under the authority of Cotubana, who made his residence at Higuey.

[10] Emile Nau, in his work Caciques d'Haiti, gives a good idea of the habits of the aborigines.

CHAPTER II

Christopher Columbus—His arrival in Haiti—Behavior of the Spaniards toward the aborigines—Their cupidity—War—Caonabo—Anacaona—The Spanish domination—Cacique Henry.

Such were the first inhabitants of Haiti when, on August 3, 1492, Columbus left Palos. After a journey too well known to be repeated here, his three caravels anchored on the 6th of December, 1492, in a pretty bay in the northern part of Haiti. In honor of the saint whose feast the Catholic Church was celebrating that day, the place was called St. Nicholas.[1] The beauty of the scenery, the lovely panorama which Columbus beheld on arriving, the song of the nightingale, the fish, everything reminded him of the country whence he started out to the conquest of the New World. Therefore he gave the name of Hispañola[2] to the island he had just discovered; and believing that he was in Asia, he called the inhabitants "Indians." On those unfortunate people the arrival of the Spaniards was about to bring endless calamities. And the island up to that time so peaceful and quiet was to have no more tranquillity; the land was to be nothing else than an everlasting battlefield, where all kinds of horrors and atrocities would be perpetrated. Torrents of blood would irrigate its fertile soil and a whole race would disappear in order to satisfy the cupidity of the newcomers. On the 12th of December, in setting up the cross on the coast of Haiti, Columbus had no idea that

[1] The place is called to-day Mole Saint-Nicolas. Pronounce: Moll Sain Ni-co-la (*a* as in alone).

[2] Little Spain. Pronounce: Iss-pa-yola (both *a*'s as in alone).

the symbol of redemption was to be the signal of a fierce struggle, of a struggle without mercy.

In fact, after the first impulse of curiosity caused by the sight of the large sails, which, like huge birds' wings, were carrying the caravels to their shore, the natives, prompted by the warnings of instinct, fled and got under shelter in the depths of their forests. The looks of the white men foreboded no good. But the trusting and kind disposition of the aborigines prevailed over fear. They were quickly won over by the cajoleries and the gifts of the Spaniards. Their leader, Guacanagaric,[3] not only welcomed Columbus as a friend, but also became his ally; he granted the Admiral sufficient land for the building of a fortress. So a stronghold, called "The Nativity" in honor of that holy day, was erected with the help of the Indians not far from the place where the present town of Cap-Haitien [4] is situated. The aborigines themselves had thus forged the first link of their own chains.

Thirty-nine men garrisoned the fortress, and on the 4th of January, 1493, Columbus left for Spain. He had scarcely set sail when the Spaniards, forgetting the simplest rules of prudence, became most unrestrained in their manners and committed the worst excesses. Taking no account of the generous hospitality and of the hearty welcome of Guacanagaric, they inflicted on his followers all kinds of ill treatment. They outraged women and girls, and despoiled the men of their goods. Eager for riches, and thinking only of acquiring gold, they seized the metal wherever they could lay their hands on it. They trampled on the chastity and the customs of the Indians. Finding no more booty in the "cacicat" of Marien, some of them decided to carry their depredations to the Maguana, where the auriferous mines of the Cibao were located. But Caonabo, the "cacique" of Maguana, was not like the passive Guacanagaric. Descending from the fierce tribe of the

[3] Columbus landed in the northern part of the island, in the "cacicat" of Marien.

[4] Pronounce: Cap A-e-ci-en.

Caribs, he determined to remain the sole master of his "cacicat," which he had conquered by main force. Therefore he did not hesitate to cause the invaders to be arrested and put to death. And, having a vague presentiment of future perils, he determined to rid the island of the dangerous newcomers; in consequence he invaded the Marien. At the head of a numerous band of armed followers he rushed upon the fortress The Nativity, which he razed to the ground, after exterminating all the Spaniards. Henceforth it was to be war to the death.

When, on the 27th of November, 1493, Columbus returned to the place where The Nativity was built, he could but deplore the disaster. From Spain he had brought with him imposing forces. He settled in the eastern part of what is known to-day as Monte Christi; and there was built the first town erected by the Spaniards in the West Indies. In honor of the Queen of Spain this town was called Isabella.[5]

Among Columbus's new companions there were many adventurers whose sole thought was to acquire riches. They began searching for gold with a greed second only to their contempt for the feelings of the Indians. Besides, the latter had to work hard to supply their oppressors with cotton, tobacco, and gold dust. They were soon compelled to fetch from the bowels of the earth that gold which in their indolence they had been content to pick up in the sands of the rivers. Their artless souls rose against such unjust oppression. They joined the party of Caonabo,[6] who became the leader of the opposition to the tyranny of the foreigners. The natives fought gallantly. To get rid of his indomitable foe, Columbus had to resort to Alonzo Ojeda's perfidy. Under the pretext of making peace, they decoyed Caonabo into an ambush. As a gift from the chief of the Spaniards, Ojeda presented him with chains and handcuffs made of iron polished and glittering like silver.

[5] Pronounce: E-za-bell-e-a.
[6] Cacique of Maguana.

The unsuspecting Indian admired the irons, and mistaking them for ornaments he allowed himself to be manacled. He was then easily carried to Columbus, who kept him prisoner in his own house. Caonabo was afterward sent to Spain.[7]

This treacherous act, instead of intimidating the Indians, provoked a general uprising. Manicatoex, Caonabo's brother, became their leader. Against the band of numerous warriors who threatened the town of Isabella, Columbus despatched a well-disciplined body of foot-soldiers, cavalrymen, gunners, and arbolisters; twenty-five blood-hounds also were added to the army. In the struggle the natives fought desperately; but the fire-arms of the Spaniards prevailed over their spears and clubs. Their forces were annihilated. The cavalry harassed the fugitives, many of whom became the prey of the ferocious dogs. No quarter was granted, those only could escape who were lucky enough to reach the shelter of the inaccessible mountains. This victory secured the Spanish domination. The Indians agreed to pay tribute to them.

However, the tranquillity which followed these events did not last long; more terrible convulsions were in store for the unfortunate island.

The exactions of the Spaniards became unbearable. Hoping to get rid of them by starvation, the Indians gave up cultivating their lands; they deserted their homes, taking shelter in unsearchable forests in the mountains, where they lived on roots; they voluntarily endured hardships rather than submit to the treatment inflicted on them by the conquerors.

The Haitian soil was soon to be soaked with Spanish blood. In the absence of Columbus, who left for Spain in 1496, his companions quarreled and civil war began. On all sides bloody scenes were enacted: the Spaniards

[7] Caonabo was sent to Spain in March, 1496. According to E. Robin (History of Haiti, p. 14) the ship foundered and the cacique was drowned. But Mr. J. B. Dorsainville (Course of Haitian History, p. 44) says that the Indian leader starved himself to death during the voyage; for the ship arrived at Cadiz on the 11th of June, 1496. However, Caonabo never reached Spain.

exterminating the Indians; the latter availing themselves of the least opportunity to retaliate; and to crown the situation, the Spaniards killing each other.

On his return to Hispañola, Columbus suppressed the dissensions among his followers by establishing, in behalf of Roldan-Jimenes, the leader of the malcontents, what is known as the "repartimientos" system: he granted to Roldan and to his followers a certain quantity of land and a sufficient number of Indians to cultivate it. In that manner slavery began to appear; and Quisqueya had a new horror to add to the list of the calamities with which its unhappy inhabitants were already afflicted.

In 1500 Bobadilla succeeded Columbus; and the "repartimientos" system became worse. The "caciques" were compelled to supply every Spaniard with a certain number of Indians; these Indians were made to work under the guidance and in behalf of their masters, to whose heirs they were transferable.

Naturally this caused the natives to be still more highly displeased. Moved by their complaints the court of Spain appointed Nicholas Ovando governor of the island; he landed in Santo Domingo [8] on the 15th of April, 1502.[9]

The new governor had a good reputation, which he soon belied. It would seem that in reaching Hispañola the best-intentioned man laid aside his kind disposition to give way to his worst instincts. Thinking only of shipping as much gold as possible, in order to convince the King of Spain of the merit of his administration, Ovando was pitiless to the Indians. These unfortunate people, accustomed to the sunshine, were made to live in the depths of the earth; and many of them died from starvation and exhaustion.

From the Canary Islands Pierre d'Atença brought

[8] In 1496 Barthelemy built on the left bank of the Ozama a town which he called New Isabella and which became the headquarters of the administration. Destroyed in 1502 by a cyclone, the town was, in 1504, reconstructed, at the mouth of the same river, by Ovando, who called it Santo Domingo after Columbus's father.

[9] According to Placide Justin, History of Haiti, p. 32, Ovando arrived in Santo Domingo on April 15, 1501.

the sugar-cane to Hispañola. This new culture increased the burden which was already so heavy for the natives.

With a view to preventing any uprising on their part Ovando decided to destroy the last centres of organization where they could gather their forces for a common resistance. On his arrival two of the former "caciqats" were still holding their own and recognized the authority of two aborigines.

Anacaona,[10] widow of the gallant Caonabo, governed the Xaragua, and the Higuey was ruled by Cotubanama. The prestige of the Queen of Xaragua was very great. She was a beautiful woman, possessing the art of lulling away the cares of her people by extemporizing for them the naïve songs they were so fond of. Like her husband, Anacaona was to be a victim of the Spanish tyranny. Ovando took umbrage at the moral ascendency she possessed over the natives. Under the pretext of collecting the tribute due to the Court of Spain, he left for the Xaragua, escorted by 300 foot soldiers and 70 cavalrymen. In pursuance of instructions given by Anacaona, the people everywhere gave him the most friendly welcome. The Queen herself went to meet her illustrious visitor, in honor of whom many festivities took place.

But all this confidence did not move the inexorable Spaniard. During one of the festivities, at a given signal agreed on beforehand, Ovando's soldiers rushed upon the harmless Indians and began a wholesale slaughter. They set fire to the village, thus rendering the massacre still more horrible. Anacaona, now a prisoner, was dragged away to Santo Domingo, where a mock court of justice, completing Ovando's treachery, sentenced her to death. Neither her beauty nor her charms could excite the compassion of the conquerors, and she was hanged. Thereafter Ovando was master of the Xaragua. (1504.)

But the Higuey was still under the authority of the

[10] Golden flower. Pronounce: An-na-ka-o-ná.

stalwart Cotubanama. It was an easy matter to find a pretext for waging war on him. The last of the Haitian "caciques" defended his small State with great bravery. The struggle was a fierce one. The Spanish fury spared neither sex nor age. They massacred the natives indiscriminately. Vanquished at last, Cotubanama was taken as a prisoner to Santo Domingo where, like Anacaona, he was hanged. Through his defeat and death the Spaniards at last acquired the entire possession of Hispañola.

Ovando was victorious. The Spanish conquest had annihilated a whole race. Shipped to Europe and sold as slaves, heavily burdened with taxes, overworked, tormented, persecuted, the autochthons had rapidly disappeared. Many had resorted to suicide to escape from the ill treatment inflicted on them; others were devoured by the ferocious dogs; the greatest number had fallen in the bloody wars and bloody massacres. In 1507, scarcely fifteen years after the arrival of the Spaniards, there remained, out of a population numbering about 1,000,000, only 60,000 natives. Four years later, in 1511, these 60,000 were reduced to 14,000.[11]

The cruelty and cupidity of the newcomers had depopulated the island. There was in consequence a great deficiency of laborers: the prosperity of Hispañola was in jeopardy. Ovando, always fruitful in expedients, conceived the idea of importing the inhabitants of the neighboring islands, pretending that it would be easier to convert them to Christianity. Deceived by the grossest artifices, 40,000 of those unfortunate people were removed from their homes and became at Hispañola the prey of the Spanish avidity.

The Spaniards soon introduced into the island a new element more resisting than the Indians and Caribs: a few blacks had been sold in the colony. Pleased with their work, the Spaniards held the Africans as indispensable. The slave-trade which ensued was the cause of the downfall of the colonists. Cargoes of human flesh abounded in Hispañola. Stunned by their brutal

[11] Placide Justin, Histoire d'Haiti, pp. 40-42.

separation from their families, stupefied by the sufferings and the fatigues of a long journey, scattered on the various plantations, and unable to understand the language spoken around them, the new slaves were at first necessarily docile and obedient. But, little by little, through contact with the survivors of the last Indians, they began to be able to exchange ideas among themselves. And the old grievances uniting with the new ones served to augment the hatred of the oppressors.

In 1519 occurred the last uprising of what was left of the first inhabitants of the island. Saved almost miraculously from the massacre of Anacaona's followers in 1504, Henri, a native of Bahoruco, was taken to Santo Domingo and brought up in a convent of Dominican friars. Though he became a Christian, he was nevertheless a slave. Tired of all the ill treatment inflicted on him by his master, incensed by an attempt on his wife's honor, and being unable to obtain justice, he fled in 1519; accompanied only by a few Indian slaves who swore to die rather than endure again the humiliation of their former condition, he took refuge in the mountains of Bahoruco.

This new leader could read and write; and like some of his companions he understood the use of firearms. They could therefore successfully hold their own. The Spanish pride received blow after blow. Henri's victories encouraged all the Indians who could make their escape to flock to his camp.

The black slaves were not long in following the example of their companions in misfortune. They rebelled on the very plantation of Diego Columbus, governor of the island. They set fire to all the farms they found on their way and killed every European they met. But, being without a leader and having only a slight knowledge of the country, they met with rapid defeat. Yet many of them were fortunate enough to reach the Ocao Mountains, where there lived already some men of their race, known as maroons, who had freed themselves from slavery.

The Spaniards failed to subdue Henri either by force

or by deceit. He firmly established his authority in the Bahoruco, and his followers became the terror of the colonists. It was now his turn to inflict humiliations on the conquerors; which he did for more than fourteen years. The frequent defeats met by the Spaniards decided Charles V, then King of Spain and Emperor of Germany, to send a special agent to Hispañola: Barrio-Nuevo was intrusted with the mission of restoring peace. Bearing a letter from the Emperor to Don Henri, he had no trouble in persuading the "cacique" to lay down his arms. Acting by the advice of Las Cases, who was called the "Protector of the Indians," Henri went to Santo Domingo. A solemn treaty of peace was made and ratified on both sides. Henri was allowed to reside in the village of Boya. Exempt from paying tribute, he was to be called "cacique of Haiti" and to keep under his command the Indians who were permitted to follow him. These, numbering about 4,000, the last scions of the aboriginal race, settled at Boya. They had at last recovered their liberty. Henceforth they would be able to lead a quiet life.

CHAPTER III

The French freebooters and buccaneers—Their customs—Their settlement at La Tortue (Tortuga Island)—Little by little they invade Hispañola, now known as Saint-Domingue—Continual wars with the Spaniards—Treaty recognizing the French occupation.

The treaty signed in 1533 with the "cacique" Henri had at last put an end to the hostilities between the Indians and Spaniards. For a while there was no bloodshed. The relative tranquillity which ensued was not taken advantage of. Instead of thriving, the colony was on the wane. The incompetency or malversation of the various governors hastened the decline. The mines were emptied or deserted; no care was given to agriculture. In consequence, through idleness, debauchery and poverty the colonists were in a piteous condition. Everything was falling to ruin. The town of Santo Domingo alone, where was centred the luxury of the administrators, remained prosperous and assumed the appearance of great splendor. But its magnificence was the cause of serious calamities. In 1586 the English admiral, Sir Francis Drake, charged by Queen Elizabeth to curb the Spanish arrogance, bombarded the town, took possession of it, and partly destroyed it by fire. After an occupation of a month he agreed to evacuate it in consideration of a ransom of £ 7,000.

The arrival of other Europeans in the West Indies was to become a source of continual worry to the Spaniards. From the beginning of the sixteenth century, attracted by the allurements of gain, the French had begun making incursions into the New World. Impressed by the various tales concerning the riches of Santo Domingo city, they little by little commenced the habit of calling the whole island Saint-Domingue. At first they had no idea of conquest. They were satisfied

with plundering. In concert with the English they lost no opportunity of injuring the Spanish trade. However, successive defeats made them feel the necessity of having a rallying-point, at least a place where they could refit their ships. In 1625 a party of Frenchmen under the command of Enembuc, and of Englishmen under the leadership of Warner, took possession of St. Christopher Island. Private initiative began thus to deprive Spain of its possessions in the West Indies.

The presence of these dangerous neighbors alarmed the Court at Madrid. In 1630 Admiral Frédéric de Tolède expelled both the English and French from St. Christopher. Looking for a safer shelter, they settled at Tortuga Island (La Tortue), situated in the northern part of Hispañola or Saint-Domingue. Their new possession, eight leagues long and two leagues wide, became rapidly the rendezvous of the freebooters who swept the Spanish Main. In 1640 the French drove the English from this small island, thus remaining the sole masters. That was the starting point of their settlement in Saint-Domingue.

At that time the Spanish colony was in full decline. Owing to the necessity of preserving themselves from the depredations of their terrible foes, the Spaniards had almost deserted the coasts and were concentrated in the interior of the island. The Frenchmen availed themselves of the opportunity to take possession of the greatest part of the northern seashore. They had Port Margot,[1] and soon founded Port-de-Paix.[2]

These new inhabitants of Saint-Domingue were rough men of very coarse manners. They devoted their time to hunting wild oxen, the flesh of which they dried and smoked over a wood-fire called "boucan";[3] hence their name of buccaneers. But hard pushed by the Spaniards they turned their attention to piracy. Under the name

[1] Pronounce: Por Mar-go. Port Margot is situated in the department of the North, and in the arrondissement of Borgne.

[2] Pronounce: Por-doe-pè. Port-de-Paix is the chief town of the department of the Northwest.

[3] Pronounce: Bou-kan.

of freebooters they were the terror of the West Indies. They had neither wives nor families. They entered two by two into a kind of partnership, all of whose goods were in common and to be inherited by the survivor. In case of a disagreement, which seldom happened however, blood alone could bring the quarrel to a close. Even in their dress they were wild looking. At their belts could always be seen a sabre, besides several knives and daggers. Any one of them possessing a good gun and twenty-five hunting-dogs considered himself a happy man. Many abandoned their family names and assumed pseudonyms, which remained to their descendants. Continually exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, their lives in constant jeopardy, they had as little fear of death as regard for the laws. They were fierce and desperate in their bravery; they roamed the seas in their small crafts, and would board fearlessly the largest Spanish ships. Nothing could resist the impetuosity of their attacks. The independence of their nature tolerated no restraint; and the authority of their leaders lasted only so long as fighting was going on. Improvident and careless, they would squander in a few days the valuable booty they acquired, their lives being thus continually spent either in the greatest luxury or in the utmost poverty. Want therefore excited their ardor and aroused their courage.

D'Ogeron[4] undertook to discipline these unruly spirits and to interest them in the welfare of their new country. He thought that family ties alone could check their wild dispositions and bind them to their homes. So he requested that some women be sent from the mother country; at first but few arrived. Therefore, to prevent any quarrelling, they were awarded to the highest bidders; the less destitute among the freebooters were thus able to secure female companions. In this manner the first French families were instituted in Saint-Domingue.

The freebooters were not to be trifled with; they

[4] D'Ogeron was appointed governor of the island by the East Indies Company.

were terrible foes. The Spaniards made vain efforts to exterminate them. A new and relentless war began; the island once more became a battlefield. The English thought they had now a good opportunity to take possession of the country. A fleet sent by Cromwell threatened Santo Domingo in 1655. Fortunately for the French the expedition failed and the English proceeded to Jamaica, which they seized, thus depriving Spain forever of that colony. The struggle at Saint-Domingue continued therefore between the French and the Spaniards only; it was a stubborn and bloody contest. The French not only held their own, but even managed to gain a surer footing.

Emboldened by their success they now assumed the offensive; they desired the entire possession of the island. In their first campaign against Santiago they stormed the city, which they afterward abandoned upon receiving a ransom (1669).

At the first opportunity the Spaniards retaliated. They invaded Petit-Goave, which they completely destroyed. In 1691 they took possession of Cap-Français,[5] which they set on fire and whose inhabitants they massacred. On leaving the ruined city they took with them a great number of women, children, and slaves. The French for a while were in a desperate state. Besides the Spaniards, the English also were threatening their settlement. And the black slaves, whose hope of liberty was only slumbering, began to cause some anxiety. In 1678 Padrejean [6] had roused them to rebellion. In 1697, in the Quartier-Morin,[7] 300 Africans took up arms again.

Fortunately for the French the timely peace of Riswick put an end to the hostilities. By the treaty signed in 1697 Louis XIV acquired a clear title to the possession of the western part of the island, the limits of which were established from Cap-Rose in the north to La Beate in the south.

[5] Now named Cap-Haitien.

[6] Padrejean was killed after inflicting heavy losses on the French.

[7] Situated in the Northern "département" and in the arrondissement of Cap-Haitien.

CHAPTER IV

The French part of Saint-Domingue—Its prosperity—Its different classes of inhabitants; their customs—The color prejudice—The colonists: their divisions; their jealousy of the Europeans—Their desire to be in command—Their contempt for the *affranchis* (freedmen)—Their cruelty toward the slaves—The maroons.

By recognizing the French conquest the treaty of Riswick rid the colonists of Saint-Domingue of their anxieties arising from the vicinity of the Spaniards. The latter even became their allies, the war for the succession of the throne of Spain having just confounded the interests of Louis XIV with those of the heir of Charles II.

The eighteenth century began under the happiest auspices; quiet once established, Saint-Domingue was not long in astonishing the world by its prosperity. The ardent tropical heat, however, soon exhausted the vigor of the hired Europeans known as "engagés," whose position resembled that of serfs. The cultivation of sugar-cane and of indigo required hardier constitutions. In consequence the Africans were in favor. Nobody hesitated to participate in the slave-trade. As many as 30,000 blacks were annually imported.

In the beginning their position, pitiable as it seemed, was less hard to bear. The first colonists, unsociable and haughty, had however very simple tastes. Their wants up to that time were not numerous and were easily satisfied. In the colony there was a scarcity of white women, and those who had arrived about the beginning of the French occupancy could not be re-

garded as models of austere virtue. The fierce freebooters and their immediate successors did not consider the negresses as unworthy of their attentions. The unbounded devotion of the latter often moved the hearts of the terrible masters whose companions they had become. The children born of such a commerce were not entirely neglected by their fathers. There existed no color prejudice to complicate the relations of the two races. No one had cause to feel shame or humiliation. The appearance of the mulatto, in arousing feelings of fatherly love, ameliorated the condition of some of the slaves. Mothers and children were often freed owing to these sentiments. Unfortunately through the riches resulting from the fruitful soil of Saint-Domingue these ideas began to suffer a change. Surrounded by extravagant luxury, the wealthy colonists made it the fashion to look down upon the Africans and their descendants. And the new families, arrived from Europe, exaggerating this disdain, hardly considered as human beings those whose color was not white. Barriers arose; and the odious distinctions between men, which the Gospel was supposed to have done away with, were more than ever firmly established.

At the time of its greatest splendor the inhabitants of Saint-Domingue were divided into three distinct classes: the whites, the "affranchis" or freedmen, and the slaves. To these classes officially admitted, may be added a fourth one—the maroons.

Naturally the whites had arrogated all the privileges. They were the masters; their color sufficed to confer on them all the rights and advantages. However, interest and prosperity in time divided the predominant class, introducing four subdivisions: 1st, civil and military functionaries; 2nd, the wealthy planters; 3rd, merchants; 4th, mechanics, storekeepers and adventurers in quest of success. These groups were jealous of one another. And those who were neither functionaries nor wealthy planters were scornfully called "petits blancs." The latter were envious of the social position of the former. Besides, the white natives of Europe consid-

ered themselves far above the creoles, *i. e.*, those who were born in the colony.

Notwithstanding these distinctions prompted by their unbearable vanity, all of them—the whites from Europe, creoles, wealthy planters, and "petits blancs" —made common cause in the matter of taking advantage of the colonial régime which allowed them to trample upon the slaves, and to heap humiliations upon the "affranchis." However, the wealthy planters, who formed the aristocracy of the island, could not disguise their displeasure at the despotic and military government of Saint-Domingue.

The Governor-General [1] had usurped supreme power. He interfered with everything, even in the administration of justice, thus usurping the duties of a special agent or "intendant" who was there for that purpose. His word was supreme law.

The wealthy planters thought that the surest way for their party to become the ruling power was by shaking off his authority. Hence a bitter rivalry, and an underhand war began between them and the Governor-General.

While undermining the position of the agents appointed by the King of France, the planters did nothing to gain the sympathy of the "petits blancs"; and their contempt for the "affranchis" was too great to allow them even to think of them as allies.

The "affranchis" formed the intermediary class between the colonist and the slave, and consisted of the blacks and mulattoes who had been able to obtain or to buy their freedom. Through personal efforts and hard work they began to rise gradually from the low condition they had occupied from their birth. They acquired urban and rural property; they appreciated

[1] In speaking of the Governor the inhabitants of the colony were in the habit of calling him, by way of abbreviation, "Général" or "mon Général" (my general). (Moreau de St. Méry.) Hence the custom of the country people in Haiti of calling any one occupying a position superior to theirs "Général." Foreigners hearing this word applied indiscriminately to Haitians believed that every one held that military rank.

learning; and their sons, sent to France at great sacrifice to themselves, had often more success at school than the children of the colonists.

The wealth and knowledge they acquired made the "affranchis" feel they were the equals of the whites. Therefore they were highly indignant over the prerogatives the latter had assumed at their expense. They claimed the exercise of the political rights granted them by the Black Code. Circumstances placed them face to face with the colonists, who sought to check their ambition by humiliating them. Thus the liberal professions were closed to the "affranchis"; they were debarred from learning any kind of trade; they could not be silversmiths, for instance. In the army they could no longer become officers. At last they were even forbidden to go to France (1777); and were ordered to wear clothes of a material different from the whites.

And yet those men upon whom the colonists heaped humiliation after humiliation were good soldiers. They were enlisted in both the militia and the horse-police (maréchausée); and they all understood the use of firearms. It was into the hands of such men that the colonists committed their safety.

As a means of putting a stop to the ever-increasing colonial pride and haughtiness, the women, mulattresses and blacks alike, resorted to their native charms. Wives or concubines, they availed themselves of whatever influence they possessed to secure the freedom of the men of their race. Incensed by the preference shown to their colored sisters, the white women added the weight of their jealousy to the already existing causes of conflict.

The slaves were in a pitiable plight. Not being considered as human beings, they were entirely without rights that a white man was bound to respect. They were treated and sold like cattle, with which their masters confounded them in the inventory of their estates. They were subjected to the most barbarous punishments. According to the Black Code all fugitives were punishable by death; it was lawful to mutilate them by

chopping off their legs and their ears. The hounds were let loose on them, inflicting the greatest torture by their fierce attacks on the unfortunate creatures. Flogging was the mildest chastisement inflicted on the slaves. The honor of their wives, the chastity of their daughters were matters of the slightest consideration to their masters.

Small wonder it was that the slave was beset with one fixed idea—to free himself of that odious yoke. Throughout his sufferings he never despaired: liberty was the one hope of his existence. And when he could not buy his freedom he would secure it for himself by fleeing; at the first opportunity he would fly for safety into the densest forests and the most inaccessible gorges of the mountains. When he was successful in effecting his escape he became what was called a maroon.

Hence the maroons were slaves who, at the risk of their lives and after undergoing untold hardships, had eventually recovered their freedom. Being outlaws and hunted like wild animals they had continually to be on the lookout. Any place where they could find a safe shelter from their pursuers became their domain. Should they happen to be caught by their owners they knew beforehand that no mercy was to be expected and that the most inhuman punishments the colonial imagination could invent would be theirs. Consequently, when attacked they fought with the fiercest desperation. Theirs was a perpetual struggle for existence. It was these men, without education or culture, who gathered from their confused ideas of human dignity the necessary energy to wage war on the society which was oppressing them so brutally. The first to bid defiance to the colonial system, they showed the men of their race that hardships, sufferings, even death—all were preferable to such degrading servitude. They formed the vanguard of the future army of liberation.[2]

Such were the four classes of men who inhabited

[2] In 1784, after an unsuccessful attempt to subdue by force the maroons in hiding in the Bahuruco Mountains, Governor-General Bellecombe acknowledged their independence.

Saint-Domingue; the clashing of whose conflicting aspirations was destined to hurl them one against the other. After irrigating the Haitian soil with their sweat, "affranchis," slaves, and maroons firmly united, would lavish their blood on it in order to root out forever the shameful institution of slavery.

CHAPTER V

Number of inhabitants of Saint-Domingue—Savannah—The French revolution—Efforts of the colonists to take advantage of it—The *affranchis* claim their rights—The first conflicts—Atrocities committed by the colonists—Vincent Ogé and Chavannes—Uprising of the slaves—The first Civil Commissioners—Decree of April 4, 1792.

In 1789 there were at Saint-Domingue 520,000 inhabitants, 40,000 of whom were white, 28,000 "affranchis," and 452,000 slaves.[1] The number of maroons was from two to three thousand. Whilst most of the whites led corrupt and dissolute lives, the "affranchis," through domestic virtues, were acquiring much wealth; they possessed a third of the real estate, and a fourth of the personal property of the colony.[2] Yet no regard was shown them. Despite the levelling and philanthropic philosophy which in Europe was moving the heart of the nobility, the colonists became daily more and more haughty and overbearing to the men of the black race; they did all in their power to check the hopes which these new ideas began to raise in the souls of the sorely oppressed slaves.

Through their influence and intrigues the colonists extorted from the weak hands of Louis XVI decisions of the most insulting nature against the "affranchis." The excess of humiliations heaped on them at last moved, even in France, the pity of generous hearts.

[1] These figures are given by Moreau de Saint-Méry. According to B. Ardouin (Introduction to the Studies of Haitian History) the population of Saint-Domingue in 1789 numbered 40,000 "affranchis" and more than 600,000 slaves. Ducoeur-Joly, quoted by Placide Justin, p. 144, claims that the population consisted of 30,826 whites, 27,584 "affranchis," and 465,429 slaves.

[2] B. Ardouin, Geography of Haiti, p. 4.

"La Société des Amis des Noirs" [3] soon extended its mighty support to the lawful claims of those who hitherto were treated like pariahs.

The "affranchis" became more and more conscious of their importance. In 1779, responding to the call of the Comte d'Estaing, 800 blacks and mulattoes [4] left their families and their homes, and went to fight side by side with the soldiers of George Washington. At the siege of Savannah the colored sons of Haiti fearlessly shed their blood for the independence of the United States.[5] After fighting for the liberty of others was it possible that they would willingly tolerate slavery for their mothers, their brothers, and their sisters? Could they be content under the arbitrary rule of a system which had despoiled them of their rights?

But, blinded by their prejudice, the wealthy planters would not make the slightest concession in their favor. They founded in Paris the "Club Massiac," which became henceforth the centre of action of their coterie. Yet at that time the pretensions of the "affranchis" were very moderate. What was it they were claiming? Simply the equality of political rights which was granted to them in 1685 by the Black Code.

By yielding to their requests the colonists would have saved their property, and Saint-Domingue might perhaps have remained a part of the French territory.

[3] The Society of the Friends of the Blacks.

[4] Among the volunteers from Saint-Domingue were Beauvais, Rigaud, Chavannes, Jourdain, Lambert, Christophe, Morné, Villate, Toureaux, Cangé, Martial Besse, Leveillé, Mars Belley, etc. (E. Robin, History of Haiti, p. 47.)

[5] "At the siege of Savannah," says Mr. T. G. Steward, quoted by Mr. Benito Sylvain at page 102 of his book (Du sort des Indigènes dans les colonies d'exploitation; Paris, 1901), "the colored militiamen from "Saint-Domingue, numbering 800, saved the Franco-American army from "total disaster by heroically covering its retreat, which was very near "being cut off by Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland."

However, some years later one of these militiamen, Martial Besse, then a French general, was not allowed to land at Charleston (South Carolina) without giving bail, on account of his color. The French consul had to interfere in order to secure proper respect for him. (American Historical Association, 1905, Vol. II, p. 1020, Lettre de Létombe, consul à Philadelphia, à Delacroix, Ministre des Relations Extérieures de France.)

Still they chose to run the greatest risks rather than share the administration of the island with men whom they considered their inferiors.

From the convocation of the States General, the wealthy planters began to defy the colonial authority, thus giving the first example of insubordination. On their own responsibility they secretly appointed eighteen representatives whom they sent to France. On their arrival at Versailles they found the National Assembly already organized. This first act of insubordination was followed by others still more important. When the news of the fall of the Bastille reached Saint-Domingue, the pretensions of the colonists knew no bounds. They elected municipalities and even an Assembly, which, assuming the title of "General Assembly of the French part of Saint-Domingue," met at Saint-Marc and arrogated full powers. On the 28th of May, 1790, this Assembly adopted a decree which constituted almost a declaration of independence. The attitude and encroachment of this body was naturally highly displeasing to the colonial government, which ordered its dissolution and resorted to force in order to compel its members to disperse.[6] The whites took no pains to conceal from the "affranchis" the discord existing among themselves.

Excluded from all the assemblies elected at Saint-Domingue, the freedmen had never ceased to protest against the arbitrary deprivation of their political rights. Their representatives in France, among whom were Julien Raymond and Vincent Ogé, were fighting hard to put an end to their humiliating position. Through the powerful assistance of the Society "des Amis des Noirs," they were received, on the 22d of October, 1789, by the National Assembly. Later on the "affranchis" offered to France 6,000,000 francs and the fifth of their properties in guarantee of the national indebtedness. The Assembly was not long in taking up

[6] Many members of the Assembly took shelter on board the *Leopard* (8th of August, 1790).

the slavery question. Whilst the matter was under discussion, Charles de Lameth, one of the wealthy planters, spoke, on the 4th of December, in favor of the freedom of the blacks and claimed their right to become members of the colonial assemblies.

The colonists decided that the time had come to check the audacity of the "affranchis," and as usual they resorted to all kinds of atrocities. In the town of Cap-Français the mulatto Lacombe was hanged, his only crime having been that he dared to present a humble petition claiming the "Rights of man" (Les Droits de l'homme). At Petit-Goave, a highly respected old man, Fernand de Baudières, a white, was beheaded. He was charged with having drawn up a petition asking, not for equality of rights in favor of the "affranchis," but only for a slight betterment of their condition. At Aquin,[7] a mulatto, G. Labadie, seventy years old, simply suspected of having in his possession a copy of the petition, was attacked by night at his home by the whites. Severely wounded, this septuagenarian,[8] a man universally esteemed, was tied to the tail of a horse and dragged through the streets. At Plaisance, the mulatto Atrel, guilty of having accepted a claim upon a white man, was killed by a band of infuriated people. At Fonds-Parisien[9] the whites set fire to the most important sugar refineries of the "affranchis" Desmares, Poisson, Renaud.[10] In time to come, the slaves who revolted, remembering this merciless destruction of property, in their turn reduced to ashes the rich plantations of the colonists.

The French spared not even the children. At Petite-

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[7] A town in the southern part of Haiti.

[8] Concerning Labadie, Brissot, in a letter to Barnave, says: "One "can say to the whites that there are in Saint-Domingue well informed "mulattoes who have never left the island. I can quote for instance Mr. "Labadie, an honorable old man, who owes his wealth to his work and "his intelligence. Astronomy, physics, ancient and modern history, were "all familiar to Mr. Labadie, at a time when not one of the whites in "the colony knew the A, B, C of these sciences." (B. Ardouin—Studies on the History of Haiti, Vol. I, p. 198.)

[9] Situated in the Western "département" of Haiti.

[10] B. Ardouin, Studies of Haitian History, Vol. I, p. 117.

Rivière de l'Artibonite a party of 25 whites, after searching in vain for a mulatto, ended by killing his two children; in the same locality they murdered a father and his two sons.[11] A black freedman was, without the least provocation, put to death by a party of whites; whilst at Cap-Français there took place a wholesale slaughter of the "affranchis" [12] by the colonists. Such are the atrocities with which the wealthy planters started the French revolution in Saint-Domingue. By and by both "affranchis" and slaves retaliated by taking revenge of all the horrible crimes of which they had been the victims. Many foreign writers unfriendly toward Haiti make mention only of the reprisals; but they intentionally omit all allusion to the frequent revolting crimes which had caused them.

By a decree of March 8, 1790, the National Assembly had, however, indicated the powers vested in the colonial assemblies of the French possessions. And, according to article 4 of the Instructions adopted on the 28th of the same month, all persons 25 years old, owning real estate or domiciled in the parish for two years and paying taxes, were authorized to take part in the election of those assemblies. The "affranchis" possessed the full requirements, and therefore imagined that they would at last be able to exercise their political rights. Their illusions did not last long. The colonists of Saint-Domingue did not consider as *persons* men of the black race; they regarded them as *things*. In consequence they were not allowed to vote.

Foreseeing the decision of the wealthy planters, Vincent Ogé, one of the commissioners of the "affranchis," decided to return to Saint-Domingue in order to demand the fair application of the Decree and the Instructions of March, 1790. He assumed the pseudonym of Poissac; and in spite of all the hindrances placed in his way he succeeded in leaving France. He arrived at Cap-Français in the evening of October 16, 1790, and proceeded forthwith to Dondon,[13] his native place. As soon

[11] B. Ardouin, Studies of Haitian History, p. 119.
[12] Ibid., p. 120.
[13] Situated in the Northern "département" of Haiti.

as his arrival became known the colonists took the necessary steps to secure his arrest. From Dondon Ogé went to Grande-Rivière [14] to the house of Jean-Baptiste Chavanne.[15] Of a practical mind, Chavanne was firmly convinced that nothing would be obtained from the whites by persuasion only. He therefore advised an immediate uprising of the slaves. Ogé deemed this plan too radical. In consequence, on October 21, he wrote to Count Peinier, then Governor of the island, saying that he had come to secure the application of the Decree of March, 1790, and that, in order to put an end to an unjust and absurd prejudice, he would, in case of need, repel force by force. As a result of this step, and in spite of his threat, a price [16] was set upon his head, and 800 soldiers were despatched against him. Ogé had only 250 followers. The first encounter was favorable to him. But new forces sent from Cap-Français defeated his small army. He succeeded, with Chavanne and a few companions, in reaching the Spanish part of the island. The Governor, Don Joachim Garcia, had the cruelty to give them up to the government of Saint-Domingue. After a so-called trial, Ogé and Chavanne, to whom even the assistance of a lawyer was denied, were sentenced "whilst alive to have their "arms, legs, thighs and spines broken; and afterward "to be placed on a wheel, their faces toward Heaven, "and there to stay as long as it would please God to "preserve their lives; and when dead, their heads were "to be cut off and exposed on poles, Vincent Ogé's on "the highway leading to Dondon, and Chavanne's on "the road to La Grande Rivière, opposite the estate of "Poisson." This barbarous sentence was executed in all its horror on February 25, 1791. The northern provincial assembly gathered together in state to witness this inhuman punishment. Ogé and Chavanne, hacked

[14] Situated in the Northern "département" of Haiti.

[15] Chavanne was among those who fought at Savannah for the independence of the United States.

[16] A reward of $4,000 was promised to any one who would capture Ogé.

to death, bore their sufferings stoically. For many months following, their unfortunate companions were hunted and when caught were hanged. The method employed for quelling the insurrection was savage and merciless. But the revenge soon to be taken equalled in mercilessness the acts which provoked it. Before the end of 1791 the colonists were to begin to expiate their crimes.

Remaining still haughty and full of pride they imagined that the martyrdom of Ogé and Chavanne would so intimidate the "affranchis" that they would not dare to renew the struggle. As a matter of fact, after Ogé's defeat, the free blacks and mulattoes of the South, who, under the leadership of André Rigaud, had gathered on the plantation of Prou, willingly laid down their arms. But this proved to be only a truce. The colored men wanted time in which to form and to mature their plans. Ogé's fate made it clear to them that by force alone they would conquer the power of exercising the political rights which they had vainly endeavored to acquire peacefully.

Tranquilized by their recent victory and the apparent submission of the "affranchis," the wealthy planters began to renew their intrigues against the colonial government. Two battalions, sent from France with a view to helping to maintain order in Saint-Domingue, arrived at Port-au-Prince on March 2, 1791. The friends of the former Colonial Assembly of Saint-Marc, which had been severely arraigned by the National Assembly in a resolution adopted on October 12, 1790, won over the soldiers to their cause. The latter landed in Port-au-Prince in disobedience to the orders given them by the Governor-General, Mr. de Blanchelande. The city was in open rebellion. The prison was stormed. André Rigaud, Pinchinat, and some other "affranchis" who were then in jail were set free. Mr. de Blanchelande left hastily for Cap-Français. The colonists murdered Colonel Mauduit, whose fidelity to the colonial government had displeased them; his body was mutilated and his head, stuck on the end of a pole, was

carried through the streets of Port-au-Prince. They usurped the authority and organized a municipality which they called the Western Provincial Assembly.

Whilst the whites were creating this disturbance of the peace at Saint-Domingue, the National Assembly, uneasy concerning the vengeance of the blacks which would most likely follow the inhuman punishment of Ogé and Chavanne, agreed that the time had come for granting some concessions to the "affranchis." Therefore on May 15, 1791, a decree was adopted stating that free-born colored men would henceforth be eligible to the provincial assemblies. This news upon reaching Saint-Domingue at the end of June, 1791, provoked great excitement. The "affranchis," thinking once more that at last they had acquired the rights which they had been claiming with so much perseverance, showed the wildest enthusiasm; but the whites, whose indignation knew no bounds, protested vigorously against this step; they even went so far as to implore the protection of the English. And pretending that the decree of May 15 had not been officially notified to the Governor of the island, they hastened to elect a new Colonial Assembly with power to regulate the political condition of the "affranchis."

The blacks and mulattoes, regarding this action as a challenge, decided to resort to arms. Having gained wisdom from Ogé's misfortune the "affranchis" this time did not trust to chance.

On August 7, 1791, they held a meeting in the church of Mirebalais [17] and appointed a committee of forty members, of which Pierre Pinchinat [18] was elected president. Whilst this political council was striving to obtain from Mr. de Blanchelande the fair application of the decree of May 15, the colored men of Port-

[17] Fifteen miles from Port-au-Prince.

[18] Born on July 12, 1746, Pinchinat was brought up in France. Garan de Coulon says of him: "In his new position he showed, besides "his commendable patriotism, wisdom and knowledge, in contradiction "of the false impressions which the whites tried to make in France as to "the ignorance and incapacity of the colored men." (B. Ardouin, Studies on Haitian History, Vol. I, p. 179.)

au-Prince, secretly assembled on the plantation of Louise Rabuteau,[19] decided on their military organization (August 21). Beauvais [20] was appointed leader of the insurrection; and it was resolved that the uprising should take place on the 26th of August.

There were already symptoms of an alarmingly dangerous nature affecting the domination of the colonists; the slaves who, up to that time, had been seemingly obedient and resigned, began to show signs of their intention of shaking off the yoke. In June and July insurrections took place at Cul-de-Sac,[21] at Vases,[22] and at Mont-Rouis.[23] The whites had recourse to their usual methods: they tried to intimidate the rebels by inflicting horrible punishments on them. Men were quartered alive; and so great a number was hanged that it was sometimes difficult to find enough executioners.[24]

At that time there appeared before the public a man who was to shape the destinies of his race and have a great influence on the future of Saint-Domingue. Toussaint-Bréda, better known under the name of Louverture, acting in connivance with the followers of the Governor of the island, prepared a general uprising of the slaves. Clever and perspicacious, he assumed at the outset a very modest part. He did not endeavor to obtain the command; his friend Jean-François was proclaimed the leader; Biassou was next in command; to Boukmann and Jeannot had been intrusted the mission of giving the signal of rebellion. This matter settled, there remained but to find a way of influencing all the slaves. These were told that the King of France and the National Assembly had granted them three holidays a week and had abolished flogging as a means of punishment; but that the colonists refused to obey the

[19] Situated in the neighborhood of Port-au-Prince.

[20] Beauvais was one of the militiamen who fought at Savannah. He was educated in France.

[21] North of Port-au-Prince.

[22] In the arrondissement of Port-au-Prince.

[23] In the arrondissement of Saint-Marc.

[24] Placide Justin, History of Haiti, p. 205.

decree. The slaves, however, after their many years of submission, were naturally cautious; they were afraid of being defeated. Boukmann boldly informed them that soldiers were coming from France to second their revendications. And in order to give them full confidence in themselves he performed an imposing ceremony at "bois Caiman" on August 14, on the plantation of Lenormand de Mézy. On their knees, Boukmann and the conspirators, in the presence of a priestess, took solemn oaths on the reeking entrails of a wild-boar, Boukmann swearing that he would lead the rebellion, and the others to follow and obey their chief.

Eight days after this "oath of blood," on the night of October 22, the slaves of the Turpin plantation, headed by Boukmann, rose to a man and gave the signal of the struggle for liberty. The slaves of the neighboring plantations hastened to respond to the call of their comrades. The grievances which had been accumulating for centuries found vent at last. In their turn the masters would be made to suffer the tortures which they had long taken pleasure in inflicting on the unfortunate blacks.[25] In their first paroxysm of anger and

[25] In a pamphlet printed in 1814 ("The Colonial System Disclosed" —"Le système colonial dévoilé"), Baron de Vastey mentions the following inhuman punishments inflicted on the slaves by their masters: Poncet mutilated his slaves; he killed his own illegitimate daughter by pouring boiling wax in her ears (p. 48). Corbierre buried his slaves alive (p. 41). Chapuiset, incensed by the loss of one of his mules, caused the keeper to be put alive in the interior of the dead animal; man and beast were then buried (p. 45). At Grande-Rivière, Jouaneau nailed one of his slaves to the walls by the ears; the ears were then cut off with a razor and roasted, and the victim was compelled to eat them (p. 45). At Marmelade, De Cockburn, a Knight of Saint-Louis, buried his slaves up to the neck and used their heads as a game of ten pins (p. 46). At Ennery, Michau threw his slaves whilst alive into hot ovens. In the Artibonite, Desdunes burned more than forty-five blacks alive, men, women and children. Jarosay, in order to have only dumb servants, cut out their tongues. Baudry, honorary member of the Superior Council of Port-au-Prince, at Bellevue flogged his confectioner to death for having been unsuccessful in the making of some preserves (p. 52). Madame Ducoudrai gave from two to three hundred lashes to her slaves; and hot sealing-wax was afterward poured on their lacerated flesh (p. 54). Madame Charette put iron masks over her slaves' faces and left them to starve to death (p. 55). At Cavaillon, Lartigue caused his servant Joseph to be quartered alive (p. 57). Guilgaud, Naud, Boca-

revenge the rebels spared neither persons nor things. Armed with pikes, axes, knives, spears,—torch in hand,—they destroyed and exterminated everything that came in their way. Fire and death marked their passage. Jeannot,[26] self-appointed avenger of Ogé and Chavanne, was merciless. In less than eight days 200 sugar refineries and 600 coffee plantations were reduced to ashes; the plain of the North was one immense cemetery.

Jean-François, who had assumed the title of generalissimo and grand-admiral of France, led his followers to the very entrance of Cap-Français. On November 14, however, they were defeated; Boukmann was made prisoner and beheaded; his body was then burnt and his head, stuck on the end of a pole, was exposed in the centre of the Place d'Armes of Cap-Français, with a sign bearing the words: "Head of Boukmann, chief of the rebels." The colonists gave no quarter. All the prisoners were at once put to death. Two wheels on which they were tied and their bones broken, and five gallows were kept constantly busy.[27]

Whilst these events were taking place in the North, on August 26, at the Dièguе plantation,[28] the "affranchis," in pursuance of the plan adopted on the Rabuteau plan-

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lin, tied their slaves to trees and left them there to die from exposure (p. 59).

[26] In order to put a stop to the terrible reprisals of Jeannot, Jean-François had him shot. But no white man was punished on account of the cruelties inflicted by the colonists on the blacks and mulattoes.

[27] Rabau (Résumé de l'histoire de Saint-Domingue, p. 77), quoted by Mr. Benito Sylvain (loc. cit. p. 91), says: "Some planters buried the "blacks up to their shoulders, and with pincers forced them to open "their mouths and to swallow boiling syrup. Others had their prisoners "sawed between two boards. I stop; my pen cannot describe such dread-"ful scenes." A black man, called Bartolo, who at the risk of his life had taken his master to Cap-Français for safety, was sentenced to death for having participated in the uprising; his denunciator, Mangin, was the very colonist whose life he had saved. "The whites," says Colonel Malenfant, "considered every black man as an enemy, and increased in "that way the number of rebels; for they massacred indiscriminately all "the slaves they could lay their hands on, even those who were peaceful "and had not deserted their plantations." (Benito Sylvain, Du sort des Indigènes, etc. (p. 92.)

[28] Situated in the neighborhood of Port-au-Prince.

tation, took up arms and declared themselves in revolt, with Beauvais at their head. The first encounter took place at the Néret plantation. The whites were defeated; they fled in disorder. From Port-au-Prince troops and artillery were then despatched. A bloody battle was fought on the Pernier plantation. The whites were again defeated, and fled, abandoning their guns, which fell into the hands of the "affranchis." Beauvais then marched with his army to Trou-Caiman, which was fortified.

These two defeats made it clear to the whites that on the battlefield at least the blacks and mulattoes were not their inferiors. Genuinely alarmed by the simultaneous uprising of the slaves and the "affranchis," the wealthy planters thought that the time had come to sever their relations with France. They sought England's protection and sent to Jamaica for help. The English did not deem that things were ripe for action; in consequence they refused to intervene. Left to themselves. the wealthy planters of Port-au-Prince, in fear of the devastation which had befallen the plain of the North, made up their minds to come to an agreement with the colored men. On October 23, a treaty of peace was signed at the Damiens plantation. By this concordat it was agreed that the "affranchis" would be admitted, on a footing of perfect equality with the whites, in all the assemblies, even in the Colonial Assembly; the sentence against Ogé and his companions would be held in execration and the memory of these martyrs rehabilitated: a solemn mass would be celebrated in all the churches of the Western "département" for these victims, and proper indemnity paid to their widows and children.

When, in pursuance of the treaty of Damiens, the army of colored men entered Port-au-Prince on October 24, Beauvais, its general, and Caradeux, the most aggressive of the planters of Saint-Domingue and commander-in-chief of the militia of the Western "département," were to be seen marching along arm in arm.

In the Artibonite the whites had also signed, on Sep-

tember 22, a concordat with the colored men of Saint-Marc who had taken up arms under the leadership of Savary.

Everywhere the blacks and mulattoes were victorious. They believed that they had at last acquired their political rights.

Whilst the "affranchis" were deluding themselves with the brightest hopes, their enemies in France did not remain inactive. Their intrigues were carried on with such success that on September 24, 1791, the Constituent Assembly adopted a decree stating that "all "laws concerning the position of persons without their "freedom, and the state of free colored men and blacks, "as well as the regulations for the execution of such "laws, would be passed by the now existing and the "future Colonial Assemblies. * * * "

This untimely decree put an end to all the advantages which the "affranchis" had just secured by main force. Henceforth their fate depended on the Colonial Assembly, which was in session at Cap-Français since August 9; on that very assembly whose arrogance and hostility toward the black race were well-known facts.

As soon as the colonists of Port-au-Prince became aware of this decree they did not fail to find a pretext for refusing to ratify the treaty of Damiens. On the morning of November 21 a black man by the name of Scapin, a drummer in Beauvais's army, had a quarrel with a white soldier; for this he was flogged and afterward hanged by the whites. Valmé, a colored lieutenant, lost no time in avenging Scapin's death by killing a white artilleryman. This was sufficient cause to rekindle the strife. Both sides took up arms again. After a bloody fight, Beauvais, at the head of his army, marched to La Croix-des-Bouquets. Port-au-Prince was on fire. The whites availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the disorder and confusion which ensued, to massacre all the "affranchis" of whatever age or sex which they met on their way. More than 2,000 mulattresses [29] were put to death. A white man

[29] Placide Justin, History of Haiti, p. 219.

called Larousse killed Madame Beaulieu,[30] a colored woman who was in an advanced state of pregnancy; he opened her abdomen, tore out the child, and threw it into the fire.

The blacks and mulattoes were in a great state of indignation over these atrocities. Their one desire was for vengeance. André Rigaud, who had left for the South, was not long in returning at the head of a strong army, which he marched as far as Martissant,[31] where he encamped. On the other side, Beauvais besieged Port-au-Prince on the north and on the east. The water supply was cut off. The whole southern portion of the island was in arms.

At Trou Coffin in the neighborhood of Léogane, a Spanish mulatto known as "Romaine-la-Prophétesse" [32] had gathered a large band of followers. He pretended that he had had frequent apparitions of the Blessed Virgin, and in this way he acquired a great amount of influence over his companions.

In the North the slaves were still in arms, their overtures for peace having been contemptuously rejected by the whites.

Such was the situation of the colony when, on November 28, 1791, the first Civil Commissioners, Mirbeck, Roume, and Saint-Léger, arrived at Cap-Français. They had been instructed to restore peace in Saint-Domingue and to enforce the enactment of the Decree of September 24. They tried in vain to restore peace in the island. The arrogant Colonial Assembly of Cap-Français, to which the Decree of September 24 had given special powers, thwarted all their good intentions. The "affranchis" knew only too well the futility of expecting any concessions on the part of the planters; they decided to support the Civil Commissioners, hoping that their assistance would secure for them the recognition of their political rights. On the arrival of Saint-Léger at Port-au-Prince (January, 1792), the

[30] B. Ardouin, Studies of Haitian History, p. 282.
[31] In the neighborhood of Port-au-Prince, to the south.
[32] Romaine the soothsayer.

leaders of the colored army which was besieging the town immediately requested an interview with him. They showed the greatest deference to the agent of the metropolis. Complying with his request they allowed the city to be revictualed. And in order to entirely win him over, they agreed even to raise the siege: they accordingly returned to La Croix-des-Bouquets.

The whites of Port-au-Prince, highly displeased with Saint-Léger on account of his good disposition toward the colored men, refused to assist him in the repression of the crimes which the followers of "Roumaine-la-Prophétesse" were committing in the plain of Léogane. The "affranchis" very cleverly profited by this opportunity to make themselves useful: Beauvais and Pinchinat placed a body of 100 soldiers at the disposal of the Civil Commissioner.

Whilst Saint-Léger was at Léogane endeavoring to restore harmony and concord between the colored men and the whites, the planters of Port-au-Prince tried to surprise the army of the "affranchis" quartered at La Croix-des-Bouquets. Being warned in time of the approach of the troops despatched against them, Beauvais and his companions retreated into the mountains of Grand-Bois and Pensez-y-Bien.[33] Incensed by the perfidy of the whites, the "affranchis," who up to that time had been very moderate, resorted to radical measures: they roused the slaves of the Cul-de-Sac plain to rebellion. Headed by Hyacinthe,[34] an intelligent and gallant black, these slaves attacked the colonists at La-Croix-des-Bouquets, defeated them and pursued them as far as the neighborhood of Port-au-Prince, which was again besieged (April, 1792).

In the South the struggle still continued between the "affranchis" and the whites; the latter, in order to rid themselves of their foes, called upon their slaves to arm themselves in order to render them assistance.

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[33] Placide Justin, History of Haiti, p. 234.

[34] Hyacinthe believed that an ox-tail which he always carried in his hand had the power of preserving him from bullets; he was regarded as invulnerable.

In the North the slaves who had broken into rebellion tried in vain to make peace. Toussaint, who was not yet known by the name of Louverture, had given the first proof of his perspicacity. Sent to Cap-Français under a flag of truce he was not long in finding out that the Civil Commissioners possessed in reality no power, and that the Colonial Assembly was the supreme authority. Through his advice all parleys were put an end to.

Exposed to the anger of the wealthy planters, hindered by their limited powers and foreseeing grave dangers for the colony, the Civil Commissioners decided to return to France. On April 1, 1792, Mirbeck left Cap-Français; on the 3rd of the same month Saint-Léger sailed from Saint-Marc. Roume, however, remained in Saint-Domingue.

Whilst the foregoing events were taking place in the island of Saint-Domingue, the Constituent Assembly in France had been replaced by the Legislative Assembly. The liberal and generous ideas of the "Girondins" were destined to have a decided influence on the future of the "affranchis." The latter won their first victory at the beginning of December. A decree adopted on the 7th of the same month forbade the use, against the colored men, of the soldiers sent out to the colony. Shortly after this the Legislative Assembly granted to the "affranchis" the equality of political rights for the possession of which so much blood had been shed in Saint Domingue. On March 28, 1792, a decree, approved by the King on April 4, was enacted stating that henceforth free blacks and mulattoes were to have the same political rights as the white colonists; and that, in consequence, they were entitled to participate in the election of the assemblies, to which they were also eligible. Another decree, passed on the 15th and approved on the 22d of June, vested special powers in the Civil Commissioners: instead of being dependent on the Colonial Assembly they were authorized to dissolve that body as well as the other assemblies which

were made use of by the colonists so as to undermine the authority of the agents of the mother country.

The Decree of March 28 (better known as the Decree of April 4) was received at Saint-Domingue on May 28. Roume, whose powers had been greatly increased, hastened to have it enrolled by the Colonial Assembly of Cap-Français. With the cooperation of Governor de Blanchelande he decided to subdue the colonists of Port-au-Prince. The "affranchis" gladly tendered their assistance. The colored men of Saint-Marc escorted the Civil Commissioner to La Croix-des-Bouquets (June 20). Soon after Beauvais and Rigaud reoccupied Port-au-Prince (July 5). The slaves of La Croix-des-Bouquets, l'Arcahaye, and the Cul-de-Sac plain resumed their work. Freedom, however, was granted to 144 of them upon their agreeing to serve for five years in the gendarmery and to help in maintaining order on the plantations.

Whilst Roume was doing his utmost to restore peace at Port-au-Prince, Governor de Blanchelande had gone to Jérémie, accompanied by André Rigaud. The whites of La Grand 'Anse had flatly refused to accept the Decree of April 4. After defeating the colored men, many of the prisoners taken were put to death; the rest were kept in chains on prison-ships in the harbor of Jérémie; among these were even old men, women, and children. The most that Blanchelande could obtain for them was that they be sent to Cap-Français. Satisfied with this relative success he left for Aux Cayes, where he failed in his campaign against the rebellious slaves intrenched at Platons. Disheartened by his defeat he went back to Cap-Français. André Rigaud succeeded in pacifying the rebellious slaves by freeing 700 of them.

Success had at last crowned the efforts of the "affranchis"; by force of arms, blacks and mulattoes had acquired the exercise of their political rights. In the West and in the South more than 1,000 slaves had obtained their freedom. The first blow had been struck at the colonial system!

CHAPTER VI

Arrival of the new Civil Commissioners, Sonthonax, Polvérel and Ailaud —Application of the Decree of April 4, 1792—The Intermediary Committee—Resistance of the colonists—Fighting at Port-au-Prince and Cap-Français—The English land in Saint-Domingue—The Spaniards conquer a portion of the French territory—General freedom is granted to the slaves—The colored men are in power.

Sonthonax, Polvérel, and Ailaud, the new Civil Commissioners appointed by France, arrived at Cap-Français on September 18, 1792. They were accompanied by 6,000 soldiers and by General d'Esparbès, the new Governor-General of the island.

The "affranchis," who had already gathered imposing forces, were well prepared to protect and defend by force of arms the rights granted to them by the Decree of April 4, 1792. Their cause was henceforth inseparable from that of the French Revolution. Their assistance was therefore pledged beforehand to the new agents of the mother country.

The condition of the island at this time was not reassuring. In the North the colonists were inflicting punishments of the severest kind on the slaves taken prisoners, without succeeding in quelling the rebellion. In the West and in the South the whites and the "affranchis" were carefully watching each other: symptoms of unrest were rampant. Owing to the want of security resulting, agriculture was neglected and many colonists had left the country.

The Civil Commissioners had hardly become settled when news of the momentous events of August 10 reached Saint-Domingue. The arrest and deposing of

Louis XVI furnished the colonists with a pretext for renewing the struggle. The Colonial Assembly tried to stir up the people with a view of getting rid of Sonthonax, Polvérel, and Ailaud. These latter frustrated the plan by taking energetic steps: by an order on October 12 they dissolved the Assembly of Cap-Français and all the other popular assemblies. In place of the Colonial Assembly they organized what was called the "Commission intermédiaire" (Intermediary Committee), consisting of twelve members: six whites and six colored men. Thus for the first time the representatives of the black race sat, in a political body, by the side of the arrogant colonists who formerly had had naught but contempt for them. Pinchinat, Jacques Borno, Louis Boisrond, François Raymond, Castaing, and Latortue were the first "affranchis" officially admitted to the honor of participating in the administration of the colony. The colored men did not content themselves with belonging simply to the Intermediary Committee, they took a large part in the organization of the municipalities; they even held public offices. Civil and political equality was henceforth an accomplished fact. But much blood was still to be shed; and the black race was to struggle heroically and successfully to preserve forever an advantage for the winning of which so many lives had been sacrificed.

The pride of the colonists suffered greatly; it seemed impossible for them to accept such a situation. At Cap-Français they plotted a conspiracy, in which even the new Governor-General, d'Esparbès, took part. The Civil Commissioners were able to prevent disturbances only by resorting to extraordinary measures. Assured of the devotedness of the colored men, they proceeded without hesitation to arrest General d'Esparbès and forty white officers, all of whom were taken on board and kept as prisoners in the harbor of Cap-Français. General Rochambeau became acting Governor-General. For a while the firm attitude of the Civil Commissioners preserved peace. They thought that they could now safely look after the welfare of the various prov-

inces. Polvérel left for the West and Ailaud for the South. Sonthonax remained at Cap-Français with the Intermediary Committee. Instead of going to Aux Cayes, Ailaud, alarmed by the existing state of things, abandoned his post and returned to France. Sonthonax therefore went South in his place. In January, 1793, he had barely finished expelling from Platons the rebellious slaves of the plain of Cayes, when grave events compelled him to leave the South. Fighting had already taken place in the streets of Cap-Français (December 2, 1792): a body of white soldiers had refused to acknowledge the authority of a colored officer appointed to command them; they mutinied. A few colonists and the sailors of the men-of-war hastened to side with the white soldiers. They attacked the battalion of colored men, who, after a fierce defense, were compelled to yield to the superior forces of their opponents; they withdrew to Haut-du-Cap, where they took possession of the artillery. On his arrival at Cap-Français, Sonthonax arrested and embarked the most important factionists. The colored soldiers agreed then to return to Cap-Français; they were welcomed with great honor: the Civil Commissioner, the acting Governor, the Intermediary Committee, and the municipality all went to meet them. This reception irritated the colonists of Cap-Français, and more especially those of Port-au-Prince. The latter, in order to avenge what they considered as a humiliation put upon the white race, plotted the expulsion of the Civil Commissioners and the extermination of the colored men when the agents of France would be no longer in the island to protect them.

For a while they forgot their own differences and united firmly against their common enemy. In their turn they succeeded in stirring up against the colored men the slaves of "Fond-Parisien" and of the Cul-de-Sac plain. The revolt broke out on January 23, 1793. Thirty-three plantations belonging to colored men were reduced to ashes. Emboldened by their success the wealthy planters of Port-au-Prince, headed by Auguste

Borel, arrested General Lasalle, then acting Governor. Rochambeau had been sent to Martinique. General Lasalle succeeded in making his escape; he went to Saint-Marc, where Sonthonax had already arrived; Polvérel soon joined them. The colored men hastened to render to the Civil Commissioners all the assistance in their power. A strong army marched against Port-au-Prince. After a hard and desperate struggle the town surrendered. Beauvais was appointed commander-in-chief of the militia of the West; and a body of regular troops, "the Legion of Equality," was organized, with the mulatto Antoine Chanlatte as its colonel.

Their authority once more established in Port-au-Prince, Polvérel and Sonthonax tried to subdue La Grand'Anse. For this purpose they despatched a delegation accompanied by 1200 soldiers under the command of André Rigaud. The colonists of that portion of Saint-Domingue had gradually rid themselves of the control of the agents appointed by France; they had elected an Administrative Council at Jérémie, which voted even taxes. They had armed their slaves and placed at their head a black man by the name of Jean Kina. Aided by them they had succeeded in expelling from their "département" all the "affranchis," blacks and mulattoes. The army of the colonists was intrenched at Desrivaux. André Rigaud attacked it on June 19, 1793. He was completely defeated. After their victory the whites of La Grand'Anse transformed their Administrative Council into a Council of Safety and Execution (Conseil de Sûreté et d'Exécution), which they vested with extraordinary powers.

In the mean time, the greatest excitement was prevailing once more at Cap-Français. The Governor of the island, General Galbaud, had espoused the interests of the colonists. Upon the arrival of Polvérel and Sonthonax in that town, all the inhabitants were plotting against them. But having with them a battalion of colored men with Antoine Chanlatte in command, they felt that they were sufficiently powerful to order Galbaud to immediately leave the island and sail for

France (June 13). The Governor raised a rebellion among the crew of the men-of-war; and on June 20 he landed at Cap-Français at the head of 3,000 men. Antoine Chanlatte, gallantly supported by Jean-Baptiste Belley,[1] a free black, lost no time in going to the help of the Commissioners. A bloody struggle occurred in the streets of Cap-Français. In the end, however, Polvérel and Sonthonax were compelled to abandon the town, which was left to the mercy of Galbaud's sailors. On the 21st of June they retreated to Camp-Bréda. Their situation seemed hopeless. That very day they issued a decree promising full freedom to all the slaves who would take up arms for the cause of the French Republic, promising also that they would be considered the equals of the whites and would enjoy all the rights belonging to the French citizens. As soon as this decree became known to them, the followers of Pierrot, Macaya, and Goa, who were fighting on their own behalf, hastened to place themselves at the disposal of the representatives of the French Republic. With a firm determination to earn their freedom, these slaves fiercely attacked the forces of Galbaud; owing to their assistance Cap-Français was stormed on June 23. The sailors had sacked and partly destroyed the unfortunate town by fire. The ill-fated island of Saint-Domingue continued thus to be devastated by fire and sword.

Instead of improving, the situation of the Civil Commissioners daily grew worse. In February France was again at war with Great Britain; hostilities soon followed with Spain. The representatives of France and Spain at Saint-Domingue were both instructed by their respective governments to spare no pains, to resort even to the revolted slaves, in order to conquer the territory of the other party. The Governor of the Spanish portion of the island was already carrying out these instructions. He had won over Jean-François, Biassou, and Toussaint Louverture, whom he loaded with favors and honors. Jean-François was appointed lieutenant-

[1] Jean-Baptiste Belley was later on elected member of the French National Convention.

general of the forces of the King of Spain; Toussaint Louverture became major-general (maréchal-de-camp). "For the first time black slaves were to be seen be-"decked with ribbons, crosses and other insignia of nobility."[2]

Encouraged by the rewards granted to them, pleased with the equality of treatment existing between the white Spaniards and themselves, the blacks fought valiantly. By their victories the French portion of Saint-Domingue was in jeopardy. After Galbaud's defeat, many of the white officers, indignant at the ever-increasing influence of the colored men, had begun to betray the cause of France. One after the other, Ouanaminthe, the important camp of La Tannerie, and the Lesec camp were turned over to the Spaniards. The victorious followers of Jean-François, Baissou, and Toussaint Louverture had taken possession of almost the whole northern province.

In the South, the colonists of the "Grand'Anse," availing themselves of the defeat of André Rigaud, had again sought the protection of the English. As soon as peace with France was at an end, the representatives of these proud and haughty planters had hastened to submit to the English Government plans for the occupation of Saint-Domingue (February 25, 1793). On September 3, 1793, Venault de Charmilly, acting on behalf of the colonists, and Adam Williamson, representing Great Britain, signed at St. Iago de la Vega[3] the agreement which was destined to put the country into the hands of France's enemies. And on September 19 the English soldiers, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Whitelocke, landed at Jérémie; cries of "Long live King George!" "Long live the English!" were heard on all sides. There were thus Frenchmen who, blinded by their hatred of the colored men, preferred to betray their country and to give up to its foes a portion of its territory, rather than submit to

[2] Life of Toussaint-Louverture by Dubroca, p. 9.
[3] Formerly the capital of Jamaica, and now called Spanish Town.

the necessity of admitting equality of political rights granted to the free blacks and mulattoes.

On September 22 the English, without striking a blow, occupied also Môle Saint-Nicolas. They were soon in possession of L'Arcahaie, Léogane, Saint-Marc, and of the whole province of La Grand'Anse.

It looked as if France was about to lose possession of Saint-Domingue. In the North the only important places where the French authority was still acknowledged were Fort-Dauphin, Cap-Français, and Port-de-Paix, where General Laveaux, the acting Governor, resided. Yet the Civil Commissioners had not remained inactive whilst these events were taking place. In June they had tried without success to alienate Jean-François,[4] Biassou, and Toussaint Louverture from the Spanish cause. In July Polvérel left for the West, where hostile manifestations against France were threatened. Won over by the Spaniards, two brothers named Guyambois, blacks who had gained their freedom, were planning, first to place three chiefs at the head of the colony—Jean Guyambois, Jean-François, and Biassou; secondly, to proclaim the freedom of all the slaves; and third, to share the land among the former slaves.[5] A Frenchman, the Marquis d'Espinville, in connivance with the Spanish Governor, encouraged these schemes. Polvérel frustrated the plot by arresting the two Guyambois and the principal accomplices. However, great excitement prevailed among the slaves when news of this project became known. It was feared that they would be completely won over to the Spanish cause through the promise of freedom and of the partition of the land. Thus the concession made by the Decree of June 21, which granted freedom alone to those slaves who would fight for the French Republic,

[4] Jean-Francois remained true to Spain. In 1802 he was living at Cadiz with the rank and salary of a lieutenant-general in the army of the King of Spain. "He had a large retinue," says Dubroca; "ten black "officers acted as his aides-de-camp." (Life of Toussaint Louverture, note 2.)

[5] These men, devoid of any intellectual culture, were laying down the principles of the future independence of Haiti.

lost a great deal of its importance. Therefore it became necessary to take more liberal measures. On August 21 Polvérel ordered that all persons found guilty of specified crimes would forfeit their movable and landed property. And on August 27 he issued a decree stating first that the Africans or their descendants who would remain on or return to the plantations considered vacant would become free and would enjoy all the rights exercised by the French citizens, provided they agreed to work on the said plantations; secondly, that all the vacant plantations of the West would belong in common to those inhabitants of the province who had borne arms for the French and to the cultivators of those plantations; thirdly, that (first) all the rebellious blacks who would reinstate or help to reinstate the Republic in the possession of the territory occupied by its enemies, all those who would swear allegiance to the Republic and fight for it, (secondly) all the Spaniards, all the revolted Africans, either maroons or independent, who would facilitate the conquest of the Spanish portion of the island—all these would benefit by the partition that would be made of the vacant plantations; and, fourthly, that all real estate belonging to the Spanish Government, to the nobles, to the friars and priests would be distributed among the warriors and cultivators.

Polvérel boldly asserted the principle of the dispossession of the colonists in behalf of the slaves; yet he abstained from saying the words so eagerly desired by them—general freedom. However, circumstances had made such a step unavoidable. In the North important events were occurring daily. On August 25 a white man, G. H. Vergniaud, seneschal at Cap-Français, had presented a petition to Southonax in which the full measure of justice was requested. The situation was very critical; the assistance of the blacks was indispensable in order to check the progress of the Spaniards. Sonthonax hesitated no longer; he proclaimed general freedom. His decree of August 29 restored at last to human dignity thousands of men who for cen-

turies had bent beneath the shameful yoke of slavery. Article 12 of this decree ordered that a third of the products of every plantation be divided among the cultivators.

Surprised by the radical measures taken by Sonthonax, Polvérel was at first uncertain as to what course he should pursue. But the impatience of the slaves, the growing dangers which threatened the colony, soon decided him to adopt his colleague's views.

Thinking that an imposing ceremony should accompany such a step he ordered a general gathering at the Place d'Armes [6] in Port-au-Prince of all the citizens, white and colored; and on September 21, 1793, the anniversary of the establishment of the French Republic, he publicly declared, at the "autel de la Patrie," that slavery was abolished in all the communes of the West. In their enthusiasm many slave-owners signed their adherence to this great act of social reparation, on registers previously prepared for that purpose. Two days after, the name of Port-au-Prince was changed to Port-Républicain,[7] "in order that the inhabitants be kept "continually in mind of the obligations which the "French revolution imposed on them."

On October 6, 1793, Polvérel, then at Cayes, freed the slaves of the South. Thus the coalition of the wealthy planters of Saint-Domingue with the English and the Spaniards had the effect of hastening the abolition of the very institution of slavery which it was their intention to preserve and maintain in the colony had their efforts been crowned with success.

After two long years of struggle and of suffering the blacks eventually were delivered forever from this barbarous and inhuman system. In Saint-Domingue men would no longer be the property of men. The revolution was complete. It remained but for the logic of events to accomplish the rest.

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[6] Known at the present day as Place Pétion.

[7] In 1804 the town regained the name of Port-au-Prince, but became once again Port-Républicain from 1843 to 1845, since which year the capital of the Republic has retained the name of Port-au-Prince.

In the mean time, the Civil Commissioners were bestowing the highest offices on colored men, the white officers having proved untrustworthy; after the execution of Louis XVI they had not scrupled to give up their forces to the Spaniards. In Polvérel's absence, Pinchinat was invested with all the civil powers in the West. Montbrun was commander-in-chief of the province; Antoine Chanlatte had the military posts under his authority; Beauvais was in command at Mirebalais and La Croix-des-Bouquets; Greffin at Léogane; Brunache at Petit-Goave; Faubert at Baynet; Doyon at L'Anse-à-Veau, etc. André Rigaud was commander-in-chief of the South. At the end of 1793 the taking of possession of power by the colored men was an accomplished fact. And they were about to justify the trust which France had placed in them by bravely defending her territory against foreign invaders.

CHAPTER VII

The English occupy Port-au-Prince—Polvérel and Sonthonax try to cause disunion among the colored men—They leave Saint-Domingue —Toussaint Louverture deserts the Spanish cause and joins the French—André Rigaud expels the English from Léogane—The treaty of Bâle—The English attack Léogane—Toussaint Louverture goes to the help of General Laveaux imprisoned at Cap-Français by Villate—Arrival of the new Civil Commission—Sonthonax—Toussaint Louverture, Commander-in-Chief of the Army—Hédouville—The English abandon Saint-Domingue—Hédouville causes enmity between Toussaint Louverture and Rigaud—Civil war between Toussaint and Rigaud—Rigaud is defeated and compelled to leave the island.

At the beginning of 1794 the English were in possession of Arcahaie, Léogane, Môle-Saint-Nicolas, Jérémie, and of the whole province of La Grand'Anse. In the North the Spaniards occupied Gros-Morne, Plaisance, Lacul, Limbé, Port-Margot, Borgne, Terre-Neuve, etc. On December 6, 1793, Toussaint Louverture, who was fighting for Spain, became master of Gonaives. General Laveaux, appointed acting Governor-General by Sonthonax, was at Port-de-Paix; and the mulatto Villate held the highest military command at Cap-Français. On leaving the latter place for Port-au-Prince, the Civil Commissioner transferred his powers to the mulatto Péré. Thus a Governor-General, a military commander and a civil delegate were all three in command at a time when circumstances called for unity of action.

Sonthonax left Cap-Français in a state of great indignation at the defections which were daily increasing the number of France's enemies. The wealthy planters and the European officers espoused the Spanish cause—they did not scruple even to join the followers of Jean-François, Biassou, and Toussaint Louverture. The

very men who a few years previous had had naught but the utmost contempt for the slaves were now helping these very slaves to wage war on their own country. Some colored men such as Savary, at Saint-Marc, and Jean-Baptiste Lapointe at L'Arcahaie, following the example given them by the whites, in their turn betrayed the trust placed in them. Their conduct angered Sonthonax to such a degree that he began to distrust indiscriminately all the colored men. Then began the unfortunate policy of division which was destined to bring about disastrous consequences, the bad effects of which it has been so difficult to root out in Haiti.

In July, 1793, Polvérel and Sonthonax had written to the mulattoes,[1] trying to incite them against the whites and cautioning them to be on their guard concerning the general freedom of the slaves. However, it so happened that events had made this dreaded general freedom an accomplished fact. Therefore those desirous of exploiting either the mulattoes or the blacks had to resort to the *divide et impera* maxim. In consequence nothing was spared to excite the mutual jealousy of the men of the black race and to sow discord among them.

In the mean time, Sonthonax, on his arrival at Port-au-Prince, had ordered the disbanding of the militia. He set free Guyambois, who had been imprisoned by Polvérel for having been the leader in the conspiracy which was destined to place Saint-Domingue under the authority of a triumvirate consisting of himself, Jean-François, and Biassou. Through Guyambois, Sonthonax entered into relations with Halaou, a black chief, who, in order to preserve his influence over his followers, pretended to be in communication with Heaven through a white cock which was his inseparable companion. The Civil Commissioner invited Halaou to Port-au-Prince, where a banquet was given in his honor at the Executive Mansion. A report that the death of Beauvais, who was at La Croix-des-Bouquets, was

[1] Letter to Duvigneau dated July 17, 1793. (B. Ardouin, Studies of Haitian History, Vol. II, p. 208.)

decided upon, began to be noised abroad. Upon leaving Port-au-Prince the black leader unfortunately went to La Croix-des-Bouquets; this step served to confirm the rumor which had been set afloat. In consequence, Pinchinat and Montbrun made up their minds to do away with him; and Marc Borno undertook to carry out the criminal project. He started at once for La Croix-des-Bouquets, where, on his arrival, he ordered a sergeant to kill Halaou. A bloody fight ensued, in which the followers of the latter were defeated. This murder was provoked by the instigation wrongly or rightly attributed to Sonthonax, who did nothing to conceal his distrust of the colored men. He soon appointed as commandant of "the place" of Port-au-Prince the white General Desfourneaux, who, having been arrested by Polvérel's order, and tried by a court martial presided over by Montbrun, harbored a bitter grudge against this mulatto officer. Montbrun was the highest military authority at Port-au-Prince. The appointment of this new officer was not to his liking. His displeasure increased, when, contrary to hierarchic discipline, Desfourneaux was directly authorized by Sonthonax to supply a regiment with new soldiers. The commandant of the place availed himself of the opportunity to enlist and arm all the whites, whose hostility toward the colored men was a recognized fact. The latter, blacks and mulattoes, who formed the "Legion of Equality" under the command of Montbrun, became uneasy. A conflict was thus made inevitable; it occurred during the night of March 17, 1794. Montbrun's soldiers attacked and defeated Desfourneaux's. The streets of Port-au-Prince were again stained with blood at a time when the union of all its inhabitants was of absolute necessity to its successful defense.

At the beginning of January, 1794, an English squadron, under the command of Commodore John Ford, had appeared in the harbor. The energetic refusal of Sonthonax to surrender the city had impressed the English; they withdrew without making any attack. But they were not long in returning with stronger

forces. On May 30 their fleet was again in the harbor. The landing forces, with General White at their head, were reinforced by the French counter-revolutionists under the command of Baron de Montalembert, H. de Jumécourt, and Lapointe. Against this army of about 3,000 men Port-au-Prince could not oppose more than 1,100 soldiers. The English occupied the city on June 4. Thereupon the Civil Commissioners [2] retreated to Jacmel, when on June 8 the corvette *L'Espérance* arrived from France. Captain Chambon notified them of the decree of impeachment adopted against them by the Convention on July 16, 1793. The Commissioners lost no time in sailing, leaving the defense of the colony to the care of Laveaux in the North and of Rigaud in the South.

Before leaving Jacmel, Polvérel wrote to Rigaud on June 11, denouncing Montbrun as a traitor. Yet the Civil Commissioners took no steps to have the traitor court-martialed; instead of this he continued to exercise his powers as Governor of the West. Thus to the mulatto Rigaud fell the task of arresting and dismissing the mulatto Montbrun,[3] which served but to foster distrust and jealousy.

After the departure of the Civil Commissioners two military chiefs were in command in the colony: Laveaux and Rigaud. A great portion of the territory was occupied by the English and the Spaniards.

At this period the outlook was a gloomy one for France, which seemed rapidly to be losing hold of her colony. At this juncture a man destined to be the most

[2] Since April 9 Polvérel, who was previously at Cayes, had been in Port-au-Prince with Sonthonax.

[3] Even before the conflict of March 18, when Sonthonax was compelled to embark his protégé Desfourneaux, the Civil Commissioner had a great dislike for Montbrun. So he charged the latter with having given up Port-au-Prince to the English. However, Montbrun had fought gallantly at Fort Bizoton, where he was wounded. Notwithstanding this, Rigaud caused Montbrun to be arrested and sent to France; after four years' imprisonment he was summoned to appear before a court martial at Nantes and was acquitted of the accusations brought against him. He served in the French army and was appointed general. He died at Bordeaux in 1831.

celebrated representative of the black race turned the scales by the weight of his influence and of his sword: Toussaint Louverture [4] deserted the Spanish cause and took up that of France. The prestige of his name sufficed to expel the Spaniards from Gonaives Marmelade, Plaisance, Gros-Morne, d'Ennery, Dondon, and Limbé. The famous name of this great man should not be passed over without a few words as to his life and character. Born on the Bréda plantation [5] at Haut du Cap, Toussaint spent the first fifty years of his life in slavery; "and," says Placide Justin, "this humble condition did not prevent him from reaching the pinnacle "of military honors and from rising, not only above the "men of his own race, but above the haughty whites, "who were compelled to acknowledge his superiority "and wisdom." [6]

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[4] It is said that Toussaint adopted the name of Louverture after the storming of Dondon when Polvérel had been heard saying, "Cet homme "fait ouverture partout" ("This man makes an opening everywhere"). However, the widow of Sonthonax, who knew Toussaint when he was still a slave, says that he was called Louverture before the uprising of the slaves; that his nickname had been given to him on the Bréda plantation on account of his having lost his front teeth. If such were the case, why then did Toussaint sign his name as "Toussaint Bréda" in the first days of the rebellion? We have sought the reason of this change of name; and one of the companions of Toussaint, Paul Aly, told us that Toussaint assumed the name of Louverture because he was the first to receive the mission of preparing the uprising of the slaves in the North. (B. Ardouin, Studies of Haitian History, Vol. II, p. 226.)

[5] B. Ardouin gives May, 1743, as Toussaint's birthday. According to E. Robin (History of Haiti, p. 71), Toussaint was born in 1745; Placide Justin (History of Haiti, p. 277) is of the same opinion as Robin. But Dubroca (Life of Toussaint Louverture, p. 3) says that Toussaint was born in 1743, whilst Gragnon-Lacoste (Life of Toussaint Louverture) affirms that the right date of his birth was May 20, 1746.

[6] History of Haiti, p. 277.

It would be well to quote here Wendell Phillips's interesting account of Toussaint Louverture:

"If I were to tell you the story of Napoleon, I should take it from "the lips of Frenchmen, who find no language rich enough to paint the "great captain of the nineteenth century. Were I to tell you the story "of Washington, I should take it from your hearts—you, who think no "marble white enough to carve the name of the Father of his country. "But I am to tell you the story of a negro, Toussaint Louverture, who "has left hardly one written line. I am to glean it from the reluctant "testimony of his enemies, men who despised him because he was a negro "and a slave, hated him because he had beaten them in battle.

He began life as a herdsman, during which period he occupied his leisure hours in learning to read and write, and in studying the medicinal plants of the country. He afterward became coachman of Bayou de Libertat, then the manager of the Bréda plantation. Toussaint soon won the confidence of his master. Through his knowledge he already had great influence over the men of his race. It was owing to this that he was so instrumental in bringing about the uprising of the slaves in 1791. But he was wise enough not to assume at the outset a prominent part. In this manner he could not be charged with the responsibility of any of the numerous incendiary fires and murders which accompanied the first great manifestation of the slaves; on the contrary he protected Mr. de Libertat and his family, and exerted all the means in his power to find a safe shelter for them until he could facilitate their departure from Saint-Domingue. When success loomed in the future, Toussaint joined the followers of Biassou, whose secretary he became; he had assumed the title of "Doctor of the King's Armies." This title he changed, however, in

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"Cromwell manufactured his own army. Napoleon, at the age of 27, "was placed at the head of the best troops Europe ever saw. Cromwell "never saw an army till he was forty: this man never saw a soldier till "he was fifty. Cromwell manufactured his own army out of what? "Englishmen, the best blood in Europe. Out of the middle class of "Englishmen, the best blood of the island. And with it he conquered "what? Englishmen, their equals. This man manufactured his army "out of what? Out of what you call the despicable race of negroes, "debased, demoralized by two hundred years of slavery, one hundred "thousand of them imported into the island within four years, unable "to speak a dialect intelligible even to each other. Yet out of this "mixed, and, as you say, despicable mass he forged a thunder-bolt and "hurled it at what? At the proudest blood in Europe, the Spaniard, and "sent him home conquered; at the most warlike blood in Europe, the "French, and put them under his feet; at the pluckiest blood in Europe, "the English, and they skulked home to Jamaica. Now if Cromwell "was a general, at least this man was a soldier.

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"Some doubt the courage of the negro. Go to Hayti, and stand on "those fifty thousand graves of the best soldiers France ever had, and "ask them what they think of the negro's sword.

"I would call him Napoleon, but Napoleon made his way to empire "over broken oaths and through a sea of blood. This man never broke "his word. I would call him Cromwell, but Cromwell was only a soldier,

June, 1793, and styled himself "General of the King's Army." He followed Jean-François and Biassou when they espoused the Spanish cause. But they became jealous of his success at the head of the army he had organized; and Biassou affected to treat his former secretary as if he were still his subordinate. Relying on his influence over his companions and profiting by the prestige resulting from his victories over the French, Toussaint threw off the control exercised over him by his former chiefs and declared that he would henceforth receive orders from no one but the representatives of the King of Spain. The conflict became so acute that his soldiers attacked Biassou's. The latter sent a petition to the Governor of the Spanish portion of Saint-Domingue in which the French emigrants who were at Fort Dauphin denounced Toussaint Louverture as a murderer and a traitor; they even requested that he should be put to death. Don Cabrera [1] went so far as to arrest his whole family, including his nephew Moise. The arrest of his relatives showed Toussaint that, in spite of the great services he had rendered them, the Spaniards were inclined to believe that the charges brought against him were not without foundation. At any moment he might be dismissed, imprisoned, and put to death. These considerations perhaps largely influenced him in deciding to join the cause of France; but they were assuredly not the only reasons which determined his decision; the general freedom granted to the slaves, the political rights which blacks and mulattoes enjoyed under the French and which were

"and the state he founded went down with him into his grave. I would "call him Washington, but the great Virginian held slaves. This man "risked his empire rather than permit the slave-trade in the humblest "village of his dominions. You think me a fanatic, for you read history, "not with your eyes but with your prejudices. But fifty years hence, "when Truth gets a hearing, the Muse of history will put Phocion for "the Greek, Brutus for the Roman, Hampden for the English, LaFayette "for France, choose Washington as the bright consummate flower of our "earlier civilization, then, dipping her pen in the sunlight, will write "in the clear blue, above them all, the name of the soldier, the states-"man, the martyr, Toussaint Louverture."

[1] Spanish commander-in-chief of the South and West.

still denied them by the Spaniards, had also their effect in influencing him. Be it as it may, on the 4th of May, 1794, the French flag was again hoisted at Gonaives: Toussaint Louverture had abandoned the Spaniards. This defection was in itself a revolution. It was destined to settle the fate of a whole race. However, it was France that for the time being was to profit by it.

Unsuccessful in his attack against Saint Marc where Major Brisbane was in command, Toussaint Louverture made up for his defeat by taking possession of Les Verettes, le Pont de l'Ester, and La Petite-Rivière; he expelled the Spaniards from Saint-Raphael, Saint Michel, Hinche, and Dondon.

Whilst Toussaint was reconquering for France the portion of her territory formerly occupied by her enemies, André Rigaud, on the night of October 5, 1794, attacked and entered Léogane; he also occupied "Fort Ça-Ira" and "l'Acul" in spite of the energetic resistance made by the English. On December 29 the latter, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Bradford, were again defeated by Rigaud in his attack on Tiburon. Cast down by this blow, Bradford committed suicide.

Beauvais also had been active in expelling from Saltrou the English and the French emigrants who were threatening Jacmel. Owing to Laveaux, whose firmness of attitude at Port-de-Paix had checked the English, to Villate who defended Cap-Français against the attacks by land and sea of the combined forces of the Spaniards and the English, to Toussaint Louverture who reconquered almost the whole Northern province, to Rigaud who retook Léogane and kept nearly the whole Southern province under his authority, the year 1794 which had dawned so disastrously for France drew to a close with the foreign invaders having but a gloomy outlook before them.

Therefore the English, who seemed to believe that all means were fair in war, did not hesitate to resort to corruption. They attempted to win over Rigaud to them by offering him a bribe of 3,000,000 francs.[8] The

[8] Placide Justin, History of Haiti, p. 274.

colored officer rejected with scorn this shameful proposal. A similar attempt at bribery was made on Laveaux, to whom only 50,000 francs were offered. Did the English consider the honor of a white less valuable than that of a colored man? The Governor of Saint-Domingue resented the affront; in his indignation he challenged Colonel Whitelock, who had made the proposal,[9] to a duel, to which the latter paid no heed. The English were guilty of a still graver offense. Having captured seventy soldiers of the Southern Legion, they sent them to Jamaica, where, by order of Adam Williamson, Governor of the Island, the captives were imprisoned, chained by the neck; and in spite of the fact that they were prisoners of war, they were publicly sold as slaves. Yet Rigaud and his officers were kind in their treatment of 400 sailors of the *Switchoold* that had been captured at Cayes.[10]

Following the advice of the French colonists, the English restored slavery and established the supremacy of the whites throughout the territory they occupied. Nevertheless, they had among their followers mulattoes and black leaders like Jean Kina and Hyacinthe. Being thus warned of the fate in store for them, should the English be successful, and tranquilized by the Decree of February 4, 1794, by which the National Convention confirmed the general freedom granted by Sonthonax and Polvérel and abolished slavery in all the French colonies,[11] the colored men began to plot on behalf of France. Their conspiracy was discovered at Saint Marc and L'Arcahaie, and they were mercilessly put to death. Elsewhere, however, their defection favored Toussaint's designs.

In February, 1795, Major Brisbane, who was in command at Saint-Marc, attacked the forces of Toussaint Louverture; the English officer was defeated and severely wounded. In his dealings with the prisoners

[9] Placide Justin, History of Haiti, p. 274.

[10] B. Ardouin, Studies of Haitian History, Vol. II, p. 446.

[11] In spite of this decree of the Convention, slavery existed in the French colonies until it was definitely abolished in 1848.

made by him Toussaint acted with great caution. He would not shoot the French colonists and emigrants, but would send them to Laveaux, who had to take the responsibility of putting them to death. In this way he began to befriend the whites.

Throughout all the time that war was being waged, Toussaint never allowed the cultivation of the land to be neglected. With money raised from the products of the soil he was able to buy arms and ammunition from the United States.

Rigaud in the South, and Beauvais in the West, also encouraged agriculture; Cayes and Jacmel could in this way entertain an active commercial intercourse with the United States.

The officers to whose care was intrusted the defense of Saint-Domingue had only their own resources upon which to rely. France was in so critical a condition that there was no probability of her sending any help to the colony, which was even without any news from the mother country. The English, on the other hand, received reinforcements in April, 1795. Considerably strengthened by the assistance of the Spaniards and the arrival of the new soldiers, they extended their authority to Mirebalais, Las Cahobas, and Banica. Before long, however, they were destined to be deprived of the support of their allies. On July 22, 1795, the Treaty of Bale was signed and Spain gave up the whole Spanish portion of Saint-Domingue to France.

At about the same time, on July 23, the National Convention adopted a decree stating that the army of Saint-Domingue had well deserved of the country, and appointing Laveaux major-general and Villate, Toussaint Louverture, Beauvais, and Rigaud brigadier-generals. This good news was brought to Saint-Domingue by the sloop of war *Venus,* which anchored at Cap-Français the 14th of October, 1795. Laveaux, who up to that time had been residing at Port-de-Paix, returned to Cap-Français, which Villate had so valiantly defended against the English and the Spaniards. Taking advantage of the Treaty of Bale, the Governor of Saint-

Domingue demanded the restitution of the whole portion of the French territory occupied by the Spaniards; he insisted upon having Jean-François sent out of the country. On January 4, 1796, the black leader left Fort Dauphin for Havana. He died in Spain, where he had kept his rank of lieutenant-general.

The English, however, thought that Jean-François's followers might be useful to them. To win them over to their cause they had recourse to a black man named Titus, whom they supplied with money and arms. Obeying Laveaux's orders Villate attacked and stormed the camp organized by Titus. The latter was killed and his followers dispersed.

In spite of the services rendered to France by Villate, Laveaux never trusted him. From Port-de-Paix, where he resided, he used to watch every movement of the military commander of Cap-Français.

As a matter of fact, Laveaux was displeased at his being kept in the background. As Governor of Saint-Domingue he had now but the native troops to rely on for maintaining his authority; and these he believed more devoted to the officers of their own color than to him. The European officers, the colonists, the royalists, the reactionists had no scruple at going over to the Spaniards and the English. It was not possible to intrust to them the mission of defending the colony. France had thus to resort to the colored men, who constituted the majority of the first freedmen; they rose then to the foremost rank by mere force of circumstances. Through their own fault the whites had lost their preeminence. Rigaud had all the power in the South, Beauvais in the West, and Villate at Cap-Français. The two first fully acknowledged Laveaux's authority; they never failed to keep him aware of their doings. Their devotion to France could not be questioned; they acted bravely in defense of her territory against the English. Villate alone was at variance with the Governor of Saint-Domingue. Nevertheless, the latter deemed it fit to hold all the mulattoes responsible for his quarrel with his subordinate at Cap-Français.



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Laveaux pompously charged them with plotting to make Saint-Domingue an independent State, in order to be alone in command; he took umbrage at their growing influence, of which France, however, was deriving the greatest benefit. Such was the frame of mind he was in when Toussaint Louverture deserted the Spanish cause.

Clever and perspicacious, Toussaint at once saw the way in which to turn the mistrust of Laveaux to his own advantage. The latter became a mere puppet in his hands. Beneath his affected mildness was hidden an energetic will; his ambition knew no bounds. Everything must yield before him. Woe to those who dared to stand in his way. Conscious of his superiority over Laveaux, whose narrow-mindedness he was not long in finding out, he proposed to carry out his own interests, under the pretext of accomplishing the Governor's designs. The Agents of France sought to cripple the power of the mulattoes who had given offense to them, thinking that once deprived of their natural allies the blacks easily could be taken back to the deserted plantations.

Toussaint Louverture's intention was to help to reduce the influence of the mulattoes, but in his own behalf and at the expense of those who thought to use him as a tool which they would afterward throw aside. The black man was to prove more clever and a better tactician than the white. The time for action was nearing.

The inhabitants of Cap-Français, displeased with the administration of the Governor, rebelled on March 20, 1796. Laveaux was arrested and imprisoned. The municipality of Cap-Français hastened to adopt a decree investing Villate with the Governorship. This officer, instead of doing his duty by repressing the riot, accepted the office conferred on him by the municipality; thus becoming an accomplice in the attack made upon his official superior. The black Colonels Léveillé and Pierre-Michel protested against such an action. The latter through the medium of Henri Christophe, then a captain, wrote to the municipality demanding

the release of Laveaux. He gathered at Fort Belair the black officers Pierrot, Barthélemy, Flaville, etc. Toussaint Louverture intervened energetically on behalf of the Governor. He threatened to lead an attack on Cap-Français if Laveaux were not immediately set free. Such an attitude decided the municipality to reconsider its action. On March 22 Laveaux was set at liberty and Villate withdrew to La Martellière camp. The Governor, however, did not consider himself in safety at Cap-Français; accordingly he went to Petite-Anse, where soon new riots occurred. On March 28 Toussaint came to his help. Two days later the blacks at Cap-Français took up arms; they had been told that Laveaux intended to reestablish slavery. Toussaint Louverture restored order; he became henceforth indispensable and was master of the situation. Entirely discredited, Laveaux was no longer able to maintain his authority except with the support of his former protégé: he appointed Toussaint Lieutenant-Governor. Toussaint was turning to his advantage the mistakes and passions of all.

Whilst Villate was committing the fault of participating in the arrest of the representative of France, Rigaud and his followers were valiantly defending the tricolor flag.

Great Britain had sent heavy reinforcements to Saint-Domingue. In command of over 3,000 men, General Bowyer and Admiral Parker left Port-au-Prince on March 20, 1796; on the 21st the combined land and sea forces attacked Léogane. Alexandre Pétion, who was at that time a major in the army, was in command of Fort Ça-Ira; he compelled the English fleet to withdraw. Renaud Desruisseaux successfully repelled the two assaults made upon Léogane. The English hastened to return to Port-au-Prince when they heard that Beauvais, from Jacmel, and Rigaud, from Cayes, were moving with the greatest haste to aid in defending the town.

In the mean time the Directory had been authorized, by an act adopted on January 24, 1796, to send five

Agents to Saint-Domingue. Roume, Sonthonax,[12] Julien Raymond, Giraud, and Leblanc were appointed. Roume was to reside at Santo Domingo. He arrived there on April 8, 1796; and his four colleagues landed at Cap-Français on May 12. The new Agents were accompanied by Major-General Rochambeau, in command of the Spanish portion of the island, Major-General Desfourneaux, and Brigadier-Generals Martial Besse, A. Chanlatte, Bedot, and Lesuire.

The day after their arrival the Agents ordered Villate to appear before them. He therefore returned to Cap-Français, where he was given an enthusiastic welcome by the inhabitants. Displeased with this friendly attitude toward his opponent, Laveaux, at the head of a detachment, charged the crowd: 45 women were wounded.

Villate was at first sent back to his camp; but afterward he was sentenced to be deported and outlawed. To avoid bloodshed he left on the frigate *Méduse* for France, where he was tried and acquitted.

When Sonthonax left for France in 1794 he already bore feelings of enmity against the mulattoes; he came back to Saint-Domingue with the determination to exert every means in his power to destroy their influence. He found it comparatively easy to carry out his plan; for Laveaux had the same design. There was in consequence nothing else to do but to continue the policy already adopted, and the object of which was to use the blacks against the mulattoes in order to restore to the whites the supremacy which they had lost; afterward the blacks would be dealt with.

At the time when the peace of Bale made it possible to undertake an energetic campaign against the English, the agents of France spent their time in sowing and fostering discord everywhere, instead of trying to unite all those who were willing to defend the cause of the mother country.

Soon after appointing Toussaint Louverture major-

[12] On his arrival in France Sonthonax was tried and acquitted of the charges brought against him.

general they sent a delegation of three members, Rey, Leborgne and Keverseau, to the South for the purpose of controlling the administration of that province; they decided to cause the arrest of Pinchinat, who was universally esteemed and whose influence was feared by Sonthonax. This delegation arrived at Cayes on June 23, 1796, increased by the addition of Desfourneaux in the capacity of General Inspector of the troops of the South and the West. It was this same General Desfourneaux whose intrigues had provoked an armed conflict in Port-au-Prince on March 17, 1794. Having suffered defeat at the hands of the mulatto Montbrun, he was, like Sonthonax and Laveaux, unfriendly toward the colored men. Another of the delegates, Rey, having been implicated in an attempt to murder André Rigaud in 1793, had been compelled to flee from Cayes. And this was the man who had been sent there as the official superior of this general. In this manner Sonthonax and his colleagues plainly showed how slightly they minded wounding the feelings of André Rigaud, who, however, had been the one to drive away the English from Léogane and Tiburon, who had kept order and discipline in the whole Southern province, and whose devotion to France could not be questioned. Rigaud's crime consisted in the confidence reposed in him by both blacks and mulattoes, and, in consequence, his influence over them. They charged him with striving for the independence of Saint-Domingue and with keeping out the whites from public offices. Yet at Cayes on the arrival of the delegates two white Frenchmen occupied the position of Orderer (ordonnateur) and Controller of the Treasury, and they were so successful in their management of the finances that the Southern province was able to subsist on its own resources. On account of their devotion to André Rigaud, however, they were dismissed and replaced by mere tools of the Agents. The squandering of the people's money began. The order for the arrest of Pinchinat increased the discontent of the inhabitants. But he could not be found, for

on July 17 he had left Cayes, taking shelter in the Baradères Mountains.

In order to establish their authority more firmly the Delegates were eager to win a few victories over the English. In consequence they instructed Rigaud to storm the fortified place of "Irois" and Desfourneaux was ordered to attack the Davezac camp. On the 7th of August Rigaud assaulted Irois but failed in his attack; he retreated to Tiburon. On his side Desfourneaux, who was accompanied by the Delegates, was equally unsuccessful in his attempt at storming the Raimond camp; he had to withdraw to the Perrin camp. This double defeat in thwarting the plans of the Delegates so irritated them that they were unable to conceal their disappointment. In their report [13] they said that "they could maintain their authority only by fighting the English. A victory together with the kind "treatment they intended to extend to the vanquished "were to lead them from the South to the North. The "colony would be saved and the Frenchmen would be "once more its masters."

The blacks and mulattoes were not then considered as Frenchmen. According to the Delegates the whites alone were capable of being the masters of Saint-Domingue. In case of success their intention therefore was to come to an understanding with the colonists of the Grand'Anse, who were known to entertain the greatest hostility toward the members of the black race. The Agents of France who were at Cap-Français had already issued an amnesty in favor of the emigrants and colonists who would join the French cause.

After their defeat the delegates returned to Cayes (August 18, 1796). They dismissed the "Commandant of the Arrondissement," Augustin Rigaud, the brother of General André Rigaud, and replaced him by Beauvais. Their idea in taking this step was that such an appointment could not fail to create bad feeling be-

[13] B. Ardouin, Studies of Haitian History, Vol. III, p. 251.

tween André Rigaud and Beauvais, who were both brigadier-generals; they expected that the latter would show much reluctance in obeying the former's orders: consequently rivalry and conflict, they imagined, would surely ensue between the two mulatto generals. Their forces being thus weakened by division, General Desfourneaux would be justified in putting them aside and in assuming the command of the Southern province. The scheme failed owing to too great haste in bringing about the desired result. The Commandant of Arrondissement of Saint-Louis, the mulatto Lefranc, seeming to stand in their way, the delegates decided to get rid of him. He therefore was ordered to proceed to Cayes where, on his arrival, Desfourneaux caused him to be arrested. Whilst being taken on board *L'Africaine,* he succeeded in making his escape and fled to the Fort La Tourterelle, where he fell in with the soldiers of the regiment which had been formerly under his command. André Rigaud was at that time at Tiburon. In the fight which ensued Desfourneaux's soldiers were defeated. In the plain of Cayes, on the night of August 28, Augustin Rigaud stirred up an insurrection among the blacks whom the emissaries of the delegates were provoking against the mulattoes. A few whites were murdered. Desfourneaux and Rey, alarmed by the popular movement, hurriedly left Cayes. Leborgne and Keverseau, who remained at their post, sent immediately for André Rigaud, whose assistance Lefranc and Augustin had also sought. On the arrival of the colored general (August 31) special powers were conferred on him by the delegates. For the purpose of restoring order they were obliged to have recourse to the very man whose influence they had sought to annihilate.

Quiet speedily prevailed. And the measures taken by Rigaud were so efficacious that the captains of the American ships in the harbor of Cayes extended their thanks to him for the protection he offered them.

After having adopted and pursued in a still worse degree the policy followed by Laveaux in setting the

blacks against the mulattoes, Sonthonax and his colleagues tried to cast upon Toussaint the responsibility of the discord which they had fomented. In their report to the Directory of the events which occurred in Saint-Domingue they wrote the following: "Some "of the black generals remained faithful. They res- "cued General Laveaux by force. Two opposite fac- "tions were the outcome of the disturbance: the blacks "and the mulattoes. General Toussaint increased the "confusion and instigated the blacks to the severest "measures against the colored men. He provoked the "conflict and inspired hatred in the heart of both "parties."[14]

Toussaint Louverture was nevertheless appointed commandant of the Western province.

General Rochambeau, who stopped at Cap-Français on his way to Santo Domingo, did not approve of all the doings of the Agents; the corruption of the officials was what he censured most severely. He was summarily dismissed by Sonthonax and sent back to France.

While all these intrigues were taking place, the presence of the English seemed to have been entirely forgotten. As a matter of fact they made no effort to avail themselves of the division existing among their opponents.

On June 14, 1796, the Spaniards evacuated Fort Dauphin, which Laveaux occupied; its name was changed to Fort Liberté, which it still retains.

Rochambeau having been deported, there remained but three major-generals in the colony: Laveaux, Commander-in-Chief; Desfourneaux, and Toussaint Louverture. Should Laveaux also be sent off the island, Toussaint would in all probability succeed him, Desfourneaux being already in disfavor. And if only the same could be done to Sonthonax, then would the black general have before him the possibility of attaining the position of highest authority. To obtain this result,

[14] B. Ardouin, loc. cit., Vol. III, p. 274.

Toussaint resorted to a clever device. For the election of the Deputies to the French Legislative Assembly the Agents had summoned to Cap-Français one electoral college only. Up to that time each of the three provinces, North, South and West, had had its electoral assembly. By ordering the electoral college to meet at Cap-Français the Agents thought that it would be a very simple matter to secure the election of men devoted to their party. But they were wrong in their calculations. From Gonaives, where he resided, Toussaint Louverture was able, through the intermediary of Henri Christophe, a member of the electoral college, to rule the elections; he managed to secure the election of Sonthonax and Laveaux, whose removal from Saint-Domingue was indispensable to the realization of his plans. With much delight at having been elected, Laveaux sailed for France on October 19, 1796. Sonthonax, surprised and highly flattered by the honor conferred on him, saw at first in his election but a new token of the devotion of Toussaint Louverture and of the blacks in general. However, he did not seem to be anxious to leave Saint-Domingue, where he was exercising an absolute dictatorship. His colleague, Giraud, disgusted by all the intrigues which were going on in the island, returned to France. He was soon followed by Leblanc, who sailed on the frigate *La Sémillante*, after having quarrelled with Sonthonax, whom he charged with having tried to poison him: which proves how small was the trust reposed in Sonthonax by his colleagues.

The Agency of the Directory was then reduced to two members: Sonthonax and Julien Raymond, the latter but a negligible quantity. At the end of November, 1796, the news reached Cap-Français that the rank of major-general conferred on Toussaint had been ratified. At the same time the Directory sent to the new major-general a sword and pistol of honor.

Sonthonax, convinced that these demonstrations of his good will had entirely won over Toussaint Louverture, expected that the latter would be henceforth his

tool. Relying on his assistance he adopted, on December 13, 1796, a decree ordering the trial of André Rigaud by the Directory and the Legislative Assembly. Without dismissing this general, the decree aimed at curtailing his authority. A. Chanlatte, Beauvais, and Martial Besse were respectively appointed commandants of the arrondissements of Jacmel, Léogane, and Saint-Louis. All of these officers were mulattoes; therefore it was believed that they would become interested in the downfall of André Rigaud, whilst the latter would distrust them: hence would arise fresh discord and the weakening of the power of this class of men. Sonthonax's scheme was a clever one. The Agency declared besides that it would no longer correspond with André Rigaud. To the decree laying the whole Southern province under an interdict the municipality of Cayes responded by authorizing Rigaud to continue in office. And popular manifestations at Jacmel and Saint-Louis prevented Chanlatte and Martial Besse from entering upon their new duties.

The rupture between Sonthonax and Rigaud was complete. It was no difficult matter for Toussaint Louverture to profit by the existing state of things. Being on bad terms with the mulattoes, Sonthonax depended now entirely on him. Toussaint had sided with Laveaux against Villate, because at that time the latter was in his way. But just now he desired to have the support or, at any rate, the neutrality of all classes in order to attain his goal. Therefore it was that though in opposition to Sonthonax's wish he was favorable in his reception of Rigaud's overtures. The friendly relations which resulted between the black and mulatto generals caused grave apprehensions to Sonthonax. It was evident that his enemies were not Toussaint's; and it did not seem as though Rigaud was jealous of the black man who, by his rank of major-general, had become his official superior. In the opinion of the Agent of the Directory, the intimate union of those two men—both all-powerful, one in the South, the other in the North and the West—could only be

fraught with great danger for the authority of France. Consequently, no means were to be spared in order to divide them and to provoke bitter enmity against each other, which could only end in strife.

For the time being, Toussaint, by gaining Rigaud's favor, isolated Sonthonax entirely. He also took the precaution of surrounding himself with officers on whose fidelity he could rely.

J. J. Dessalines was in command at Saint Michel, Moise at Dondon, Clervaux at Gonaives, Henri Christophe at Petite-Rivière.

Sonthonax did not even take the trouble of keeping on good terms with General Desfourneaux, whose support, however, might prove useful to him. The latter had displeased him, therefore he decided to get rid of him. To bring about this result he had recourse to Toussaint, who had the greatest interest in the removal of the only officer of equal rank with him. The black general arrived at Cap-Français on the 15th of May, 1797; at night Desfourneaux was arrested and carried on board. Henceforth Toussaint was the only major-general residing in the colony. On the 3d of May Sonthonax appointed him Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Saint-Domingue.

Yet Toussaint had not helped to annihilate Villate's influence in the North; neither had he succeeded in turning Laveaux out of Saint-Domingue, with the idea of becoming subordinate to Sonthonax. Invested with the highest military authority, his ambition was to succeed Sonthonax as he had already succeeded Laveaux. Meanwhile, he felt the necessity of increasing his prestige; so he started on a campaign against the English. He was successful in expelling them from Vérettes and Mirebalais, but he failed in his attack against Saint-Marc.

In the South, Rigaud, true to France in spite of the decree adopted by Sonthonax, had also renewed hostilities against the English. He could not storm Les Irois, but he succeeded in destroying Dalmarie. The English tried once more to win him over to their cause. Writing

to him through Lapointe, they endeavored to speculate upon his supposed jealousy of Toussaint Louverture on account of his being appointed Commander-in-Chief of the army. In his reply Rigaud asserted his devotion to France and defended Toussaint. "I must," said he, "repress your insolence and your insulting tone toward "the French General Toussaint Louverture. You have "no right to speak of him as a coward, since you do not "dare to encounter him; or as a slave, because a French "Republican cannot be a slave. His black skin makes "no difference between him and his fellow-citizens "under a constitution which does not bestow dignities "according to one's color." [15]

In spite of Sonthonax's intrigues, Toussaint and Rigaud were then still united. The Commander-in-Chief deemed it time for the realization of his plans. After his defeat before Saint-Marc, his soldiers, who were quite destitute, became somewhat unmanageable. He availed himself of this opportunity to complain of the destitution to which his army had been reduced.

Sonthonax felt that all the responsibility for the sufferings endured by the soldiers was cast upon him. Yet he was unable to remedy the ill effects of the bad management of the finances. In the mean time, he had ordered the arrest of General Pierre-Michel. This arrest, preceded by the arrest of Rochambeau and Desfourneaux, without mentioning the attempt to dismiss Rigaud, made it clear to Toussaint that Sonthonax was not over-scrupulous in getting rid of those who stood in his way or who could no longer be of use to him. Sooner or later his turn would come. Besides, should an intelligent administration not soon find the means of providing for their wants, the soldiers, it was to be feared, would rebel. Toussaint was conscious of the power he possessed and he was confident of being able so successfully to manage the finances as to bring back the former easy circumstances.

On August 15, 1797, he suddenly appeared at Cap-

[15] Letter of General Rigaud to J. B. Lapointe, July 17, 1797. (B. Ardouin, Studies of Haitian History, Vol. III, p. 320.)

Français. On the 20th he reviewed the troops and secured the good will of the officers. He went afterward to Sonthonax. Accosting the Agent with the greatest deference he handed him a letter inviting him, in the interest of the colony, to go to France and take his seat in the Legislative Assembly. Such a request was equivalent to an order. Sonthonax tried to resist. But he had by his own fault lost the sympathy of those whose assistance might have been of use to him. He had not an influential man, not a competent officer to help him in opposing Toussaint. The latter, noticing the inclination of the Agent to adopt an attitude of firmness, withdrew to Petite Anse, where Henri Christophe was in command. At night on August 23 he fired the alarm-gun. Sonthonax understood the warning and decided to sail. He gave way to Toussaint by leaving Cap-Français on August 25, 1797. The Commander-in-Chief despatched Colonel Vincent to France with the mission of explaining his conduct to the Directory, and he charged Sonthonax with having attempted to induce him to proclaim the independence of Saint-Domingue, making use in this way of the same method to which the Agent had resorted against Rigaud. Moreover, Toussaint believed that the French Government would surely be indulgent to him if he succeeded in expelling the English from the colony. In consequence he reorganized his army, and announced his intention of marching against the invaders. Alexandre Pétion stormed the fortifications of La Coupe [16] built by the English, compelling the latter to retreat to Port-au-Prince. Rigaud, in compliance with Toussaint's order, attacked and took possession of Camp Thomas, not far from Pestel. The campaign was then resumed in the West and in the South.

The Directory now began to be uneasy as to the extent of Toussaint's ambition. But, until the conclusion of peace would allow of their sending sufficient forces to help in restoring the supremacy of the whites, they

[16] Known at the present day as Pétionville, a summer-resort in the neighborhood of Port-au-Prince.

thought it advisable to be careful in their dealings with the black general. Without openly blaming his actions toward Sonthonax, the Directory sent out General Hédouville to Saint-Domingue. The new Agent arrived at Cap-Français on April 20, 1798. His reception was not enthusiastic on the part of the Commander-in-Chief, whose desire was to be supreme in command; for this reason he had sent Laveaux and Sonthonax away from the colony. Therefore, it was against all his speculations to be relegated to the second rank just at a time when the success of his campaign against the English left no doubt as to their early expulsion from the island.

In fact, it so happened that a few days after Hédouville's arrival, General Maitland, who was in command of the English forces and whose resources were quite exhausted, wrote to Toussaint Louverture offering to evacuate Port-au-Prince, Arcahaie, and Saint-Marc. The Commander-in-Chief of the army of Saint-Domingue took possession of Saint-Marc on May 8, 1798, of l'Arcahaie on May 12, and of La Croix-des-Bouquets on the 14th. On the 15th he made a triumphal entrance into Port-au-Prince. "The colonists gave him a gor-"geous reception. The priests went to meet him with "the banners of the church unfurled. They carried "the cross and the canopy, as it was the custom at "the reception of the Governors-General of Saint-"Domingue. Magnificently dressed white women "showered flowers on him. Some colonists even pros-"trated themselves before him."[17]

White women, who not long ago had regarded the Africans and their descendants with the utmost contempt, were throwing flowers to a former slave! The proud colonists were at the feet of a black man!

Toussaint Louverture had become the protector of the former wealthy planters of Saint-Domingue. Foreseeing the assistance they might be to him he spared nothing in order to secure their good will. Most of the colonists and the emigrants were in the English army.

[17] B. Ardouin, Studies on Haitian History, Vol. III, p. 420.

In direct disobedience to the instructions of the representatives of the Directory he granted amnesty to them. From the pulpit he promised them forgiveness; for Toussaint was in the habit of making his speeches or his important declarations from the pulpit of the church. The priests gave him their support and he caused public worship to be observed. Whilst in France religion was being persecuted, in Saint-Domingue the Commander-in-Chief had opened the churches, and after every victory he would be present at a Te Deum in thanksgiving. He rapidly became influential among the whites, to the detriment of Hédouville's prestige. The latter, through obedience to the instructions received from the Directory, appeared to be merciless; he was obliged to put into execution laws enacted against the emigrants, whilst Toussaint was sheltering not only those who were already in Saint-Domingue but also those who continued to arrive in the island.

If the Commander-in-Chief did his utmost to embarrass Hédouville, the latter had no regard for the feelings of the man who was already master of the colony. The young officers recently arrived from France were allowed to make improper remarks concerning the black General; they ridiculed his garb, his religious tendencies. Hédouville boasted that he had the power to dismiss Toussaint from his rank of Commander-in-Chief of the army. The report of all this boasting and malicious criticism angered Toussaint, who already was not too well disposed toward the Agent of the Directory.

Matters soon came to a climax. Rigaud, who still gladly obeyed Toussaint's orders, went to Port-au-Prince in July, 1798, in order to confer with the Commander-in-Chief about a plan of a campaign against Jérémie. The Southern General had defeated the English at Cavaillon and Tiburon. Toussaint and Rigaud left together for Cap-Français, where Hédouville, pleased at having the opportunity of mortifying Toussaint and of exciting his jealousy, gave a most flattering welcome to the mulatto General. True to the policy of

the French Government advocating division and discord, the Agent of the Directory managed in this way to sow in the hearts of two gallant officers seeds of hatred which would cause the soil of Saint-Domingue to be once more stained with blood.

However, Toussaint continued in the performance of his duty. He was successful in his negotiations for the evacuation of Jérémie, of which place Rigaud took possession on August 20, 1798. Through his special agent, Huin, the Commander-in-Chief signed with Colonel Harcourt, the representative of General Maitland, a convention for the abandonment of Môle, the last place then occupied by the English (August 16). Almost at the same time (August 18) Dalton, Hédouville's agent at Môle, had come to an agreement with Colonel Stewart for the evacuation of the same place. General Maitland discarded the last agreement and Hédouville's agent was even kept for a while on the *Abergavenny,* then in the harbor of Môle.[18] Anxious to separate from France the man who was omnipotent in Saint-Domingue, the English were exceedingly deferential toward Toussaint. And when, on October 2, 1798, he took possession of Môle, he was received with much state. General Maitland presented him with valuable guns and a bronze culverin. The English General went so far as to suggest that Toussaint should proclaim himself King, promising the assistance of the fleet to protect him in case of need, provided that Great Britain be granted the exclusive privilege of trading with the island. Toussaint's sound common sense put him on his guard against such a proposal. He refused the crown but deemed it wise to maintain good relations with those he had just expelled from the country.

So, after a partial occupation of five years, the English were compelled to quit Saint-Domingue. The island was forever lost to them.

The expulsion of the English was unquestionably due to the successful effort of Toussaint Louverture in the

[18] B. Ardouin, Studies on Haitian History, Vol. III, p. 470.

North and in the West, and of Rigaud in the South. The native soldiers, blacks and mulattoes, had had to bear the whole burden of the defense of the colony, the mother country being at that time unable to lend any assistance. As a reward to these brave officers and soldiers, France would soon arm brother against brother by enkindling a criminal war; she would allow Toussaint to crush Rigaud, and would overthrow Toussaint herself; she would even endeavor to restore slavery in Saint-Domingue.

Meanwhile, Hédouville could not conceal his displeasure at Toussaint's actions. On September 5, 1798, he wrote to the Commander-in-Chief as follows: "I "would congratulate you about the reception given you "by General Maitland, were I not convinced that you "are the dupe of his perfidy; you dared to write to me "that you have more confidence in him than in me. "What is the meaning of the great number of emigrants "who flock to our shores on English cartel-ships? You "would do well to remember the orders and instruc- "tions I transmitted to you, and you may rest assured "that I intend that they shall be obeyed."[19] At the same time the Agent of the Directory declared void the amnesty which had been granted at Port-au-Prince to the emigrants by Toussaint; he also blamed the municipality for having officially attended a religious ceremony. However, in a proclamation on October 10, 1798, in which he recalled the success achieved against the English, the Commander-in-Chief ordered what follows: "Morning and evening prayers be said by the "soldiers and that the generals would cause a Te Deum "to be celebrated to return thanks to God for the suc- "cess of the army and for the return to the colony of "thousands of emigrants."[20]

Whilst Toussaint Louverture was offering thanksgiving for the return to the colony of thousands of emigrants, Hédouville, on October 14, renewed his order prohibiting the admission into Saint-Domingue of these

[19] B. Ardouin, Studies on Haitian History, Vol. III, p. 470.
[20] Ibid., p. 496.

same emigrants. The conflict between the two generals was assuming an alarming aspect. Several officers under Toussaint's command had already begun to disregard Hédouville's authority. Dessalines, who was Commandant of the Arrondissement of Saint-Marc, had flatly refused to carry out one of his orders. Moise, Commandant of the Arrondissement of Fort Liberté, assumed such a threatening attitude that the representative of the French Government decided to dismiss him. But Toussaint Louverture's nephew, who was fully aware of his uncle's intentions, warned the people to be prepared for all contingencies.

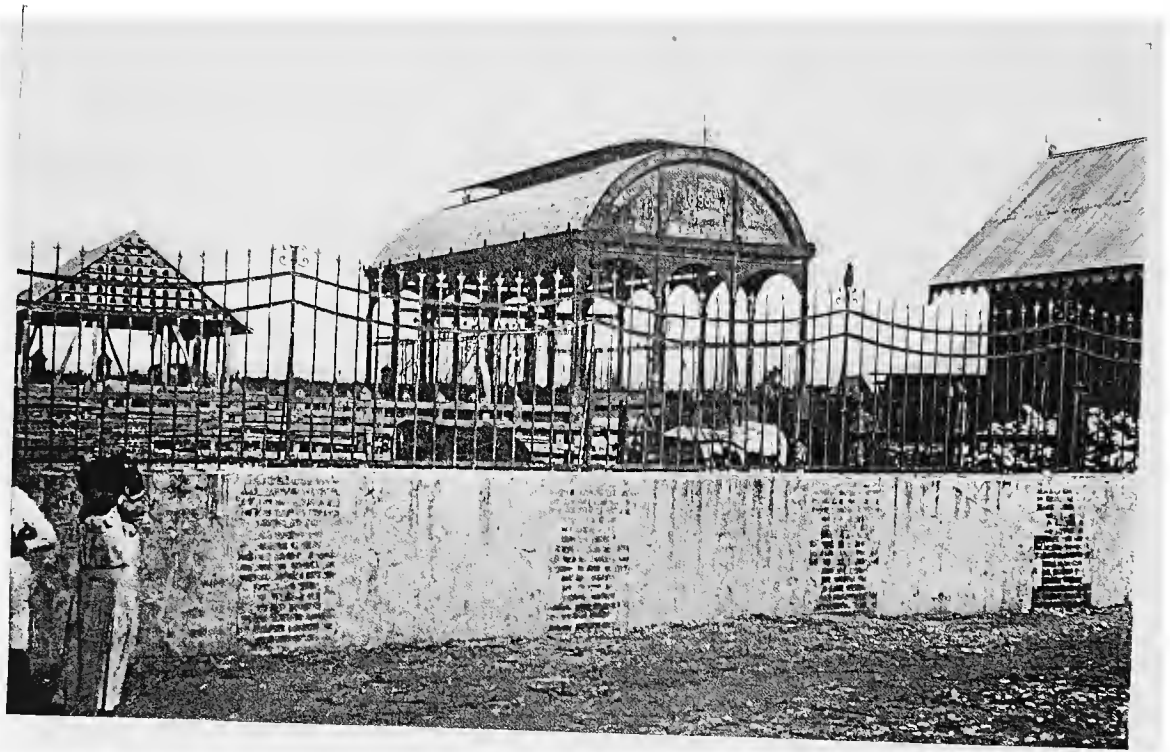
Hédouville, still believing that he could assert his authority, invested Manigat, a justice of the peace at Fort Liberté, with all the civil and military powers. In order to prevent any disturbance of the peace the magistrate ordered the disarmament of the Fifth Regiment. A bloody fight ensued; and Moise, fearing to be arrested, fled to the country, where he set to work to stir up the people (October 16, 1798). A band of armed peasants marched to Cap-Français, where they were joined by Dessalines. Like Sonthonax, Hédouville was then compelled to leave Saint-Domingue. He sailed on October 23, 1798, on the frigate *La Bravoure.* In a proclamation issued the day before he had censured Toussaint Louverture's behavior in very strong terms. And, in order to divide the blacks and mulattoes, he had authorized Rigaud to defy the authority of the Commander-in-Chief of the Army. On October 22 he wrote as follows to the Commandant of the Southern province: "Compelled to quit the colony through the am-"bition and perfidy of General Toussaint Louverture, "who has sold himself to the English, the emigrants, "and the Americans,—and has violated his most solemn "oaths,—I release *you entirely from the authority in-"trusted to him as a Commander-in-Chief,* and I entreat "you to assume the command of the Southern Départe-"ment as designated in the law of Brumaire 4th * * * "[21]

[21] B. Ardouin, Studies of Haitian History, Vol. III, p. 311.

After the sailing of the representative of France, Toussaint went to Cap-Français, where, in accordance with his habits, he ordered the singing of the Te Deum. He set in motion all the communes of the colony; and they sent to him numerous addresses protesting against Hédouville's behavior. He gave over all these addresses to Caze, whom he despatched to France to explain to the Directory the recent occurrences in Saint-Domingue. And in order to disclaim the appearance of all pretensions to independence, he hastened to ask Roume, who was at Santo Domingo, to come and reside in the French portion of the island. Meanwhile, he did not conceal his resentment at Hédouville's letter to Rigaud. He quite naturally believed that the Commandant of the Southern province was in full sympathy with the Agent of France. This started a bitter exchange of letters between the two principal military authorities of the colony. Conceit and false pride played a large part in aggravating the disagreement between the two generals.

Rigaud enjoyed great prestige in the South. Released by Hédouville's order from all obedience to Toussaint, and thus rendered somewhat independent, there was a possibility of his becoming a dangerous rival. To maintain his authority it would be necessary for Toussaint completely to cripple the power of the only man who could successfully resist him. Therefore he lost no time in beginning to discredit him.

Such was the situation when, on January 12, 1799, Roume arrived at Port-au-Prince. After concerting with Toussaint Louverture he called a meeting of Rigaud, Beauvais, and Laplume. At this meeting, which took place at Port-au-Prince, Roume requested Rigaud to resign his position of Commander-in-Chief of the Southern province and to relinquish Petit-Goave and Grand-Goave to Laplume, who was already in command of the Arrondissement of Léogane. By accepting such a proposal Rigaud's authority would have been reduced to nothing practically. So he tendered a full resignation of all his authority; and having been elected



Slaughter-house, Port-au-Prince

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Deputy to the Legislative Assembly, he asked Roume to allow him to go to France and take his seat in that body.

The departure of Rigaud would have removed many difficulties; it would have satisfied Toussaint's ambition for the time being; all power would be his in the colony. All cause of conflict between the natives of Saint-Domingue would thus have disappeared. Knowing as he did the misunderstanding which, since Hédouville's letter, existed between Toussaint and Rigaud, Roume was in duty bound to accept the latter's resignation. However, he refused it. The policy of France aimed at that time to divide the blacks and the mulattoes in order to be able to restore the supremacy of the whites by subduing each of them individually. Roume, who was cognizant of the ulterior designs of the Directory, was determined to do his utmost to provoke and keep up the mistrust existing between the two parties. He persisted in refusing to accept the resignation which Rigaud again made to him, and he succeeded in deciding him not only to remain in Saint-Domingue but also caused a weakening of his authority by transferring the command of Grand-Goave and Petit-Goave to Laplume. This arrangement did not meet with Toussaint Louverture's full approval, as it still left his rival with a great deal of influence, whereas it was his wish to get him out of the colony. To bring about this end, he determined to avail himself of the first opportunity to make a rupture inevitable. As the consequence of a riot which occurred at Corail, thirty of the malcontents, twenty-nine of whom were black and one white, were imprisoned in the jail ofJérémie; they died from asphyxiation. Whilst this was taking place Rigaud was at Petit-Goave, on his way to Cayes. Upon learning of this unfortunate occurrence Toussaint Louverture, then in Port-au-Prince (February 21, 1799), treated it as a matter of the greatest importance. The drummers went through the streets beating "La Générale"; the whole population was summoned to the cathedral. From the pulpit Toussaint denounced Rigaud as the enemy

of the blacks and afterward wrote him a most insulting letter.

Roume purposely held aloof and allowed the quarrel to grow more bitter. Since February 25 he had left for Cap-Français; but he continued to keep up a cordial correspondence with the Commandant of the Southern province. However, he suddenly issued a proclamation in which he denounced Rigaud as a man whose ambition was a menace to the established governmental authority. Nevertheless, Roume did not dismiss him, neither did he inflict on him any disciplinary measure. Instead of this he requested Toussaint Louverture to call the insubordinate to order, thus attaining his end in creating a civil war.

Rigaud found himself in a sad dilemma: he had to choose between fighting or fleeing from Saint-Domingue. He accepted the former alternative—incited by his hasty temper, the recollection of his past services to France and the authority intrusted to him, which he considered his duty to exercise. Toussaint proceeded with his usual caution in preparing for the unavoidable struggle by taking such measures as to insure him success. He gave special thought to the supplies of his army, provisions being somewhat scarce. For this reason he entered into direct relations with John Adams, then the President of the United States, who appointed Edward Stevens Consul-General at Saint-Domingue. Toussaint's negotiations with England and the United States resulted in a similar commercial arrangement with both countries, to which Roume gave his approval in April, 1799. The two powers pledged their assistance to the black General. In consequence General Maitland[22] advised his agents to give their

[22] On board H. M. S. *Camilla*, of l'Arcahaie, General Maitland addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Grant, who had been recently appointed British Agent in the island of Saint-Domingue, a letter of instructions from which I reproduce the following extract: "I do not apprehend "that there can be the smallest danger arriving to Jamaica if Toussaint "gains the superiority; and so long as this island (Saint-Domingue) is "in its present state (that is, of actual warfare) it is equally clear that "it is perfectly safe. One great object therefore of your duty here will

unreserved support to Toussaint and to do their utmost to prevent a reconciliation between the latter and Rigaud, whilst President Adams placed under an interdict all the southern ports of Saint-Domingue, and by a proclamation of June 26, 1799, prohibited their entrance to all American ships, thus depriving Rigaud of the means of getting provisions and war material.[23] He even went so far as to place American men-of-war at the disposal of Toussaint, so much was he won over to the latter's cause.

The conflict brought about by the intrigues of the Agents of France broke out at last. At night on the 17th of June, 1799, Rigaud's soldiers who were quartered at Pont-de-Miragoane attacked and stormed the

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"be to endeavor to keep it in one of these two situations as far as you "can, that is, to prevent any amicable arrangement taking place between "Rigaud and Toussaint, of which indeed I see no possible chance; and "should Toussaint gain the superiority you must exert yourself to the "utmost to hinder him from receiving anything like an agent on the "part of the Directory. The present will be displaced long before your "arrival. * * * You are to endeavor by every means in your power "to keep Toussaint in supreme authority in the island and to enter into "any fair views of his that may have this obvious tendency."

[23] Letter of Toussaint Louverture to John Adams, President of the United States, dated Port-de-Paix, August 14, 1799. Extract: "Mr. "Edward Stevens has communicated to me your letter concerning the "measures adopted in your proclamation. * * * Of all the coercive "means at my disposal I can make use only of those which this country "offers to me in order to repress the criminal audacity of the rebellious "Rigaud and of his followers; but other means more powerful are want-"ing. Without a navy, the pirates of the South, who infest our coasts, "plunder and murder Frenchmen and foreigners whom they meet on "their way. * * * With their barges they reinforce the rebellious "towns of the North without my being able to go in pursuit of these "pirates. It is to put an end to their piracy that, whilst my land forces "will endeavor to crush them, I beg of you, full of confidence in your "fairness and your principles of justice, to let me have the assistance "of some men-of-war. By granting my request you will have the glory "to have helped, you and your nation, in repressing a rebellion odious "to all the governments of the world. It is of very little importance "that in your proclamation you have prohibited the ships of your nation "from going to the ports of Saint-Domingue, except to Cap-Français and "Port Républicain; such a measure will be of no avail if you have not "some strong way to cause it to be respected. By granting my request "for a few men-of-war, you repress a rebellion which all the governments "have interest in repressing, while you secure the execution of the will "of your own Government."

fort of Petit-Goave. Bloodshed had started; men were about to kill their own brothers, and all to the greatest satisfaction of the colonists, who saw visions of reconquering their former influence through this great sacrifice of human life. Toussaint displayed his usual activity. After repressing a rebellion at Môle Saint-Nicolas he centred his efforts against Jacmel, which was being besieged by General Dessalines, Commander-in-Chief of the forces in the South. The few ships used in the blockade of the town were inadequate to prevent the landing of supplies of provisions sent to the besieged town. Toussaint then claimed the promised assistance of President John Adams, as a result of which a brig and a frigate of the United States Navy cruised before Jacmel and chased away the small crafts which were endeavoring to revictual the town.

The besieged people of Jacmel had been successively deserted by their leaders Beauvais [24] and Birot; however, they kept up a valiant defense under the command of Pétion, who at the eleventh hour had come to their help. Being unable any longer to resist the famine and the consequent diseases arising from it, they evacuated the town on March 10, 1800. The fall of Jacmel was the beginning of the overthrow of Rigaud. In spite of their great bravery his soldiers could not check the steady advance of Toussaint's more powerful army. On July 28, 1800, Dessalines was at a distance of only three leagues from Cayes, the port of which was blockaded by two frigates and two schooners of the United States Navy. Rigaud's cause was irretrievably lost. Flight was the only course open to him; consequently, he left Cayes and sailed from Tiburon on July 29, 1800, on a Danish ship bound for Saint Thomas.[25]

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[24] Beauvais, whom the "affranchis" of the Diègue camp had appointed their leader, was unfit to hold the first rank. Always ready to obey the Agents of France, he was greatly disturbed by the proclamation of Roume branding him with the name of a rebel. In order to avoid the necessity of fighting Toussaint Louverture he fled from Jacmel, of which arrondissement he was commander. The ship on which he set sail for France sank and he was drowned.

[25] From Saint Thomas, Rigaud went to Guadeloupe, whence he sailed

The 1st of August, 1800, Toussaint Louverture arrived at Cayes. According to his custom he went to the church, where, after the usual Te Deum had been chanted, he ascended the pulpit and proclaimed a full oblivion of all the happenings of the past. For some time to come Saint-Domingue knew no other master. Toussaint had supreme command. He had meantime unfortunately lost the sympathy and devotion of many friends: a fact which he would have bitter cause to regret in the short space of two years after his glorious triumph.

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for France on October 2; on his way he was captured and made prisoner by the Americans, who were still lending their assistance to Toussaint. He was taken to Saint Christopher and there imprisoned. He did not succeed in reaching France until the following year on March 31, 1801. (B. Ardouin, Studies on Haitian History, Vol. IV, p. 201.)

CHAPTER VIII

Administrative measures taken by Toussaint Louverture—Occupation of the Spanish portion of the island—Meeting of the Central Assembly—Constitution of Saint-Domingue—Toussaint Louverture elected Governor-General—The French expedition—The "Crête-à-Pierrot"—Deportation of Rigaud—Surrender of Toussaint Louverture—His arrest and deportation—His death at Fort de Joux.

Confident of the success of his campaign against Rigaud, Toussaint Louverture had no longer any purpose to serve in treating Roume with deference. The Commander-in-Chief requested the dismissal of General Kerverseau, then at Santo Domingo, which request the Agent refused to grant. Toussaint then called to mind that the Treaty of Bâle had given the Spanish portion of the island to France; he demanded the authorization for taking possession of it. Roume's new refusal increased his displeasure. From Port-au-Prince he summoned the Agent of the Directory to come and confer with him. The latter declined to leave Cap-Français; at the same time he ordered the expulsion of the English emissaries who were in the colony. On March 4, 1800, he wrote to Toussaint, instructing him to carry out his order. One of these English emissaries, Mr. Wrigloworth, was at that time with Toussaint. The latter, offended by the tone of the Agent's letter, left for Gonaives. His nephew, Moise, and other military commanders began to stir up the country people. The rebels marched to Cap-Français, where they requested an interview with Roume and the municipality, threatening to invade the town should they fail to comply with their request. Roume went to meet them. The peasants demanded that half of the lands of the colonists being granted to them, they should be allowed

to work in their own behalf; and a decree authorizing the taking possession of the Spanish portion of the island. Upon the refusal of the representative of France to accede to these demands, he was unceremoniously locked up in a poultry-house. They sent for Toussaint, who, however, showed no hurry in taking part in the matter. At last he arrived on April 27, 1800. Taking advantage of Roume's sad plight, he extorted from him the decree authorizing the occupation of the Spanish portion of Saint-Domingue. He intrusted this mission to General Agé, who failed to carry it out; the strong opposition of the Spanish authorities and inhabitants compelled him to leave Santo Domingo.

Until the right time should come for the realization of his plans, Toussaint was carrying on the legislation without paying the slightest heed to the representative of France. He made regulations concerning, 1st, the collection by the Treasury of the income yielded by lands the owners of which were absent; 2d, the postal service; 3d, the administration of the Navy. He took strong measures with the view of preventing any disturbance of public order. He knew by personal experience how to stir up the people. It was by means of nocturnal dances and ceremonies, which the frightened colonists indiscriminately called "vaudoux"; by means of these secret meetings it was that conspiracies were plotted. To influence the uncultured slaves, the leaders had to resort to the supernatural, even going so far as making them believe that they were invulnerable. What is designated as "vaudoux" might be considered as a kind of politico-mystical association which the most enlightened among the blacks very cleverly used to attain their ends. The resolutions adopted, the watchwords were scrupulously obeyed by the members of the sect. Toussaint was better aware than any one what an easy matter it was to disturb the peace through the practice of such an institution; for he was one of the instigators of the slaves' uprising and a witness of the ceremony at which Boukmann administered "the oath of blood" on the entrails of a wild boar. In conse-

quence, on January 8, 1800, he issued a decree prohibiting, under severe penalty, all kinds of nocturnal dances and meetings, especially the dance designated as "vaudoux." The preambles of this decree show that Toussaint considered "vaudoux" rather as a political sect. "Fully convinced," says he, "that the *leaders of these "dances have but one aim: the disturbance of the peace,* "* * * wishing to put a stop to the innumerable "evils resulting from the practice of a doctrine which "creates disorder and idleness—I order the following: "All nocturnal dances and meetings are henceforth pro- "hibited. * * * "[1]

The arrival in the colony of Major-Generals Mitchel, Raymond, and Vincent, sent by Napoleon Bonaparte, then first Consul, did not put an end to the encroachments of Toussaint Louverture. In the Southern province he established four military arrondissements: Cayes, Tiburon, Jérémie, and L'Anse-à-Veau. He appointed Dessalines major-general and invested him with the command of the Western and Southern provinces; Moise was given the command of the North. By decrees he conferred correctional jurisdiction on the civil tribunals; he organized courts martial. On October 12, 1800, he adopted a regulation concerning agriculture—the cultivators were subjected to a severe discipline; they were not allowed to leave the plantations to which they belonged, even should they be able to secure better wages elsewhere. He instituted a guard of honor in which former noblemen of the colony were enlisted.

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[1] B. Ardouin, Studies on Haitian History, Vol. IV, p. 154.

The colonists, from whom the slaves carefully concealed their plans, could never succeed in getting an accurate knowledge of what "vaudoux" was in reality. This secret association was the most powerful weapon of the defenseless blacks. They were thus able not only to plot uprisings, but also to warn each other of any dangers which threatened them. The secrecy observed by those who took part in "vaudoux" gave rise to many legends; and up to the present time foreigners of more or less good faith affirm that "vaudoux" is the religion of the majority of the Haytians. Those who would care to have full information on the matter may read the interesting book of Mr. Hannibal Price, "Rehabilitation of the Black Race through the Republic of Haiti."

The wealthy planters of Saint-Domingue once more held office; they were appointed judges; they secured good positions in the administration. Therefore they were all one in sympathy with Toussaint Louverture. And when, on November 25, 1800, he made his triumphal entrance into Cap-Français these men who, some years ago in their pride, had shown such contempt for the blacks and the mulattoes were again at his feet. A white woman compared him to Bonaparte and placed on his head a crown of laurel leaves. Toussaint Louverture acknowledged the compliment by kissing her. At the municipality he was called "Hercules," "Alexander the Great," etc.

None of these flatteries could make him forget that Roume had defied him by cancelling the decree authorizing the occupation of the Spanish portion of Saint-Domingue. The day after his arrival at Cap-Français, on November 26, he ordered that the representative of France be relegated to Dondon until he should be recalled. General Moise was commissioned to carry out this order. At this juncture Toussaint began to feel uneasy concerning Bonaparte's attitude. Consequently he preferred to keep Roume at Saint-Domingue rather than send him to France. And in order to prevent the first Consul from being informed of the events which were taking place in the colony, he decided that in future he alone should sign the passports of those who wished to go abroad. Any persons who left the island without his permission forfeited their properties.

With a view of increasing his resources, Toussaint Louverture repealed by an act of December 12, 1800, the taxes on the plantations which were hitherto payable in natural products of the soil, and ordered that all commodities and merchandise exported from or imported into the colony be subjected to a duty of 20 per cent. A tax of 20 per cent was also levied on the renting value of all houses, on the value of all articles for home consumption. Custom-houses were thus established.

However, at the request of the Consul-General of the

United States, Mr. Edward Stevens, whose assistance had been most valuable to him during the campaign against Rigaud, Toussaint, on December 31, reduced the import duties to 10 per cent.

The Decree of December 12 emphasized the attitude of independence of the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Saint-Domingue. All merchandise, without exception, had to pay the import tax; French goods were therefore to be treated as foreign products. With his usual perspicacity Toussaint foresaw that Bonaparte would not forgive his encroachments as easily as the Directory. A conflict was inevitable; for he was determined in his resolution not to acknowledge any authority superior to his in Saint-Domingue. Not wishing to leave any place which would act as a base of operations to the forces which would be sent against him, he persisted in his idea of occupying the Spanish portion of the island. On December 20, 1800, he gave notice to Don Joachim Garcia that General Moise had been empowered to execute the treaty of Bâle by taking possession of that portion of the colony which had been transferred to France. Without awaiting an answer he despatched an army against the Spaniards. Whilst Moise invaded the former Spanish territory, by crossing the Massacre River, Toussaint, on January 4, 1801, occupied San Juan de la Maguana. On January 14 he had reached the banks of the Nisas near to Bani, where a battle was fought in which the Spanish were defeated; yet France and Spain were at peace. Further resistance on the part of the Spanish was useless. Toussaint had the satisfaction of seeing his former chief, Don Joachim Garcia, entirely at his mercy. The black General was destined to humble all those who had thought of using him as a tool. On January 21, 1801, a convention was signed at Jayna for the surrender of Santo Domingo; and on the 28th Toussaint made a triumphal entrance into the town, where the traditional Te Deum was sung in the church.

Toussaint did his utmost to win over the sympathy of his new fellow-citizens. In order to increase the trade

he reduced the import duties to 6 per cent; he ordered the cultivation of sugar-cane, coffee, cotton, cocoa; he repaired and bettered the highways, which the Spanish had kept in very bad condition.

The organization of the newly acquired territory did not prevent him from giving his attention to the general administration of the island. On January 9 he decreed stamp and registry dues; on January 10 he established license taxes. On February 11 he instituted a company of gendarmerie for every one of the communes of the colony. This gendarmerie had the special mission of supervising the cultivators.

Whilst imposing the severest discipline on the men of his race, Toussaint did his best to gain the sympathy of the colonists, thinking by so doing to lull France's suspicions. Therefore he facilitated the return to Saint-Domingue of the wealthy planters who had thought it best to leave the island; all properties were restored to their former owners, and he bestowed his entire protection on the whites. He firmly believed that by his kindness he had secured their gratitude. In this he was mistaken and his reasoning proved groundless. The colonists were simply taking advantage of the situation. They coaxed and flattered Toussaint Louverture, but in reality they felt humiliated to have to bow down before a black man, before one of those slaves whom they had been hitherto accustomed to regard as no better than animals. So for the time being they endured the situation until the right moment should arrive to make the change they desired; and meanwhile they were highly pleased with a system so beneficial to them. And they thought that the time was fast approaching for the realization of their long-standing wish to be the legislators of the colony. Toussaint knew that his rights were precarious; an order of the first Consul might at any moment deprive him of his exalted position. Therefore he felt the necessity of obtaining the support of the people with a view of justifying his usurpation of power.

Both sides were then in full accord as to disregard-

ing France's prerogatives. In consequence, by a proclamation of February 5, 1801, Toussaint Louverture ordered the meeting at Port-Républicain (Port-au-Prince) of a Central Assembly consisting of ten members.

After the elections had taken place he arrived in the town, where he was accorded a most flattering welcome; the streets through which he passed were strewn with flowers; bells were rung and cannon fired in his honor. He conferred with the Deputies and afterward returned to Cap-Français in order not to be charged with influencing the decisions of the Assembly.[2]

Whilst the body assembled on March 22, 1801, after electing Borgella as its chairman, was occupied in preparing the Constitution, Toussaint, with his usual activity, continued, at Cap-Français, to legislate in the interest of the colony. By a Decree of May 8 he reduced to 6 per cent the duties on biscuits, flour, salt, provisions, and building timber; he adopted a uniform tariff for the custom-houses. By an act of May 9 he prohibited gambling; civil or military officials found in a gambling-house were to be dismissed and sentenced to one month's imprisonment; private citizens were liable to four months' imprisonment with hard labor.

The Constitution [3] intended to be observed in Saint-Domingue was adopted on the 9th of May, 1801. Toussaint Louverture was appointed Governor-General for life, with the right to choose his successor. He was empowered to fill all vacancies in civil and military offices, and held chief command in the Army. The Governor was authorized to submit to the Assembly the drafts of laws pertaining to the colony. After Toussaint's death the term of office for the Governors was to be five years; and in case of death or resignation of

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[2] The Central Assembly consisted of Bernard Borgella and Lacour as members for the West; Etienne Viart and Julien Raymond for the South; Collet and Gaston Nogéré for the South; Juan Mancebo and Francisco Morillas for Engano; Carlos Roxas and Andre Munoz for Samana.

[3] Louis-Joseph Janvier, The Constitutions of Haiti.



Custom-house, Port-au-Prince

a Governor, the General highest in rank was to exercise the power until the election of a new Governor.

In this manner the Governor of Saint-Domingue no longer owed his authority to France, but to the people of the colony. The mother country had also lost the right of appointing to public offices and of enacting laws for this dependency of hers. After investing Toussaint with all the prerogatives which could satisfy his ambition, the colonists bethought themselves of their interests. The cultivators were then prohibited from leaving their plantations; and it was decided that laborers would be imported to restore and promote agriculture. However, slavery was abolished forever.

Civil and criminal courts and a Supreme Court (Tribunal de Cassation) were organized; but courts martial were authorized to act in all cases of robbery, murder, incendiarism, conspiracies, etc. The Roman Catholic religion was proclaimed the religion of the State; and divorce was prohibited.

To fill up the measure, the Assembly authorized the Governor to put the Constitution in execution without awaiting the approval of the French Government.

Toussaint lost no time in complying with the will of the people of Saint-Domingue. On the Place d'Armes of Cap-Français the Constitution was proclaimed with great pomp on the 8th of July, 1801; it was afterward printed and made public in the whole colony. Toussaint was at the topmost pinnacle of greatness. He sincerely believed that from that time forward he was the legal and legitimate chief of Saint-Domingue, France having only a nominal protectorate on the island.

Some of his lieutenants, however, could not help fearing the probable consequences of so bold a step. Dessalines thought that Toussaint was too much under the influence of the colonists, and that he was not cautious enough in his actions. But he observed great circumspection in his criticism, not caring to get into disfavor with the new Governor-General. Moise, believing that the ties of blood and his oft-proven fidelity made him

safe against his uncle's distrust and suspicion, was less guarded in his speech. He objected principally to the severity of the treatment to which the cultivators were subjected; he tried to ameliorate their condition; which attitude was displeasing to the colonists. The wealthy planters were of the opinion that the Governor's nephew was setting a bad example. Therefore they resolved to cause his downfall. Yet it was unnecessary for any one to try to provoke discontent among the laborers; of themselves they found out that there was but little betterment in their present condition. Though they were told that they were no longer slaves, they had, however, to endure the tyranny of the military chiefs, who, like the former overseers, compelled them to work hard on the plantations of their former masters. As a consequence of their discontent they thought of resorting to the method by which they had once before thrown off the yoke of servitude: they took up arms. Lamour Dérance, at the head of the blacks from Bahoruco, succeeded in taking possession of Marigot. But he was soon compelled to evacuate the place and to take shelter in the mountains.

In the Northern province, where Moise was in command, there was also much discontent among the blacks. In the plain of Limbé many laborers revolted and, after murdering about 300 whites, marched on Cap-Français. The colonists, incensed at Moise's leniency, charged him with being an accomplice if not the leader of the rebels. He was in consequence arrested and sentenced by a court martial to be put to death. He was shot on November 29, 1801.

Toussaint, whilst engaged in restoring peace and order in Saint-Domingue, was somewhat apprehensive as to the decision of Bonaparte concerning the Constitution he had adopted. This document he sent to the French Government through the intermediary of Colonel Vincent. There existed in the mind of the agent of the Governor of Saint-Domingue not the least doubt as to the way in which the first Consul would regard this matter. Bonaparte, victorious and master

of France, saw nothing to prevent his taking advantage of this opportunity to check Toussaint's ambition.

In the mean time, the new Governor-General was organizing the colony. At his suggestion the Central Assembly enacted many useful laws. Toussaint achieved success where various Agents of France had known but failure of their plans; under his energetic and vigorous government prosperity had reappeared in the island. Scrupulous to a degree as to the management of public funds, he insisted upon the strictest probity from all those into whose charge was committed the money of the colony. Agriculture was flourishing;[4] justice was being administered by competent men.

Quiet reigned at last after all the agitations which since 1791 had been dyeing the soil of Saint-Domingue with blood. But this peace, so earnestly desired, was destined to be of short duration; fresh storms were gathering over the unfortunate island.

Bonaparte, the arbitrary ruler of France, could never permit the continuance of Toussaint's encroachments; he was preparing to crush the black man who had dared to usurp France's prerogatives. To crown the Machiavellian politics of the Directory, he was planning, not only the annihilation of the influence of the blacks, but also the restoration of slavery. The various Agents of France had done their utmost to instigate the blacks against the mulattoes. The latter were now to be used to subdue Toussaint and his followers, with the ulterior design, in case of success, of deporting them all. Such at least was the advice given by General Kerverseau.

Peace with Great Britain was scarcely concluded when a formidable expedition was organized against Saint-

[4] From 1800 to 1801 the products of the island were the following: refined sugar, 16,540 lbs.; brown sugar, 18,518,572; coffee, 43,220,270; cotton, 2,480,340; indigo, 804; cocoa, 648,518; logwood, 6,768,634; molasses, 99,419. In 1790, before the beginning of the troubles which ruined Saint-Domingue, the total products of the island were: refined sugar, 70,000,000 lbs.; brown sugar, 93.000,000; coffee, 68,000,000; cotton, 6,000,000; indigo, 1,000,000; cocoa, 150,000; molasses, 30,000. (B. Ardouin, Studies of Haitian History, Vol. IV, p. 409.)

Domingue. On December 14, 1801, five squadrons simultaneously left Brest, Lorient, Rochefort, Toulon, and Cadiz. Forty-five thousand of the best soldiers of France were embarked on forty ships, twenty-seven frigates and seventeen corvettes. Bonaparte appointed his brother-in-law, General Leclerc, chief of the expedition and Captain-General of Saint-Domingue. Thirteen major-generals and twenty-seven brigadier-generals were to assist the new Governor in destroying Toussaint's authority. André Rigaud and his companions Pétion, Léveillé, Birot, etc., who, after their defeat in the South, had fled to France were sent back to Saint-Domingue with the invading army. In spite of the strength of these forces Bonaparte condescended to the use of stratagems in order to more easily get rid of the black general. Toussaint's two sons, Placide [5] and Isaac, were in France. With many messages of advice, to which were joined various warnings for their father, he ordered them to go to Saint-Domingue with their teacher, Coisnon. Appointed sub-lieutenants by the first Consul, Placide and Isaac were sent for the purpose of endeavoring to persuade their father to acknowledge France's authority.

On January 29, 1802, the French fleet arrived at Samana Bay, whilst Toussaint Louverture was at Santo Domingo.

General Kerverseau was despatched to the latter place, whilst Leclerc sailed for Cap-Français. General Rochambeau was instructed to occupy Fort Liberté; and General Boudet was to take possession of Port-au-Prince.

On the 1st of February, 1802, Leclerc's squadron arrived at Cap-Français, where Henri Christophe was in command. The latter went at once to Fort Picolet, and without any hesitation he opened fire on one of the vessels which was trying to enter the harbor. Neither the demands, the promises of favor made by an aide-de-

[5] Placide was Seraphin's son. When Toussaint married the mother, he adopted her child.



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camp sent by Leclerc, nor the entreaties of the municipality, represented by César Télémaque, a black man, who begged him to spare to Cap-Français the horrors of a battle, succeeded in moving Christophe, who remained firm in his resolution not to allow the landing of the French army before receiving instructions from Toussaint Louverture, his official superior. It was only on the 3d he consented to authorize a deputation to go and ask Leclerc for a sufficient delay to enable him to communicate with Toussaint. On Leclerc's refusal to grant the request, Christophe made his final preparations for the inevitable struggle; on the 4th he instructed the soldiers to compel the inhabitants to leave the town. At that very moment Rochambeau was taking possession of Fort Liberté, which was able to show but little resistance. All the native soldiers who fell into the hands of the French General were put to death. The struggle began thus with an act of savagery which could not fail to provoke reprisals.

On the night of February 4 Christophe heard of what had occurred at Fort Liberté. He immediately gave orders to set fire to Cap-Français, which he was unable to defend against the superior forces of the French. Setting the example, he himself applied a torch to his richly furnished house. Early in the morning of the 5th Christophe abandoned the town and withdrew to Haut-du-Cap. Leclerc was then able to land; he found the town in ashes. General Hardy, whose troops had been disembarked at L'Acul-du-Limbé, stormed, on his way to Cap-Français, a fortification located at Rivière Salée. Following Rochambeau's example he put to death the unfortunate native soldiers taken prisoners, and who, in resisting, had but obeyed orders from their superiors. Decidedly, the French were bent on waging a war of extermination.

General Boudet occupied Port-au-Prince on February 5. On that day Toussaint, who, on receiving the news of the arrival of the French fleet, had left Santo Domingo in great haste, arrived at Grand Boucan, whence he witnessed the burning of Cap-Français. He

was soon joined by Christophe, to whom he gave instructions. In proceeding to d'Héricourt he fell in with the troops under the command of General Hardy; they fired at his escort. Toussaint's horse was wounded and he was compelled to make his escape on foot across the fields.

There was great delight among the colonists at the arrival of the French army; even the priests, upon whom Toussaint had heaped favors, immediately abandoned his cause. The black General saw then the mistake he had made in counting upon the gratitude and the fidelity of the whites.

After taking possession of the smoking ruins of Cap-Français, Leclerc tried to win over Toussaint. With that end in view he sent Placide and Isaac, accompanied by their teacher Coisnon, to Ennery where Madame Louverture was living. Informed of the arrival of his sons, Toussaint hastened to go and see them; they had been away six years. Nevertheless, he could allow himself but two hours for the affectionate welcoming of the children from whom he had been so long parted. After receiving the letter addressed to him by Bonaparte he returned to Gonaives, and from there he wrote to Leclerc. Placide and Isaac brought him the answer of the Captain-General, who promised to appoint him his first assistant should he at once acknowledge his authority. Toussaint rejected this proposal and made up his mind to fight; however, he refrained from influencing his sons' decision; he left them absolutely free to act as they thought best. Placide, the adopted son, espoused his cause, whilst his own son, Isaac, declared that he would never take up arms against France.

Threats and promises having failed to produce any effect, Leclerc, on February 17, 1802, outlawed Toussaint and Henri Christophe. The campaign was immediately opened. Imposing forces marched against Gonaives, with the expectation that there Toussaint would be surrounded and captured; but he had had time to leave the town and withdraw to Ennery. On the 24th of February the French occupied Gonaives, which had been

burned to the ground by General Vernet upon his being forced to evacuate the town.[6]

The day before at La Ravine-à-Couleuvres Toussaint had encountered Rochambeau's army, which was trying to cut off his communications with the town. The fight was a fierce one. Picking up a gun the black General fought side by side with his soldiers. His example stimulated the courage of his guard and Rochambeau was repelled.

After this success Toussaint started for Saint Marc; but the news was brought to him that this town had just been set on fire and evacuated by Dessalines. The latter, who had arrived too late to prevent Port-au-Prince from falling into the possession of the French, was doing his utmost to check their advance.

On his side Maurepas was making a gallant stand at Port-de-Paix. Compelled to yield to the superior forces of the enemy he set fire to the town and retreated to the Fort des Trois-Pavillons. Encamped in this post he opposed a stubborn resistance to the troops of General Humbert, whose various attacks were repelled. But at last Maurepas was compelled to surrender; and Leclerc maintained him in his capacity of Commandant of the arrondissement of Port-de-Paix.

Toussaint, whose courage had been in no way diminished by the reverses with which he had met nor by the defection of some of his officers,[7] established his headquarters on the Couriotte plantation. He ordered Dessalines to assume the command of the fort of La Crête-à-Pierrot,[8] which he had previously provided with all means of defense. In the mean time, Magny with La-

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[6] The chiefs of the native army were instructed to set fire to all places that they were unable to defend. The tactics adopted consisted of depriving the French of any shelter and of leaving them as much as possible exposed to the scorching heat of the Antilles.

[7] General Laplume, Commandant of the arrondissement of Cayes, had hastened to acknowledge the authority of Leclerc, and the whole Southern province had followed his example.

[8] The fort of La Crête-à-Pierrot is located on the right bank of the Artibonite River and at the southwest of La Petite Rivière.

martinière [9] as his first assistant, occupied the fort, which the French troops under the command of General Debelle tried to storm on the night of March 4, 1802. They were repelled and the French General was severely wounded. In order to avenge this defeat Leclerc, assisted by General Dugua, Boudet, and Pamphile de Lacroix, marched against the fort. But Dessalines had had time to arrive and to assume the command of La Crête-à-Pierrot. On the morning of March 11, 1802, an attack was made on the fortress by some of the best soldiers of France. Torch in hand, Dessalines threatened to blow up the powder rooms and to bury the whole garrison under the ruins of the fort should his officers and soldiers show the slightest hesitation in the performance of their duty. The fight was stubborn and desperate. The hitherto invincible regiments of France were compelled to fall back before the courage and valor of their black opponents. Generals Boudet, Dugua, and Leclerc were wounded during the attack, which ended in the retreat of the French. The latter being unable to storm the stronghold, decided to lay siege to it. Before the investment could be completed Dessalines succeeded in leaving the fort under Magny's command with the intention of mustering sufficient forces to go to the relief of the besieged. Surrounded on all sides, perpetually under fire, and suffering from the pangs of hunger and thirst, the native soldiers entertained no thought of surrendering; knowing the impossibility of longer keeping up the defense of the fort entrusted to them, they made up their minds to fight their way through the hostile army. At the dead of night on March 24 they abandoned La Crête-à-Pierrot, and, falling on the left of Rochambeau's division, they made their way by a bayonet charge through the lines of the besieging troops. "The retreat," says General Pamphile de Lacroix, "which the Commandant

[9] Lamartinière died at the end of the year 1802 whilst fighting on behalf of France. Despatched to subdue a band of rebels, he fell, in the mountains of l'Arcahaie, in the power of one Jean Charles Courjolles, who beheaded him.

"of La Crête-à-Pierrot dared to plan and execute was "a brilliant exploit. More than 12,000 men surrounded "the place; he escaped without losing half of his army; "leaving but the dead and the wounded."

Whilst his valiant companions were keeping almost the whole French army in check, Toussaint Louverture did not remain inactive. He had retaken possession of Saint Michel, Saint Raphael, Dondon, and Marmelade. After pursuing a French regiment as far as Hinche he returned to the plain of Gonaives; he was threatening the rear of General Pamphile de Lacroix's division at the very moment when Magny and Lamartinière were escaping from La Crête-à-Pierrot. The evacuation of this stronghold, together with the surrender of Maurepas, aggravated greatly the position of Toussaint Louverture. He withdrew to Les Cahos, where Dessalines and his valiant officers shortly joined him.

As soon as Leclerc saw prospect of success he began to put into action the plans of the first Consul, who wished to crush Toussaint in order to restore the supremacy of the whites; in consequence, not only the power of the blacks, but that of the mulattoes as well, would have to be annihilated. Among the latter was André Rigaud, who, by the prestige of his name, might profit by the downfall of his former victor; it became therefore of the utmost necessity to remove him from the colony. On his arrival at Saint-Domingue the late Commandant of the Southern province had written to General Laplume, at that time Commandant of the arrondissement of Cayes, claiming his house, of which this General had taken possession. This correspondence became a pretext for Leclerc to decide upon Rigaud's deportation. The Captain-General and Chief of the colony, Bonaparte's brother-in-law, might openly have taken this step; but he preferred to have recourse to deceit. Being at Saint Marc he summoned to that place Toussaint's former opponent, who he ordered to accompany him into the Southern province. Without the

[10] B. Ardouin, Studies of Haitian History, Vol. V, p. 111.

slightest feeling of distrust Rigaud went on board the *Cornélie.* This frigate made for Cap-Français, whilst *La Guerrière,* which Leclerc had boarded, sailed for Port-au-Prince. Upon the inquiry of Rigaud the Commandant of the *Cornélie* notified him that he was a prisoner and demanded his sword. Replying to this only by a gesture of contempt, the former Commandant of the Southern province hurled into the sea the sword which had so faithfully defended Saint-Domingue against the English.[11]

The ill-advised measure of which Rigaud was the victim at once made clear to the eyes of the mulattoes the true aim of Leclerc's expedition; this inexpedient action was in consequence destined to strengthen their union with the blacks, whose avowed leader, Toussaint Louverture, was, in his turn, about to fall a victim to the French reactionists.

Meanwhile, Leclerc was enjoying good fortune in his undertaking. After some parleys cleverly managed he brought about the surrender of Christophe. After this fresh blow Toussaint Louverture could resist no longer. The late Governor of Saint-Domingue was forced at last to acknowledge France's authority. On the 6th of May, 1802, he went to Cap-Français, where cannon were fired in his honor from the forts and the men-of-war. Leclerc gave him a most flattering welcome. At La Marmelade, on the 8th of May, Toussaint bid farewell to his guard and withdrew to Descahaux, one of his plantations in the Commune of Ennery, where he devoted himself to agriculture. His downfall was the consequence of his attitude toward the men of his race. He had no longer the influence over them which he had formerly exercised. The blacks who he believed were devoted to him had been alienated by the severity he displayed against them to the benefit of the wealthy planters. The soldiers fought indeed very gallantly; but the people had not the enthusiasm which inspires

[11] Disembarked at Brest on the 22d of May, 1802, Rigaud was relegated at Poitiers and Montpellier; he was afterward arrested and locked up at Fort de Joux.

heroic deeds. The fame of his name could not make up for the sympathies he had lost.

However, even as matters stood, Toussaint, though disarmed and defenseless, was still a cause of anxiety to Leclerc. On this account the Captain-General did his utmost to invite the great man whom he had vanquished to commit some act which would justify his arrest. French soldiers quartered at Ennery daily plundered his plantation. Ever cautious, Toussaint contented himself with making complaints about the depredations. But no notice was taken of his grievances; in consequence, he left Descahaux and withdrew to Beaumont, where persecutions followed him. Tired of the espionage and petty annoyance to which he was subjected, Toussaint wrote to Leclerc that he would be compelled to take shelter on one of his "hattes" (ranches) of the Spanish portion of the island. For fear he should escape from the military posts which surrounded him, the Captain-General decided to hasten the execution of his plans. In consequence he ordered General Brunet, who was in command at Gonaives, to arrest Toussaint; at the same time he wrote to the latter as follows:[12]

"Headquarters of Cap-Français,

"Prairial 16th year X of the Republic [5 June 1802].

"The Commander-in-Chief to General Toussaint.

"Since you persist, citizen General, in believing that "the great number of soldiers quartered at Ennery "cause fear among the cultivators of that parish, I have "commissioned General Brunet to concert with you "as to the stationing of these soldiers, some beyond "Gonaives and others at Plaisance. You must warn "the cultivators that this measure once taken, I "will cause those who desert their plantations and take "to the mountains to be arrested and punished. As "soon as this order has been carried out, let me know "the result, because should peaceful means fail I will "have resort to military measures. "LECLERC."

[12] The letters of Leclerc and Brunet to Toussaint can be found in Vol. V, pp. 174, 175 of B. Ardouin's Studies on Haitian History.

Surpassing his chief's perfidy, General Brunet, on June 7, addressed the following letter to Toussaint:

"Here is the time for you, citizen General, to make "known to the Commander-in-Chief that those who are "trying to give him false ideas concerning your good "faith are vile slanderers, and that your only aim is to "restore order and quiet in the parish where you are "living. You must assist me in securing free communi- "cation on the highway leading to Cap-Français; since "yesterday this highway has become unsafe, three per- "sons have been murdered between Ennery and Cap- "Français by a band of about fifty ruffians. Send to "these bloodthirsty men trustworthy and well-paid "emissaries; the money will be refunded to you.

"There are, my dear General, some arrangements I "would like to make with you, but which cannot be "settled by mail; a conference of one hour will bring "the matter to a close. Were I not so exhausted by "stress of business, I would to-day have brought my "answer to you; but I am unable to go out; come; if "you have recovered your health, let it be to-morrow. "One must never delay when one can do good. You "will not find in my country home all the attractions I "would like to gather there in order to welcome you; "but you will find in my house the sincerity of an "honest man [galant homme], whose best wishes are "for the prosperity of the colony and your own happi- "ness.

"If Madame Toussaint, whose acquaintance I would "like to make, could accompany you, I would be very "glad. If she want horses I will send her mine.

"I will say again, General, you will never find a more "sincere friend than I. Have confidence in the Captain- "General, and friendship for those who are his subordi- "nates, and you will enjoy peace.

"Cordially yours,

"BRUNET."

"P. S.—Your servant, who is going to Port-au-

"Prince, was here this morning; he left with his pass "in order." [13]

Toussaint had had many warnings. Some friends who had remained true to him had informed him of Leclerc's intentions and had entreated him to leave Beaumont. The black General refused to believe that French officers could dishonor their calling by such base deceit. Leclerc had promised to forget the past. Brunet had just written to him that he was his *sincere friend* and that he would find in his house "the *sincerity of an honest man.*" Toussaint was unwilling to cast the least doubt on the word of two major-generals. Furthermore, it seemed incredible to him that they would invite his wife to come and witness his arrest; for Brunet in his letter had offered to send his own horses for Madame Toussaint should she wish to accompany her husband. On the other hand should Toussaint fail to respond to Brunet's call and flee from Beaumont, it would seem as though he were guilty of some offense. As a consequence, Leclerc would at once seize the opportunity to go in pursuit of him with all the forces of the colony.

As soon, therefore, as he had received the letters of the two French Generals, Toussaint left for the Georges plantation,[14] where General Brunet was stationed. In his memorial to the first Consul he states the odious outrage of which he fell the victim [15] in the following words: "At eight o'clock p. m. (June 7, 1802) I arrived "at General Brunet's. Having been conducted to his "bedroom I told him that his and General Leclerc's "letter inviting me to confer with him had reached me, "and that I came for that purpose; that it was not pos- "sible for me to comply with his wish as to my wife's "accompanying me, as being purely domestic in her "tastes she sees no company. * * * I also told him "that feeling somewhat unwell I would be obliged to

[13] This servant, Mars Plaisir, had been placed under arrest. Brunet was telling a deliberate lie.

[14] The Georges plantation is one league distant from Gonaives.

[15] B. Ardouin, Studies of Haitian History, Vol. V, p. 181.

"make but a short stay with him, therefore asked him "to settle as soon as possible the matters upon which "we were to confer in order to allow me to return home. "I communicated to him General Leclerc's letter. After "reading this letter he (General Brunet) told me that "he had not yet received any instructions concerning "the object mentioned in it; he afterward apologized "for being compelled to leave me alone for a while, "and calling an officer, whom he instructed to remain in "my presence, he went out. He had scarcely left the "room when an aide-de-camp of General Leclerc, ac- "companied by a number of soldiers, entered; they "surrounded me, took hold of me, bound me like a "criminal, and carried me on board the frigate *La "Créole.* I invoked General Brunet's word and his "promises to me, but all in vain; I never saw him again. "He was probably ashamed to face me and the well- "deserved reproaches which he knew I would address "him."

A French general had disgraced himself with the guilt of such an abominably felonious attack. A European officer had not hesitated to degrade his rank by treacherously seizing the unarmed opponent to whom he was holding out his hand as a "sincere friend." Yet the whites contended that they possessed all the moral virtues and that the blacks had but vices which made them unworthy of enjoying the rights granted to mankind!

Toussaint Louverture had rendered France the inappreciable service of maintaining her authority at Saint-Domingue by expelling the Spaniards and the English from the colony. The reward he received from France was to be "bound like a criminal." His very family was not spared. European officers at the head of 400 soldiers invaded his wife's house and violently drove her away. The property was plundered. Madame Toussaint, her son Isaac, and her niece were arrested and sent on board the frigate *La Guerrière.* Even his little son, eleven years old,[16] who was being educated

[16] Saint Jean, who died at Agen, France, on January 8, 1804.

at Cap-Français, was taken from his teacher and embarked. Mars Plaisir, the faithful servant, and Placide Louverture were also taken on board *La Guerrière.*

Immediately after his arrest, on the night of June 7, Toussaint was taken on board *La Créole,* which was then in the harbor of Gonaives. In sight of Cap-Français he was transhipped to the *Héros.* It was after boarding this ship that Toussaint uttered the following prophetic words: "By my overthrow the trunk of the "tree of negro liberty at Saint-Domingue is laid low— "but only the trunk; it will shoot out again from the "roots, for they are many and deep."

Although he arrived at Brest on July 12, 1802, he only left the ship on August 13. He was straightway conducted to Fort de Joux and imprisoned in a damp cell. His servant, Mars Plaisir, was the only one allowed to accompany him. In this way he found himself deprived of the company of his wife, his children, of all those whose presence might have contributed to temper the bitterness of his captivity. His family was relegated to Bayonne. Many and varied sufferings were inflicted on the great martyr. He was kept exposed to the cold of the Jura, to the severity of a climate to which he was not accustomed.

Toussaint arrived at Brest in a state of the greatest destitution. At Fort de Joux they did all in their power to humiliate the vanquished General, of whom they were still in great fear, by sending him shoes already worn out, and tatters and rags for clothes. Shivering and starving, Toussaint was moreover compelled to cook for himself the scanty rations allowed to him; for they had deprived him of the one companion with whom he could talk freely, his servant, Mars Plaisir, who had been placed in chains and transferred to the prison at Nantes.

This inhuman treatment was being inflicted on a man who had not been sentenced by any court of justice and to whom no one had even made known the crime for which he was suffering such cruel penalty. The despotism of the first Consul took pleasure in thus tormenting

one whom the fortune of war had betrayed. The day was coming when Napoleon would expiate Bonaparte's cruelty, and the Emperor, feared by all Europe, in his turn be taken from those dear to him; then he would know in all its intensity the awfulness of a slow agony on a solitary island.

Death proved more charitable than men and put an end at last to all the petty annoyances, the humiliations and sufferings, physical and mental, which the late Governor of Saint-Domingue was heroically enduring. On the 27th of April, 1803, Toussaint Louverture was found sitting by the fireplace, his hands resting on his knees, his head bent down slightly to the right: the greatest of all the blacks had ceased to exist! Even death did not appease the wrath of his torturers. His corpse was thrown into a common grave; so that at the present day it would be impossible for France to find out his remains in order to give them back to Haiti.

To Toussaint Louverture [17] does not belong the dis-

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[17] In one of his Thanksgiving sermons, Rev. Frank De Witt Talmage gives the following account of the service rendered the United States by Toussaint Louverture:

"The next great geographical expansion to which I would call your "attention is the Louisiana Purchase. The indirect cause of this pur- "chase is almost unknown to the majority of American citizens. And, "in order to give the historical setting to this transaction, I shall first "introduce to you as strange and weird a personality as George Rogers "Clark. This man is not a white man, but a full-blooded negro. He is "not living in France or Spain or in the United States, but in the island "of St. Domingo. And yet this negro, this ex-slave, named Toussaint "Louverture, whom Napoleon betrayed by false promises and brutally "starved to death in the French dungeon of Joux, had as much to do "with the Louisiana Purchase as Robert Livingston or Thomas Jeffer- "son the President. Here it was in the days of Robespierre and Marat "and Danton, led on by this modern Spartacus called Toussaint Louver- "ture, that the slaves of that island rose in their might and fought for "the honor of their manhood and womanhood and won their independ- "ence, and called their brave leader, Toussaint Louverture, their national "chief. That was in 1801. * * * Then came the treaty of Amiens "of 1802. * * * The 'Little Corporal' said to himself, 'I must have "something to fight. I must keep my soldiers employed.' So he looked "over the map and said, 'Here is Saint-Domingue. I will reconquer it, "and again enslave its negroes.' The flower of the French army set sail "for this far-off island. * * * Toussaint Louverture is treacher- "ously betrayed and carried to France a prisoner, but his lieutenants

tinction of being the liberator of his people from the yoke of the French dominion. But he was the precursor; he imbued the men of his race with great hopes and high ambition; he taught them, by his own example, that power was accessible to those who knew how to fight and be victorious. At the very moment when he was breathing his last, blacks and mulattoes whom his misfortunes had forever firmly united were engaged in a desperate struggle with a view of reaching the goal the road to which he had pointed out to them at the cost of his life and liberty.

"of war continued his patriotic work. These disciples of the Washington "of this Southern island, noble and brave, aided by the pestilence and "disease which fought for them, drove the French troops, step by step, "until, within a few months, six-sevenths of all the unprincipled French "invaders were dead. * * * Napoleon, the Great Napoleon, the "mighty conqueror Napoleon, who had his dreams of making the rich "territory of Louisiana the brightest star in his royal diadem, said: 'If "'a few negroes in far-off Saint-Domingue can destroy my legions, I "'cannot hold Louisiana in case of war. I must sell right away.' "* * * Thus, all of Indian Territory, all of Kansas and Nebraska "and Iowa and Wyoming and Montana and the Dakotas and most of "Colorado and Minnesota and all of Washington and Oregon States, "came to us as the indirect work of a despised negro. Praise, if you "will, the work of a Robert Livingston or a Jefferson, but to-day let us "not forget our debt to Toussaint Louverture, who was indirectly the "means of America's expansion by the Louisiana Purchase of 1803." (*Christian Herald*, New York City, November 28, 1906.)

CHAPTER IX

Reactionary measures—The natives unite under the leadership of Dessalines—The war of Independence—Death of Leclerc—Rochambeau—Atrocities committed by the French—Capois-la-Mort—Expulsion of the French.

The deportation of Toussaint Louverture following André Rigaud's, opened the eyes of the natives. Blacks and mulattoes all realized now that only a close and firm union could save them from the fate in store for them. There was no longer any possible doubt as to the aim of the mission intrusted to General Leclerc: white supremacy was to be restored and the power of the natives annihilated. The first Consul, elated with his success in Europe, anticipated an easy victory in Saint-Domingue. He did not take the least trouble to conceal his plans: the French Government went to the extent of adopting a law maintaining slavery and the slave-trade. At Guadeloupe Vice-Admiral Lacrosse had immediately restored this barbarous institution. These reactionary measures served to alarm the former slaves of Saint-Domingue who had achieved their liberty by force of arms. General Leclerc made no effort to dispel their anxiety; for to him it seemed to be the easiest of tasks for the invincible soldiers who had subdued Europe to crush such unworthy opponents as he deemed the blacks to be. In consequence, he proceeded deliberately in taking the measures by which to carry out the great schemes of the first Consul. The possible humiliations of the natives mattered little. Above all it was necessary to place them once again beneath their former yoke. The Captain-General began by annulling the military grades conferred by Toussaint Louverture;

he afterward distributed the native troops among the various regiments arrived from France; and he ordered the disarmament of all the cultivators. Upon his summons, a Colonial Council met at Cap-Français. The colonists who were in this body, with no restraining influence over them, went so far as to request the restoration of slavery in the presence of Christophe, who shouted in reply to their demand: "If there is no liberty, there will be no colony!" Leclerc thought that the surest way to keep the natives on the plantations was to prevent them from acquiring real estate; to this end he instructed the public notaries not to authorize any sale of land of less than fifty "carreaux." The cultivators were prohibited to marry women who were not on the plantations to which they belonged; and they were not permitted to go from one place to another without a permit ("cartes de sûreté"). The gendarmerie had the right to sabre all those who were found without these "cartes de sûreté." To crown the situation, Bonaparte adopted, on the 2d of July, 1802, a decree forbidding the blacks and mulattoes to set foot on the territory of France.

These blundering tactics exasperated the indigenes. General Leclerc did not scruple to hang and to drown the imprudent persons who voiced their complaints too loudly. The disarmament principally caused the greatest discontent. The cultivators felt that, by taking from them the arms they had used for the defense of the colony against the English and the Spanish, the French were depriving them of the surest means of protecting their liberty. In consequence they were unwilling to obey General Leclerc's orders. Dessalines, Pétion, Christophe, etc., were determined not to miss this opportunity to prepare the people for the anticipated struggle by showing them that they would henceforth be at the mercy of those who thought of restoring slavery. In consequence they were very active in carrying out the mission intrusted to them. Thus the quantity of confiscated rifles so pleased the Captain-General that he left for Tortuga Island, feeling sure of having

secured peace. The apparent devotion of the native officers tended to increase his illusions. As a matter of fact the situation was very critical. Yellow fever had made its appearance. The disease was mowing down officers and soldiers indiscriminately. Generals Debelle and Hardy were among the first to succumb to its effects; the hospitals were filled to overflowing.

At Plaisance a black man, Sylla, who had never been subdued, was enlisting new followers. In the West Lamour Dérance, who through fetichism knew how to rouse his companions, was threatening Léogane and even Petit-Goave. In the South there were disturbances at Baradères, Saint-Louis, and Torbeck.

Leclerc had no sooner left Tortuga to return to Cap-Français than the blacks rebelled and set fire to the plantations. All these uprisings, though isolated and without cohesion, were nevertheless evidences that great discontent existed among the natives; this unrest was the prologue of the great drama which was in preparation. Insurrection was smouldering in all hearts. For the success of the audacious step which had been planned it was above all necessary to secure an authorized leader and to bring under control the unmanageable energy of the various bands of insurgents who were fighting on their own account: this in itself was a difficult task at a time when the bravery and the jealous independence of all were so quick at resenting the slightest restraint. The leader of the future war of independence was already determined on—it was Dessalines, whose heroic defence of the Crête-à-Pierrot, his military rank, and his unquestionable courage designated him for the first place. All that remained was to induce the chiefs of the different insurgent bands to recognize his authority. To attain this end, two men, Pétion and Geffrard, devoted their energy and tact.

However, Charles Belair took upon himself to play the part of liberator. In August, 1802, incited by his wife, the stern and fearless Sannite, he took up arms in the mountains of Verrettes, styling himself "Com-

mander-in-Chief of the Indigenes." The disturbance reached the mountains of l'Arcahaie. Charles Belair's uprising was untimely; and his pretensions to the supreme command were detrimental to the cause of liberation. It became thus a necessity to subdue him. Dessalines and Pétion set out against him. These two men were very influential; since Toussaint Louverture's deportation, the former had been considered as the leader of the blacks, and Pétion, since the exile of Rigaud, was regarded as the leader of the mulattoes. They met at Plaisance. Leclerc's ill-advised methods of procedure had served to unite the two officers who, while fiercely fighting against each other in 1800, had each learned to esteem the other's courage. The bad feelings of the past gave place to the great hopes they had in the success of the struggle they were planning. These two former opponents shook hands and their reconciliation decided the independence of Haiti. At Plaisance, Pétion not only recognized Dessalines's authority, but also admitted that he was the only man who could succeed in expelling the French from the island. They were not long in reaching an agreement and in deciding on the plan of the campaign. They had now but to wait for a favorable opportunity to begin hostilities.

In the mean time war was to be waged against the unfortunate natives who had anticipated the time fixed for the deliverance of the country. The followers of Sans-Souci were compelled to take shelter in the depths of the forests. Charles Belair was defeated and his wife, Sannite, fell into the hands of the French; in the hope of saving her life, he voluntarily gave himself up; but his chivalrous action did not move his unmerciful victors. Less than six hours after their arrival at Cap-Français man and wife were handed over to a court martial which, on the 5th of October, sentenced them to death; they were executed the same day. Sannite died bravely; considering the attempt to blindfold her as an insult to her courage she boldly presented her breast to receive the fatal shot.

Their momentary defeat had not depressed the in-

surgents. Sans-Souci rallied his followers and again assumed the offensive. He even compelled Pétion and Christophe to retreat. Charles Belair's friends gathered their forces in the mountains of l'Arcahaie. The French General Pageot, who was sent after them, failed in his mission; he was obliged to return to Port-au-Prince. Numerous bands of rebels threatened Jacmel and Léogane. Rochambeau, accompanied by the French Generals Pageot and Lavalette, undertook to subdue them. His arrival at Jacmel was signalized by a horrible crime: by his orders, about 100 natives, who were only suspected of having little zeal for France, were thrown into the hold of a man-of-war, the hatchways of which were tightly closed; the men were then suffocated by the fumes of the ignited sulphur, their corpses being afterward thrown into the sea.

These atrocities did not have the desired effect of intimidating the people; on the contrary, they became daily more and more aggressive. Lamour Dérance, whose authority was acknowledged by such leaders as Larose, Sanglaou, etc., distributed his warriors about the mountains of Port-au-Prince and in the plains of Cul-de-Sac and Léogane.

In the North the French Generals Brunet and Boyer, notwithstanding the assistance of the black General Maurepas, did not succeed in subduing the rebels. In order to terrify the country-people, Brunet, then in the parish of Gros-Morne, caused some unoffending peasants to be hanged. This uncalled-for act of barbarity was speedily avenged by Capois. Deserting the cause of France he took possession of Port-de-Paix, where he put to death all the whites with the exception of the women and children.

Little by little as the struggle progressed it seemed to assume a more horrible aspect. Rochambeau and his lieutenants doubled the executions, until it became impossible to estimate the number of those who were hanged, drowned, or asphyxiated. A mulattress, Henriette Saint-Marc, simply suspected of being in connivance with the rebels, was hanged in the market-place of

Port-au-Prince; that evening Rochambeau gave a ball, notably in celebration of his exploit against a woman. The slightest suspicion was enough to send blacks and mulattoes who incurred it to the gallows.[1] These acts of violence opened their eyes to the fact that their only chance of safety lay in immediately taking side with the men of their race who were fighting France. All the Northern province at once rose up in arms.

Under the pretext of renewing his declaration of devotion and faithfulness to Leclerc, Dessalines suddenly appeared at Cap-Français; in reality he came to confer with Pétion, who was at that time at Haut du Cap with Clervaux. Whilst awaiting reinforcements Leclerc was compelled to resort to the native soldiers in order to quell the insurrection. For this purpose he was obliged to act as though he placed entire confidence in Dessalines, who nevertheless remained undeceived by the welcome given to him. He hastened to return to Artibonite.

In the mean time, Clervaux had been imprudent enough to say that he would not hesitate to join the insurrection were he sure that the French intended restoring slavery at Saint-Domingue. To prevent the arrest and the possible execution of his companion Pétion decided to precipitate matters. Late on the night of October 13, 1802, he deserted the cause of France; after spiking the cannon he left Haut-du-Cap and withdrew on the Déricourt plantation, followed by the troops under his command. In winning him over the insurrectionists made a valuable acquisition. But

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[1] "The executions," says Pamphile de Lacroix, "taking place daily, "new defections were of daily occurrence. The proof that there was "abuse in the executions can be found in the fact that the more that "took place, the less the rebels seemed to be scared. The blacks showed "on the gallows the same courage with which the martyrs of the early "ages faced death." (B. Ardouin, Vol. V, p. 278.)

"Shooting, hanging, and, what is still more horrible, drowning, deci- "mated the indigenes, who were condemned on mere denunciations which "were often of very slight foundation. These cruelties, unworthy of the "French, were vainly multiplied; they served only to provoke terrible "hatred against us and to give new followers to the cause of the rebels." (Gastonnet des Fosses, La perte d'une colonie, p. 328.)

the dauntless spirit needed to inspire them and the strong hand capable of energetically delivering the decisive blows were still missing. Clervaux had followed Pétion; Christophe was about to join them. Still the combined gallantry of these brave soldiers did not suffice: it was the sword and the unfailing courage of Dessalines which were indispensable in the mighty task of freeing the island forever of the oppression of the French domination.

At the very outset Pétion's position demanded the display of much caution and tact. The followers of Petit Noel Prieur, against whom he had not long ago been fighting, assumed a threatening attitude; he had not only to appease them, but also to try and get them to set aside their grievances against Christophe. Giving them himself the example of conformity to discipline and abnegation, Pétion, who up to that time had held the rank of adjutant-general, yielded the command of the insurrection which he had provoked to Clervaux, who was a brigadier-general.

On the 15th of October, 1802, the native troops which had deserted France's cause stormed Haut-du-Cap. There the French committed a crime so appalling that of itself it would have been sufficient to justify all the excesses of the natives. On learning of Pétion's defection Leclerc had immediately ordered 1,200 native soldiers to be disarmed and embarked on the men-of-war at that time in the harbor of Cap-Français. These unfortunate prisoners were massacred at the first news of the storming of Haut-du-Cap, their bodies being one after the other hurled into the sea. Twelve hundred victims at one stroke! Was not such a merciless act enough to fill the hearts of the men of their race with wrath! Nicolas Geffrard, who was in hiding at Cap-Français, availed himself of the confusion resulting from the fight at Haut-du-Cap to escape and join Pétion. The future leader of the war in the Southern province was thus on hand.

Whilst these occurrences were taking place in the vicinity of Cap-Français, Dessalines had been at work

in the interest of the cause. He went to Plaisance and Gros Morne, where he conferred with Magny and Paul Prompt, already at the head of many followers. In the neighborhood of Gonaives he afterward held an interview with General Vernet, Commandant of the arrondissement. Leaving Gonaives he proceeded to Petite Rivière, where Cottereau had already secretly gathered together a great number of cultivators.

On entering Petite Rivière, on October 17, 1802, he was warned by Saget that the Commandant of the place was commissioned to arrest him. Nevertheless, Dessalines committed the imprudence of accepting an invitation to breakfast at Father Videau's, the rector of the parish, in whose house French soldiers had been concealed. But an old woman, a servant of the rector, saved the life of the future liberator of Haiti in warning him by a stealthy gesture that they were about to tie him down. With the swiftness of a flash of lightning, the black General rushed from the house, sprang into the saddle and galloped at full speed to the Place d'Armes, where he fired two shots with his pistols. Cottereau and his followers understood the signal and fell upon Petite Rivière. The die was thus cast, and from that hour the insurrection had its acknowledged leader. Dessalines lost no time in taking possession of the fort of La Crête-à-Pierrot, where he found arms and ammunition of which he was sorely in need. This success provoked a new crime on the part of the French: General Quentin, at Saint Marc, caused a whole battalion of native troops to be massacred; here occurred another wholesale slaughter. These atrocities inflamed the spirit of the natives. Colonel Gabart attacked Gonaives with so much vigor that the French were compelled to evacuate the town. Dessalines was less successful against Saint-Marc, which he failed to storm. This defeat convinced him of the necessity of organizing his troops. After establishing his headquarters in the Artibonite province, this illiterate man, who could barely sign his name, astonished even his opponents by the energy and the audacity of his combina-

tions. Within a comparatively short time he got up a regular army. And what were these soldiers? Men who had just been freed from slavery—peasants, most of whom had never handled a gun! But he succeeded in transforming these ignorant and ineffective forces into invincible legions.

His army was scantily clothed and fed—he had neither the means nor the time to organize a commissariat. Arms and ammunition had often to be taken from the enemy. The tatterdemalions who made up his army soon commanded the respect of the haughty Frenchmen whom they were defeating at every turn. In facing death the blacks were decidedly not inferior in courage to the whites.

Leclerc was greatly surprised to see those whom he still affected to despise, to see those whom he still considered like "serpents and tigers to be destroyed," fast becoming lions bent on devouring his army. He was soon compelled to center his forces at Cap-Français. His disappointment was inconceivable. Instead of the splendid success he expected to achieve, he found himself facing a humiliating defeat. This embarrassing situation had a bad effect on his health. On October 22 he became ill, and on the 2d of November, 1802, he had ceased to exist. His funeral-knell was also the death-knell of the French domination.

Toussaint Louverture had been deported only five months since, and yet his prediction was becoming verified: the powerful branches of the tree of liberty were strangling those who had tried to uproot it.

After Leclerc's death, Rochambeau assumed the post of Captain-General. The colonists were overjoyed; at last they had as their leader a man of so unscrupulous a conscience that the shedding of the blood of the natives would be unlimited—the man who had inaugurated the system of execution by asphyxiation in the hold of the men-of-war. The struggle was already a fierce one; henceforth it was to be of the most savage, barbarous kind.

The new Captain-General arrived at Cap-Français

on the 17th of November, 1802, and he at once began committing the acts of cruelty for which he was famed. General Maurepas, whom Brunet had arrested at Port-de-Paix, had been, together with his whole family, transferred to the man-of-war *Le Duguay-Trouin,* at that time in the harbor of Cap-Français. Colonel Baudin and a regiment of native troops were also embarked on the same ship. By Rochambeau's order all these unfortunate people were thrown into the sea and drowned.[2]

At that time it sufficed to be black or mulatto to be suspected of sympathizing with the insurgents, and, in consequence, to be mercilessly murdered. Yet the French were among the first to call Dessalines a monster when he retaliated by killing the whites. If it were possible to excuse such excesses, must not one make allowances for the uncultured men who were fighting in order to shake off an odious yoke? The French were supposed to represent progress and civilization; should they not be the ones to give the example of respect of human life and of the rules of war? If Dessalines is called a monster, what epithet then does Rochambeau deserve, he whose victims cannot be numbered!

At first good fortune seemed to favor the new Captain-General. Reinforcements had just arrived from France; he availed himself of this opportunity

[2] Here is the opinion of a Frenchman, Mr. Gastonnet des Fosses, about Maurepas's death (La perte d'une colonie, Paris, A. Faivre, éditeur, 1893; p. 334): "Two black Generals, Laplume and Maurepas, "were faithful to us and we could trust them. Maurepas was under "the authority of General Brunet, who was in command at Port-de-"Paix. For some time he was wrongly suspecting him of treason and of "being in relations with the insurgents. In consequence, when he was "instructed to evacuate Port-de-Paix and to retreat to Cap-Français, he "arrested Maurepas and several colored officers, whom he brought with "him to Cap-Français. General Leclerc had just died and Dauze, the "Colonial Prefect, was in command until the arrival of Rochambeau. "He was of the opinion of sending Maurepas and his companions to "France. On the 17th of November Rochambeau landed at Cap-Fran-"çais, and, by his order, the fate of the prisoners was quickly settled. "Maurepas, his family and his companions, were embarked on *Le Duguay "Trouin;* and at night these unfortunate people were cast into the sea. "This was murder; and it is sad to notice that its perpetrators were "Frenchmen."

to assume the offensive. Generals Clauzel and Lavalette were ordered to storm Fort Liberté, which with strong forces under their command they attacked on the 1st of December, 1802. Toussaint Brave, who was in command, gallantly defended the post as long as he was able, and when at last he was compelled to evacuate the town he set fire to it in order to leave the French naught but its smouldering ruins.

Probably finding the help of the brave soldiers whom France was sending to the island at a great sacrifice not sufficient for quelling the insurrection, Rochambeau decided to resort to auxiliaries, his equals assuredly in ferocity. General de Noailles was sent to Havana, instructed with the important mission of buying blood-hounds to aid in the destruction of the blacks. In order to excite the appetite of his new assistants, the son of a field-marshal had the inspirations of a Nero. A post was set up in the centre of a circle where the seats were occupied by Rochambeau, the officers of his staff, and many colonists and their wives. And this was the performance that they witnessed. Hungry blood-hounds sprang into the arena; tied to the post could then be seen a young black servant of the French General Pierre Boyer. The beasts seemed to shrink from their horrible task. In order to invite them to it General Pierre Boyer drew his sword and with one stroke disemboweled his unfortunate servant; then catching hold of one of the dogs he forced its mouth into the palpitating entrails of the victim; and the appalling feast began amidst the applause of the spectators and the sounds of the military band; a live man was torn to pieces by the blood-thirsty animals![3] What are the reprisals made by the blacks when compared with such revolting cruelty?

But the hounds were not more successful than the soldiers of Marengo; they failed to subdue the natives.

[3] B. Ardouin, Studies of Haitian History, Vol. V, p. 392.
"Rochambeau went so far as to import from Cuba hounds especially "trained for the hunting of the blacks. At the beginning of the nineteenth "century he renewed the horrors committed in the sixteenth century by "the Spanish conquerors." (Gastonnet des Fosses, loc. cit., p. 338.)

Thinking that Leclerc's death would have discouraged the French army, Pétion, Christophe, and Clervaux tried to storm Cap-Français at night on the 7th of November, 1802. But they were defeated and a lack of ammunition compelled them to abandon the fortifications they occupied in the vicinity of the town.

Pétion thought that the time had come to unify the command, as a conflict between the various leaders would have been detrimental to the cause of independence. Besides, the forces were scattered without any cohesion. In the Northern province Sans-Souci was endeavoring to assert his authority as Commander-in-Chief, and he was supreme in power from Borgne to the mountains of Fort Liberté. In the West Lamour Dérance had under his command: Larose at l'Arcahaie; Cangé in the neighborhood of Léogane; Métellus, Adam, Germain Frère, and Caradeux in the vicinity of Port-au-Prince; Magloire Ambroise, Lacroix in the mountains of Jacmel. For Pétion, Christophe, and Clervaux the only legitimate authority was that of Dessalines; this was fully acknowledged in the Artibonite province; and it was strictly necessary to have it accepted by all.

In consequence, after his failure in the attack on Cap-Français Pétion went to Petite Rivière, where he met Dessalines; there they came to a thorough understanding.

Proclaimed Commander-in-Chief of the native army, Dessalines appointed Pétion Brigadier-General. Christophe and Clerveaux were of great assistance to him in helping to bring under his authority the followers of the other leaders, who, although acting independently of one another, were bravely fighting against the French soldiers. Lamour Dérance tried to storm Jacmel and Léogane but failed in the attempt. The followers of Germain Frère and Caradeux succeeded in occupying Turgeau, from which place Port-au-Prince gets her water supply; they were, however, soon compelled to leave.

At the end of 1802 the island was divided thus: The

French occupied the whole former Spanish portion; in the North they had Cap-Français, Môle, Fort Liberté, and Tortuga Island, the rest of the province being in the possession of the natives. The whole Artibonite province, with the exception of Saint-Marc, was under the authority of Dessalines. In the West, Port-au-Prince, Mirebalais, Croix-des-Bouquets, Grand-Goave, Petit-Goave, Léogane, and Jacmel were still under French domination; as was also the whole Southern province.

However, the Southern province had begun to be disturbed. In order to prevent more disturbance, the French resorted to their usual system: the executions. At L'Anse-à-Veau many people were drowned. At Cayes blacks and mulattoes who were merely suspected of not having much sympathy for France were at once hanged or drowned. These crimes incensed the natives; and a black man, Joseph Darmagnac, took up arms in the town of Cayes. He was defeated and with the rest of his followers was put to death. The French availed themselves of Darmagnac's affray to gratify their vengeance. Twenty-two native officers who were imprisoned on board the frigate *Clorinde* in the harbor of Saint-Louis were all thrown into the sea and drowned. As usual these cruelties, instead of demoralizing the blacks, made them more eager to retaliate.

Geffrard had succeeded in penetrating into the Southern province. He hastened to organize the forces at his disposal. After occupying Miragoane he stormed Anse-à-Veau on the 16th of January, 1803. At the same time Gilles Bénech, at the head of about 2,000 peasants, took possession of Tiburon. Uprisings took place at Port-Salut and at Camp Périn in the plain of Cayes; all the leaders acknowledged the authority of Férou, who was at that time Commandant of the arrondissement of Coteaux. Intrenched at "Morne-Fendu" and at Marauduc the natives defeated the French who had tried to dislodge them from their positions. This success provoked the insurrection of the whole plain of Cayes.

Yet Geffrard had met with some reverses. Defeated by the French he was compelled to evacuate Anse-à-Veau and Miragoane and to take shelter in the mountains, where he reorganized his forces. However, he was soon able once more to assume the offensive; and on the 5th of March, 1803, he was in the plain of Cayes, where he met Férou. He immediately set about obtaining the acknowledgment of the authority of Dessalines as Commander-in-Chief. Unity of command prevailed thus in the Southern province without any trouble. It was soon established also in the North and in the West.

From Artibonite Dessalines proceeded to Port-de-Paix, where his authority was acknowledged without demur by Capois whom he appointed brigadier-general. Romain and Yayou were still under Sans-Souci's command. Dessalines appointed both brigadier-generals and placed the former at the head of the arrondissement of Limbé and the latter in command of Grande-Rivière. In order to win over Sans-Souci's last remaining officers he conferred the rank of colonel on Petit Noel Prieur, who became Commandant of the Place of Dondon belonging to the arrondissement which was under Christophe's authority. After this Dessalines went up into the mountains of Grande-Rivière, where he met Sans-Souci, who, being deprived of the help of his principal followers, was compelled to acknowledge the authority of the Commander-in-Chief of the native army.

Having settled all things to his satisfaction, Dessalines returned to the Artibonite. But Christophe had not forgotten his old quarrel with Sans-Souci. Considering the moment propitious for ridding himself of his enemy, he invited him to an interview on the Grandpré plantation, and there murdered him. Petit Noel and his followers rose up at once in order to avenge the death of their former leader. Christophe was compelled to flee; and Paul Louverture,[4] who endeavored to pacify Sans-Souci's avengers, was beheaded by them. Dessalines arrived with a strong body of soldiers and

[4] The brother of Toussaint Louverture.

dispersed Petit Noel's followers. Henceforth his authority was securely established in the North. In the West Lamour Dérance still remained in open defiance, but every means was employed in the hope of subduing him.

In the mean time, Pétion, Christophe, Clervaux, and Vernet were appointed by Dessalines major-generals, thus completing the organization of his army. The whole French portion of the island was now devastated by fire and sword.

In the North, Rochambeau, profiting by the reinforcements he had just received from France, despatched General Clauzel against Port-de-Paix, which Capois was forced to evacuate. But the fearless black General redeemed his defeat by storming the Petit-Fort, where he captured the ammunition of which he was in great need. Capois, surnamed Capois-la-Mort by reason of his indomitable courage, now conceived one of those plans the temerity of which alone illustrates the spirit of the soldiers of the war of independence. He decided to attack Tortuga Island. But how to reach this island without ships was the difficult problem. For this lack he made up by building a raft consisting merely of planks held together with lianes. On the night of February 18, 1803, 150 soldiers under the command of Vincent Louis were huddled together on this frail means of transport in tow of two row-boats. They fell unexpectedly on the garrison of Tortuga and for a while seemed to be the conquerors. But the French, who soon got over their surprise, rallied, and owing to their superior forces defeated Vincent Louis, who succeeded in making his escape with some of his companions. The unfortunate blacks who were taken prisoners were tortured to death in expiation of the audacious attempt.

This failure did not discourage the untiring energy of Capois. On April 12, 1803, he stormed Port-de-Paix, and soon after Vincent Louis on his raft was again on his way to Tortuga. He succeeded this time

in taking possession of the island, which the French never recovered.

In the vicinity of Cap-Français the struggle was very fierce. Romain tried twice to storm the town, but failed. On his side Toussaint-Brave captured and then lost Fort-Liberté.

In the South one event was succeeding the other with great rapidity. After establishing his headquarters at Gérard, Geffrard pushed on with his military operations. Nothing could stop the enthusiasm of the people. In every encounter the French were routed. The insurgents occupied successively Anse-à-Veau, Miragoane, Petit-Trou, Saint-Michel, Aquin, Saint-Louis, Cavaillon; all the coast line up to Tiburon was in their power.

In order more easily to suppress the insurrection in the South, Rochambeau took up his abode at Port-au-Prince. Instead of gaining new laurels he daily debased himself with new crimes. By his order Madame Paul Louverture and her son Jean-Pierre Louverture were drowned in the harbor of Cap-Français. The executioners spared neither age nor sex.[5] Sixteen native officers were left on an islet where they were tied to the trees; defenseless against the stings of all kinds of insects they suffered the slow and terrible agony of starving to death.[6]

On his arrival at Port-au-Prince (March 20, 1803) Rochambeau heard that Petit-Goave had just fallen in Lamarre's power and that Léogane was threatened by Cangé. The troops he despatched succeeded in ridding Léogane of the enemies who surrounded it. But General Neterwood failed at Petit-Goave. In trying to storm the fort where Lamarre was intrenched the French General fell mortally wounded and his soldiers fled in great disorder.

The natives were steadily gaining ground. Pétion

[5] A black woman who was about to be executed with her two daughters, raised their courage with the following words: "My children, death "will exempt you from bringing forth slaves."

[6] B. Ardouin, Studies of Haitian History, Vol. V, p. 393.

was holding his own at L'Arcahaie, where he had established his headquarters. In the beginning of June, 1803, Dessalines had stormed Mirebalais; and his army, like an irresistible torrent, broke into the plain of Cul-de-Sac, which was devastated by fire. Port-au-Prince was, in consequence, in great straits as to procuring needed provisions. These successes were gained in spite of the reinforcements which from time to time France was sending to Saint-Domingue. And the rupture of the peace of Amiens came in time to strengthen the cause of the natives. In May, 1803, France was again at war with England; therefore the French forces in Saint-Domingue could no longer rely on the least help from the mother country; and in addition to this yellow fever reappeared: the last flicker of the French dominion was about to be extinguished.[7]

When in July, 1803, the first English men-of-war began to harass the French ships on the coasts of Saint-Domingue, Dessalines saw his opportunity to deliver the decisive blow. But Lamour Dérance still refused to acknowledge his authority; he had assumed an independence detrimental to the uniformity of the military operations. Colonel Philippe Guerrier was therefore instructed to arrest him. Lamour Dérance, invited to come and inspect the Colonel's regiment, accepted the invitation confidently, relying on his influence, and was thus caught in the trap into which his credulity led him. Once among Guerrier's soldiers he was arrested without any trouble; he was afterward sent on the Marchand

[7] The flag whose folds would henceforth protect the right to freedom and liberty of a whole race, which centuries of oppression were unable to suppress, was adopted toward the month of May, 1803. Revolutionary France had raised the tricolored flag which, for the natives of Saint-Domingue, meant the union of the whites, the blacks, and the mulattoes. Dessalines had kept the three colors of France; and many were led to believe that he had no intention of separating from the mother country. To assert the idea of independence the Commander-in-Chief, by Pétion's advice, suppressed the white portion of the flag and kept only the blue and the red. Henceforth, in the mind of every native the exclusion of the white from the flag meant also the expulsion of the white Frenchmen from the island, which was to remain in the sole possession of the blacks and mulattoes.

plantation, where he died soon after. Henceforth the native army had but one chief—Dessalines. There was no longer any hindrance in its way.

Dessalines, who in the mean time had left for the South, proceeded to organize the forces of that province; it was put under the command of Geffrard, who was promoted to the rank of major-general. Gérin, Jean-Louis-François, Coco Herne, and Férou were respectively appointed Commandants of the arrondissements of Anse-à-Veau, Aquin, Cayes, and Jérémie.

Dessalines chose for his secretary Boisrond-Tonnerre, the future author of the Act of Independence.

Without losing time the Commander-in-Chief returned to the Western province. The French had just lost Léogane, which Cangé had stormed. From Léogane Dessalines marched to Jacmel, the siege of which he organized; he then proceeded to Petit-Goave, and from there returned to Cul-de-Sac. On his passage he had created four new regiments. Untiring in his activity, he possessed entire control of everything and missed no opportunity to further the success of his cause. He held friendly intercourse with the officers of the British men-of-war which were blockading various ports of Saint-Domingue; in this way he was able to procure arms and ammunition, always scarce in the camp of the natives.

Whilst Dessalines was everywhere communicating his ardor and his faith to all around him, Rochambeau had returned to Cap-Français, where he centred his forces in view of the decisive struggle. At that time the French army numbered 18,000 men, including officers and privates. To avenge its reverses, the chief continued to commit incredible atrocities. Placide Justin[8] gives the following account of an encounter which took place at l'Acul: "The attack began with "great fury; and for a while the blacks retreated; but "they soon assumed the offensive and repelled the "enemy, who retreated with heavy losses; at night they

[8] Histoire d'Haiti (Paris, 1826), p. 399.

"were masters of the battlefield. During the day the "French had taken about 1,500 prisoners in the camp "of the blacks. The French General ordered that the "unfortunate native soldiers be at once put to death. "A great number of the victims of this cruelty did not "die immediately; they were left in a mutilated state "too horrible to be described. Their agonizing cries "and groans broke the silence of the night; they could "be heard at a great distance." [9]

Rochambeau's cruelty became so revolting that two of his companions, the French Generals Clauzel and Thouvenot, thought of securing "the person of this "madman and of sending him to Europe in order to rid "the colony of his presence." [10] But the Captain-General discovered the conspiracy, the authors of which

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[9] Here is the statement made by Marcus Rainsford, late Captain of the Third West India Regiment (An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti; London, 1805), of the affair of L'Acul (pp. 336-338):

"Rochambeau began the attack with impetuosity, and the blacks for "a short time gave way, but on his endeavoring to push the advantage, "they repulsed him with loss, when the day closed. In penetrating the "black line the French had secured a number of prisoners, and on them "they determined to wreak the vengeance of which they were disappointed in the battle. Whether this determination arose from an idea "that the part of the French wing which had been cut off were already "absolutely sacrificed, or from the mistaken policy of extermination, "cannot here be determined, but the unhappy victims were, without the "smallest consideration for their own men who were prisoners in the "black camp, immediately put to death. As they were not carefully "exterminated, many were left in a mutilated state during the whole of "the night, whose moans and shrieks were heard at a distance around "the spot sufficiently loud to excite a sensation of horror throughout "the country. The black commander, when acquainted with the case, "although the maxim of the benevolent Toussaint, not to retaliate, had "been hitherto followed up, could no longer forbear; he immediately "caused a number of gibbets to be formed, selected the officers whom he "had taken, and supplying the deficiency with privates, had them tied "up in every direction by break of day, in sight of the French camp, "who dared not to interfere. The blacks then sallied forth with the "most astonishing vigor and regularity, raised the very camp, threw "the whole line in disorder, and drove the French army close to the "walls of Cap-Français. Such was the retaliation produced by this "sanguinary measure; a retaliation the justice of which, however it is "lamented, cannot be called in question."

James Franklin (The Present State of Haiti: London, 1828) confirms Rainsford's statement.

[10] Gastonnet des Fosses, La perte d'une colonie, p. 339.

were arrested and deported. However, his tyranny and the woeful plight of the island made the colonists so uneasy that they began to flee from Saint-Domingue. "It was," says Gastonnet des Fosses,[11] "a general "signal of dispersing; the colony looked like a ship "about to founder."

Under the heavy blows of the natives the ship was foundering in reality. In the South, Férou, assisted by Colonel Bazile, was sweeping away the French posts in his victorious march against Jérémie. The French General Fressinet, who was in command, was unable to defend the town, which he evacuated on the 4th of August, 1803, Férou at once taking possession of it. The bi-colored flag bearing its proud motto, "Liberty or death," floated over the arrogant city of the overbearing colonists of Grand'Anse. Cayes, the only important town of the Southern province still in the power of the French, was being besieged by Geffrard.

Dessalines, who seemed to be ubiquitous, so great was his activity, had gone from Cul-de-Sac to Petite Rivière where he instructed Gabart to storm Saint-Marc. The arrival of the natives before the town coincided with the presence in the harbor of an English frigate. The garrison, already starved out, was in the last stage of exhaustion. In consequence, the French General d'Hénin, who was in command, did not deem it wise to wait for an attack. He hastened to sign a capitulation with the captain of the English frigate and, on the 4th of September, 1803, he evacuated the town, which Gabart immediately occupied. Dessalines, who was at that time at Port-de-Paix, left in haste for Saint-Marc.

On the 9th of September, Toussaint-Brave took possession of Fort-Liberté, which the French had also abandoned.

On September 17 Cangé and Magloire Ambroise, who were besieging Jacmel, occupied the town in pursuance of an armistice concluded with the French General Pageot, who retired with his army to Santo Domingo.

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[11] Gastonnet des Fosses, La perte d'une colonie, p. 340.

Dessalines decided then to assume a vigorous offensive against Port-au-Prince, at which place the French authorities were at odds; to which was added the further disadvantage of the starving condition of the inhabitants owing to the great scarcity of food. The Commander-in-Chief made his last preparations at Petite Rivière, and started forth on September 15 with Generals Pétion and Gabart as principal lieutenants. After successfully engaging in a series of skirmishes, Dessalines took possession of La Croix-des-Bouquets; and on the 23d of September he established his headquarters at Turgeau, at the very entrance of Port-au-Prince, which was being besieged by Pétion on one side and by Gabart on the other. Cangé was investing the fort of Bizoton, which the French garrison was compelled to evacuate on the 2d of October. The artillery, under Pétion's command, then commenced the bombardment of the city. The French General Lavalette was soon at the end of his resources and obliged to capitulate. On the 5th of October he sent one of his aides-de-camp to Dessalines's headquarters, where an agreement was speedily arrived at. According to the convention the French soldiers were allowed to leave the island; hence, on the 8th of October, 1803, they were embarked on the French men-of-war at that time in the harbor. On the following day Dessalines made his triumphal entrance into Port-au-Prince.

In the North the French had in their power only Cap-Français and Môle St. Nicolas; and but Cayes alone in the South. And this last-named town was almost lost to them. Closely surrounded by Geffrard and blockaded by the English, the town was incapable of great resistance. Therefore, General Brunet, who was in command, signed the capitulation with the English, and on the 17th of October, 1803, Geffrard took possession of Cayes. In the South, as in the West, there was no longer any vestige of the French domination.

In order to become the sole master of Saint-Domingue it now remained but for Dessalines to storm Cap-Français, in which place Rochambeau had established quite

a reign of terror. The Captain-General did not spare even his own countrymen. The blood of a Frenchman was the last stain upon his hands. "In order to get "money," says Gastonnet des Fosses,[12] "he ordered the "inhabitants to contribute to a forced loan. Eight "European merchants were taxed 30,000 francs each; "one of them, Fédon, being unable to pay his share, "was arrested and shot by the order of the Captain-"General. This was in reality a murder. By his cruel-"ties Rochambeau had incensed the inhabitants so that "he could not now rely on their help."

Nevertheless, he was getting ready for an energetic defense. But his plans were frustrated by Dessalines's prompt action. The Commander-in-Chief of the army of the indigenes did not waste time in celebrating his victory. As soon as he was master of Port-au-Prince he began his preparations for the last and decisive struggle. After instructing his generals to centre their troops at Carrefour Limbé, Dessalines left Port-au-Prince on the 21st of October, 1803. When he reached the vicinity of Cap-Français he found himself at the head of an army of 20,000 men, well disciplined and inured to the hardships of war. The plan of attack was cleverly prepared and carried out. The approaches of Cap-Français were defended by forts established at Bréda, Champain, Pierre-Michel, and by Vertières Hill, where a blockhouse sheltered the French infantry.

Dessalines perceived at a glance the mistake made by Rochambeau in neglecting to occupy the important position of Charrier, which he at once instructed Capois to take possession of. This place could not be reached without facing the hostile fire of both the infantry and the artillery. On the morning of November 18 the columns moved forward, seemingly unmindful of the bullets and cannon shots which were mowing down their ranks. Rochambeau in person, surrounded by his guard of honor consisting of artillery and infantry, was in command at Vertières; he was, in consequence, exposed

[12] La perte d'une colonie, p. 344.

to the fierce attacks of Capois. Both sides fought with desperate bravery. The native generals, incited by Dessalines's presence and also by the goal they wished to reach, were often seen during the bloody struggle fighting gun in hand side by side with their soldiers. As to Capois, he compelled the applause even of Rochambeau; driven off by the relentless fire of the enemy, his army unceasingly returned to the charge, stimulated by the audacity with which its leader was defying death. Horse and rider rolled on the ground as a cannon ball hit the General's charger; but with lightning rapidity Capois extricated himself, and sword in hand he once more rushed back to his place at the head of his soldiers. Amidst the hurrahs of the French troops Rochambeau gave order for the firing to cease, and a cavalryman proceeded toward the amazed natives. "Captain-General Rochambeau," said he, "congratulates the General who has just covered himself with so much glory."

The messenger withdrew and the fight was resumed, until in the afternoon a torrential rain put an end to the battle. Both sides lost heavily. But the consequences of this encounter were of the greatest importance to the natives: they acquired possession of a country.

Rochambeau hastened to return to Cap-Français, the exterior fortifications of which were partly evacuated. On the same night, November 18, he sent a flag of truce to Dessalines; and on the 19th the following capitulation was agreed upon:

"This day, the 27th Brumaire, of the 12th year (19 "November, 1803), the Adjutant Commandant Duvey- "rier, having received full power from General "Rochambeau, Commander-in-Chief of the French "army, to treat for the surrender of the town of Cape, "and Jean-Jacques Dessalines, General of the native "army, have agreed on the following articles, viz.:

"I. The town of the Cape (Cap-Français) and the "forts dependent thereon shall be given up in ten days, "reckoning from to-morrow, the 28th of Brumaire, to "General-in-Chief Dessalines.

"II. The military stores which are now in the ar-"senals, 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 General 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 and civil, and the "troops composing the garrison of the Cape, shall leave "the town with all the honors of war, carrying with "them their arms and all the private property belong-"ing to their demi-brigades.

"V. The sick and wounded who shall not be in a con-"dition to embark shall be taken care of in the hospitals "until their recovery. They are specially recommended "to the humanity of General Dessalines.

"VI. General Dessalines in giving the assurance of "his protection to the inhabitants who shall remain in "the town, 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, who under "no pretext of right should be constrained 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 for the "evacuation of the Cape.

"VIII. General Rochambeau will send, as a hostage "for the observance of the present stipulation, the "Adjutant-General Urbain Devaux, in exchange for "whom General Dessalines will send an officer of the "same rank.

"Two copies of this Convention are hereby executed "in strict faith, at the headquarters of 'Haut-du-Cap' "on the day, month, and year aforesaid.

"(Signed) DESSALINES. DUVEYRIER."

"The articles of capitulation, accepted by General

Dessalines, are," says Marcus Rainsford [13] "an instance "of forbearance and magnanimity of which there are "not many examples in the annals of ancient and "modern history."

Commodore Loring, in command of the English squadron which at that time was cruising in the vicinity of Cap-Français, requested Dessalines to send him some pilots in order to allow him to enter the port. But the Commander-in-Chief of the army of the indigenes, being unaware of the intentions of the English, refused to grant the request. Nevertheless, Rochambeau [14] at last consented to become their prisoner of war, together with the whole French garrison.

On the 29th of November, 1803, Dessalines took possession of Cap-Français, which was usually called the Cape; and on December 4 Colonel Pourcely entered Môle, which was evacuated by General de Noailles.

Saint-Domingue was thus entirely lost to France. After a year of heroic efforts the natives were at last masters of a land literally soaked with their blood. The bicolored flag, the emblem of liberty, now floated over the whole French portion of the island.

James Franklin [15] speaks as follows of the people who had just conquered their country: "It would be "wrong not to express in proper terms the admiration "called forth by the resistance which the blacks made "whenever they were hard pressed by the French "troops. They at times displayed a great deal of hero- "ism and unshaken courage. Standing on the dead "bodies of their comrades, they were often seen fight- "ing man to man with the French. * * * At the "evacuation of the island the negro troops were in a "state of discipline but little inferior to the French, and "in point of courage equal. Looking at them in other

[13] An historical account of the Black Empire of Hayti, p. 341.

[14] Son of Count Rochambeau, whose statue adorns Lafayette Square in Washington, Donatien de Rochambeau, made prisoner by the English, was sent to England, where he remained until 1811. Exchanged at that time he served in the French army in Germany and died, in 1813, at the battle of Leipsic.

[15] The present State of Haiti. London, 1828; p. 170, 171.

"respects, and taking into consideration that they were "men who before, nay even at that time, were in the "grossest state of ignorance and moral degradation, "our astonishment is excited when we find that in the "moment of rage and revenge they often refrained "from acts of cruelty and torture, whilst their insati- "able enemies were committing the most shocking bar- "barities."

CHAPTER X

Proclamation of independence—Saint-Domingue becomes Haiti—Dessalines, the first ruler of Haiti (January 1, 1804-October 17, 1806)—Intrigues of the English—Military organization of Haiti—Discontent provoked by Dessalines's administration—His death.

The struggle for supremacy had cost the lives of over 50,000 Frenchmen.[1] Dessalines desired to notify France by a solemn declaration that a new State had replaced her former colony. By a happy inspiration he chose for the proclamation of the Independence of Haiti the very spot on which had been enacted the treacherous deportation of Toussaint Louverture. Toward the end of December, 1803, he went to Gonaives, at which place he had given instructions to the generals of his army to assemble. On the 1st of January, 1804, they all met together on the Place d'Armes and swore to abjure forever allegiance to France, to die rather than to live under her domination. The oath was met by the ringing cheers of a people mad with joy. Enthusiasm reached its highest pitch when Boisrond Tonnerre, Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, read out Haiti's certificate of birth, consisting of the following words:

"On this the first day of January, 1804, the Com-
"mander-in-Chief of the army of the indigenes, accom-
"panied by the Generals of the army assembled for the
"purpose of taking the measures destined to secure
"the happiness of the country;

[1] Gastonnet des Fosses. La perte d'une colonie, p. 34.

"After informing the Generals of his true intentions "to give forever to the natives of Haiti a stable govern- "ment, which he had previously done in a speech which "aimed at acquainting the foreign Powers with the "resolution to make the country independent and to "enjoy the liberty acquired with the blood of the people "of the island; and after taking the opinion of all "present;

"Requested the Generals to swear to abjure forever "allegiance to France, to die rather than to live under "her domination, and to fight to the last for the preser- "vation of their independence.

"The Generals imbued with these sacred principles, "after proclaiming in a loud voice their unanimous "adhesion to the resolution of independence, swore for "all their posterity and to the world to abjure forever "allegiance to France, and to die rather than to live "under her domination.

"Done at Gonaives on the 1st of January, 1804, and "on the first day of the Independence of Haiti.

"(Signed) Dessalines, Commander-in-Chief; Christophe, Pétion, Clervaux, Geffrard, Vernet, Gabart, Major-Generals; P. Romain, E. Gérin, F. Capois, Daut, Jean-Louis François, Férou, Cangé, L. Bazelais, Magloire-Ambroise, J. J. Herne, Toussaint-Brave, Yayou, Brigadier-Generals; Bonnet, F. Papalier, Morelly, Chevalier, Marion, Adjutant-Generals; Magny, Roux, Chiefs of Brigades; Charéron, B. Loret, Quénez, Macajoux, Dupuy, Carbonne, Diaquoi ainé, Raphael, Malet, Derenoncourt, Officers of the Army; and Boisrond Tonnerre, Secretary."

In order to efface the last vestige of an abhorred domination, the very name of Saint-Domingue was changed. The island assumed once again the name given to her by her first inhabitants and henceforth was known as Haiti.

That the young State conferred absolute power on its liberator is testified by the following act:

"*In the name of the people of Haiti:*

"We, Generals and Chiefs of the army of the island "of Haiti, thankful for the benefits received from the "Commander-in-Chief Jean-Jacques Dessalines, the "protector of the liberty which we are enjoying;

"In the name of Liberty, Independence and of the "people he has made happy,

"Proclaim him Governor-General of Haiti for life. "We swear entire obedience to the laws he shall deem "fit to make, his authority being the only one we ac- "knowledge. We authorize him to make peace and "war, and to appoint his successor.

"Done at the headquarters of Gonaives this 1st of "January, 1804, and the first day of the Independence "of Haiti."

"(Signed) Gabart, P. Romain, J. J. Herne, Capois, Christophe, Geffrard, E. Gérin, Vernet, Pétion, Clervaux, Jean-Louis François, Cangé, Férou, Yayou, Toussaint-Brave, Magloire-Ambroise, L. Bazelais, Daut."

The dictatorial power intrusted to Dessalines was the natural sequel of events. The generals who had just led the people to victory considered themselves to be the legitimate representatives of the country. According to their views, their most pressing duty was the immediate organization of a government capable of defending their newly acquired conquest. At the head of such a strong government they naturally placed their Commander-in-Chief. Not all the elation at their success, great though it was, could make them forget that they were to be prepared for all contingencies should France choose to renew the struggle. The Spanish portion of the island was still in her possession; she had thus a convenient basis for her military operation. In consequence the Haitians clung to their military organization. Instead of a Commander-in-Chief they had at their head a Governor-General, merely a change of title.

Pétion, Christophe, and Geffrard were respectively appointed Commandants of the Western, Northern, and

Southern départements; Gabart was given command of the Artibonite. They were all animated by the one thought to be ready for an energetic defense in case of an attack by their former opponents. The soldiers were constantly kept on the alert. Profiting by the experience acquired on the battlefields, they began fortifying all the valleys and the summits of hills and mountains where it would be easy for them to stand their ground against an enemy superior in forces.[2] Every citizen was compelled to join the army.

The municipal and judicial powers were all in the hands of the military authorities: Haiti was an immense military camp.

The task of the new Government was a difficult one. Everything had to be organized. Rochambeau's crimes had so much incensed the natives that the Frenchmen who had not accompanied the remainder of their army had been put to death. All functionaries of the Government and administration had to be created, from policemen to statesmen. In reality there were many worthy and gallant officers and brave soldiers; but experts in civil administration were scarce. Notwithstanding the absence of special knowledge on this subject, the natives to a man were determined to preserve the independence of the country they had just conquered. Dessalines courageously set to work. He began by rejecting the insidious overtures made by Great Britain. This power, whose advances to Toussaint Louverture had not met with success, believed that these people, whose existence seemed to be so precarious, would be more than happy to have its protection. In consequence the Governor of Jamaica lost no time in despatching Edward Corbed to Haiti with the object of obtaining the exclusive right to the commerce of the

[2] Christophe undertook the building of Laferrière, which later on became the Citadelle Henry; Pétion built Fort Jacques and Fort Alexandre. In the South Geffrard erected the Fort des Platons. Forts Campain, Cap Rouge, Bonnet Carré, Marfranc, Desbois, etc., were built in the mountains around Léogane, Jacmel, Anse-à-Veau, Aquin, and Jérémie, etc.

island and a quasi-protectorate. The request was denied; and Admiral Duckworth, angered by the failure of his scheme, threatened to capture the Haitian guardships. In the event of this Dessalines declared that he would at once prevent the English merchant ships from entering the ports of the island. This threat produced the desired effect; for just at that time the United States frigate *Connecticut* was at Gonaives and on board there was an agent sent to renew with Dessalines the commercial relations which had formerly been carried on with Toussaint Louverture. The Governor-General of Haiti was thus turning all his efforts toward safeguarding the dignity and the interests of his country.

In accepting the title of Emperor he was not prompted by mere foolish vanity. The Agents sent by France to Saint-Domingue had been known as Governors-General; the continued use of this title might therefore leave the impression that the Haitians were still dependent on the former mother country; thus it was thought proper to adopt another name more suited to the chief of a sovereign State. Bonaparte had just been proclaimed Emperor of the French. This seemed to be a particularly fit occasion to affirm once again the independence of the country. Accordingly Dessalines decided to assume the same title with which the ruler of France had been invested. In September, 1804, the army acclaimed him Emperor of Haiti. This new appellation added nothing to the dictatorial power with which he was already clothed. And Dessalines gave the best evidence of his great common sense by refusing to create a nobility. He avoided establishing any discrimination of rank; he even refused to allow any special privileges to be conferred upon his children: the equality of all citizens was to be the prevailing feature of the new State.

In becoming Jacques, first Emperor of Haiti, Dessalines did not lose sight of the necessity of making provision for the future good and tranquillity. The French were still in possession of the Spanish portion of the

island. On the 5th of January, 1805, General Ferrand, who was in command of this portion of the country, ordered a sudden attack upon the Haitians, among whom only those under 14 years of age were to be taken prisoners, the others being destined evidently to be massacred; the boys and the girls under 10 years were to be sold and kept on the plantations of the colony; whilst those between the ages of 12 and 14 years were to be sold and deported.

To avenge this barbarous decree, Dessalines, at the head of 25,000 soldiers, invaded the Spanish territory. He started on February 16, and on the 6th of March his army, victorious in every encounter, began to lay siege to Santo Domingo, which would undoubtedly have fallen before him had not a French squadron appeared with reinforcements on March 27. Fearing the possibility of French troops being landed on the coasts of Haiti during his absence, Dessalines was obliged to raise the siege and to evacuate the whole of the Spanish portion. His apprehensions were happily unfounded: the French had made no hostile demonstrations against Haiti. Nevertheless, Dessalines took all precautionary measures. He availed himself of the opportunity to organize his Empire. On the 20th of May, 1805, the first Haitian Constitution was proclaimed. Slavery was forever abolished. Dessalines, whose surroundings and early training had not been such as would tend to fit him to act the part of law-maker, proved to be an able one. He enacted a military penal code, laws concerning illegitimate children and divorce and a law establishing the courts and their jurisdiction. By decrees he settled the respective limits of the military divisions of the territory; he opened some ports to commerce with foreign countries; he regulated the coasting trade and established import and export taxes.

Notwithstanding all his excellent good qualities, he was a man with whom it was hard to agree. Above all, Dessalines was a man of action, and he owed his success to his untiring energy and to the use of force. Slave, soldier, or general, he accepted or enjoined discipline:

he was accustomed to obey or to be obeyed. He was thus naturally led to consider as the best method of government that passive obedience which, as a military chief, he used to exact from his subordinates. This system succeeded in the struggle with the French; why then should it fail when applied to the administration? Of a hasty and petulant temper the new ruler of Haiti was as quick in forming a decision as in its execution; in consequence, he did not tolerate any discussion of his orders. Hence he ruled the State as he was wont to command his soldiers—as an absolute master. As a matter of fact, his rule was not far removed from the despotism of the French. The various Governors-General never had shown any respect for civil or political liberty. They relied upon the army and knew no restraint. To their minds the rights of the people were of no account. Having from his earliest years lived in such an atmosphere it was hardly possible to expect to find in Dessalines a liberal-minded ruler. And the purely rudimentary knowledge of his subordinates made them incapable of tempering the dictatorial power intrusted to him. A few of his economic and financial combinations were of necessity imperfect. In course of time these mistakes might have been remedied; and civil as well as political liberty would have prevailed. But Dessalines's contemporaries were very hasty men; his lieutenants took umbrage at the very tyranny they had contributed to create; and as the news spread that the most important amongst them were about to be arrested, they plotted a conspiracy. The discontent which some of the administrative measures had provoked among the people was taken full advantage of. The insurrection broke out on the 8th of October in the neighborhood of Port-Salut in the Southern Department. The insurgents acknowledged Henri Christophe, who was then Commander-in-Chief of the Army, as their leader. Pétion joined the revolt and caused the defection of the troops under his command. Port-au-Prince ceased accordingly to acknowledge Dessalines's authority. The Emperor,

unaware of these events, had left Marchand, his capital, on October 15, en route for the South, where he was going to reestablish peace and order. On his way soldiers had been set by the conspirators; without the least suspicion of the trap set for him, he continued his way in full confidence, paying no heed to the warning which Colonel Léger, one of his aides-de-camp, gave him, as he was approaching Pont Rouge, at a short distance from Port-au-Prince, on the 17th of October, 1806. He did not realize the danger until he was completely surrounded on all sides. He tried to defend himself; but Garat, a young soldier, fired; Dessalines's horse fell to the ground. Charlotin Marcadieu, one of his aides-de-camp, hastened to his assistance. Just at that moment a volley of musketry was fired and Dessalines ceased to exist. Thus expired the liberator of Haiti, a victim of the sad customs of his time and of the very cause of liberty of which he had been the successful defender.

CHAPTER XI

Henri Christophe, Chief of the Provisional Government—Alexandre Pétion—Convocation of a Constituent Assembly—Constitution of 1806—Christophe marches against Port-au-Prince—He is elected President of Haiti (December 28, 1806)—Civil war—The Senate dismisses Christophe, who at Cap is elected President of the State of Haiti (February 17, 1807)—The Senate at Port-au-Prince elects Pétion President of Haiti for four years (March 9, 1807)—Christophe assumes the title of King of Haiti (March, 1811)—French intrigues against the independence of Haiti—Pétion and Simon Bolivar—Pétion re-elected President March 9, 1811, and March 9, 1815—Elected President for life on October 9, 1816; died on the 29th of March, 1818.

The cries of "Liberty forever!" "Down with tyranny!" were heard on all sides as Dessalines fell dead. In the Western and Southern provinces, where the insurrection had inflamed the people's minds, the Emperor's death provoked a strong reaction against the political régime he had established. The discipline of the army felt the effect of this reaction; soldiers deserted their regiments. And the citizens seemed to think that there was no longer any restraint to their will. There was but little show of authority and it looked as though license had replaced Dessalines's absolutism. This state of affairs was far from being satisfying to Christophe, who had become Chief of the Provisional Government. In reality he had the same ideas as Dessalines concerning the prerogatives of a ruler. Moreover, the insurrection had not had time to

[1] Formerly Cap-Français. Was known whilst Christophe was King as Cap-Henri; and now is called Cap-Haitien.

enter the Northern province, which was under his command; thus he was able to maintain the severe discipline which he had established there. Like his former chief, Christophe thought that for the time being absolute power was the only system possible in Haiti. Therefore, he intended to pursue the same plan of action which Dessalines had instituted. In consequence he was distrustful of the new ideas current in the Western and Southern provinces, where they were discussing the advisability of restricting the powers of the ruler of the country and of taking precautions against a possible restoration of tyranny. Fixing his suspicions upon the originators of this movement he cautiously remained with his army at Cap.

Alexandre Pétion was undoubtedly the leading spirit among the generals who were planning to limit the authority of the ruler of Haiti. Great was the contrast between the two men whom coming events were going to set at enmity one against the other.

Pétion's [2] father was a white Frenchman by the name of Sabès; he owed to the accident of his birth the advantage of a cultivated mind. Of a sickly constitution he was phlegmatic and easy-tempered; his tastes were simple and he was known for his kindness and his benevolence.

Christophe,[3] born and raised in slavery, was very little inclined to pity. Of a tall and muscular build, with bright and intelligent eyes as his most striking feature, he seemed the very embodiment of force. One of his defects was the love of ostentation; when he was a French general his home at Cap-Français was celebrated for its luxurious richness, and his mode of entertainment was pompous. He was of a sanguine and

[2] Pétion was born in Port-au-Prince on the 2d of April, 1770. A free man by birth, he studied mathematics, and became one of the best artillerymen of his time; he was also a competent silversmith.

[3] Christophe was born in the island of San-Christopher in 1769. According to Listant Pradine (Lois et Actes, 1807, p. 199) he was born at Grenada on the 6th of October, 1767. Christophe was still a slave when the events which led to the abolition of slavery took place in Saint-Domingue.

passionate nature, chafing easily under the slightest restraint.

Pétion was often actuated by his heart, whilst Christophe rarely allowed himself to be thus ruled. The former trusted the people, in the welfare of whom he was deeply interested; he contemplated granting them wise liberties and thought that it would be possible to instil into them a liking for work by making them the owners of the land they had watered with their blood. Christophe had very little faith in the improvement of the people through the enjoyment of liberty; he was convinced that an iron hand would more easily and more quickly compel the people to work. Two men of such vastly different natures could not possibly have the same political ideas. It was no wonder then that whilst Pétion was thinking of establishing a republican form of government, Christophe, if he were not inclined to the maintenance of the monarchy, wished at least to create a strong and forcible executive power. On account of this difference of opinion the two Generals were already at odds when on November 3, 1806, Christophe, in his capacity of Chief of the Provisional Government, summoned the citizens in order to elect a Constituent Assembly which was to meet at Port-au-Prince on the 30th of the same month. In the province of the North and in the Artibonite, which were under Christophe's direct influence, there were more parishes than in the West and in the South. The Chief of the Provisional Government was therefore sure of having in the Assembly a majority willing to support him. In consequence, he caused a draft of a constitution suitable to his ideas to be prepared.

To counteract Christophe's plans Pétion authorized the election of Deputies in many small towns in the Western and Southern departments, which had hitherto never been represented. He himself became a member of the Constituent Assembly, the majority of which he had now secured; and in his turn he prepared the draft of a constitution.

By increasing the number of the members of the

Assembly, Pétion had unquestionably disregarded the authority of the Chief of the Provisional Government. The latter was not disposed to suffer any such infringement of his prerogatives and when, on the 18th of December, 1806, the Assembly met in the church at Port-au-Prince, the breach between the two Generals was complete. The Deputies from the Northern and Artibonite provinces at once protested against the presence of those whom they considered as unlawfully elected. But no notice was taken of their protest. A committee, of which Pétion was appointed the chairman, was commissioned to draw up and to submit to the Assembly the draft of the Constitution.

In a proclamation of December 24 Christophe openly declared many of the most important members of the Assembly to be rebels; he then prepared to march against Port-au-Prince. Yet on the 27th of December Pétion submitted the report of the committee to the Assembly and that same day the Constitution was adopted. Immediately the Deputies from the Northern and Artibonite provinces despatched to Christophe a written protest against the "so-called Constitution, the "consequence of intrigue and malevolence, and against "all that may follow until the dissolution of the As-"sembly."

The Constitution of 1806 established a republican form of government; as an evidence of the distrust then existing against Christophe, exaggerated precautions were taken against the Chief of the Executive Power, whose authority was greatly curtailed. All the powers were centred in one body, the Senate, which had the entire possession of all executive, legislative, and military functions. The Senate alone had the right to appoint the civil and military functionaries, to determine their duties and the place of their residence; it had the direction of the foreign affairs and was, in consequence, authorized to draw up all treaties; it had the initiative in the matter of laws and legislative measures; it assumed also the privileges of a Supreme Court. The President of the Republic, elected for four years, was

simply invested with the care of proclaiming the acts adopted by the Senate and of taking the necessary steps for their execution; and although he was the Commander-in-Chief of the Army he was not allowed to confer any title or rank.

Believing that in this manner it had put an effectual stop to any tendency toward despotism, the Constituent Assembly, on the 28th of December, 1806, elected Christophe President of Haiti; the same day the twenty-four members of the Senate were also elected.

Nevertheless, Christophe, who had not received any notification of his election, continued on his march against Port-au-Prince at the head of a formidable army.

The Senate met on the 31st of December, and regarded Christophe's soldiers, who were then at l'Arcahaie, as enemies.

However, according to the new Constitution, the President-elect was granted fifteen days in which to take the oath of the office. Before the expiration of this time he could not, in the absence of any overt action on his part, be considered as having declined the office or being in rebellion against the Constitution, a copy of which they had not even thought of sending him. Yet when Christophe's soldiers reached Sibert on the 15th of January, 1807, they encountered the army of the Western and Southern provinces under the command of Pétion. A fierce battle ensued. Pétion was utterly defeated and would have been killed but for the devotedness of one of his aides-de-camp, Coutilien Coustard, who, noticing the danger in which his chief stood, seized the hat adorned with gold lace usually worn by Pétion and placed it on his own head. He was thus mistaken for his General and killed.

Following up his success Christophe besieged Port-au-Prince. But after various ineffectual attacks on this town he returned to the Northern province. An Assembly which assumed the title of "Assembly of the mandatories of the people" met at Cap, and on the 17th of February, 1807, adopted a Constitution which, contrary

to the one voted at Port-au-Prince on the 27th of December, 1806, gave full power to the Chief of the Executive Power.

The Government of Haiti, called now the State of Haiti, consisted of a President, Generalissimo of the land and sea forces, and of a Council of State of nine members appointed by the President. The President, who was elected for life, had the right of choosing his successor. According to this Constitution Henri Christophe was on the 17th of February elected President and Generalissimo of the land and sea forces of the State of Haiti. But on the 27th of January, 1807, the Senate at Port-au-Prince had declared Christophe to be an outlaw and deprived him of all his civil and military powers. On the 9th of March Alexandre Pétion, then a Senator, was elected President of the Republic of Haiti for four years. The country was then beneath the sway of two rulers with two separate governments: the State of Haiti consisting of the Northern and Artibonite departments, and the Republic of Haiti composed of the Western and Southern departments. The forces and resources of each were about equal.

Christophe made desperate efforts to subdue Pétion. In 1812 he failed in a last attempt to take possession of Port-au-Prince and returning to Cap he left his opponent alone. They both preserved their respective positions and by ceasing their attacks each one was able to look after the interests of the portion of the territory under his command.

Christophe had himself proclaimed King of Haiti in March, 1811, and assumed the name of Henri I. Contrary to the principles of Dessalines, whose desire was for the equality of all classes, he created a nobility and established a strict etiquette at his Court. As supreme ruler, free from the opposition of a deliberative assembly, he governed according to his will and fancy, keeping each one in his place by force of severe discipline. Personal safety and peace were the results of the order which existed throughout the land; thus agriculture and trade flourished and prospered. Christophe endeavored

to maintain friendly relations with both Great Britain and the United States, and did his utmost to propagate public instruction. The portion of the country under his command was therefore prosperous, although there existed a feeling of discontent among the people.

Pétion, who was of a kind nature and easy tempered, was hampered besides by the Constitution to the adoption of which he had largely contributed; he was thus unable to proceed in his administration with the same vigor displayed by his competitor. In more or less open opposition with the Senate, which finally adjourned *sine die,* he had to contend with many plots. Goman, in the vicinity of Jérémie, further harassed him by keeping up a guerilla warfare. And in 1810 General André Rigaud,[4] who had returned from France, became Commander-in-Chief of the Southern Department, establishing an administration independent of the President's control. Pétion's authority was thus restricted to the Western Department. This secession occurred without any bloodshed, and ended peacefully after Rigaud's death, when the Southern Department acknowledged once more the authority of the President of the Republic (1812).

Owing to the unfavorable influences of these disturbances, agriculture suffered much neglect. However, Pétion's kindness to the peasants won over all their sympathies; and he gained their entire confidence and devotion when, through liberal grants and frequent sales of land, he transformed those who had been until then but simple tillers of the soil into landowners. By establishing this system of small estates Pétion bound up the interests of the people to that of the Republic, thereby gaining their support for the maintenance of the national independence. To public instruction he gave likewise his earnest attention; among other schools

[4] André Rigaud was born at Cayes on the 17th of January, 1761; his father was a Frenchman and his mother a negress named Rose Bossey. He was one of the colored militiamen who fought at Savannah for the independence of the United States. He died at Cayes on the 17th of September, 1811.



Town of Milot, Where Christophe Built "Sans-Souci"

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he founded was the "Lycée" at Port-au-Prince, which still bears his name. Imbued with a sense of the necessity of having the independence acknowledged by the great Powers he strove to display abroad the country's flag. Ships flying the Haitian colors were despatched to England and the United States, where they were made welcome; foreign commercial intercourse was thus secured. Great Britain even forgot that she had forbidden her colonies in the West Indies to have any dealings with Haiti. Being at war with the United States she was scarcely able to supply Jamaica with provisions; the island would therefore have suffered from famine were it not for the help gladly given by Haiti.

Under the administrations of both Christophe and Pétion prosperity reappeared. But anxiety caused by France's attitude soon paralyzed their efforts. Louis XVIII had succeeded Napoleon I; and the new monarch thought that it would be easy to reconquer Haiti. With this object, at the end of June, 1814, he despatched to Haiti three agents: Dauxion Lavaysse, Dravermann, and Franco de Medina. At that time France did not possess an inch of territory in her former colony; for the inhabitants of the Spanish portion had taken up arms and in 1809 once again bowed to the authority of Spain. However, among the papers of Franco de Medina, whom Christophe had caused to be arrested and tried under the charge of being a spy, were discovered the secret instructions given by the French Government, which revealed the intention of the Bourbons, not only to send an army to recover Haiti, but also to reestablish slavery in the island. The feeling provoked by these instructions was intense. Christophe and Pétion's one thought was to have all in readiness for the national defense. Arms, ammunition, and all the necessary provisions were accumulated in the mountains, in the places most difficult of access, where Haitian strategy would be able to wear out the European troops. The expenses were considerable; but the people stoically endured every discomfort and displayed the great-

est enthusiasm to defend, with their lives if need be, the liberty of the soil, of which they meant to remain the sole masters.

Napoleon's escape from Elba occurred just in time to thwart the plans of Louis XVIII. Yet upon the return of the Bourbons to power they once again took up the idea of retaking Haiti. In July, 1816, Lieutenant-General Viscount of Fontanges, the Councillor of State Esmangart, and Captain du Petit Thouars of the French Navy were appointed the King's Commissioners at Saint-Domingue. But they failed in their purpose, and the resistance offered them by both Christophe and Pétion left to them no other course of action but to return to France; consequently they sailed from Port-au-Prince on the 12th of November, 1816.[5] On the same day Pétion issued a proclamation to the people which read as follows: "Our rights are sacred; they "have their source in nature which created all men "equal. We will defend our rights against all those "who will dare to think of subduing us. Our aggressors "will find on this island ashes mingled with blood, bul- "lets and an avengeful climate. Authority rests on "your will; and your will is to be free and independent. "You will be so or we will give to the world the awful "spectacle of burying ourselves under the ruins of our "country rather than submit again to servitude, even "in its mildest form. * * * "

Christophe also issued a proclamation on the 20th of November, in the following terms: "We will negotiate "with the French Government on equal footing, from "Power to Power, from Sovereign to Sovereign. No "negotiation will be entered upon with that country "unless the independence of the kingdom of Haiti, "political as well as commercial, be previously recog-

[5] On their arrival in France they tried to make believe that their failure was caused by the intrigues of Great Britain and the United States. In their report they charge the two countries with slandering France and making her odious to an ignorant people and with maintaining Pétion's distrust by continually telling him that France's only design was to place him and his whole race once more under the yoke of slavery. (B. Ardouin, Vol. VIII, p. 257.)

"nized. * * * Neither the French flag nor any "Frenchman will be allowed to enter any port of the "kingdom until the French Government positively "recognizes the independence of Haiti. * * * "

The firm and explicit attitude of the two rulers put an end to France's last illusions. The only thing to subdue Haiti would be the use of greater force than it would be possible for her to cope with. Once more the Haitians prepared themselves for the attack which seemed to be imminent.

Notwithstanding the anxiety caused by such a contingency, Haiti did not forget what she considered her duty toward those who were fighting to free themselves from European domination. She gave a hearty welcome to Simon Bolivar, Commodore Aury, and the many Venezuelan families whom the successes of the Spaniards had compelled to leave their country. At the end of December, 1815, Bolivar arrived at Cayes, in which port were anchored, on January 6, 1816, ten men-of-war commanded by Commodore Aury, who had been forced to evacuate Carthagena. The embarrassed circumstances in which the Republic found itself did not prevent Pétion from extending all the help he could to the sailors and the Venezuelan families, who, owing to their hasty flight, were in the greatest state of indigence. He was most kind to Bolivar, requesting only in return for the unselfish assistance given to the latter's cause, that slavery be abolished. Bolivar[6] promised to proclaim "general freedom in Venezuela province and all "other provinces which he should succeed in winning "over to the cause of independence." He received from the President of Haiti 4,000 rifles, powder, cartridges, all kinds of provisions, even a printing-press. Pétion did not content himself with furnishing these articles;

[6] Bolivar endeavored to be true to his word. He freed his own slaves numbering about 1,500 and, on the 6th of July, 1816, granted general freedom. But such a measure met with the strongest opposition. In 1821 a gradual freedom was proclaimed; it was only in 1854 that the last slaves were freed owing to the influence of General Monagas, the President of the Republic of Venezuela.

he was peace-maker between Bolivar and his two companions, General Bermudes and Commodore Aury, who had quarrelled, thus dispelling for the time being the misunderstanding which was about to set them at variance. Haitians were authorized to join in the expedition. In the following letter written on the 8th of February, Bolivar expressed his intense gratitude to Pétion:[7]

"Mr. PRESIDENT: I am overwhelmed with your "favors. In everything you are magnanimous and "kind. We have almost completed our preparations "and in a fortnight we may perhaps be ready to start; "I am only awaiting your last favors. Through Mr. "Inginac, your worthy Secretary, I take the liberty to "make a new request. In my proclamation to the in- "habitants of Venezuela and in the decrees I have to "issue concerning the freedom of the slaves, I do not "know if I am allowed to express the feelings of my "heart toward Your Excellency and to leave to pos- "terity an everlasting token of your philanthropy. I "do not know, I say, if I must declare that you are the "author of our liberty. I beg Your Excellency to let "me know his will on the matter. * * * "

Pétion refused to be designated as the author of the independence of Venezuela and made the following answer to Bolivar:

"PORT-AU-PRINCE.

"February 18, 1816, the 13th year of the Independence.

"GENERAL: Your kind letter of the 8th instant "reached me yesterday. You know my regard for the "cause you are defending and for yourself; you must "then be convinced how great is my desire to see free- "dom granted to all those who are still under the yoke "of slavery; but out of deference for a power which "has not yet openly declared itself an enemy of the "Republic, I am compelled to ask you not to mention

[7] Expédition de Bolivar par le Sénateur Marion aîné, p. 42 (December, 1849).

"my name in any of your documents; and for this pur-
"pose I reckon on the sentiments which characterize
"you. * * * "[8]

After leaving Cayes[9] on the 10th of April, 1816, Bolivar landed at Carupano on May 31. Defeated on the 10th of July by the Spanish General Morales, he fled again to Haiti. Pétion once more gave him his sympathy and assistance, furnishing him with large supplies of arms, ammunition, etc. On the 26th of December, 1816, Bolivar left Haiti and this time succeeded in ridding his country of Spanish domination. He expressed his gratitude once more in the following letter which he wrote before embarking, to General Marion, Commandant of the arrondissement of Cayes:

"PORT-AU-PRINCE, December 4, 1816.

"GENERAL: On the point of starting with a view to
"return to my country and strengthen its independence,
"I feel that it would be ungrateful of me were I to miss
"this opportunity of thanking you for all your kindness
"to my countrymen. If men are bound by the favors
"they have received, be sure, General, that my country-
"men and myself will forever love the Haitian people
"and the worthy rulers who make them happy. * *"[10]

Pétion was successively reelected President on the 9th of March, 1811, and on the 9th of March, 1815.

On the 2d of June, 1816, the Constitution of 1806 was modified. The authority was divided between the Executive, the Legislative and the Judiciary Powers. A Supreme Court (Tribunal de Cassation) was created; and henceforth the Legislative body was to consist of a Senate and a House of Commons. The President of Haiti, elected for life by the Senate, had the right to appoint all the civil and military functionaries and also to direct the exterior relations.

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[8] Expédition de Bolivar par le Sénateur Marion aîné, p. 43 (December, 1849).

[9] The capital of the Southern Department.

[10] And a few years later Bolivar refrained from inviting Haiti to the Congress of Panama!

In pursuance of this Constitution, Pétion was elected President for life on the 9th of October, 1816. But he did not long survive this last election. On the 22d of March he had an attack of fever, to which he succumbed on the 29th of March, 1818, in spite of all the efforts that were made to restore him to health.

CHAPTER XII

Jean-Pierre Boyer, President of Haiti for life (March 30, 1818-March 13, 1843)—Pacification of "La Grand 'Anse"—Death of Henri Christophe (October 8, 1820)—His kingdom made part of the Republic—The inhabitants of the Spanish portion of the island expel the Spaniards—They acknowledge the authority of the President of Haiti (January 19, 1822)—The Haitian flag floats over the whole island—Hostility of the Great Powers toward Haiti: the United States and Great Britain recognize the independence of Mexico, Colombia, etc., but refrain from recognizing the independence of Haiti—The Haitians abolish the preferential tariff hitherto granted to Great Britain—Haiti and France at odds over the question of the recognition of the Haitian independence—Preparations for war in Haiti—France strives to acquire a protectorate over Haiti—Promulgation of the Civil Code, the Code of Civil Procedure, the Penal Code, and Code of Criminal Instruction—Charles X grants the Haitians their independence—His ordinance and its effects—Loan in France and paper money, consequences of the ordinance—Negotiations with France for the conclusion of a treaty destined to destroy the bad effects of the ordinance of Charles X—Negotiations with the Pope—Treaty of 1838 by which France recognizes Haitian independence—Treaties with Great Britain and France for the abolition of the slave-trade—The discontent provoked by the Ordinance of Charles X affects President Boyer's popularity—Reforms indispensable after the conclusion of the treaty of 1838—The opposition takes advantage of Boyer's inaction—Charles Hérard, surnamed Rivière, takes up arms at Praslin (January 27, 1843)—Boyer resigns (March 13, 1843) and sails on the English sloop-of-war *Scylla*.

The death of Alexandre Pétion, the founder of the Republic, was a source of profound and unanimous regret. No other President has ever had such a hold on his fellow-citizens' affections. The people, who cherished him dearly, remained true to the form of government he had established. The day after, on the 30th of March, 1818, the Senate met and elected Jean-Pierre Boyer, President for life. Even this choice was a

homage to the memory of the departed ruler; for Boyer had been the "spoiled child" of Pétion and the commander of his body-guard.

The new President was well informed for a man of his time. Of an upright and extremely thrifty nature, the first thing to receive his attention after his election was the finances, which were in a bad condition owing to the extreme generosity of his predecessor. He undertook also to restore peace and security in the Grand-'Anse, which since January, 1807, Goman had been harassing. At the beginning of 1819 Boyer despatched a strong body of men against Goman, who was completely defeated, and killed while trying to make his escape. This portion of the territory once pacified the President sought to restore unity in the Government of the country.

Pétion's wise and kind policy had already provoked many defections among Christophe's followers. Monarchy was indeed a very heavy burden to the inhabitants of the Northern and Artibonite provinces, whilst under the Republic the people enjoyed more liberty. Comparisons were all in favor of the latter form of government, and, in order to maintain his authority, Christophe had to resort more and more to violence. He was aware of the fact that a struggle between his troops and the republican soldiers would be detrimental to his cause. In consequence he was anxious to prevent being attacked by Boyer, who was more aggressive than Pétion. He found an obliging agent in the English Admiral Homer Popham. The latter went to Port-au-Prince in April, 1820, and did his utmost to induce the President to leave King Henri alone. Sir Homer was principally pleading the cause of the English commerce, which enjoyed great privileges in Christophe's dominion. However, he failed in his purpose, for Boyer refused to commit himself by any promise. The President had full knowledge of the fact that the people in the North and the Artibonite were in a great state of discontent and would avail themselves of the first opportunity of shaking off the yoke.

As long as he was able to rouse his soldiers by the magic of his daring bravery, Christophe had still the possibility of maintaining his authority. But disease, on which he had not reckoned, made him impotent. On the 15th of April, 1820, whilst hearing mass in the church of Limonade, he fell heavily to the floor. The man before whom his fellow-citizens were made to bow their heads was laid low by a stroke of apoplexy. However, he did not die from this stroke, but he remained paralyzed.

Locked up in his palace of "Sans-Souci," unable to ride on horseback as before, Christophe had no longer any means of stimulating the devotion of his followers. In consequence, on the 2d of October, 1820, Saint-Marc joined the cause of the Republic and asked the assistance of President Boyer. That was the signal for a general defection. On October 6 the Governor of Cap, General Richard, followed Saint-Marc's example. Christophe imagined that he could reduce even nature to submission; he resorted to a most extraordinary medication in order to regain the energy of which his poor paralyzed limbs were deprived: for over an hour he was vigorously rubbed with a mixture of rum and pepper (piment). In spite of this powerful stimulant, his strength failed at the very moment when he tried to mount his horse in order to lead his army. But with a stern determination not to give in he caused himself to be carried in a chair and placed in front of his palace, where, on the 8th of October, 1820, he reviewed his body-guard and intrusted them with the mission of subduing Cap. This body-guard, on whose faithfulness no doubt had ever been cast, was no sooner out of his presence than it went over to the insurrection, crying out, "Vive la liberté!" That same night Christophe had retired to his room, where the news of this defection reached him. He at once summoned his wife and his children, whom he loaded with tokens of his affection. After dismissing them, he ordered his servants to bring him fresh water, and after a bath he put on a spotless white suit. He then seized one of his pistols, pointed it

at his heart, and pulled the trigger. On hearing the report of the shot the whole household rushed to his room; Henri Christophe was but a corpse [1] and royalty had ceased to exist.

President Boyer neglected none of the means which might bring under his rule that portion of territory hitherto under Christophe's authority. On October 16 he was at Saint-Marc; on the 21st he arrived at Gonaives, and on the 26th of October, 1820, he entered Cap,[2] where the former subjects of Henri I decided to become part of the Republic. In this manner the secession with its possibilities of grave consequences for the future of the country came happily to an end.

The union of all the Haitians was complete. Boyer was thus enabled to undertake the realization of the plan of Dessalines, who thought that Haiti should have no other limits than "those laid out for her by nature and the sea." After the expulsion of the French in 1809 the inhabitants of the eastern portion of the island had again acknowledged Spain's authority.

[1] On the same night, October 8, Christophe's corpse was brought to the citadel of Laferrière, where it was covered with lime. Built on the summit of Bonnet-à-l'Evêque, at an altitude of 3,000 feet, this citadel is the best testimonial of Christophe's genius. Up to the present day its splendid ruins are the admiration of the foreigners who visit them. A Frenchman (Edgar-La-Selve—La Republique d'Haiti, p. 27), who was rather unfriendly to Haiti, could not help speaking as follows of this stronghold: "Nowhere in France, England, or in the United States, "have I seen anything more imposing. The citadel of La Ferrière is "truly a marvellous thing." The man who conceived and caused such a work to be constructed was certainly wonderful. Born and bred beneath the brutalizing system of slavery, Henri Christophe proved himself to be tactician, legislator, and statesman. His faults were the results of a system of government from which he had suffered greatly. Fond of progress, he thought that he could force it on his countrymen regardless of the time wanted for the evolution. In consequence he resorted to methods which made him unpopular. Thus one thinks only of the violence of his temper and his harsh measures, forgetting the results arrived at. Owing to the worthiness of his intentions, to the impulse given by him to agriculture, and to the prosperity which his kingdom enjoyed, Christophe is deserving of impartial appreciation; foreigners are unfortunately too eager to ruthlessly condemn him.

[2] After the declaration of Independence Cap-Français became Cap; whilst Christophe was King the town was called Cap-Henri; but on joining the Republic it was given the name of Cap-Haitien, by which it has been since called.

The vicinity of this Power had always made the Haitians uneasy; they were in consequence determined to embrace the first opportunity to get rid of it. Whilst at Cap-Haitien, Boyer had many interviews with secret agents sent by the inhabitants of the Spanish portion of the island. He in turn despatched to them trustworthy emissaries with the mission of directly preparing the way for the union of the whole country under one government. However, Nuñez de Caceres, one of the leaders of the uprising then being prepared against Spain, thought that it would be more advantageous to establish an independent State and to form with Haiti nothing more than an offensive and defensive alliance; according to his idea the new State was to become one of the Colombian Confederation. Boyer lost no time in taking the necessary measures for the frustration of this plan. Before Caceres had had time to give the signal for the insurrection, Monte-Christi and Laxavon hoisted the Haitian flag (November 15, 1821). On the night of November 30 and on December 1 Caceres and his followers took possession of the most important posts in the town of Santo Domingo; and the Spanish Governor, Pascal Real, unable to uphold Spain's authority, left the place on the 5th of December. Still believing in the possibility of carrying out his idea of independence, Caceres hoisted the Colombian flag and proclaimed the establishment of the Dominican Republic. But the public mind had already been won over to the cause of Haiti, the flag of which was floating over such important towns as Puerto-Plata, Macoris, Banica, Azua, etc. In support of these friendly demonstrations President Boyer, on the 16th of January, 1822, left Port-au-Prince at the head of 14,000 soldiers for Santo Domingo. The inhabitants of the former Spanish territory welcomed the President of Haiti and his army with the greatest enthusiasm. Nuñez de Caceres was unable to resist the trend of public opinion. Yielding to the wish of his fellow-citizens he hoisted the Haitian flag at Santo Domingo on the 19th of January, 1822. And on the 9th of February President Boyer entered the town,

loudly cheered by the inhabitants. Without bloodshed both the former French and Spanish portions of the island became united and threw in their destinies one with the other; and for twenty-two years the Haitian flag floated over the whole island of Haiti.

However, a few French colonists at Samana were striving to prevent this peaceful union. They still were slave-owners. At the first demonstrations on behalf of Haiti they had hastened to ask for the protection of the Governor of Martinique. In consequence a French squadron was despatched to Samana, which they found, upon arriving, already in possession of the Haitians. The firm attitude assumed by the new occupants compelled the French to withdraw. In this way was slavery abolished throughout the whole island.

After organizing the administration and taking such measures as were necessitated by the circumstances, Boyer left Santo Domingo on March 10, and on the 6th of May, 1822, he was at Port-au-Prince.

Territorial unity having now become an accomplished fact, it remained for Haiti to strive to put an end to her misunderstanding with France. It was impossible to make the most of the riches of the island so long as there was the probability of an attack from the former mother country. Complete security could only be obtained through the recognition of Haitian independence by France. It was thought that Great Britain would gladly help in bringing about this result. In consequence, Pétion and Christophe unhesitatingly granted special privileges to British commerce. Boyer adopted the same policy. Whilst all foreign products had to pay an import duty of 12 per cent, those from Great Britain paid only 7 per cent; and when these products were imported by Haitian ships, the duty was further reduced to 5 per cent. Great Britain profited by these advantages but did not show the least inclination to lend assistance to Haiti. On the contrary, in the treaty additional to the Paris treaty, Great Britain promised not to counteract any of the means to which France might resort in order to "recover Saint-Domingue and

to subdue the inhabitants of that colony." And as it would be perhaps necessary to almost exterminate "the inhabitants of the colony" in order to subdue them, Great Britain, though requesting the abolition of the slave-trade, forgot for a while her philanthropic principles and authorized France to continue this barbarous trade for five years, as it would probably be the only way of repeopling the depopulated island. In spite of this attitude, greatly out of keeping with the commercial privileges which had been granted her, the Haitians had still the hope that Great Britain could be induced to recognize their independence and to help them to obtain the same recognition from France. But they were rudely disillusioned when, in 1823, Great Britain recognized the independence of Mexico, Colombia, etc., and refrained from recognizing theirs. They knew finally that they could not expect any assistance from this Power. In consequence, in 1825, they abolished all the privileges by which the British were profiting and ordered that henceforth the import tax of 12 per cent would be indiscriminately levied on all foreign products.

As to the United States, Haiti had not even thought of having recourse to their intervention. In that country the partisans of slavery were at that time omnipotent. They naturally could not help bearing ill-will against the former slaves, who had not only created a sovereign State, but who had even dared to transform their territory into an asylum of freedom and liberty for the unfortunate human beings who, on account of their color, were elsewhere subjected to a shameful yoke. President Boyer had even sent an agent to New York to encourage the men of the black race to emigrate to Haiti. No wonder then was it that the United States recognized the independence of Colombia, etc., and ignored that of Haiti.

Thus the young Republic, at the very beginning of its existence, found itself isolated and compelled to face the power of France without the sympathy of a single nation. But Haiti, with a sense of her responsibility,

remained undaunted and spared nothing in order to preserve her autonomy. French commerce was suffering no less than that of Haiti, owing to the bad feeling existing between the two countries. On both sides the necessity of coming to some kind of an agreement was felt. Still, France could not yet make up her mind to accept as an accomplished fact the loss of her colony. In 1821, after the failure of the agents sent to Pétion, she once again entertained the idea of forcibly establishing a protectorate over Haiti; with that end in view Mr. Dupetit Thouars was despatched to Haiti. Boyer, like his predecessor, flatly refused to take such a proposal into consideration. This evidently did not have the effect of discouraging France, as in 1823 another agent, Mr. Liot, was sent to Port-au-Prince. His instructions were to try to induce President Boyer to take the initiative in the negotiations for the acknowledgment of the independence of his country. In May the President of Haiti charged the French General, Jacques Boyé, who had given many proofs of his friendship to the Haitians, to enter into a parley with France. The French Government commissioned Mr. Esmangart to confer with the Haitian envoy. The two agents opened the negotiations at Brussels on the 16th of August, 1823. The Haitian plenipotentiary requested the full recognition of the independence of the Republic and, in return, offered freedom from all import duties, during the next five years, on all French products; and at the conclusion of that time the duties on French products were to be only one-half of the amount levied on all other foreign products. Mr. Esmangart refused to recognize the full independence of Haiti; he put an end to the parleys and left Brussels on the 22d of August. This last display of France's ill will produced a very bad impression in Haiti. On the 6th of January, 1824, President Boyer issued a proclamation ordering various energetic measures relative to the defense of the Haitian territory. Arms and ammunition were stored in the interior of the island, in all places which could serve as the basis of military operations. Once

more the country was preparing for war. The inhabitants were still in a state of great agitation when Mr. Laujon, the new agent of France, arrived in Haiti and requested President Boyer to take up the negotiations once more. Accordingly, two Haitian agents, Mr. Rouanez and Senator Larose, were again sent to France. They left Haiti on the 1st of May, 1824, and arrived at Havre on the 14th of June. The Haitian plenipotentiaries were at first taken to Saint-Germain, and afterward to Strasbourg, where they met Mr. Esmangart, the French agent. Upon their declaring that the negotiations could not be successfully carried on at so great a distance from Paris, the conferences were transferred to Meaux. The Haitian envoys kept their patience throughout all these changes and finally succeeded in arranging that the parleys be held in Paris. They were instructed to secure the recognition of the independence of Haiti, and in return to agree to the payment of an indemnity to the former colonists; the French products, however, were to enjoy no greater privileges than those granted to the more favored nations; and Haitian products were not to pay higher duties in France than importations from the French colonies.

As soon as Larose and Rouanez had made known the views of their Government, the French agent raised a grave question. He contended that the King of France having in 1814 reconveyed the Spanish portion of the island to Spain was empowered to negotiate only for the French portion of Saint-Domingue. Since 1822 there existed neither a French nor a Spanish portion: the Republic of Haiti was in peaceful possession of the whole island. In consequence, the Haitian envoys refused to take into consideration any such discrimination and threatened to break up the parleys. They were then invited to confer directly with Marquis de Clermont-Tonnerre, the Minister of War and of the colonies. In an interview with him on the 31st of July they were astounded to learn that the King of France, whilst willing to recognize the independence of Haiti, intended,

however, to retain the right to manage the foreign relations of the Republic. They energetically protested against such a pretension, and considering it useless to prolong the negotiations, they left France on the 15th of August. Their arrival in Haiti created great excitement. President Boyer at once acquainted the people with France's intention of forcing a protectorate upon them; he informed the Senate of the failure of his plenipotentiaries and summoned the most important among the generals of the Haitian army to Port-au-Prince. War appeared to be inevitable. Once more the necessary measures were taken in order to enable the country to repel a foreign invasion.

Whilst resorting to the precautions rendered necessary by circumstances, President Boyer did not neglect to complete the organization of the Republic. A Civil Code, a Code of Civil Procedure, a Commercial Code, a Penal Code, and a Code of Criminal Instruction were successively enacted and proclaimed. The whole country was thus under the same laws.

Whilst the Haitians, in spite of the ill will shown them abroad, were striving to consolidate their government, France harassed them still further by a humiliation in the guise of a favor. This was the act of Charles X, who bestowed on them as a charity the recognition of their independence. Without their consent, regardless of their desire in the matter, and without taking the slightest notice of the arduous negotiations which had been hitherto carried on, the haughty Bourbon signed, on the 17th of April, 1825, the following ordinance:

"Charles, by the grace of God, King of France and "Navarre.

"Wishing to attend to the interest of French Com- "merce, to the misfortunes of the former colonists of "Saint-Domingue and to the precarious condition of "the present inhabitants of the island;

"We have ordered and order the following:

"Art. I. The ports of the French part of Saint-Do- "mingue shall be open to the commerce of all nations.

"The duties levied in these ports either on ships or "merchandise at the times of their entry or departure "shall be equal and uniform for all nations except for "the French flag, on behalf of which these duties are to "be reduced to half the amount.

"Art. II. The present inhabitants of the French part "of Saint-Domingue shall pay at the Caisse des Dépots "et Consignations of France, in five annual instal- "ments, the first one due on the 31st of December, 1825, "the sum of one hundred and fifty millions of francs, "in order to compensate the former colonists who may "claim an indemnity.

"Art. III. Under these conditions we grant, by the "present Ordinance, to the present inhabitants of the "French part of Saint-Domingue the full independ- "ence of their Government.

"And the present Ordinance shall be sealed with the "great seal.

"Done at Paris in the Palace of Tuileries, this 17th "of April A. D. 1825, and the first of our reign.

"CHARLES.

"By the King: The Peer of France, Minister-Secre- "tary of State for the Navy and the colonies.

"COMTE DE CHABROL."

Baron Mackau, a captain in the French Navy, was intrusted with the mission of submitting the ordinance to the approval of the President of Haiti. He left on the 4th of May, 1825, and arrived at Port-au-Prince on the third of July on the frigate *La Circé,* accompanied by two other men-of-war. Soon after there arrived also several squadrons under the command of Admirals Jurien de la Gravière and Grivel, who had been instructed to cruise in Haitian waters. This display of forces served to create the impression that France was willing to renew hostilities should the ordinance of the King be rejected.

Did President Boyer shrink from the responsibility of provoking war, or did he consider it wiser to remove the most important cause of conflict with France so as

to be able henceforth to devote his whole efforts to the improvement of his country? After four days of hesitation he finally accepted, on the 4th of July, the ordinance, which the Senate approved on the 11th. When the exact wording of the ordinance became known, a shudder of indignation ran through the whole country. The old warriors took offense at the very thought of their independence being granted to them after their having fought so hard to gain it for themselves. The people were highly incensed at the lordly tone adopted by the King of France, as well as at the heavy burden laid upon them. As a result of this step President Boyer's popularity was deeply affected.

Seeing the mistake he had made he set to work to try and counteract the ill effects of it. On the 21st of July, 1825, he despatched three plenipotentiaries to France with instructions to negotiate a treaty less offensive to the nation's self-respect. It was urgent to come to a clear understanding, for France, through a misconstruction of the Ordinance of April, 1825, was paying half of the duties, not only on her products imported to Haiti, but also on those exported from the island: in consequence there was an important decrease in the revenues at the very moment when Haiti was in sore need of money on account of the indemnity which was being extorted by France. In order to pay the first instalment, viz., 30,000,000 francs, it was necessary to resort to a loan, which was floated at Paris in November, 1825, and yielded 24,000,000 francs, though the Republic issued bonds for 30,000,000 francs. To make up the required sum the country was thus compelled to ship 6,000,000 of francs; all the disposable cash was in consequence sent to France. In this way the effects of payment of the indemnity and of the interest on the loan began to be heavily felt. The export of the metallic currency compelled the Haitian Government to issue paper money in September, 1826. The evil consequence of the Ordinance of 1825 could not be questioned. No wonder was it that the Haitians devoted all their energies to have it annulled. However, the plenipotentiaries

sent to France in 1825 had failed to obtain either a reduction in the amount of the indemnity or the determining of a date for the discontinuance of the privilege of the payment of half duty on all the French products. On the 31st of October, 1825, they signed a commercial convention [3] which the President of Haiti refused to approve.

Instead of improving, the relations between Haiti and France grew daily worse. It was impossible for Haiti to pay the enormous sum which Charles X had forced upon her. There were unavoidable delays in the payment of the instalments, which gave rise to endless disputes and misunderstandings with France. In 1828 a Haitian agent, Mr. St. Macary, went to Paris; he also failed in his mission, and returned in 1829 to Haiti, where the French Consul-General again took up the negotiations. As a result of this a commercial treaty and a convention concerning the indemnity were signed in April, 1829. These, however, France refused to ratify; and Baron Pichon was appointed to carry on new negotiations. He arrived at Port-au-Prince in 1830, and failing to come to an agreement with the Haitian plenipotentiaries, he returned to France in April. Thus relations between the two countries became very strained; for the Haitian Government was bent on discontinuing the advantage of the payment of half duty which the Ordinance of 1825 had granted to French commerce. The instalments were irregularly paid and the French products were made to pay the same taxes levied on the merchandise of all other nations. The ordinance of 1825, the cause of so much trouble, was thus little by little repudiated by the Haitians.

To prevent any complaint on the part of France, Boyer, in April, 1830, again sent St. Macary to France. The negotiations were being carried on in Paris when the revolution of 1830 occurred. The downfall of Charles X put an end to the parleys, which were not

[3] J. N. Léger, Recueil de Traités et Conventions d'Haiti, p. 2.

resumed until the following year; and on the 2d of April, 1831, St. Macary and Pichon signed a commercial treaty and a convention relating to the indemnity.[4] These two documents, instead of annulling the Ordinance of 1825, which the Haitians had firmly decided to abolish, granted new favors to the French. Thus it was that Louis Philippe lost no time in ratifying them, whilst President Boyer flatly refused to sanction them. This refusal so incensed the King of France that his Consul was immediately withdrawn from Port-au-Prince. This time all semblance of friendliness in the relations between the two countries was at an end. War seemed to be unavoidable. And the people, glad at having an opportunity to wipe out the insult placed upon them by the Ordinance of 1825, showed the greatest enthusiasm. The Haitians were ready to make the greatest sacrifices in order to obtain not the *concession*, but the *recognition* of their independence by a treaty voluntarily drawn and agreed upon.

This independence had been recognized by Great Britain, which, in May, 1826, had appointed a Consul-General at Port-au-Prince and Consuls and Vice-Consuls in the various ports open to foreign trade. Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark were also in official relations with the young Republic. Negotiations were being carried on with the Holy See with a view to the settlement of religious matters. In January, 1834, John England, Bishop of Charleston, was sent to Port-au-Prince in the capacity of a Legate. The Pope wanted to control the church of Haiti without any interference from the temporal Power; consequently, he made up his mind to appoint a Vicar Apostolic for Haiti. The Haitian Government claimed the right to appoint the Archbishops and Bishops, reserving to the Pope the right of conferring the canonical investiture. Unable to come to an understanding, Bishop England left Haiti, but returned in May, 1836, and signed a Concordat, which he took with him to Rome, hoping to have it rati-

[4] J. N. Léger, Recueil des Traités et Conventions d'Haiti, pp. 7, 11.

fied. Pope Gregory XII refused to approve this treaty, and in May, 1837, Bishop England arrived at Port-au-Prince with the title of "Vicar Apostolic, Administrator of the Church of Haiti." On the refusal of President Boyer to receive the Pope's agent in such a capacity, Bishop England returned to Charleston, where he died soon after.[5]

Although Haiti had been greatly displeased with the ordinance of Charles X, she had nevertheless benefited by it in obtaining the recognition of her independence by Great Britain and some other European Powers. The rupture with France, caused by President Boyer's refusal to ratify the treaties of 1831, was very detrimental to the interests of both countries, which were therefore eager to come to an understanding. After seven years of untiring efforts Haiti succeeded in reaching an agreement satisfactory to all concerned. Baron E. de Las Cases and C. Baudin, a captain in the French Navy, arrived at Port-au-Prince on the 28th of January, 1838; they were commissioned by Louis Philippe to settle the disagreements existing between France and Haiti. On the 31st of January the parleys with the Haitian plenipotentiaries were begun, and on the 12th of February, 1838, the following treaty,[6] which

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[5] In 1842 the negotiations were renewed with the Holy See. Joseph Rosati, Bishop of Saint Louis (Mo.), arrived at Port-au-Prince in January as Papal Legate. On the 17th of February, 1842, he signed with the Haitian plenipotentiaries a Concordat which contained the following principal stipulations: "The right to appoint the Archbishops and "Bishops was vested in the President of Haiti with the reservation of "the right of the Pope to grant the canonical investiture; before enter-"ing upon the duties of their offices they were to take, before the Presi-"dent, the oath of fidelity and obedience to the Government of the "Republic and of doing nothing injurious to its rights or interests. The "Bishops were empowered to appoint their Vicars-General, the rectors "and parish Vicars, with the reservation of the right of the President "of Haiti to approve or reject these appointments, etc." The events which occurred in Haiti in 1843 prevented this agreement from being taken into consideration. But in 1860 negotiations began again, and on the 28th of March the Concordat which still governs the relations of Haiti with the Vatican was signed in Rome. (J. N. Léger, Recueil des Traités et Conventions de la République d'Haiti, p. 59.)

[6] J. N. Léger, Recueil des Traités et Conventions de la République d'Haiti, p. 23.

was entirely satisfactory to the national *amour-propre* of Haiti, was signed:

"In the name of the Holy and indivisible Trinity.

"His Majesty the King of the French and the Presi-"dent of Haiti, desiring to establish on a solid and last-"ing basis the friendly relations which ought to exist "between France and Haiti, have decided to settle them "by a Treaty and for that purpose have appointed the "following plenipotentiaries:

"His Majesty the King of the French: Emmanuel "Pons-Dieudonné Baron Las Cases, officer of the Royal "order of the Legion of Honor, and Charles Baudin, "officer of the same Royal order of the Legion of Honor, "Captain in the Royal Navy. The President of Haiti: "Brigadier-General Joseph Balthazar Inginac, Secre-"tary-General; Colonel Marie Elisabeth Eustache Fré-"mont, his aide-de-camp; Senators Dominique, Fran-"cois Labbé and Alexis Beaubrun Ardouin; and Louis "Mesmin Séguy Villevalaix, Chief Clerk of the Secre-"tary-General;

"Who after having communicated to each other their "respective full powers, found in good and due form, "have agreed on the following articles:

"Art. I. His Majesty the King of the French, in his "name and in the name of his heirs and successors, "recognizes the Republic of Haiti as a free, sovereign, "and independent State.

"Art. II. There shall be inviolable peace and per-"petual friendship between France and the Republic "of Haiti, and between the citizens of both States, with-"out distinction of persons and places.

"Art. III. His Majesty the King of the French and "the President of the Republic of Haiti intend to sign, "as soon as possible and in case of need, a special "treaty destined to govern the relations of commerce "and navigation between France and Haiti. In the "mean time, it is agreed that the Consuls, the citizens "and the merchandise or products from one country "will in every respect enjoy in the other the treatment

"granted or which may be granted to the most favored "nation; and this, gratuitously if the concession be "gratuitous, or in return for an equivalent compensa- "tion if the concession be conditional.

"Art. IV. The present treaty shall be ratified, and "the ratifications shall be exchanged in Paris within "three months, or sooner if possible.

"In faith whereof we, the undersigned plenipoten- "tiaries, have signed the present treaty and have here- "unto affixed our seals.

"Done in Port-au-Prince this 12th day of February "in the year of grace 1838.

"(Signed) Emmanuel Baron de Las Cases, Charles "Baudin, B. Inginac, Frémont, Labbé, B. Ardouin, "Séguy Villevalaix."

In a convention signed on the same day, the indemnity to be paid by the Republic of Haiti was reduced to sixty millions of francs.

Having taken the initiative of abolishing slavery, the new State could not be indifferent to the measures adopted with a view to put an end to the inhuman slave-trade. In consequence, in August, 1840, Haiti signed with France a treaty [7] in which she gave her adhesion to the Conventions of November, 1831, and March, 1833, between Great Britain and France, which was destined to secure the abolition of the slave-trade. And, in order to complete her philanthropic mission, the Republic had previously agreed to pay the crews of the English men-of-war for the slaves who, after being rescued from the hands of the traders in human flesh, would be landed on her territory.[8]

Haiti had spent the first thirty-four years of her independence in the anxious expectation of an aggression from France. After thirty-four years of sacrifices and perseverance she at last succeeded in freeing herself of this anxiety. In the mean time, the greatest part of her resources had been devoted to armament, the

[7] J. N. Léger, Recueil des Traités et Conventions d'Haiti, p. 26.
[8] B. Ardouin, Etudes sur l'Histoire d'Haiti, p. 127.

building of fortresses, and the establishment of storehouses for arms and ammunition in the inaccessible parts of the island. The heavy indemnity requested by France had increased the embarrassment caused by these comparatively high expenses. The aggravation of the bad financial circumstances in which the country found itself was not the only result of the ordinance of Charles X. The discontent provoked by this inconsiderate document was taken advantage of by President Boyer's opponents. The opposition in the House of Representatives grew more and more bitter. The Constitution had conferred on the President alone the right to introduce laws. And it was thought that the Chief of the Executive Power was abusing his privilege of initiative by refraining from submitting to the legislative body the measures which were required by circumstances. The opposition, of which Hérard Dumesle, the Representative from Cayes, was the leader, was resorting to every available means in order to bring about the revision of the Constitution with a view to invest in the House the right of introducing laws and to curtail the President's prerogatives, which, it was claimed, were excessive. On the other hand, a new generation had sprung up. From the schools created since the independence had come many young men imbued with ideas of liberty and progress, and desirous of participating in the affairs of State in order to give the country the benefit of their knowledge. Finding the offices in possession of the old collaborators who, for 25 years, had been working with Boyer, these young men were loud in their complaints about what they termed the President's exclusiveness. The situation had become so tense that a catastrophe was imminent. Boyer might have prevented this occurring by taking the proper measures necessitated by the new state of things, after the Treaty of 1838, which gave full security to the country's future. Unfortunately, he refrained from acting at the right moment. And as a final stroke to a situation already very much strained, an earthquake, which occurred on the 7th of May, 1842, destroyed Cap-

Haitien, Port-de-Paix, Môle Saint-Nicolas, Fort-Liberté and several less important places. This catastrophe was turned to account by the opponents of Boyer, who contended that he had not hastened to give assistance to the sufferers. The opposition succeeded in imputing to Boyer the reputation of being averse to progress and of systematically preventing the improvements which the institutions of the country needed. Men's minds were agitated by the bitter and animated dispute which ensued.

Such was the state of things when Major Charles Hérard ainé, surnamed Rivière, took up arms on the 27th of January, 1843, on the Praslin plantation in the vicinity of Cayes. The whole Southern Department at once sided with him. Boyer, owing to the strong public opinion which declared itself against him, was unable to repress the insurrection. Realizing the futility of his efforts in enforcing his authority, he sent his resignation to the Senate on the 13th of March, 1843, and in the afternoon of the same day he embarked on the English sloop of war *Scylla* which the Consul, Mr. Thomas Usher, had graciously placed at his disposal.[9]

[9] Boyer died in Paris on the 9th of July, 1850.

CHAPTER XIII

The revolutionists of 1843—Their reforms; the Constitution of 1843—Charles Hérard ainé, surnamed Rivière (December 30, 1843-May 3, 1844—Loss of the Spanish portion of the island—Claims of the peasants of the Southern Department—Jean-Jacques Acaau—The period of transition—Guerrier (May 3, 1844-April 15, 1845)—Pierrot (April 16, 1845-March 1, 1846)—Riché (March 1, 1846-February 27, 1847).

The departure of Boyer had the effect of throwing the country into a state of political convulsions all the more acute, as the various elements which had contributed to the success of the revolution of 1843 were far from having the same tendencies or the same object. Those who had taken up arms with the impetuosity of youth in the name of liberty, craved for the termination of the military régime and for the establishment of a civil form of government. The man whom circumstances had placed in the foremost rank was unfortunately devoid of the qualities which go to the making up of a capable leader of a great liberal movement. Charles Hérard ainé, surnamed Rivière, was but a soldier, and as such was not a sincere partisan of the civil régime. On the other hand, great hopes were being entertained by the peasants, who had been promised a decided betterment of their condition. The new and conflicting ideas which were agitating each class of people could not fail to cause friction.

In the mean time, a provisional government had been organized at Port-au-Prince (April 4, 1843). Popular elections were ordered, and the meeting of the Constitu-

ent Assembly was fixed for the 15th of September. Municipalities were created and the mayors began to exercise powers which hitherto had belonged to the military authorities.

The Constitution, enacted on the 30th of December, 1843, contained many important innovations. The judges were to be elected by the people, instead of being appointed by the President; all offenses, either criminal, political, or by the press, were to be submitted to trials by jury. Presidency for life was abolished; the term of the Chief of the Executive Power was limited to four years; and no measure could be adopted by the President without the countersign of the proper Minister. The right to introduce laws was conferred on the House of Representatives and on the Senate as well as on the President. Matters concerning the communes and the arrondissements were in charge of the municipalities and the arrondissement councils. An estimate of the revenues and expenses was to be voted annually; a Court of Accounts was instituted. The Army was declared a law-abiding body; and strict measures were enacted in view of guaranteeing personal freedom and respect of property.

The Haitians are still governed by most of the stipulations of the Constitution of 1843. Had it been earnestly carried out from the time it was adopted, it might have proved the beginning of a new era for Haiti. Charles Hérard ainé, who was elected President on the 30th of December, 1843, was unfortunately deficient in the competency necessary to facilitate the transition from a military to a civil government. When a member of the Provisional Government he had provoked discontent among the inhabitants of the Northern and Eastern Departments. He had shown no regard for the susceptibility of his fellow-citizens of the former Spanish territory. Besides, the Provisional Government had committed the error of decreeing, on the 27th of September, 1843, the closing to foreign commerce of all the ports of this portion of the island. This measure so excited the people that they rose in revolt on the 16th

of January, 1844, a few days after the new President had taken the oath of office. The inhabitants of the former Spanish portion seceded from the Haitian Government and, on the 27th of February, 1844, established an independent State which they called the Dominican Republic.[1]

Whilst the territorial unity was being destroyed, grave complications were threatening the Republic of Haiti. In August, 1843, disturbances had already taken place in the South. The revolutionists, elated by their success, had completely forgotten the promises made to the peasants. The latter therefore gathered together in the plain of Cayes, with a view of obtaining what was due to them. But they were speedily dispersed, and their leaders, the Salomons, were sent in exile to Azua, in the former Spanish territory.

Haiti had still many great difficulties to overcome; but these were not insuperable. With earnest efforts and good will it was still possible to restore security by obtaining the confidence of the people. Unfortunately, Charles Hérard ainé deemed his sword all-sufficient in settling the delicate questions which were agitating the country. By openly avowing his antipathy to the Constitution, which had put a check on his authority, he had incurred the distrust of the liberals, to whom he owed his high dignity, and disturbed the peaceful security of those who believed that henceforth the laws would be faithfully obeyed by all. The President had also lost the sympathy of the peasants of the Southern Department by not keeping the promises made to them. In consequence, both classes of inhabitants, those of the country as well as those of the towns, were equally displeased. This situation, already fraught with danger, was still more aggravated by continual conflict between the civil and military authorities.

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[1] In the United States people are in the habit of calling the whole Dominican Republic San Domingo. This is incorrect. San Domingo is the name of the Capital. The Dominican Republic is the correct designation of the country, whose inhabitants are known as Dominicans, and not as San Domingans as is often to be seen in American newspapers.

The prerogatives of the mayors and the municipalities had to some extent restrained the powers hitherto vested solely in the military commandants of the arrondissements and communes, who therefore strove to regain their former importance; hence there started a struggle with the new civil functionaries created by institutions of too recent a date to command the respect of all, more especially as the Executive Power was giving his hearty support to the military party. The President set the bad example of not submitting to the civil power; consequently there existed between him and the Constituent Assembly, which but recently elected him President, a state of open warfare.

The popularity of Charles Hérard ainé was already on the wane when, at the head of the Haitian army, he undertook to subdue the insurgents of the Spanish portion of the island. The soldiers bravely performed their duty, so that the President entered Azua in the first days of April. There was nothing seriously to impede the advance of his army upon Santo Domingo. The days of the Dominican Republic were numbered, had it not been for the events which occurred at that moment at Cap-Haitien, Port-au-Prince, and Cayes, and which saved its existence. The discontent provoked by the acts attributable to the inexperience of Charles Hérard ainé broke out simultaneously in various places. In a proclamation of April 25 the inhabitants of Cap-Haitien seceded from his government; and a council of state appointed General Guerrier President of the Northern Department. On the 3d of May, 1844, Port-au-Prince, following Cap-Haitien's example, acclaimed Guerrier President of the Republic. The Southern Department was also in a much agitated condition. The peasants of Cayes were bent upon obtaining the fulfillment of the promises made to them. On the 27th of March, 1844, they assembled at Camp-Perrin and assumed the name of "L'Armée Souffrante" (the army of the sufferers). They chose a leader of their own, Jean-Jacques Acaau, who adopted the title of "General, Chief of the claims of his fellow-

citizens." This was an absolutely illiterate man, but one possessed of that daring and gallantry which fascinate and arouse the masses. He soon became the prime mover of this popular outbreak, and on the 5th of April he took possession of the town of Cayes. The grievances of the country people, which had long been held in check, broke forth at last with a violence that terrified the inhabitants of the town. The peasants had one aim in view: the holding of the land; the means used in attaining this end were of minor importance to them. Like an impetuous torrent, Acaau's followers bore down, wreaking destruction on all who stood in their way. They committed many very regrettable excesses.

Whilst Acaau was enjoying his dictatorship at Cayes, the peasants in the Grand'Anse took up arms with the cries of "Down with the process-servers!"[2] They succeeded in occupying Jérémie and in becoming masters of the whole arrondissement of Nippes. Ridiculous as the cries of "Down with the process-servers!" may seem, they were nevertheless an evidence of the fixed idea of the peasants to remain in possession of their fields. Taking advantage of the hard circumstances in which they at that time found themselves, certain of the city merchants lent them money at usurious rates and, through the redemption proviso or by means of mortgage deeds, easily dispossessed them of their properties. By serving the judiciary acts the process-server foretold the approaching dispossession; hence the hatred he incurred.

Though political in the North and agrarian in the South, the agitation which was disturbing the entire country had the same object in view: the dismissal of Charles Hérard ainé, whose blunders were accountable for all this turmoil. The President was still at Azua

[2] It is noteworthy that the Haitian peasants, who knew nothing about the history of England, were manifesting the same aversion against the practitioners of law as was shown by the English serfs during the riots which took place in 1381 during the reign of Richard II. The serfs destroyed every judiciary document they could lay hands on and killed many lawyers in London.

when he heard that the people whose rights he had disregarded, had, so to speak, dismissed him. He did not try to resist their will, but he went to Arcahaie, from whence he sailed for Jamaica on the 2d of June, 1844.[3]

General Guerrier, who, on the 3d of May, 1844, became President of Haiti, was already 87 years old. After taking the oath of office on the 9th he devoted his efforts to the restoring of peace in the Southern province. As a veteran of the war for independence his deficiency in knowledge was counterbalanced by his great love for his country. He showed great moderation in exercising the dictatorship which circumstances had conferred upon him. At a word from him the peasants of the Southern Department laid down their arms. After restoring peace the government of President Guerrier undertook the problem of diffusing public instruction; a "Lycée" was created at Cap-Haitien and one at Cayes. A Council of State took the place of the House of Representatives and of the Senate.

President Guerrier, owing to his very advanced age, was unable to stand the fatigue of his high office; he died at Saint-Marc on the 15th of April, 1845.

The next day the Council of State elected General Pierrot President of the Republic. The new Chief of the Executive Power was not much younger than his predecessor, being 84 years old. His most pressing duty was to check the incursions of the Dominicans, who were harassing the Haitian troops along the borders. There they had elected General Santana President, and seized every opportunity to attack and annoy our soldiers. Their crafts also were making depredations on our coasts.

President Pierrot decided to open a campaign against the Dominicans, whom he considered merely as insurgents. The Haitians, however, not being anxious to engage upon war with their neighbors, were unwilling to support the President's views. Furthermore, he had displeased the army by conferring military rank

[3] Charles Hérard aîné died in Jamaica.

on the leaders of the peasants of the Southern Department and on many of their followers. And there existed also among the inhabitants of the towns of this department a feeling of uneasiness regarding the tendencies of Pierrot, who had appointed Acaau, the former terrorist of Cayes, Commandant of the arrondissement of l'Anse-à-Veau. Fearing a new Jacquerie the townsmen made up their minds to divest Pierrot of his office. In consequence, on the 1st of March, 1846, General Jean-Baptiste Riché was proclaimed President of the Republic at Port-au-Prince.

On the 24th of March Pierrot resigned and, leaving Cap-Haitien, which he had made the capital of the country, retired to his plantation "Camp-Louise," where he led a quiet and peaceful life.[4]

His affability and good nature had secured for him the sympathy of the peasants of the Southern Department. They therefore resented his enforced retirement. They had little confidence in the newly elected President, who had fought against them in 1844. Acaau, who was in command of the arrondissement of Nippes, gave the signal for resistance. He openly defied Riché's authority and entrenched himself at Fort Saint-Laurent at l'Anse-à-Veau. He was defeated and took shelter on the Joly plantation, where, to avoid being captured, he blew out his brains with a pistol.

As soon as the South had been pacified, Riché put an end to the dictatorship which had been established since 1844. The Council of State created by Guerrier was transformed into a Senate, which, on the 14th of November, 1846, enacted the Constitution of 1816 with most of the modifications introduced in 1843. Unfortunately, presidency for life was restored. But Riché did not long enjoy the power intrusted to him. His health was not very robust, and was completely undermined by the fatigues of a journey he had undertaken into the North of the country. He returned to Port-au-

[4] Pierrot died on the 18th of February, 1857.

Prince on the 23d of February, 1847, and died on the 27th of the same month.

The Council of the Secretaries of State immediately assumed the authority; and the Senate met on the 1st of March to elect a new President of the Republic. The struggle for the Presidency was between two candidates, Generals Souffrant and Paul. After eight ballots neither one was able to obtain a majority of votes. Both parties remaining obdurate, the Assembly decided to choose a man who was not aspiring to the dignity. In this way General Faustin Soulouque, who was far from expecting such an honor, was elected President of Haiti.

CHAPTER XIV

Faustin Soulouque (March 1, 1847-January 15, 1859)—Campaigns against the Dominicans—The Empire—Intervention of France, Great Britain, and the United States on behalf of the Dominicans—Navassa—Gonaives in rebellion—Faustin Soulouque leaves Haiti.

From 1844 to 1847 Haiti had passed through one of the most critical epochs of her existence. After organizing an independent State in February, 1844, the inhabitants of the former Spanish portion of the island were committing unceasing acts of hostility on the borders, where an army had to be maintained in order to keep them in check. The expenses necessary for the maintenance of the soldiers were comparatively high; moreover, owing to the insecurity resulting from these disturbances, industry had been suspended in that part of the country. It was therefore urgent to put an end to this state of things, either by subduing our former fellow-citizens or by coming to an understanding with them. The unsettled condition in which Haiti herself was at that time made the Dominican problem still more intricate in dealing with. The hopes which Boyer's retirement had given rise to all came to naught. The disappointment which this occasioned the peasants of the Southern Department had decided them to resort to violence; they wanted to free themselves from the incumbrance of the Rural Code; they demanded the establishment of schools and their share in the possession of the land. Having been successively deceived by all, even by their own chosen leaders, they had been

unable to receive satisfaction. Their apparent submission was therefore more assumed than real.

On the other hand, the liberal ideas of 1843 not having been successful in practical application, the military system seemed to many to be the only one able to insure peace and order; which idea was naturally much contested by the partisans of the civil régime.

When on the 1st of March, 1847, Faustin Soulouque was elected President of the Republic, three most pressing duties demanded his attention: He had to conduct the guerrilla warfare which was still continuing on the Dominican boundary, to appease the Southern peasants, and to check the growing discontent among the townspeople, who were demanding greater freedom. No one expected Soulouque to display the tact of a statesman; but, as a soldier, he had strong ideas as to order and discipline. Highly flattered at the honor conferred upon him he was sincerely desirous of devoting his best efforts to the proper management of affairs of State. He tried his utmost to comply with the exigencies of the Constitution; he even went so far as to choose his Ministers from the ranks of the opposition. His opponents conducted themselves with little regard for the President's susceptibility and did not hesitate to reproach him with his ignorance. The anger this caused Soulouque, whose lack of knowledge was well known to those who had elected him, made him distrustful. He was in one of these cheerless moods when, on the 16th of April, 1848, a riot occurred at Port-au-Prince. The disturbance was quickly subdued, and Soulouque made use of this opportunity to crush all revolutionary tendencies. He wielded authority with an iron hand; peasants and townspeople were made to understand that armed manifestations would be most severely dealt with, which had the effect of producing quiet in the land.

This duty accomplished, Soulouque's next care was to see to the hostilities still in progress with the former Spanish territory. In order to stop the incursions of the Dominicans he determined to bring them back to

the authority of the Haitian Government. He opened a campaign against them on the 5th of March, 1849. The army under his command at first met with success. Azua was stormed; once more the way to Santo Domingo was clear. But the news of discontent existing at Port-au-Prince, which reached Soulouque, arrested his further progress and caused him to return with the army to his capital. He was made to believe that the powers vested in him were not sufficient to allow him to maintain peace and order whilst engaged in bringing the former Spanish portion of the island into submission. And the officers of the army were of the opinion that the only way to put an end to the existing discord and agitation was by conferring absolute power on their chief. In consequence they drew up a petition, and on the 29th of August, 1849, Soulouque was proclaimed Emperor of Haiti; and on the 18th of April, 1852, he was crowned, together with his wife, in the Cathedral of Port-au-Prince. Under the name of Faustin I he was henceforth free to rule the country according to his will. Quiet prevailed as the result of this change and agriculture became flourishing.

Emboldened by the sudden retreat of the Haitian army, the Dominicans had resumed their depredations. Their flotilla went as far as Dame-Marie, which they plundered and set on fire. Faustin I decided to start a new campaign against them. In 1855 he invaded the territory of the Dominican Republic. But, owing to insufficient preparation, the army was soon in want of victuals and ammunition. In spite of the bravery of the soldiers the Emperor had once more to give up the idea of restoring unity of government in the island. After this campaign Great Britain and France interfered and obtained an armistice on behalf of the Dominicans. Later on these two Powers did their utmost to prevent Haiti from availing herself of the opportunity of subduing her former citizens. In this they had the hearty support of the United States. At that time the Americans did not object to enter into an agreement with Europe in order to help to terrify Haiti. In the

following instructions to his agent at Port-au-Prince, Mr. Webster, then Secretary of State, did not try to conceal his intention of provoking an armed intervention:[1] "The material interests of the three countries "(France, Great Britain and the United States)," he wrote, "are largely involved in the restoration and "preservation of peace between the contending parties "in Santo Domingo. France is a creditor of the Gov-"ernment of the Emperor Soulouque to a large amount. "She cannot hope for a discharge of her debt when the "resources of his country, instead of being developed "by pacific pursuits and in part, at least, applied to "that purpose, are checked in their growth and wasted "in a war with a conterminous state. Great Britain "and France are both interested in securing that great "additional demand for their productions which must "result from the impulse to be expected for industry "in Haiti and the Dominican Republic from a termina-"tion of the war; and the United States have a similar "interest. * * * If the Emperor Soulouque shall "insist upon maintaining a belligerent attitude until "all his demands shall have been satisfied by the oppo-"site party, you will unite with your colleagues in re-"monstrating against this course on his part. If the "remonstrance shall prove to be unavailing, you will "signify to the Emperor that you shall give immediate "notice to your Government, that the President, with "the concurrence of Congress, may adopt such meas-"ures, in cooperation with the governments of England "and France, as may cause the intervention of the "three Powers to be respected."[2]

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[1] Santo Domingo and the United States, by John Bassett Moore, *Review of Reviews*, March, 1905, p. 298.

[2] "When Mr. Webster wrote these instructions," says Mr. Moore, "Great Britain and France had agreed, if the advice of the Powers was "not taken immediately, to institute a hostile blockade of the Haitian "ports. In this act of war the President of the United States was "unable to take part without the authority of Congress, and it was to "this fact that Mr. Webster referred when he stated that, in case the "Haitian Government should refuse to yield to remonstrance, the Presi-"dent would lay the matter before Congress, in order that the United

This agreement accounts for the attitude of Great Britain and France, who neglected none of the means in their power to prevent Faustin I from pressing Haiti's legitimate claim concerning Navassa Island, of which some citizens of the United States had unduly taken possession.[3] Yet the representatives of these two Powers had been the first to inform the Emperor of the seizure of this portion of the Haitian territory by the Americans.

The sufferings endured by the soldiers during the campaign of 1855, the losses and sacrifices inflicted on the country without compensation or practical result provoked great discontent. The responsibility for the failure of the undertaking was cast on the Emperor. Confidence in him was shaken; however, the Empire might yet have been saved by taking wise measures in regard to the interests and welfare of the people. But the Government, in order to maintain its authority, resorted instead to intimidation and violence, which method had once proven to be successful. No regard was paid to public liberty. Bad financial measures, added to a faulty management of the nation's revenues, soon aggravated the situation. The Emperor was still feared, but his prestige was entirely gone. Those who had cause to dread his anger began to plot against him. Even his partisans ended by seeking to come to an agreement with the enlightened Haitians who were endeavoring to obtain more freedom for their fellow-citizens.

Such was the state of affairs when General Fabre Geffrard considered that the time had come for the overthrow of the man who had, in reality, assumed dictatorial power. On the night of December 20, 1858, he left Port-au-Prince in a small boat, accompanied only by his son and two trusty followers, Ernest Roumain and Jean-Bart. On the 22d he arrived at Gonaives,

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"States might be enabled to co-operate with the governments of England "and France in measures to 'cause the intervention of the three Powers " 'to be respected.' "

[3] J. N. Léger, La Politique Extérieure d'Haiti, p. 99.

where the insurrection broke out. The Republic was acclaimed and the Constitution of 1846 was adopted. On the 23d of December the Departmental Committee, which had been organized, divested Faustin Soulouque of his office and appointed Fabre Geffrard President of Haiti. Cap-Haitien and the whole Department of Artibonite joined in the restoration of the Republic.

Soulouque tried to maintain his authority, but all in vain; the monarchic system was too unpopular to find any supporters. On the 12th of January, 1859, General Geffrard, at the head of the republican army, had established his headquarters on the Drouillard plantation, at a short distance from Port-au-Prince, which he entered on the 15th of January without striking a blow. In the afternoon of the same day Faustin Soulouque embarked on the English frigate *Melburn,* which took him to Jamaica.[4] Monarchy had forever ceased to exist in Haiti.

[4] Soulouque died at Petit-Goave (Haiti), on August 6, 1867.

CHAPTER XV

Fabre Geffrard (December 23, 1858-March 13, 1867)—Concordat with the Vatican—Reforms made by Geffrard: diffusion of public instruction; law permitting marriage between foreigners and Haitians—Attempt to induce the colored people of the United States to go to Haiti—Geffrard tried to have the whole island neutralized—Annexation of the Dominican Republic by Spain—The Rubalcava incident—Salnave takes up arms at Cap-Haitien—The *Bulldog* incident—Bombardment of Cap-Haitien by British men-of-war—Mr. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, at Port-au-Prince—Geffrard leaves Haiti.

Geffrard, appointed President of the Republic on the 23d of December, 1858, took the oath of office on the 20th of January, 1859. He entered at once upon new negotiations with the Holy See concerning the situation of the Catholic clergy in Haiti. The parleys on this subject had begun in the first days of the independence of the country. The Pope was persistent in his idea of sending an Apostolic Prefect to Haiti and, in consequence, of having the high control of the church; whilst the Haitian rulers insisted upon having the right to participate in the appointment of the archbishops and bishops. There was such a firm determination on the part of the Haitians not to receive an Apostolic Prefect that the Vatican gave way to them. On the 28th of March, 1860, the Concordat which still rules the relations of Haiti with the Holy See was signed at Rome.

Until Geffrard's advent the foreigners in Haiti, whilst enjoying the greatest protection, were subjected to many restrictions; thus they were not allowed to marry the natives. On the 18th of October, 1860, a law was enacted authorizing such marriages.

Although Haiti had been holding intercourse with

all the civilized Powers, the partisans of slavery in the United States continued to bear their old grudge against her. But the war of secession brought more cordial relations between the two countries, and on November 3, 1864, they signed at Port-au-Prince a treaty of amity, commerce, navigation, and for the extradition of fugitive criminals.[1]

Geffrard did all in his power to assist the men of the black race in the United States, who, on account of color prejudice, were exposed to cruel humiliations; he sent an agent to New York intrusted with the mission to induce them to emigrate to Haiti. But his attempt at colonization failed as a similar attempt made by Boyer had failed. The immigration idea was unpopular both in Haiti and among those who were to benefit by it. Therefore it was abandoned.

Geffrard's government failed also in its endeavors to secure the neutralization of the whole island. Still his overtures had met with the good will of the principal Powers of Europe; but the United States refused to participate in a treaty of guarantee;[2] and Europe did not care to act without their support.

This failure of Haitian diplomacy, unavoidable by reason of the policy then followed by the United States, was compensated for by the successful carrying out of some valuable measures adopted in Haiti. The army was reorganized and put upon a solid basis; discipline was strictly observed. Geffrard gave also his best attention to the diffusion of public instruction; many primary and high schools were established in the country. The School of Medicine was reorganized and even a School of Music established. And in order to have competent teachers and professors the Republic sent young Haitians to Europe to make or complete their studies at its expense.

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[1] J. N. Léger, Recueil des Traités et Conventions d'Haiti, p. 84.

The treaty of the 3d of November, 1864, was denounced in May, 1904, and has been replaced partly by a treaty for the extradition of fugitive criminals signed at Washington on the 9th of August, 1904. In 1902 Haiti signed a convention on naturalization with the United States.

[2] J. N. Léger, La Politique Extérieure d'Haiti, pp. 145-157.

Literature, which during Geffrard's administration had made unusual progress, produced new ideas in the minds of the people, who began to aspire to the greater security of public liberty.

At the outset Geffrard had met with grave difficulties. The former followers of Soulouque, whom the sudden downfall of the Emperor had taken by surprise, began at once to try to regain possession of the power. In September, 1859, a conspiracy led by General Prophète, a member of Faustin's Cabinet, was discovered.

In 1861 the Haitian Government had a new source of anxiety. In March the President of the Dominican Republic, betraying the trust placed in him, had transferred his country to Spain; once more the eastern portion of the island became a Spanish colony. The people who desired to remain an independent State protested against the President's treacherous act by resorting to arms. Spain held Haiti responsible for this resistance to her authority. A fleet under Admiral Rubalcava's command anchored in July in the harbor of Port-au-Prince and threatened to bombard the city. The matter was settled without any serious consequences. But the incident served to show the Haitians the danger there was for them to have one of the great European Powers as their close neighbor. And when in 1863 the Dominicans rose against Spain's authority, all the sympathy of the Haitian people was for those who were struggling for their independence. In 1865 the Spaniards were once more compelled to give up a colony which had cost them the sacrifice of so much life. Haiti might have profited by this opportunity to demand from the Dominicans at least some guarantee for the future. But President Geffrard reckoned too much upon their thankfulness, and they soon forgot the help that had been given them. In his own country there were many restless and disorderly spirits who unceasingly absorbed the President's attention. A liberal policy might have appeased the people; but restraint irritated them. A new attempt at parliamentary government had just failed; and the President, by a Decree of June

8, 1863, had dissolved the House of Representatives. On June 19 General Aimé Legros and his accomplices who had tried to provoke an insurrection were court-martialed and sentenced to death. This severity did not prevent Major Sylvain Salnave from creating fresh disturbances at Cap-Haitien on July 13, 1864. Failing in his attempt, he had left Haiti; but on the 7th of May, 1865, he suddenly appeared at Ouanaminthe, on the Haitian-Dominican borders; and, accompanied by many Dominican sympathizers, he reached Cap-Haitien, of which he took possession on the 9th of May. Closely surrounded in this town, he nevertheless managed to keep at bay all the forces of the Government. In August the President left Port-au-Prince and assumed the command of the army, whose headquarters were established at l'Acul, at a distance of four leagues from Cap-Haitien.

On the 19th of October, 1865, the *Jamaica Packet,* a British merchant ship, appeared in the port of l'Acul, loaded with arms, ammunition, and victuals for the Government's troops. The insurgent steamer *Providence* at once gave chase to the *Jamaica Packet,* but was prevented from capturing the ship by the intervention of the British man-of-war *Bulldog.* There ensued a heated altercation between the commander of the *Providence* and the commander of the *Bulldog,* the latter being charged with giving his protection to a ship in the service of President Geffrard. When this incident became known at Cap-Haitien there prevailed a very high feeling against the English; and Salnave, whose impetuosity knew no bounds, caused some of his opponents to be arrested at the British Consulate, where they had taken refuge, forbidding at the same time all intercourse between the inhabitants of the town and the crew of the *Bulldog.*

Captain Walker, of the United States man-of-war *De Soto,* made use of every means in his power to avoid a conflict. But on the 23d of October, without any warning, the commander of the *Bulldog* opened fire on the fortifications of Cap-Haitien. The fire was immedi-

ately returned, the insurgents having accepted the fight forced on them. The gunners of the *Bulldog* quickly sank the *Providence;* but the shot of the land battery damaged one of the boilers of the English man-of-war, which, during the fight, had grounded on a reef. Captain Wake, seeing that it was impossible to save his ship, blew her up that night at about 9 o'clock, going with the wounded and the members of his crew on board the *De Soto.*

Following up this incident the British Chargé d'Affaires arrived in the harbor of Cap-Haitien on board a man-of-war. He failed to obtain the satisfaction he asked for; therefore on the 9th of November the frigate *Galatea* and other British men-of-war bombarded Cap-Haitien.[3]

Availing themselves of the excitement reigning in the ranks of the insurgents by this aggression of a great Power, the government troops attacked and stormed the town. The insurrection was thus stamped out. But Salnave and his principal allies had had time to fly for refuge on board the *De Soto.*

Great Britain's action produced a disastrous effect. The Haitians as a rule always look askance on the interference of foreigners in their affairs. The balls of the English cannon had, as it were, deeply wounded the national pride. They caused all the good done by Geffrard to be forgotten; he completely lost his popularity, which not even the visit paid him in January, 1866, by Mr. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, could bring back to him. The favorable impression produced by this courtesy was lost sight of, owing to the events which occurred one after the other at Gonaives and Saint-Marc. And to crown the agitation of the year 1866, at four o'clock on the morning of September 12 the arsenal of Port-au-Prince exploded; many lives were lost and great damage was done to property.

The President became thoroughly disheartened by all

[3] Concerning this incident, refer to Mr. Peck's letter to Mr. Seward, December 11, 1865. (Papers relating to Foreign Affairs, 1867, part II.)

these disturbances and catastrophes, which reached a climax when his favorite regiment, the "Tirailleurs," mutinied and opened fire on the Executive Mansion on the night of February 23, 1867. Entertaining many delusions as to the efficiency of the measures he had introduced in order to secure the welfare of the country, Geffrard became convinced of the deep ingratitude of the people proved by their violent opposition. On the 13th of March, 1867, he resigned his office and left for Jamaica, where he spent the remainder of his life, his death occurring on the 31st of December, 1878.

In restoring the Republic Geffrard had made a great mistake in accepting the Presidency for life. Had a term been fixed for the duration of his power, his opponents would have been more patient, and his administration would have marked the beginning of a new epoch for Haiti. Ideas of reform and progress were uppermost in the minds of the people. A strong reaction had followed the downfall of the monarchy. After the long period of restraint enforced by Soulouque, the Haitians once aroused were not to be easily repressed; they wished to secure then and there the reign of liberty. This ideal of political liberty and freedom of thought was to be the cause later on of much unpleasant friction and disagreement with the Executive Power, always slow in yielding to public opinion. This accounts for the great number of disturbances which had to be suppressed by Geffrard's government.

CHAPTER XVI

Sylvain Salnave (June 14, 1867-December 19, 1869)—Constitution of 1867: abolition of the Presidency for life—Salnave becomes a dictator—Resistance of the country—Overthrow of Salnave; his trial and execution.

After Geffrard's departure the Council of the Secretaries of State became the supreme authority for a time. But in April, 1867, Sylvain Salnave arrived in Port-au-Prince, where he was given a hearty welcome, and on May 2 he became, together with Nissage Saget and Victorin Chevallier, a member of the provisional government which was organized. His adherents were displeased at this distribution of power, and under their pressure he assumed, on May 4, the title of "Protector of the Republic." The attitude of the masses and the growing popularity of Salnave began to occasion much concern to the liberals, who found themselves once more obliged to submit to a military man. This mistrust of their new leader boded ill for the tranquillity of the Republic. The National Assembly met at Port-au-Prince on the 6th of May, 1867, and on the 14th of June adopted a Constitution[1] which abolished the Presidency for life, the duration of the authority vested in the Chief of the Executive Power being fixed at four years. On the same day Salnave was elected President of Haiti. He gained the sympathy of the people by his courage and his simple tastes. But he was far from being a

[1] The Constitution of 1867 was taken from the Constitution of 1843, with the alterations demanded by the existing circumstances.

liberal; so much so in fact that he was soon at odds with the legislative body, which thought that the time had come to establish the parliamentary system. On the 11th of October, 1867, the rupture with Congress was complete, caused by an interpellation of the Cabinet by the House of Representatives concerning the arrest and imprisonment of General Leon Montas. About that time the peasants had taken up arms at Vallière against Salnave; and the General was charged with being the instigator, if not the leader, of the uprising. The members of the Cabinet openly accused the House of Representatives of being in connivance with the rebels; whereupon the mob invaded the House on the 14th of October and drove out the Congressmen. This ill-considered act of violence was followed by grave consequences. In the mean time, the President had left for Gonaives with a view of subduing the insurgents at Vallière, who had assumed the name of "Cacos."

By forcibly ejecting the members of the House of Representatives, Salnave had suspended the Constitution; yet he affected to believe that the opposition he met with was due to his limited authority. Accordingly, on the 22d of April, 1868, he committed yet another blunder by permitting the officers and non-commissioned officers of his army, whose headquarters were at Trou, to form a petition requesting the suspension of the Constitution and dictatorship for the head of the Executive Power. Thus Salnave reestablished the Presidency for life and arrogated unlimited power.

Nissage Saget, who was at that time Commandant of the arrondissement of Saint-Marc, took up arms against this usurpation. Once more frustrated in the hopes of having a government founded on legality and liberty, the country reached one of the most critical periods of its existence, as the insurrection soon became general. Pétion Faubert at Léogane, Normil at l'Anse-à-Veau, Domingue at Aquin, and Boisrond Canal at Pétionville and Croix-des-Bouquets, all rose up against the dictatorship assumed by Salnave, who was being besieged at Port-au-Prince. The insurgents from the South had

their headquarters at Carrefour, at a distance of three leagues from the capital.

Salnave tried to come to terms with them; but failing in his attempt, he determined to rely henceforth on his energy and valor in maintaining his authority. He had the advantage of the unity of command over his opponents; for the rebels in the South had numerous leaders: Domingue, whose headquarters were at Cayes, Normil at l'Anse-à-Veau, etc.; whilst in the Artibonite, Nissage Saget's authority was fully acknowledged. In consequence of a counter-revolution which occurred at Léogane and in the mountains of Jacmel, the insurgents were compelled to raise the siege of Port-au-Prince on the 17th of July, 1868. They now felt the necessity of organizing their government; therefore, on September 19, 1868, Nissage Saget was proclaimed at Saint-Marc provisional President, whilst on the 22d of September Domingue was acknowledged President of the Meridianal State, with headquarters at Cayes.

Salnave's intrepidity gave him for a while all the chances of crushing his foes. He had purchased a steamer in the United States to replace the two men-of-war, *Le 22 Décembre* and *Le Geffrard*, which had gone over to the insurgents. The new steamer, which was given the name of *Alexandre Pétion*, arrived at Port-au-Prince on the 19th of September, 1868. The next day Salnave went on board and sailed for Petit-Goave, in which harbor the two steamers belonging to the rebels were anchored. The *Alexandre Pétion* opened fire on *Le 22 Décembre*, which was sunk; the commandant of the *Geffrard* blew up his ship so as to prevent her being captured.[2]

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[2] Salnave's ship was under the command of Captain Nickells, an American citizen. She entered the port of Petit-Goave flying the American flag, which was hauled down and replaced by the Haitian colors at the moment that she opened fire on *Le 22 Décembre*. Deceived by this abusive use of the colors of a friendly Power, the two steamers of the insurgents were taken by surprise and in this manner were easily destroyed.

In October, 1868, Salnave transgressed once again upon international law. He was on board the *Alexandre Pétion*, which was bombarding

This success made Salnave master of Petit-Goave, which town the insurgents were compelled to evacuate. In February, 1869, the whole of the Southern Department was once more under his authority, with the exception of Jérémie and Cayes, which were closely surrounded. From Camp-Boudet, where he had established his headquarters, he personally directed the siege of Cayes, of which eventually he would have taken possession had not fortunes of war gone contrary to him in the Artibonite. His principal lieutenant, General Victorin Chevallier, had been obliged to evacuate Gonaives, which was occupied by Saget's troops. On their arrival at Port-au-Prince Chevallier's soldiers created such disturbances that Salnave had to leave Camp-Boudet hurriedly for the capital, where he arrived on the 1st of September, 1869. He had also at that time to fight the opposition of the Catholic clergy. On the 28th of June he had summarily dismissed Testar du Cosquer, the Archbishop of Port-au-Prince; and had taken the same measure against Mr. Guilloux, the Vicar-General, on the 16th of October.

Salnave's position was getting worse; one of his most faithful followers, General Victorin Chevallier, Secretary of War, who was in command of the army surrounding Jacmel, deserted his cause in November and joined the insurrection. Salnave now began to reflect that he might yet be able to allay the discontent reigning throughout the country by relinquishing the absolute power he had usurped. In August, 1869, he appointed a Legislative Council. This body met in November and, reestablishing the Presidency for life assumed

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Jérémie, when the American steamer *Maratanza* entered this harbor. Her owners were negotiating with the Haitian Government, which desired to purchase her. The diplomatic agent of the United States, Mr. G. H. Hollister, was on board, on his way from Port-au-Prince to Jérémie, there to confer with his Consul as to the best way of protecting American interests and citizens. Salnave went on board the *Maratanza*, which he bought at once. The American flag was hauled down and the Haitian colors were hoisted. Mr. Hollister was not allowed to land at Jérémie; and whilst he was still on board, the *Maratanza* joined in the bombardment of the town, in spite of his protest. (Papers relating to Foreign Affairs, Washington, 1869; part II, p. 364.)

by Salnave, reenacted the Constitution of 1846. But it was too late to be of avail and the abolition of the dictatorship was powerless in saving the Government; for Cap-Haitien and the whole department of the Northwest had already joined the cause of the insurrection. A bold attack on Port-au-Prince at length put an end to this deplorable civil war. On the 18th of December, 1869, Generals Brice and Boisrond-Canal landed at the capital at the head of 1,200 soldiers; in the night they had surprised the Government man-of-war *La Terreur.* During the fight which ensued this ship began bombarding the Executive Mansion; a shot struck the powder magazine, causing it to explode just after Salnave had quitted the place. He succeeded in reaching the Dominican territory; but General Cabral, who was in sympathy with his opponents, betraying the trust he had placed in him, gave him up to the Haitians. On the 15th of January, 1870, Salnave arrived at Port-au-Prince, where he appeared before a court martial. He was sentenced to death and shot on the same day at six o'clock in the evening, tied to a pole set up on the smoking ruins of the Executive Mansion. Since then no President has ventured to accept or to assume the Presidency for life.

On the 27th of December, 1869, the following provisional government was organized: Nissage Saget, President; Michel Domingue, Vice-President; Nord Alexis, Dupont junior, and Volmar Laporte, members.

CHAPTER XVII

Nissage Saget (March 19, 1870-May 14, 1874)—Redeeming the paper money—The Batsch incident—The *Hornet* incident—The Dominican incident—The Haitians send a gold medal to Senator Charles Sumner —At the expiration of his term of office Nissage Saget leaves Port-au-Prince for Saint-Marc.

The National Assembly met at Port-au-Prince on the 19th of March, 1870, and elected General Nissage Saget President of Haiti for a term of four years, expiring on the 15th of May, 1874.

The terrible crisis through which the country had just passed had made a deep impression on the people. The new President did his utmost to observe the Constitution of 1867 gained at the cost of so much sacrifice. The liberals were in full possession of the authority. Unfortunately, they were not circumspect in their conduct, and instead of trying little by little to extend public liberty, they endeavored to force a sudden change upon the country by introducing the parliamentary system; they tried to subject the Executive Power to the legislative body; and those members of the Cabinet who were not in sympathy with the House of Representatives were compelled to relinquish their offices. Misunderstandings with the President ensued. Notwithstanding, some useful reforms took place, the most important of them being the redeeming of the paper money. This measure was authorized by a law enacted on the 24th of August, 1872. In order to carry it out, a loan was floated in Haiti, whose currency became from

that time up to 1883 the silver and gold coins of the United States.

But unexpected events almost occasioned grave international complications. During the war between Germany and France the Haitians openly showed their sympathy for the latter country. Germany took exception to their attitude, for which they were made to expiate as soon as she had crushed France. Under the pretext of demanding the payment of £3,000 on behalf of two subjects of the German Empire, Captain Batsch, of the frigate *Vineta,* arrived at Port-au-Prince on the 11th of June, 1872. Without a word of warning he took possession of the two Haitian men-of-war, which, not expecting such an aggression, were lying at anchor in the harbor and unable to make the slightest resistance. Indignant at this unjust and most uncalled-for attack, the Haitian people, as their national poet [1] expressed it, "threw the money to the Germans as one would cast a bone to a dog." Captain Batsch took the amount, gave back the two men-of-war, and left Port-au-Prince. But the resentment caused by his unwarranted action has not yet passed away.

Another grave conflict was provoked by Spain. This Power had never missed a single opportunity to humiliate Haiti, which, consequently, was quite indifferent to its reverses and misfortunes. Haiti naturally sympathized with the Cubans who were fighting for their independence; her territory had become an asylum for all the unfortunate families who were compelled to fly for their safety. At the height of the struggle, the *Hornet,* a small steamer flying the flag of the United States, arrived at Port-au-Prince on January, 1871, hotly pursued by two Spanish men-of-war. At that time the American Navy was not as formidable as in 1898. The *Hornet* was charged with being a pirate and with having on board contraband of war intended for the Cuban insurgents; in consequence the Spaniards imperiously demanded that she be given up to them.

[1] Mr. Oswald Durand.

The United States Minister immediately interposed, declaring that the *Hornet* was a *bona-fide* American steamer. Therefore, Haiti refused to deliver up the ship. She remained firm in her decision in spite of the presence of the Spanish men-of-war in the harbor of Port-au-Prince and of the open threats of the representative of Spain. The Consul of that country had gone so far as to address an ultimatum to the Haitian Secretary of Foreign Affairs on the 5th of October, 1871, demanding the delivery of the *Hornet* within twenty-four hours. The dispute was assuming a very threatening aspect for Haiti, when the United States decided to relieve that country of all further responsibility in the matter; in consequence, the man-of-war *Congress* was despatched to Port-au-Prince, with instructions to convoy the *Hornet* either to Baltimore or to New York. This steamer eventually left Port-au-Prince in January, 1872, her sailing putting an end to the controversy between Haiti and Spain.

Whilst this incident was causing much trouble to the Haitian Government, the United States were making strong representations concerning the Dominican Republic. President Grant had seen fit to sign a treaty for the annexation of that Republic with President Baez. As was to be expected, the Dominicans became highly incensed at those who were making a traffic of their independence, and rose up in arms against the government which had betrayed their trust. The two leaders of the insurrection, Generals Cabral and Luperon, entered a protest against the treaty of annexation. Nevertheless, the United States endeavored to hold Haiti responsible for the disturbances; and in January, 1870, Mr. Bassett, at that time American Minister at Port-au-Prince, notified the Haitian Government that his country was in negotiations with Baez and requested Haiti to refrain or desist from any interference in the Dominican affairs. This request the Haitian Government promised to observe; nevertheless, on the 9th of February, 1871, the Secretary of State, Mr. Hamilton Fish, wrote to his Minister at Port-au-Prince, saying

that it would be difficult to lend entire credence to the assurances given by Haiti.[2]

The energetic opposition against the treaty of annexation, led in the United States Senate by the Honorable Charles Sumner, made President Grant decide to send a Commission to Santo Domingo. Two of the Commissioners, Senator Wade and Doctor Howe, accompanied by Mr. Frederick Douglass, their secretary, arrived at Port-au-Prince on the 3d of March, 1871, on board of the United States man-of-war *Tennessee*. On the following day they were received by the President, and the exchange of views which took place between them tended to dispel the misunderstanding which was about to alter the good relations existing between the two countries. At the end of the interview Dr. Howe mentioned that he was a personal friend of Senator Charles Sumner, whereupon President Saget warmly shook hands with him and told him to transmit that handshake to the Senator from Massachusetts as coming from the whole Republic of Haiti.

On the refusal of the United States Senate to approve the treaty signed with President Baez, some Haitians started a public subscription with the object of presenting Senator Sumner with a gold medal. Owing to his office the Senator could not accept the medal, which was therefore deposited in the Library of the State House

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[2] Mr. Fish to Mr. Bassett.

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
"No. 58. "WASHINGTON, February 9, 1871.

"Sir: * * * The assurances offered to you by the Haitian Gov-"ernment as to its disposition to keep wholly neutral in the contest "between the Dominican parties, severally headed by Baez and Cabral, "do not seem to be expressed in a way to inspire perfect confidence in "their sincerity. If it be borne in mind that, for a considerable period, "both the Spanish and the French parts of the island of San Domingo "were under the sole dominion of Haiti, that it has been the policy of "that government not only to oppose the independence of the Spanish "part of the island, but to prevent its occupation by a foreign power, "the difficulty of lending entire credence to any assurances which that "government may give as to its indisposition to interfere in Dominican "affairs will be apparent. The protest of the Haitians against the recent "attempt of Spain to regain her foothold in that island is fresh in the "recollection of the public. * * * " (Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the U. S., Washington, 1871, p. 566.)

at Boston. His portrait was, in pursuance of a law enacted in July, 1871, placed in the Haitian House of Representatives, and when he died the national flag on all public buildings in Haiti hung at half-mast for three days in token of regret.

In 1872 Captain Carpenter of the United States ship *Nantasket,* at that time in the harbor of Cap-Haitien, occasioned some concern to the inhabitants of that town. On the 19th of April, without a word of explanation to the Haitian authorities, a party from the man-of-war landed at the Carenage [3] with a howitzer mounted on a gun-carriage. A company of the Twenty-seventh Regiment immediately started out to find out the meaning of it, whereupon the Americans reembarked with their howitzer and returned to the *Nantasket.* General Nord Alexis, who was at that time in command of the department, wrote at once to the United States Consul at Cap-Haitien asking for an explanation; the reply was that Captain Carpenter's sole object was to find out the time it would take to land and reembark a piece of artillery; proper regrets were expressed to the Haitian Government and the incident was declared closed.

In spite of these few minor troubles with the foreign Powers, peace remained undisturbed, and the term of office of the President was nearing its end when he found himself in a somewhat embarrassing predicament. The House of Representatives and the Senate, which had met in April, 1874, were to assemble in National Assembly in order to elect a new President. There were two candidates for the office: Michel Domingue, Commandant of the Southern Department, supported by Nissage Saget and his followers, and Pierre Monplaisir Pierre, the candidate of the liberal party. In the legislative body the Domingue party was led by Septimus Rameau, a representative from Cayes, whilst Boyer Bazelais, one of the representatives from Port-au-Prince, was at the head of the Monplaisir Pierre faction. In the House of Commons the validity

[3] A suburb of Cap-Haitien.

of the election of Boyer Bazelais was hotly contested by his opponents, whose motion for unseating him was nevertheless not adopted; thereupon they withdrew from the House, creating what is called a dissidence. For want of quorum the legislative body could not do any practical work. In the mean time, the month of May began; on the 15th the term of office of Nissage Saget was to come to an end. The liberal party tried to persuade him to remain in power until his successor could be elected. This he emphatically refused to do, and on the 14th of May, 1874, he relinquished his high office into the hands of the Council of the Secretaries of State, having previously appointed Michel Domingue Commander-in-Chief of the Haitian Army. On the 20th of May he left Port-au-Prince for Saint-Marc, where he lived up to the time of his death, which occurred on the 7th of April, 1880.

CHAPTER XVIII

Michel Domingue (June 11, 1874-April 15, 1876)—The loan of 1875—Discontent caused by the deaths of Generals Brice and Monplaisir Pierre—Riot at Port-au-Prince—Overthrow of Domingue.

Upon his being appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Haitian Army, General Michel Domingue, who up to that time had been Commandant of the Southern Department, left Cayes for Port-au-Prince, which city he entered with a strong body of troops. His opponents at once realized the impossibility of holding out against his candidacy. Besides, the Council of the Secretaries of State, intrusted with the Executive Power, had taken such measures as to facilitate his election. Profiting by the dissidence which, by want of a quorum, prevented the legislative body from holding its meetings, they declared the two Houses of Congress divested of their functions; upon which orders were issued for the election of a Constituent Assembly. In this manner the Council of the Secretaries of State annulled the Constitution, from which all their authority proceeded; a situation fraught with danger resulted. However, the elections were speedily held; and on the 11th of June, 1874, General Michel Domingue was elected President of Haiti for a term of 8 years.

Domingue, above all things, was a soldier; he possessed neither the penetration nor the tact of a statesman. Therefore he considered it wiser to leave the care of the public affairs to Septimus Rameau, one of his relatives, whom he had appointed Vice-President of the

Council of the Secretaries of State by Decree of September 10, 1874. This made Rameau the true ruler of Haiti. The Constitution adopted on the 6th of August, 1874, was drawn up by him. Unfortunately, he was of a dictatorial and domineering nature; his will became supreme, whilst Domingue was but a figurehead.

One of the first acts of Salnave after his election to the Presidency was the signing of a treaty with the Dominican Republic, which the Haitian Congress refused to ratify. His object in recognizing the independence of the new State was to put an end to the unceasing hostilities which were causing so much bloodshed on the borders. Septimus Rameau immediately proceeded to resume negotiations with General Gonzalez, who was at that time President of the Dominican Republic. General N. Léger, who was then Chief of the Staff of the President of Haiti, was despatched to Santo Domingo with instructions to make preparations for a new convention. On his return to Port-au-Prince he was accompanied by the Dominican plenipotentiaries; and on the 9th of November, 1874, a Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation was agreed upon.[1] Haiti thus accepted as an accomplished fact and fully recognized the independence of the Dominican Republic. Since that time relations between the two countries have been most cordial.

In the course of the same year, 1874, Haiti signed a treaty with Great Britain for the extradition of fugitive criminals.[2]

The other measures adopted by Domingue's Government did not turn out so happily. In 1875 a loan was floated in Paris concerning which the Haitian people were grossly deceived. Foreign bankers and unscrupulous agents conspired in defrauding the Republic, which was made the debtor for money from which others had profited. This scandalous financial transaction did not tend to allay the dissatisfaction already existing in

[1] J. N. Léger, Recueil des Traités et Conventions de la République d'Haïti, pp. 119, 140.

[2] Ibid.

Haiti. So to prevent any popular manifestations orders were issued on the 15th of May, 1875, for the arrest of Generals Brice, Monplaisir Pierre, and Boisrond Canal, who were charged with being the leaders of a conspiracy against Domingue. Monplaisir Pierre, with gun in hand, met the soldiers who were sent to arrest him; he made an energetic resistance and in defending the entrance to his house was killed in the fight which ensued; Brice, who had also made a brave defense, was successful in reaching the Spanish Consulate, where he died from the effects of a bullet wound in the thigh. Boisrond Canal, who was living on his plantation at Frères, a short distance from Pétionville, was fortunate enough to be able to make his escape before the arrival of those who were commissioned to arrest him, and sought shelter in the United States Legation, which was then situated at Turgeau, a suburb of Port-au-Prince.

Although the tragic death of Brice and Pierre had produced a very bad impression on the minds of the people, the Government did nothing to palliate the effect of this sad event; on the contrary, many citizens were arbitrarily compelled to flee the country. This high-handed proceeding naturally met with resentment; and disturbances at once took place in various parts of the Republic. The inhabitants of Port-au-Prince were already in a great state of excitement, when on the 15th of April, 1876, there started a report to the effect that the Government was sending abroad the money deposited in the vaults of the Bank of Haiti.[3] In a trice the entire population arose; the agitation at first seemed like a riot, but soon attained more formidable proportions. Septimus Rameau, who was held to blame for

[3] With a view of organizing a State Bank the government had entered into an agreement with Mr. Lazare, an American citizen, who became unable to fulfill his part of the contract. In consequence of the obligation imposed by this contract, the Haitian Government, within the stipulated time, had deposited her quota of the capital in the vaults of the bank. It was this money which Septimus Rameau was about to send to Cayes, the capital of the Southern Department, when the uprising broke out at Port-au-Prince on the 15th of April.

the death of Brice and Pierre as well as for the loan floated in Paris, was killed in the streets. Domingue succeeded in reaching the French Legation, whence he took ship for Jamaica.[4]

[4] Domingue died at Kingston on June 24, 1877.

CHAPTER XIX

Boisrond Canal (July 17, 1876-July 17, 1879)—Misunderstanding with France caused by the Domingue loan—The *Autran* incident: difficulties with Spain about Cuba—The Maunder claim—The Lazare and Pelletier claims—Attitude of the Legislative Power—The President's resignation.

After Domingue's departure the Constitution of 1867 once more came in force. According to this Constitution Boisrond Canal was elected President of Haiti for four years on the 17th of July, 1876. The new ruler was beset with innumerable difficulties resulting from the financial measures taken by his predecessor. He was principally exposed to the ill-will of France, which, with a view of imposing a settlement of the loan known as the Domingue or the 1875 loan, went so far as to refuse to recognize his Government officially. Yet at Paris it was a well-known fact that Haiti had not received the amount of money the responsibility for which France was trying to force upon her. In Europe and in the United States people clamor unceasingly as to the alleged corruption and unscrupulousness of Haitian statesmen, declaring that without the assistance of foreign Powers they are incapable of honestly managing their finances. However, whenever a financial scandal occurs in Haiti, among the guilty parties there will always be found, either as the inspirers or the accomplices of the misdeed, those very foreigners who loudly denounce Haitian corruption whilst claiming for themselves the monopoly of virtue and integrity.

As it was, the Haitian people, who have never repudi-

ated a legitimate debt, flatly refused to accept the responsibility for the frauds which had been committed in the floating of the Domingue loan, and the National Assembly undertook to investigate the matter. This important inquiry proved that there could not exist the least doubt as to the well-founded attitude assumed by Haiti; it was found out that she owed neither the 58,000,000 of francs which were originally claimed, nor the 40,000,000 which France wanted her to acknowledge as the amount due. By Decree of July 11, 1877, the National Assembly admitted, in the name of the country, a debt of 21,000,000 francs, bearing interest at 6 per cent per annum. In this manner the Haitian Republic incontestably proved her desire to safeguard her interests without sacrificing those of her legitimate creditors.

Consequently, France, which had in the mean time been brought to a clear understanding as to the true facts of the case, resumed her official relations with Haiti by sending in December, 1878, a Minister Plenipotentiary to Port-au-Prince. The cordial intercourse which formerly existed between the two nations was restored and the Haitians were enabled to come to a just and reasonable agreement with the bond-holders.

Whilst Boisrond Canal's government was in the midst of its difficulties with France it was suddenly threatened with graver complications with Spain, which, being unable to subdue the Cuban insurrection, seemed bent on making Haiti her scapegoat. On the 3d of December, 1877, the man-of-war *Sanchez Barcaiztegui* anchored in the harbor of Port-au-Prince; her Commander, Antonio Ferry y Rival, was commissioned to make an inquiry as to the legality of the sentence passed on one Jose Santisi by the Haitian criminal court. She left the port without having caused any trouble. But a few days later, on the 14th of December, Commandant Jose Maria Autran arrived on the man-of-war *Jorge Juan,* and at once gave rise to a situation fraught with much danger. On the 17th he sent an ultimatum to the Secretary of Exterior Relations of Haiti allowing seventy-two hours for the settlement of the alleged

grievances of Spain. The sentence imposed on Jose Santisi [1] was made a pretext for this haughtily aggressive attitude; but what in reality annoyed Spain was that the unfortunate Cuban refugees found a safe asylum on Haitian territory.[2] In his ultimatum [3] Captain Autran affected to see an insult to his country in the fact that the sentence inflicted on Jose Santisi, a *Spaniard*, having, on account of a technicality, been annulled by the Supreme Court (Cour de Cassation), the prisoner had not at once been set free. He at the same time, however, declared that Haiti had offended Spain in not having enforced a sentence passed upon a Cuban, Manuel Fernandez, which had also been declared void by the Supreme Court. Jose Santisi and Manuel Fernandez were both Spanish subjects, Cuba at that time not being an independent State; they were therefore entitled to the same protection from Spain. The judgments severally rendered against them having been reversed, they had, according to Haitian laws, to be tried again. Nevertheless, Captain Autran did his utmost to compel Haiti to discriminate; for, whilst demanding that Santisi be immediately set free, he insisted on the rigorous execution of the sentence against Fernandez. This contradictory demand did not prevent him from affirming in his letter to the British Consul at Port-au-

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[1] After a trial by jury Jose Santisi was found guilty of arson and sentenced to death. He had set fire to the ice factory of Port-au-Prince, which was under his management, with a view of defrauding the French Insurance Company "Le Globe." This was the man on whose behalf Spain was trying to bully Haiti.

[2] "The conduct pursued by the Haitian Government is inconceivable, "and I have the assurance that circumstances would never have arrived "at the extreme in which they now are if the Cuban insurrection had not "existed. Those separatists of the Greater Antilles who do not find in "their breasts sufficient breath to meet the charge of the Spanish bay-"onets are scattered in the nearest foreign places, with the object of "creating at every step international difficulties and to lend aid to those "who have risen in arms. * * * But where those sympathies have "cast deep roots and caused the perpetration of unheard-of wrongs, has "been without dispute in the Republic of Haiti. * * * " (Letter of Commandant Autran to the British Consul, December 17, 1877. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1878, p. 424.)

[3] *Le Moniteur*, December 22, 1877.

Prince[4] that his country was "the faithful depositary and jealous guardian of justice and right."

Captain Autran also requested the arraignment of those persons who were charged with crying aloud, "Down with Spain!" and "Vive Cuba libre!" whilst passing before the Spanish Consulate at night; other grievances mentioned in the ultimatum were that the Spanish flag had been trampled on by unknown persons and had also been insulted by one Despeaux.

Haiti refused to admit the contention of Spain concerning Santisi and Fernandez and insisted on applying the same treatment to both; she denied also all responsibility for the alleged cries of defiance heard at night before the Spanish Consulate by unknown parties and for the non-specified insult to the Spanish flag.

The diplomatic corps at Port-au-Prince tendered its good offices, and on the 19th of December the matter was satisfactorily ended by an exchange of salutes between the *Jose Juan* and the Haitian man-of-war "*1804*."

In his letter of December 17, 1877, to the diplomatic corps at Port-au-Prince, Captain Autran had stated that the Cuban insurgents enjoyed also great sympathy in Jamaica, Nassau, etc. It is worthy of notice that Spain refrained not only from sending any ultimatum to Great Britain, but did not even venture to make any remonstrance to this Power, whilst toward Haiti her manner was most offensively overbearing.

It would seem as though there were an agreement among the European Powers to harass the government of Boisrond Canal; for Great Britain now made a claim for $682,000 on behalf of Madame Maunder.[5] This woman, a Haitian by birth, had been granted the concession of Tortuga Island. But she failed to pay the rent due from 1870 to 1875; and the Haitian Government, in order to safeguard the interests of the treasury, seized the products of the island, and brought suit against the grantee with the object of obtaining from

[4] Foreign Relations of the United States, p. 425.

[5] See page 240.

the courts the cancellation of the contract, this proceeding being the usual one taken by all creditors against their debtors. Great Britain affected to consider this as a grave attack upon the interests of one of her subjects, which caused her in due time to resort to threats to extort an indemnity from Haiti.

Even the United States, whose relations with Haiti were at that time most cordial, introduced unjust claims against the country, those concerning Lazare and Pelletier being among the most unreasonable.[6]

In September, 1874, the Government of Domingue had granted to A. H. Lazare, an American citizen, the privilege of establishing a bank in Haiti. Of the metallic reserve to the value of $1,500,000, one-third, viz., $500,000, was to be furnished by the Haitian Government, and the balance, $1,000,000, by the grantee. It was agreed that in case the bank should not be in operation a year after the signature of the contract, which occurred on the 1st of September, 1874, the concession was to be held null and void. On the 1st of September, 1875, A. H. Lazare was unable to make the deposit of the $1,000,000; the Haitian Government agreed to wait until the 15th of October, notifying him, at the same time, that they would consider the concession cancelled if on that day he was not ready to fulfil his part of the contract. On the 15th of October the Haitian Government deposited in the bank the $500,000, its share in the transaction; but neither Lazare nor his million were forthcoming. The concession consequently was declared void. Lazare, knowing full well that he had no money with which to establish a bank, accepted the accomplished fact. The Haitian Government, with its usual benevolence, had the extreme kindness to give him $10,000 to cover his traveling expenses and the cost of advertisement; besides which, he was appointed Haitian Consul-General in New York. Nevertheless, as soon as he heard of the overthrow of Domingue he began intriguing, until the United States Legation at Port-au-

[6] See pages 237, 239.

Prince finally introduced in his behalf a claim for $500,000, under the pretext that his concession had been arbitrarily cancelled.

Another claim of still more extraordinary nature was presented by the same legation. This was founded on events that had taken place over eighteen years before. One Antonio Pelletier,[7] a Frenchman by birth, who became a citizen of the United States by naturalization in 1852, was well known as a slave-trader. In April, 1859, his ship, *The Ardennes,* had been captured at the mouth of the Congo River by Cap. Thomas W. Brent of the United States man-of-war *Marion.* This much was known of Pelletier when he arrived at Port-au-Prince in January, 1861, on the schooner *Williams* flying the flag of the United States. A member of the crew informed the Haitian authorities that the ship was a slaver and that the Captain had come with the intention of kidnapping about 150 people on the coast of Haiti, with the object of selling them in Cuba. A few days before Pelletier had tried to engage 50 men and some women at Port-au-Prince, under the pretext of taking on a cargo of guano at Navassa Island. The Haitian police at once proceeded to make a thorough search on board the *Williams,* where arms, ammunition, many handcuffs, and barrels of water were found. These articles at that time were the necessary accompaniment of the slave-trade. The ship, however, was not seized; she was allowed to sail for New Orleans, the Haitian Government causing her to be convoyed for a while by the man-of-war *Le Geffrard.* As soon as the *Williams* was left alone she changed her course, and returning to Haiti cruised for five days along the north coast, and finally entered Fort-Liberté, a small port closed to foreign commerce, on the 31st of March, 1861. This time she was flying the French flag. Her name was no longer *Williams,* but *Guillaume Tell,* and Pelletier also had changed his name to Jules Letellier. His plan was to get a sufficient number of the inhabitants on board

[7] The American and Haitian Claims Commission, Washington, 1885.

and carry them off to be sold. Under the pretext that his ship needed some repairs he entered into relations with the authorities of the town for engaging some workmen, and then announced that there would be a dance given on board the *Guillaume Tell.* Alarmed by the audacity of his captain, a member of the crew, one Miranda, deserted the ship and denounced the whole plot to the Haitian authorities. The French Consul at Cap-Haitien proceeded forthwith to Fort-Liberté, and at once found out that Jules Letellier was no other than Antonio Pelletier, and that the ship was not the *Guillaume Tell* from Havre, as her captain had reported, but the same *Williams* which some time previous had set sail from Port-au-Prince for New Orleans; and that she had no right to fly the French flag. The Haitian authorities caused the ship to be seized, and Antonio Pelletier with his accomplices was delivered up to justice. On the 30th of August, 1861, he was sentenced to death by the Criminal Court of Port-au-Prince, but the sentence was reversed by the Supreme Court on the 14th of October; Pelletier was again tried by the Criminal Court of Cap-Haitien, which sentenced him to imprisonment for five years. Pelletier was serving his term of imprisonment in the jail at Port-au-Prince when he became ill in 1863. Out of humanity the Haitian Government authorized his transfer to a hospital. He profited by this opportunity to make his escape and flee to Jamaica.

The action of the Haitian Government met with the full approval of the representatives of the foreign Powers then accredited at Port-au-Prince. Mr. Lewis, who was the Commercial Agent of the United States in Haiti in 1861, personally requested that Pelletier should not be set free. In his report of the 13th of April, 1861, to Mr. Seward, at that time Secretary of State, Mr. G. Eustis Hubbard, Commercial Agent of the United States at Cap-Haitien, expressed the following opinion: "I have no doubt that the intention of Cap-"tain Pelletier was to induce a number of Haitians to "go on board of his vessel, under contract or otherwise, "and then make his escape with them and sell them

"into slavery. * * * Indeed, my own doubts about "the legality of the vessel's proceedings were so great "that, had she escaped from Fort-Liberté, I should at "once have written to Saint-Thomas, Aspinwall and "Havana, requesting the American Consuls of those "places to lay the facts before the commander of any "foreign man-of-war in port, so that the vessel might "have been apprehended and her real intention dis- "covered." [8]

Nevertheless, eighteen years later, in February, 1879, Mr. Langston, then United States Minister at Port-au-Prince, introduced a claim on Pelletier's behalf; in the name of this pirate he did his utmost to extort from the Haitian people the trifling amount of $2,466,480.

The foreign Powers seemed bent upon causing embarrassments to the government of Boisrond Canal, which was showing in every way the greatest respect for the law. The two Houses of Congress exercised a rigid control of the finances, and the public expenses were reduced to the strictest necessities. Public works also received much attention. Mr. Borrott, an American citizen, obtained the concession for the building of a railroad and tramway at Port-au-Prince; the construction of canals was undertaken and pipes were laid for supplying water to private houses; contracts for the building of wharves and bridges were also signed. Haitians and foreigners alike enjoyed complete freedom. Yet throughout Boisrond Canal's administration there was continued trouble arising from all kinds of pretensions on the part of the foreign legations at Port-au-Prince, as well as from party strife. The opposition in the legislative body aimed at absorbing the prerogatives of the Executive Power. The rivalry in Congress during 1879 between the National and Liberal parties, both of which were contending for the supremacy, made the situation still more delicate. On the 30th of June, 1879, a disturbance occurred in the

[8] The American and Haitian Claims Commission, Claim of Antonio Pelletier (Washington, 1885), p. 1103.

House of Representatives, followed by a riot at Port-au-Prince, in which Mr. Boyer Bazelais, the leader of the Liberal party, took the chief part. The Government succeeded in restoring order. But feeling that he had lost the confidence of the Nationals and the Liberals alike after having unsuccessfully tried to play the part of peace-maker between them, President Boisrond Canal[9] resigned on the 17th of July, 1879.

[9] Boisrond Canal died at Port-au-Prince on the 6th of March, 1905, at the age of 73 years.

CHAPTER XX

Lysius Salomon (October 23, 1879-August 10, 1888)—Insurrection at Miragoane—Misunderstanding with the Catholic clergy—Various foreign claims: Lazare, Pelletier, Maunder (continued)—The Domingue loan—Bank of Haiti—Financial scandal—Universal Postal Union—Telegraph—Agricultural exposition—Re-election of Salomon—Discontent at Cap-Haitien—Salomon leaves Haiti.

After the resignation of Boisrond Canal the Constitution of 1867 was modified, and on the 23d of October, 1879, Lysius Salomon was elected President of Haiti for seven years. This term has, since that time, been adopted; the term of four years having too frequently been the occasion of dangerous agitation.

The new President was of a decidedly remarkable personality. He had previously held important offices. He had been Haitian Minister to France, after which he continued for a long time to live abroad, devoting much of his leisure to study. The struggle between the two parties was at an important juncture when he came into power; but he took hold of the authority with a firm hand. The Liberal party, which had met with a severe defeat, was doing its utmost to regain its former influence. Their leader, Boyer Bazelais, who had taken refuge in Kingston, was plotting, without any interference on the part of the British Government, against Salomon. On the 27th of March, 1883, Bazelais arrived at Miragoane on board an American steamer *The Tropic,* where he started an insurrection. This rebellion was suppressed, but at great cost to Haiti, which

besides the expenses which the actual strife necessitated, had to pay heavy indemnities to foreigners who had sustained damages more or less important in Port-au-Prince and in other towns.

On being informed of the part taken in the insurrection by an American steamship the United States had hastened to accord Haiti the satisfaction she requested. The captain and the crew of *The Tropic* were tried at Philadelphia and sentenced for violation of the neutrality law.

At the very beginning of his administration Salomon was called upon to settle a serious difference existing between the civil and religious authorities. During the first years of their independence the Haitians had proclaimed freedom of cults and established civil marriage, and according to the laws still in force the ministers of all creeds were forbidden to celebrate any marriage without requesting the presentation of the certificate of the civil marriage. Little by little the Catholic clergy had come to disregard this requirement entirely, contending finally that they had the right to perform religious marriages without taking any notice of the civil ceremony. The legislative body took up the matter and a resolution was passed by the House of Representatives requesting the President to denounce the Concordat signed with the Holy See in 1860. Salomon was taking the necessary steps in carrying out this decision, when the priests gave in to the law. Since then there has been no further friction between them and the civil authority.

These internal difficulties were not the only ones with which Salomon had to contend. Like his predecessor, he had to deal with numerous claims from foreign Powers. The United States were still persisting in claiming an indemnity on behalf of Pelletier and Lazare.[1] In order to put an end to this prolonged discussion the Haitian Government at last agreed to submit the two cases to arbitration. In pursuance of a pro-

[1] For the particulars of these two claims, see pages 231, 232.

tocol [2] signed on the 28th of May, 1884, by Mr. Preston, Minister of Haiti, and Mr. Frelinghuysen, Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. William Strong, a late Justice of the United States Supreme Court, was appointed sole arbiter. The award rendered on the 13th of June, 1885, was of a most astounding nature. The Republic of Haiti was condemned to pay to A. H. Lazare $117,500 with interest at 6 per cent per annum from the 1st of November, 1875, and to the pirate Pelletier $57,200. On this occasion the Department of State gave manifest evidence of the sentiment of equity and justice which places the United States so high in the esteem of weaker nations. Haiti naturally complained of this extraordinary award and appealed to the Secretary of State, proving beyond doubt that Lazare had neither the money nor the credit wherewith to organize the bank. As to Pelletier, his crime was so evident that Mr. Seward, who was at that time Secretary of State, had refused most decidedly to act in his behalf; in his letter of November 30, 1863, to the United States Commissioner at Port-au-Prince, he thus expressed his opinion of the matter: [3] "His (Pelletier's) conduct in "Haiti and on its coast is conceived to have afforded "the reasonable ground of suspicion against him on the "part of the authorities of that Republic which led to "his arrest, trial, and conviction in regular course of "law, with which result it is not deemed expedient to "interfere." And Mr. Gorham Eustis Hubbard,[4] who was United States Commercial Agent at Cap-Haitien in 1861, had made the following declaration when he was summoned by the arbiter on the 22d of February, 1885: "It has always been my belief from that day to "this that the Haitian Government ought to have ex- "ecuted the man as a pirate and confiscated his vessel "and property beyond redemption." [5]

[2] The American and Haitian Claims Commission, Claim of A. H. Lazare, p. 1.

[3] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1888, p. 594.

[4] See Mr. Hubbard's letter of April 13, 1861, to Mr. Seward. Claim of Antonio Pelletier, p. 1099.

[5] Hubbard's deposition, Claim of Antonio Pelletier, p. 1120.

In June, 1874, the United States Senate had refused to take into consideration the petition of Antonio Pelletier. In 1868 and in 1878 the House of Representatives had also refused to make any recommendation to the State Department concerning the case. Upon its attention being called to all these facts by the Haitian Legation at Washington the Department of State, without the least hesitation, put aside the two awards and exempted Haiti from paying indemnity either to Pelletier or Lazare. The reasons stated in a memorial [6] of the 20th of January, 1887, presented by Mr. T. F. Bayard, then Secretary of State, do honor to the great Republic of North America. The following are his words concerning Pelletier: "This claim, I do now "assert, is one which, from its character, no civilized "Government can press. * * * I do not hesitate to "say that, in my judgment, the claim of Pelletier is one "which this Government should not press on Haiti, "either by persuasion or by force, and I come to this "conclusion, first because Haiti had jurisdiction to in- "flict on him the very punishment of which he com- "plains, such punishment being in no way excessive in "view of the heinousness of the offense, and secondly, "because his cause is of itself so saturated with tur- "pitude and infamy that on it no action, judicial or "diplomatic, can be based."

The following opinions expressed by Mr. Bayard concerning Lazare will be read with pleasure by all those who place faith in the justice and the strict sense of duty of the United States: "Essential as it is that the "intercourse between nations should be marked by the "highest honor as well as honesty, the moment that the "Government of the United States discovers that a "claim it makes on a foreign Government cannot be "honorably and honestly pressed, that moment, no mat- "ter what may be the period of the procedure, that "claim should be dropped."

Whilst the United States was thus giving proof of its

[6] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1888, p. 593.

respect for the rights of a weaker nation, Great Britain was resorting to threats in order to compel Haiti to pay an indemnity to the Maunders.[7]

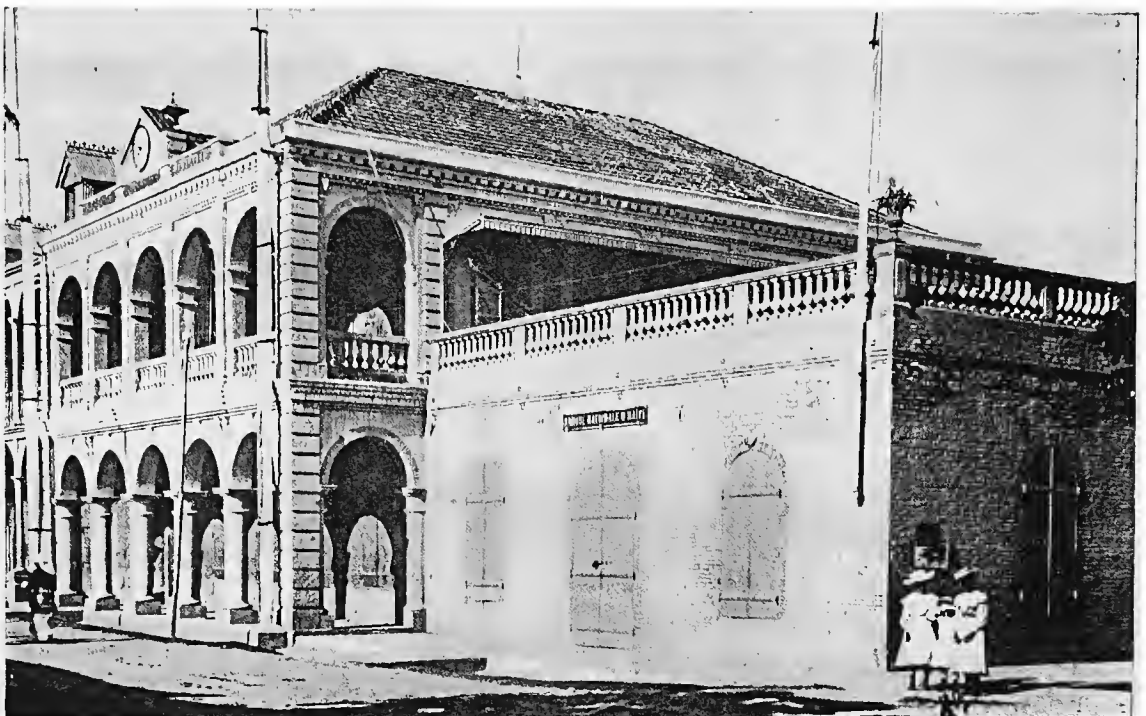
This claim might easily have been referred to arbitration; for the Haitian Government contended that the grantee had not paid the rent agreed upon, whilst the Maunders declared that they had sustained heavy losses —the case being thus a mere matter of accounts to be settled and damages to be estimated. But Great Britain arbitrarily determined upon the amount to be paid, and in March, 1887, the man-of-war *Canada,* with a special Commissioner on board, anchored in the harbor of Port-au-Prince, demanding an immediate settlement. In order to secure peace Haiti had to agree to pay the sum of $32,000.

Foreigners never cease criticising the management of Haitian finances, without seeking the reason for the impoverished state of the exchequer. The frequent assaults made upon the Haitian treasury by one or other of the great Powers have in a large measure contributed to a deficit in the budgets and to the straitened circumstances in which the country has many a time found itself.

However, Salomon did not allow these various difficulties to prevent him from taking some useful measures. He started at once to enter into direct negotiations with the holders of the bonds of the Domingue loan.[8] An agreement was speedily arrived at, and since then the interest has been regularly paid. By the year 1922 this loan will have been entirely redeemed.

Convinced as to the integrity of the Haitians, French capitalists undertook to establish a State Bank in Haiti. This bank, which is called Banque Nationale d'Haiti, was established in 1881; it is intrusted with the mission of collecting the revenues and meeting all the expenses of the Republic. Unfortunately, this institution did not give the example of strict probity and careful man-

[7] The Maunders claim. See page 230.
[8] See pages 224, 227.



National Bank of Haiti, Port-au-Prince

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agement which was expected from it by the Haitians. Scarcely four years had elapsed from its organization when a scandal broke out: orders already paid were again put into circulation; a criminal prosecution ensued which resulted in the conviction of a Frenchman and an Englishman, who were both sentenced to three years' imprisonment. Several years later, in 1904, the same bank was again implicated in a conspiracy to defraud the Haitian people; and the director, the chief of its branch offices, the sub-director, and the head of the department of bills and acceptances—two Frenchmen and two Germans—were found guilty and sentenced to hard labor. Foreigners in Haiti have decidedly not given the example of strict probity to which they lay claim. It is worthy of note that in this last scandal not one of the Haitians employed in the bank was implicated in the frauds. Although Haiti's expectations in this establishment have not yet been completely fulfilled, still with proper management it may prove of great good to the country.

Besides the National Bank, Salomon gave also to Haiti her first submarine telegraph, and in 1880 obtained her admission to the Universal Postal Union. He caused a national exposition of all the agricultural products of the Republic to be held at Port-au-Prince. The Law School was organized by him on a practical basis, so that now it is no longer necessary for Haitians to go to Paris in order to study law.

Salomon's term as President was to have expired on the 15th of May, 1887. But upon consideration the National Assembly decided to try to keep him at the head of the Government; for this purpose the Constitution, which prohibited reelection, was modified; and on the 30th of June, 1886, Salomon was reelected President for a new term of seven years. On the 15th of May, 1887, he took the oath of office. Great discontent followed this reelection, which seemed to be an attempt at reestablishing Presidency for life. General Seide Thélémaque, who was Commandant of the arrondissement of Cap-Haitien, headed the malcontents, and on

the 4th of August, 1888, openly refused any longer to recognize Salomon's authority. On the 10th of the same month a hostile manifestation took place at Port-au-Prince, whereupon the President at once declared that he was willing to resign his office. Thus without the shedding of blood either at Cap-Haitien or at the capital, Salomon left for France on the afternoon of the 10th of August.[9]

The task of maintaining order was intrusted to a provisional government presided over by ex-President Boisrond Canal.

[9] He died at Paris on the 19th of October, 1888.

CHAPTER XXI

Seide Thélémaque—F. D. Légitime (December 16, 1888-August 22, 1889) —The incident of the steamship *Haytian Republic*—Légitime leaves Port-au-Prince.

The Presidency was being eagerly disputed by two candidates: General Seide Thélémaque, late Commandant of the arrondissement of Cap-Haitien, and ex-Senator F. D. Légitime, who had been Secretary of Agriculture. The elections were hotly contested; and on the 17th of September, 1888, all the constituents had been elected. Theirs was the duty of choosing a new President for the Republic, and the majority of them seemed to have been in favor of Légitime. On the night of September 28 an unfortunate clash occurred at Port-au-Prince between the partisans of the two candidates. General Seide Thélémaque went among his soldiers, endeavoring to quell the disturbance, when in the darkness he was hit in the abdomen by a stray bullet and died a few hours after. This sad accident provoked very grave consequences. The Departments of the North, the Northwest, and the Artibonite held Légitime responsible for the death of his rival and demanded the withdrawal of his candidacy. The Western and Southern Departments, however, espoused the cause of Légitime, who they knew was incapable of participating in a crime, if indeed crime there were; and strongly resented the attempt to cast the odium of Thélémaque's death on him. The protestants, as the followers of the

late General Thélémaque were called, organized a provisional government at Cap-Haitien, at the head of which General Hyppolite was placed; whilst the constituents of the Western and Southern Departments, after meeting at Port-au-Prince, elected F. D. Légitime Chief of the Executive Power on the 14th of October, 1888. Seeing that their colleagues of the North, Northwest, and Artibonite persisted in keeping aloof, they elected Légitime President of the Republic on the 16th of December. His opponents protested against this election, contending that the Constituents assembled at Port-au-Prince had not the proper quorum. However, Légitime's authority was recognized by the European Powers, whilst the United States appeared undecided as to what course to pursue; but being evidently made uneasy by the intimacy which existed between the new President and Comte de Ses Maisons, then Minister of France in Haiti, Hyppolite's cause by degrees grew in favor with the Americans. Their partiality almost provoked grave complications. On the 22d of October, 1888, the Haitian man-of-war *Dessalines* captured the American steamship *Haytian Republic* as she was leaving Saint-Marc after having previously entered several Southern ports with a Commission on board, whose object was to try to detach them from Légitime's authority. The same steamer also carried soldiers, arms, and ammunition for General Hyppolite's cause. The case was in consequence laid before a prize court. The Department of State at Washington intervened; and after some protracted parleys the Haitian Government gave up the *Haytian Republic,* which had been declared confiscated; and the ship was restored to Rear-Admiral Luce on the 20th of December.

Légitime being unable to maintain his authority, sailed from Port-au-Prince on the 22d of August, 1889.[1]

[1] In 1896 Légitime returned to Port-au-Prince, where he is still living.

CHAPTER XXII

Florville Hyppolite (October 9, 1889-March 24, 1896)—The United States try to gain possession of Môle Saint-Nicolas—The United States and Samana Bay—Incident with France concerning Haitians registered at the French Legation—The Chicago Exposition—Telegraph—Telephone—Public works—Death of Hyppolite.

The Constituent Assembly met at Gonaives on the 24th of September, 1889; and after amending the Constitution, elected on the 9th of October General Hyppolite President of Haiti for seven years. He took the oath of office on the 17th of the same month. As soon as he assumed the power he had to settle a very delicate matter. Considering that they were entitled to some recognition for the sympathy which they had shown for Hyppolite's cause, the United States decided that the time had come to try to get Môle Saint-Nicolas into their possession, with the intention of establishing a naval station. They were, however, greatly mistaken in supposing that the people of Haiti would be willing to give up a particle of their territory; popular feeling is very strong on this subject and all parties would at once unite against the President who would dare to place either the independence of the nation or the integrity of the territory in jeopardy. Unaware of this characteristic of the people, President Harrison, acting under the advice of Mr. Blaine, his Secretary of State, commissioned Rear-Admiral Bancroft Gherardi to negotiate for the acquisition of Môle Saint-Nicolas. With the intention, it would seem, to intimidate the Haitians, a formidable fleet was despatched to Port-au-Prince;

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But President Harrison and Mr. Blaine were not discouraged by this failure. Still bent upon acquiring a naval station in the West Indies, they applied in 1892 to the Dominican Republic. Mr. Durham, who had replaced Mr. Douglass as Minister at Port-au-Prince and Chargé d'Affaires at Santo Domingo, was instructed to lease Samana Bay for a term of ninety-nine years, for which the sum of $250,000 was to be paid. General Ignacio Gonzales, who was at that time Secretary of State for Exterior Relations in President Heureau's Cabinet, hesitated at taking upon himself the responsibility of signing such a lease, consequently, having disclosed the request made by the United States, he was obliged to fly from Santo Domingo into a self-imposed exile. These events caused both Presidents, Harrison and Heureau, to give up the negotiations.

The affair of Môle Saint-Nicolas once disposed of, Hyppolite's Government had to come to an understanding with the French Legation at Port-au-Prince concerning the practice it had been indulging in of late, of granting naturalizations on Haitian territory. Natives of Haiti who were able to lay claim to being of French descent would go to the legation and have themselves registered as French citizens. The Haitian Secretary of State of Foreign Relations undertook to put an end to this abuse, which could not be tolerated. After a long and tedious discussion on the subject, France at last yielded, and fully admitted Haiti's contention; she ordered her Minister at Port-au-Prince to cancel the names of all those who had not had the right to have them registered.

Hyppolite held friendly intercourse with all the Foreign Powers. In 1892 the Holy See proved its good will toward the Republic of Haiti in accrediting a Delegate and Envoy Extraordinary to Port-au-Prince.

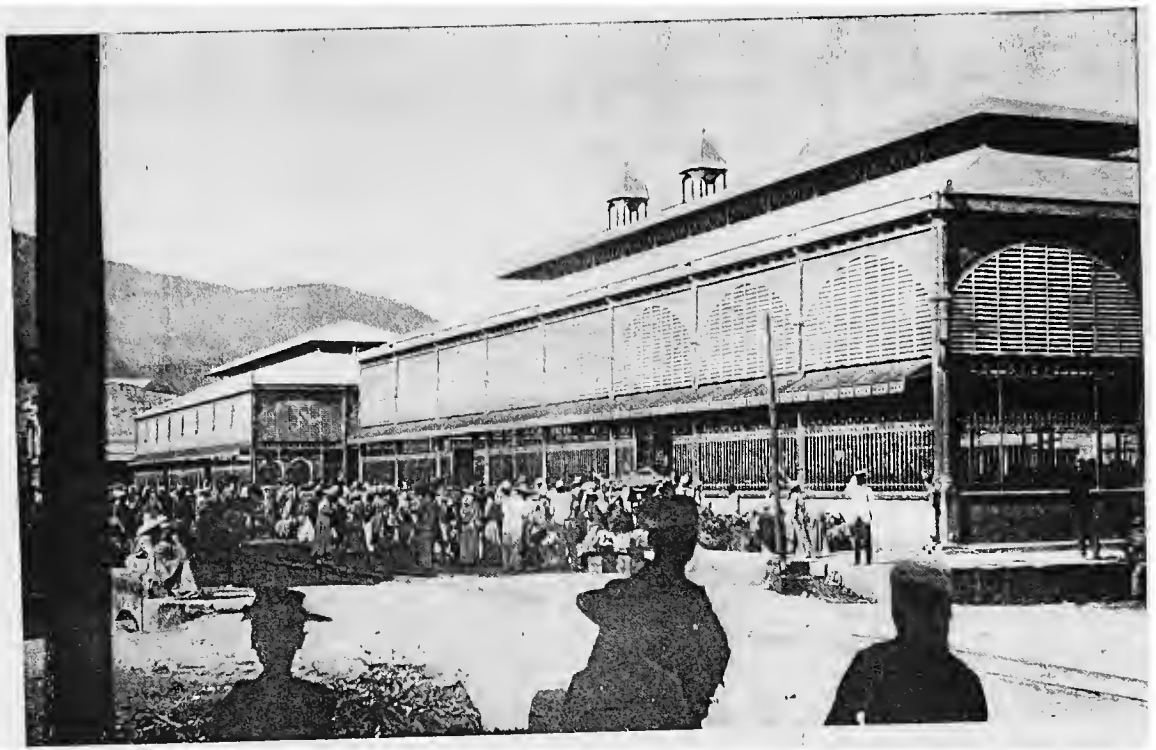
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have succeeded; for the people of Haiti are always ready to resort to extreme measures in order to preserve the integrity of their territory or their sovereignty. The foreign Power which shows no regard for this sentiment by trying to take possession of a portion of the country must prepare to face a merciless struggle, to wage a war of extermination.

Desirous of extending her commerce and making her products known abroad, Haiti took part in the Chicago Exposition, where she won many high prizes.

President Hyppolite devoted his earnest attention to the public works of the country. Wharves were built in several ports; large markets were erected in Port-au-Prince and Cap-Haitien. In several towns canals were constructed for the distribution of water to private houses. Telegraph lines connected the principal towns in the Republic at about the same time that the telephone was first introduced. The roads were kept in good repair; agriculture and commerce were in a flourishing condition. It now became possible for the Republic to redeem her internal debt, upon which she was paying interest at the rate of 18 per cent per annum; for this purpose a loan of 50,000,000 francs at 6 per cent per annum was floated in Paris in 1896.

That was the last important act of Hyppolite's Government. For some time the President, who was 69 years old, had not been in good health, and disregarding the friendly warnings of those who were interested in his welfare he refused to give up his hard work and to take the rest of which he was in sore need. Against the advice of his doctor he decided to undertake a long journey to Jacmel. He started on the 24th of March, 1896, at three o'clock in the morning, but before he even had time to leave Port-au-Prince he fell from his horse dead, in a fit of apoplexy, at a short distance from the Executive Mansion. His funeral took place on the 26th of March. The Council of Secretaries of State took charge of the affairs of the Government until the election of his successor.



CENTRAL MARKET, PORT-AU-PRINCE

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CHAPTER XXIII

T. Simon-Sam (March 31, 1896-May 12, 1902)—The Lüders incident—The Northern Railroad—Railroad from Port-au-Prince to L'Etang—Misunderstanding as to the duration of Sam's power—His resignation.

Seven days after Hyppolite's death the National Assembly met at Port-au-Prince, and on the 31st of March 1896, the Secretary of War, General T. Simon-Sam, was elected President for a term of seven years; he took the oath of office on the 1st of April.

All parties had concurred in this election. But the Lüders incident was detrimental to the popularity of the new President. On the 21st of September, 1897, the police of Port-au-Prince were seeking to arrest one Dorléus Présumé, charged with having committed petty larceny. Présumé was arrested at the entrance of Les Ecuries Centrales (Central Livery Stable), where he was employed. This was under the management of Emile Lüders, who was born in Haiti of a Haitian mother and a German father. Upon his refusal to follow the policemen the latter took hold of him and a fight ensued. The noise attracted Emile Lüders, who sided with his employé in helping him in his forcible resistance against the officers of the law. At the police court a complaint of assault and battery was lodged against Lüders and Présumé, who were both sentenced to one month's imprisonment. They appealed to the Correctional Tribunal; but instead of being charged this time with having committed assault and battery alone they were also charged with having resisted arrest

by force; they were consequently sentenced to one year's imprisonment on the 14th of October, 1897. It is worth noting that in 1894 Emile Lüders had beaten a soldier and had been sentenced to six days' imprisonment. This fact, together with the depositions made by the several witnesses, among whom were two Frenchmen, a German, and an Englishman, did not prevent the German Legation at Port-au-Prince from interfering on Lüders's behalf. On the 17th of October, 1897, Count Schwerin, then Chargé d'Affaires, went to the Executive Mansion and formally demanded that Lüders be set free and that the judges who had pronounced the sentence, and the policemen who had made the arrest, be dismissed. Astounded by this action so contrary to international customs, General Sam declined to look into the matter, referring the German Chargé d'Affaires to the Secretary of State for Exterior Relations. Count Schwerin's attitude, however, became such that the American Minister thought it wise to write to the Haitian Government on the 21st of October requesting Lüders's release [1] out of courtesy for the United States. Complying with this request, President Sam, on the 22d of October, granted the pardon, and Lüders hastened to leave Haiti. Nevertheless, on the 6th of December two German men-of-war, the *Charlotte* and the *Stein*, anchored at Port-au-Prince. Captain Thiele of the *Charlotte* at once despatched an ultimatum to the Haitian Government demanding an indemnity of $20,000 for Lüders, apologies to the German Government, a salute to the German flag, and the reception by the President of the German Chargé d'Affaires, allowing four hours for the fulfilment of these conditions. The excitement at Port-au-Prince was intense. The people, highly incensed at this high-handed attitude assumed by the Germans, were determined to defend themselves should the capital be bombarded. The representatives of the foreign Powers used every means in their power to urge President Sam to yield, until he consented to

[1] Solon Ménos, Affaire Lüders, p. 132.

accept the conditions dictated by Germany. This giving way offended the national *amour-propre.* Nevertheless, no disturbance ensued; Haiti remained calm in the face of the gratuitous humiliation inflicted on her by a powerful nation.

Like his predecessors, President Sam took much interest in public works. At Port-au-Prince the construction of a new building for the sittings of the Court of Justice was begun, as was the railroad connecting the capital with l'Etang-Saumâtre, and that of Cap-Haitien in the North.

Treaties and conventions were signed with France for reciprocity in 1900 and with the United States on naturalization in 1902.

In the mean time, the newspapers had been discussing the duration of the President's term of office. The Decree of the National Assembly concerning General Sam's election had wrongly prescribed that he would be in authority until the 15th of May, 1903. The election had taken place on the 31st of March, 1896, and article 93 of the Haitian Constitution reads as follows: "In case of the death, resignation, or dismissal of the "President, his successor is appointed for seven years, "and his power must always cease on the 15th of May, "even if the seventh year of his term be not completed." Accordingly, General Sam, to whom this article was applicable, was to relinquish the Presidency on the 15th of May, 1902. So as to prevent any misunderstandings the President sent in his resignation to the National Assembly on the 12th of May, 1902, three days before the legal expiration of his term, and left Port-au-Prince on the 13th.

The task of maintaining order was intrusted to a provisional government presided over by General Boisrond Canal, a former President of the Republic.

CHAPTER XXIV

Legislative elections—Affray at Cap-Haitien—A. Firmin at Gonaives—The Markomania incident—The blowing up of the *Crête-à-Pierrot* by Killick—Nord Alexis elected President on the 21st of December, 1902—The "Consolidation" scandal.

The Provisional Government ordered the election of the Deputies who, together with the Senators, were to elect General Sam's successor. The Presidency was aspired to by three candidates: Sénèque M. Pierre, Senator and former Secretary of War; A. Firmin, Minister Plenipotentiary in France and former Secretary of the Treasury and of Exterior Relations; C. Fouchard, former Secretary of the Treasury. Whilst Pierre and Fouchard contented themselves with directing their electoral campaign, Firmin took a more active part in the struggle by trying to be elected Deputy for Cap-Haitien, his native town. The contest in this part of the country grew daily more intense. Firmin exerted every power in order to secure his election, whilst his opponents, who knew that a failure would be detrimental to his chances of attaining the Presidency, neglected none of the means which might cause his defeat. Affrays had already occurred at Cap-Haitien, when General Nord Alexis, who was Secretary of War and a member of the Provisional Government, was sent there with the purpose of maintaining order. At the opening of the primary Assembly, on the 28th of June, 1902, the followers and the opponents of Firmin came to blows. Killick, who at that time was at Cap-Haitien with the flotilla, espoused the latter's cause. Upon his being compelled to give up the fight,



Northern Station, Port-au-Prince

Firmin embarked on the *Crête-à-Pierrot* on the 30th of June, and went to Gonaives, where he had been elected Deputy. On his arrival he protested against the Provisional Government, declaring that the elections had not been rightly conducted. Killick, who had followed Firmin to Gonaives, boarded the German steamship *Markomania* on the 2d of September and forcibly took possession of the arms and ammunition which had been shipped from Port-au-Prince to General Nord Alexis at Cap-Haitien. At Berlin this act was considered as piratical; and on the 6th of September the German man-of-war *Panther* arrived at Gonaives where the *Crête-à-Pierrot* was anchored. Her captain demanded that within five minutes the Haitian ship be delivered to him. Killick, thoroughly taken by surprise, was incapable of offering any resistance; he requested to be allowed fifteen minutes. Sending his crew ashore he lighted a fuse connecting with the powder magazine; having done this, he seated himself on deck, lit a cigar, and quietly awaited the explosion, which was not long in taking place. Rather than give her up to the Germans, he preferred to sacrifice his life in the destruction of his ship. The tragic death of Killick and the loss of the *Crête-à-Pierrot* left no chance of success to Firmin's cause. In consequence the latter sailed from Gonaives on the 15th of October and went to Inagua.

In the mean time, the electoral campaign was going on; and it looked as if the contest for the election of the President would be very protracted. Tiring of a seemingly endless struggle, the population of Port-au-Prince put aside the three candidates who were striving for the Presidency and, on the night of December 17, 1902, declared in favor of General Nord Alexis, whom the National Assembly elected President of Haiti on the 21st of December for a term of seven years. According to article 93 [1] of the Haitian Constitution he will retire from office on the 15th of May, 1909.

[1] See page 251.

As soon as he had been elected, General Nord Alexis asserted his determination to enforce a strict respect of the public funds. There were rumors of frauds having been perpetrated in the consolidation of the floating debt which had taken place under President Sam's administration. On the 22d of March, 1903, President Nord Alexis instructed a Commission to investigate the matter; and it was found that the Haitian people had been defrauded of over $1,257,993. The case was referred to the courts; and after a legal inquiry which lasted more than ten months the Chamber of Council (grand jury) of Port-au-Prince indicted Joseph de la Myre, a Frenchman, and late director of the National Bank of Haiti; Georges Oelrich, Rodolph Tippenhauer, Poute de Puybaudet,—the two former Germans and the latter a Frenchman,—all three employed in the National Bank; Vilbrun Guillaume, former Secretary of War; G. Gédéon, former Attorney-General; B. Saint-Victor, former Secretary of Exterior Relations; Hérard Roy, former Secretary of the Treasury; Démosthènes Sam, Lycurgue Sam, J. C. Arteaud, and Auguste Léon. The "consolidation" scandal caused a considerable amount of agitation. The indicted parties were influential and well-known men. Their friends did all in their power to prevent their being tried. The National Bank of Haiti went so far as to publicly declare that it would no longer give any help to the Haitian Government if its former employés implicated in the frauds were not set free and allowed to leave the country without any further trouble. In spite of his personal sympathy for many of the offenders and in spite of the pressure brought to bear on him, President Nord Alexis remained firm in his determination not to interfere in the matter, whilst the Haitian people turned a deaf ear to all threats and entreaties; they calmly awaited the conclusion of the case. On the 28th of November, 1904, the indicted parties appeared before the Criminal Tribunal (Cour d'Assises) of Port-au-Prince. The proceedings, which lasted nearly a month, were all public. The Ministers of France and Germany personally attended the

sittings of the court; Mr. Allen, a barrister of the Paris Court of Appeals, was sent from France for the purpose of watching all the aspects of this famous criminal suit. The impartiality and the correctness of Haitian justice were such that our worst detractors had nothing to say. The evidence against the parties was overwhelming. The jury was given eighty-five questions to answer; which answer was rendered on the 24th of December, being in the negative for Hérard Roy alone, who was acquitted and at once set free. The following punishment was inflicted on the others, who were found guilty as indicted: J. de la Myre Mory, Georges Oelrich, R. Tippenhauer, de Puybaudet were sentenced to four years of hard labor; Vilbrun Guillaume to penal servitude for life; Gédéon, Démosthènes and Lycurgue Simon-Sam to three years of hard labor; Brutus Saint-Victor to three years of imprisonment.

Thus ended the scandal, which for a while was fraught with danger, threatening to involve Haiti in grave complications. President Nord Alexis proved himself to be a man of energy, all the more remarkable in consideration of his age, being over eighty. All public works are given his personal attention. The Lycée of Port-au-Prince will soon be entirely rebuilt; the new Court of Justice is almost completed. In the beginning of 1905 he laid the corner-stone of the monumental Cathedral, which is being erected at Port-au-Prince and will be completed within four years. Desirous of facilitating the means of transportation for the numerous products of the country the President has caused the building of the railroad of Cap-Haitien, which enterprise has been abandoned by the grantees, to be continued at the expense of the Government. Another railroad is also under construction at Gonaives, the concession of which has been granted to a Haitian citizen.

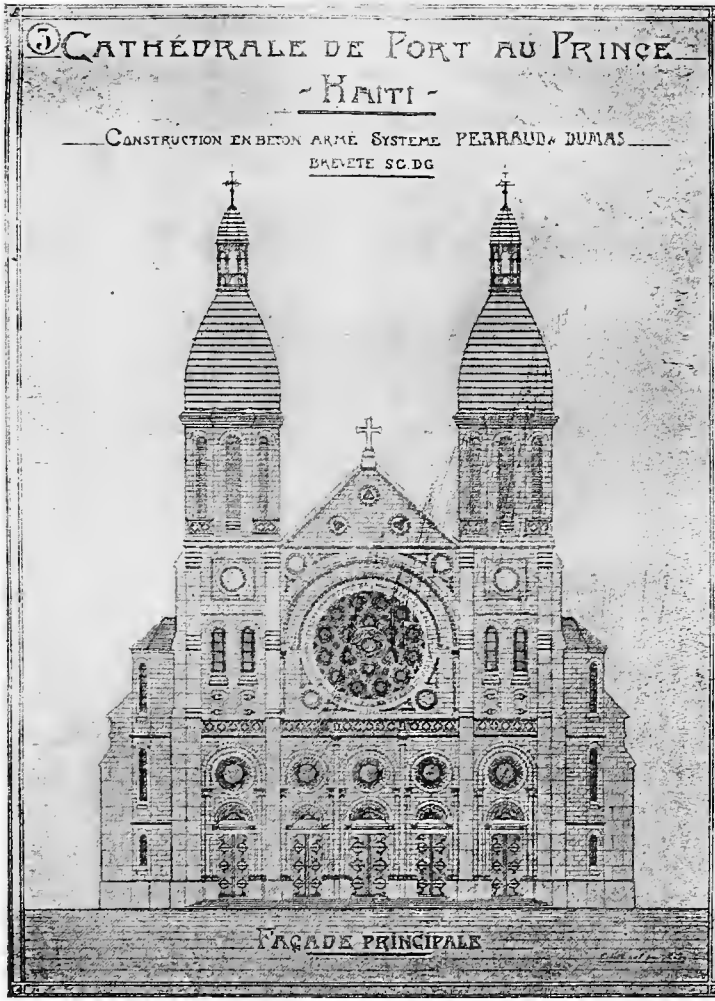
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Peace, the advantage of which is daily gaining in the appreciation of the Haitians, in procuring security will

facilitate the exploitation of the many natural resources of the country with the help of foreign capital. It is the usual thing for outsiders to misrepresent and slander Haiti; in so doing these critics show a lack of knowledge of the history of the country, and of discernment in their failure to appreciate the difficulties which have from the beginning stood in the way of Haitian progress.

The history of Haiti's struggle for liberty and freedom, of her constant efforts toward social and political betterment, of all that she has achieved unaided and in spite of the ill-will of many of the great Powers, clearly shows how unjust and undeserved are the calumnies heaped upon her by her detractors.

Haiti asks no favors; neither has she ever received any; all she desires is to be judged with impartiality and in good faith.



CATHEDRAL OF PORT-AU-PRINCE

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PART II

CALUMNIES AND THEIR REFUTATION

CHAPTER I

Limits of Haiti—Area—Mountains and rivers—Adjacent islands—Population—Government—Divisions of the territory into Departments, arrondissements, communes, and rural sections—Financial organization; the national debt—Academic organization; public instruction—Judiciary organization—Religious organization.

Haiti is bounded on the east by the Dominican Republic, on the north and west by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the south by the Caribbean Sea. She derives from her position at the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico and almost in the centre of the Antillean archipelago exceptional facilities for communications with foreign countries. Cuba is at a distance of 50 miles to the northwest, Jamaica 100 miles to the southwest, and New York but 1,400 miles away.[1]

The length of the island from east to west is over 400 miles, the breadth from north to south, ranging from 160 to 17 miles, and its perimeter about 900 miles.

According to B. Ardouin's Geography, its area, including the adjacent islets, is 52,000 square leagues,[2] of

[1] Handbook of Haiti issued by the Bureau of American Republics.

[2] A league is equal to 3.89 kilometres. In his dictionnaire administratif d'Haiti, Mr. S. Rouzier gives the following figures: Length of the island from east to west, 638 kilometres; width, from 264 to 12 kilometres; perimeter, 2,600 kilometres; area, not including the adjacent islets, 75,074 square kilometres, of which 26,000 belong to the Republic of Haiti. The adjacent islets have an area of 2,100 square kilometres.

which a third constitutes the Republic of Haiti; the remaining portion forming the Dominican Republic.

Fourteen mountain ranges lie across the country, which is watered by forty-four rivers and streams, thus rendering the soil exceedingly fertile. Among the rivers the most important are the Artibonite, 60 leagues long,[3] which rises in the Cibao Mountain and flows into the Gulf of Gonave, near Grande-Saline; the yearly rising of its waters and its consequent benefit to crops has caused it to be compared with the Nile; it is navigable and greatly facilitates the traffic of the plain which bears its name.

As to the mountains which give to Haiti so picturesque an aspect, they literally ridge the country. The peak of La Hotte in the South is about 2,470 metres and the peak of La Selle in the West 2,950 metres[4] above the sea level.

The adjacent islands belonging to Haiti are:

1st. La Gonave in the bay of Port-au-Prince is 14 leagues long by 3 wide.[5] The air is pure and the climate healthy; there is a lake on this island, and there are many mahogany and other valuable trees for cabinet-work and building purposes.

2nd. La Tortue (Tortuga Island), opposite Port-de-Paix, was the cradle of the French domination in Saint-Domingue, having been occupied by the freebooters in 1630; it is 9 leagues long. The climate of the island is so healthy that in the older times the French were in the habit of going there to escape from or recuperate after yellow fever. Here also are to be found mahogany and building timber, and land crabs much sought after as food.

3rd. L'Ile-à-Vaches, at about three leagues from

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[3] B. Ardouin, Geography of Haiti, p. 24.

[4] According to Moreau de Saint Méry and G. Tippenhauer, some of the mountains in Haiti have the following altitudes: Morne Belle Fontaine, 2,150 m.; Montagne Noire, 1,780; Plateau de Furcy, 1,540; Morne L'Hopital, 1,029; Morne Commissaire, 1,500; Morne des Crochus, 1,200; Les Matheux, 1,300; Tapion de Petit Goave, 488; Piton du Borgne, 692; Morne du Cap, 580.

[5] B. Ardouin, Geography of Haiti, p. 26.

Cayes, is four leagues long; it is very fertile and furnishes the town with all kinds of victuals; at certain times wood-pigeons are plentiful there.

4th. Les Caimites, opposite Corail and Pestel, are a series of islets the largest of which has an area of only two square leagues; they furnish timber for building.

5th. La Navase, which has been taken possession of by the United States in spite of Haiti's protests.

The population of Haiti numbers about 2,000,000. Under the Constitution the following persons are considered Haitian citizens: 1st. Those who are born in Haiti or any other country of a Haitian father; 2nd. Those born in Haiti or any other country of a Haitian mother and not acknowledged by their father; 3rd. Those born in Haiti of foreign parents provided that they be of African descent.

A foreign woman upon marrying a Haitian citizen becomes a Haitian, whilst a Haitian woman who marries a foreigner loses her nationality.

Any foreigner can be naturalized a Haitian by declaring his intention of settling in Haiti before a justice of the peace and by taking the oath of allegiance; the naturalization papers being delivered afterward by the President of the Republic.[6] (Article 14 of the Civil Code.)

Haitians alone are allowed to own real estate.

At the age of twenty-one years a Haitian-born citizen attains his majority and the exercise of his political rights; but foreigners who have been naturalized must reside in Haiti for five years before being allowed to enjoy political rights.

The supreme power is in the hands of the people, who are represented by three independent powers: the Legislative, the Executive, and the Judiciary Powers.

The Legislative power is exercised by a House of Representatives (Chambre des Communes) and by a Senate. The House of Representatives is elected for

[6] The only exception to this rule are Syrians, who cannot become Haitian citizens without residing ten years in Haiti. (Art. 7, Law of August 10, 1903.)

three years by the direct vote of the people. There is one Representative (Député) for each commune, with the exception of Port-au-Prince, which elects three, and Jacmel, Jérémie, Saint-Marc, Cayes, Gonaives, Port-de-Paix, and Cap-Haitien, each of which elects two Representatives, making up the number of 95 Representatives or Deputies.

The qualifications for the election of a Deputy are that the candidate be not less than 25 years old, enjoy civil and political rights, be owner of real estate or practise some profession or trade. A Deputy receives a salary of $300 a month during the legislative session, and may not hold any other office paid by the Republic. The Senate consists of 39 members elected for six years by the House of Representatives from a double list presented by the electoral assemblies and by the President of Haiti. There are 11 Senators from the Western Department; 9 from the Northern; 9 from the Southern; 6 from the Artibonite, and 4 from the Northwest.

To be elected Senator one must be not less than 30 years of age, the other necessary qualifications being the same as those required from a member of the House of Representatives. The Senate is divided into three series of 13 members each; new elections taking place every two years. The salary of each Senator is $150 a month.

The Senate and the House of Representatives meet in National Assembly at the opening and close of each session; for the election of the President of Haiti and the administration of the oath of office; to declare war; to examine and approve of treaties of peace and to amend the Constitution should the necessity arise.

The legislative body meets every year on the first Monday in April; its session of three months being sometimes prolonged to four. In very urgent cases the Executive Power is authorized to call an extraordinary session.

The legislative body enacts all laws concerning public welfare; the initiative of such measures belonging to the two Houses as well as to the President of Haiti

since 1843. The House of Representatives, however, must first pass all laws concerning taxes or the expenses of the State.

All Deputies and Senators are privileged from arrest from the day of their election to the end of their functions. In criminal, correctional, or police matters they cannot be arrested or prosecuted without the formal authorization of the Chamber to which they belong, save in case of flagrant crimes and for crimes of an atrocious nature.

The Executive Power is exercised by a President elected for seven years by the House of Representatives and Senate assembled in National Assembly. He enters upon the duties of his office on the 15th of May and at the expiration of his term cannot be reelected before seven years haxe elapsed. In case of death, resignation, or dismissal of a President his successor must relinquish the office on the 15th of May, even if he have not served a full term of seven years. During a vacancy of the Presidency or whenever the President is unable to perform the duties of his office the Council of Secretaries of State acts in his place.

The requirements of a candidate for election to the Presidency are that he be born of a Haitian father, and have never forfeited Haitian nationality; that he must be not less than 40 years of age, enjoy civil and political rights, own real estate in Haiti and have his residence in the same country.

The President promulgates all laws enacted by the legislative body and issues the decrees necessary to their fulfilment; commands all the forces of the Republic; appoints and dismisses all public functionaries; makes treaties and conventions, which must be submitted for approval to the Legislative Power; and has the right to grant amnesty and pardon as well as to commute penalties.

In case of abuse of authority, the President is indicted by the House of Representatives and tried by the Senate sitting as the High Court of Justice. The President appoints and dismisses the members of his

Cabinet. He cannot execute any valid measure without the countersign of the Secretary under whose sphere of authority it comes and who becomes responsible therefor. The President's salary amounts to $24,000 a year, besides $15,000 for traveling expenses. His Cabinet consists of six Secretaries of State. The Departments are those of the Interior, Agriculture, Public Works, Justice, Public Instruction, Finance, Commerce, Exterior Relations, War and Navy.

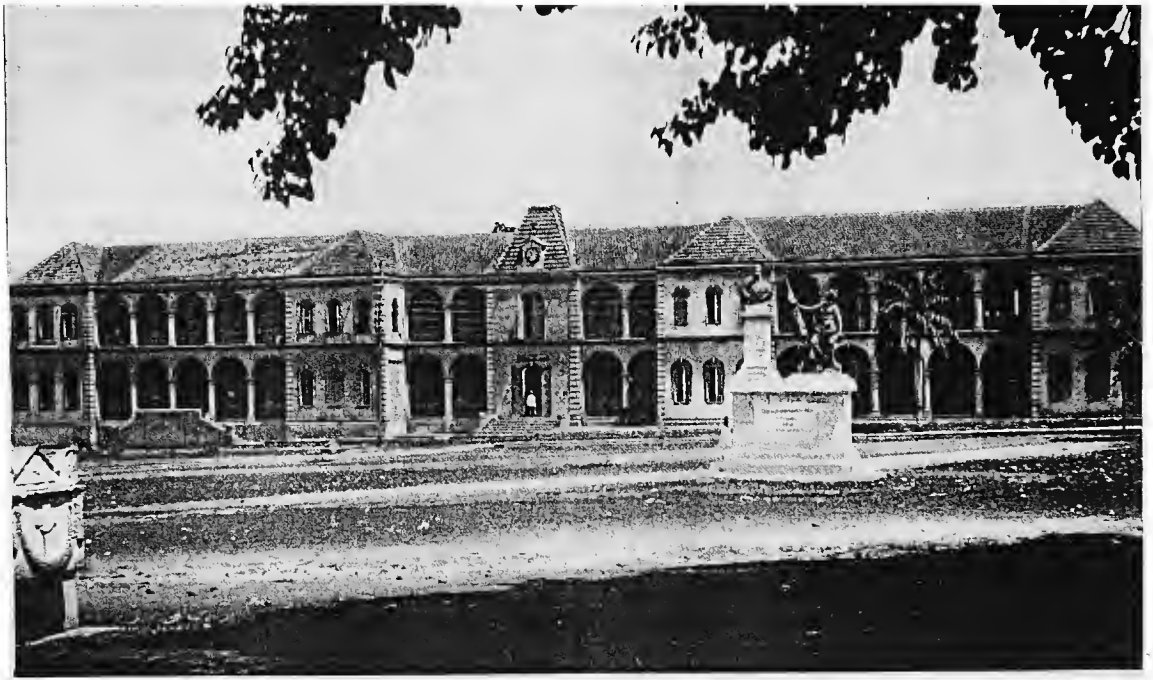
A Secretary of State must have attained the age of 30 years, enjoy civil and political rights, and own real estate in Haiti. All important measures are examined by the Council of the Secretaries of State, who are responsible not only for their own acts but also for the acts of the President, which they countersign; the verbal order of the President cannot shield them. They participate in the labor both of the House of Representatives and of the Senate, where they have the right to introduce, uphold, or oppose the projects in debate. Both Houses can interpellate them on all matters relative to their administration, and upon receiving a vote of want of confidence they usually resign at once. In the event of any crime being committed in the exercise of their functions they are impeached by the House of Representatives and tried by the High Court of Justice (the Senate). The salary of a Secretary of State is $6,000 a year.

The Judiciary Power is exercised by a Tribunal de Cassation (Supreme Court) sitting at Port-au-Prince, by civil and commercial tribunals, and by justices of the peace.

* * *

The territory of the Republic is divided into Departments, the Departments into arrondissements, the arrondissements into communes, and the communes into rural sections.[7] There are five departments: the

[7] Several rural sections form a commune; two or more communes form an arrondissement and two or more arrondissements form a Department. There are now 26 arrondissements and 86 communes.



Departments of Exterior Relations, Public Instruction, Etc., Port-au-Prince

Western, capital Port-au-Prince, which is also the capital of the Republic; the Artibonite, capital Gonaives; the Northwestern, capital Port-de-Paix; the Northern, capital Cap-Haitien, and the Southern, capital Cayes. A Delegate appointed by the President is at the head of each Department. The arrondissements and communes are under the rule of officers appointed by the President and respectively called Commandants of arrondissements and Commandants of "places" and communes.

The Commandant of an arrondissement exercises both civil and military power. As the representative of the Executive Power he has all the armed force of his territory under his authority, and is responsible for the maintaining of peace and order. He has about the same prerogatives as those conferred upon the prefects in France. In all military matters he is in direct communication with the President and the Secretary of War, whilst in administrative business he is dependent upon the Secretary of the Interior.

The Commandant of a commune has the special care of the mending of roads, the control of agriculture and the police.

The civil and financial interests of each commune are managed by an independent body elected for three years by the people and called the Communal Council. Out of its members this council elects a chairman who assumes the title of Communal Magistrate and whose powers resemble those of a mayor.

Apart from the foregoing territorial divisions Haiti is subdivided into financial administrations, academic circumscriptions, jurisdictions, and dioceses.

For the whole country there are eleven ports open to commerce with foreign countries;[8] there are eleven financial administrations, at the head of which is a functionary called the Administrator of Finance. In each

[8] These ports are Port-au-Prince, Petit-Goave and Jacmel in the West; Miragoane, Jérémie, Cayes, and Aquin in the South; Saint-Marc and Gonaives in the Artibonite; Cap-Haitien in the North, and Port-de-Paix in the Northwest. The port of Môle Saint-Nicolas has been opened lately (1905) but is not yet in operation.

of the eleven ports is a custom-house, where all goods or products imported or exported are controlled.

The Administrator of Finance signs all documents relative to the collection of duties or to the expenditure in that part of the territory under his authority; the duties are afterward collected and all expenses paid by the National Bank of Haiti, which has charge of the Service of the Treasury.[9] He is in relations with the Secretary of the Treasury and Commerce as well as with the Court of Accounts.

The members of this Court of Accounts are elected by the Senate from a list of candidates presented by the House of Representatives. The property of the Secretaries of State and of all those who are accountable for the management of the public funds remains mortgaged until a favorable report is made by the Court of Accounts concerning their administration.

The financial situation of Haiti is in a better condition than that of many other countries. The external debt amounted on the 31st of December, 1904, to $12,123,105; it consists of two loans floated in France in 1875 and in 1896. The balance due on the loan of 1875 is 19,252,560 francs or $3,609,855, and yields an interest of 5 per cent. Haiti pays an annuity of 1,557,492 francs. In 1922 this loan will be entirely redeemed.

The loan of 1896, amounting to a total of 50,000,000 francs, pays 6 per cent interest. Owing to the regular payment of the annuities the balance of this loan in December, 1904, was 45,404,000 francs, or $8,513,250. It will be entirely paid in 1932.

On the 31st of December, 1904, the home or internal debt amounted to $14,181,870, not including the paper money, which is being gradually redeemed by means of special taxes.

There are usually as many academic circumscriptions as arrondissements, although an academic circumscription may, according to circumstances, include two or

[9] Since the scandal of "La Consolidation" the service of the treasury has been in the hands of Haitian officials appointed by the President of the Republic.



Primary School of the Brothers of Christian Instruction, Port-au-Prince

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more arrondissements; at present there exist fifteen of them. At the head of each academic circumscription is an inspector of schools, who is in direct relations with the Secretary of Public Instruction. All public and private schools located in his circumscription are under his control and authority.

Teaching is free in Haiti; natives as well as foreigners can practise this profession, provided that they fulfil the conditions required by the law on public instruction. One must of course be in possession of a diploma testifying his ability to teach, and in the case of a foreigner he must be able to present good testimonials, indicating at the same time the place of his residence and the profession practised before his arrival in Haiti.

Instruction is compulsory and absolutely free of cost from the primary to the highest schools. A thorough education can be had by all Haitians simply by defraying the expenses of their maintenance. All have thus equal chances. The Republic goes so far as to assist children who, owing to the embarrassed circumstances of their parents, would be unable to remain long at schools. Free scholarships amounting to $15,300 a year are granted to 85 pupils, boys and girls.

Teachers are exempted from military service. Knowledge is diffused through primary schools both in the towns and in the country, through Lycées and colleges, professional and high schools. There are now 278 primary schools, 39 schools under the management of the Brothers of Christian Instruction, 6 schools for classical education, 6 Lycées, and one professional school, for boys. For girls there are 102 primary schools, 6 schools for classical education, 40 schools under the management of the Sisters of Saint-Joseph de Cluny, and about 20 schools under the management of the "Filles de la Sagesse." Besides there are schools for the study of medicine, pharmacy, law, drawing and painting, arts, trades, and electrical sciences. All these schools are maintained at the expense of the Republic.

Apart from these there are also many private schools

where the teaching is conducted on the lines of the curriculum adopted by the Secretary of Public Instruction. Among the most important of these establishments at Port-au Prince are the College Louverture, the Petit Séminaire Collège, under the management of the Fathers of the Holy Ghost; the Institution Saint Louis de Gonzague, the Pensionnat Sainte Rose de Lima; an orphanage where the girls are taught manual trades; a school for practical sciences, a Wesleyan school for boys and girls, a maternity which furnishes competent midwives, and the Clinique Péan, where the students receive practical and technical instruction in medicine. At Cayes and at Cap-Haitien there are private law schools.

The Republic of Haiti, ever anxious to encourage the diffusion of public instruction, subsidizes all these private schools, without mentioning the bursaries she maintains in France and elsewhere. Whilst being most liberal in a financial way, she reserves the right of conferring degrees. No students of the private schools of medicine, law, etc., can be graduated without passing an examination of the Board of National Schools and having their diplomas signed by the Secretary of Public Instruction.

From a budget amounting to $7,000,000 Haiti's yearly expenditure for public instruction is $800,000. When one considers that in 1844 there were but four national schools in the whole arrondissement of Port-au-Prince,[10] it is easy to form an idea of the marvellous progress which has been made since in that line; for at the present day, not including the Lycée and other high schools, there are in the city of Port-au-Prince alone ten public schools under the management of the Brothers of Christian Instruction, one Lancasterian school, five lay schools, one school for classical education for boys, whilst for girls there are eight primary schools and one school for classical education, to say nothing of the numerous private schools.

[10] Linstant-Pradine, Lois et Actes, 1843-1845, p. 416.



Seminaire College St. Martial, Port-au-Prince

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In the primary schools in the country there is a three years' course consisting of religious instruction, reading, writing, the first elements of French grammar, Haitian geography and history, elementary arithmetic; the rudiments of agriculture for the boys, and sewing for the girls.[11]

In the primary schools of the city there is a four years' course of the same subjects as taught in the country schools, with the addition of the outlines of general history and geography and elementary physics and natural history.

In the three years' course the following subjects are taught in the classical schools: French language and literature; Spanish and English; arithmetic; rudimentary algebra and geometry; cosmography and bookkeeping; physics and natural history and their relation to agriculture, industry and hygiene; drawing, elementary political economy; Haitian history and geography; general history and geography.

In the girls' schools most of the same subjects are taught, the subjects omitted being replaced by ornamental drawing, music, sewing, and embroidery.

The complete course in the Lycées and colleges takes seven years and comprises moral and religious instruction, French, English and Spanish grammar and literature; Latin; Greek; general history and geography; philosophy; political economy; mathematics; physics; chemistry; natural history; elocution; mechanical drawing; vocal and instrumental music.

My excuse to my readers for giving these details is that this is the best refutation that can be given to the detractors of Haiti. By thus revealing the unceasing efforts made by that country toward the education of her inhabitants, the truth of which statements is amply

[11] For further information as to the curriculum of the various schools of Haiti, read the interesting work of Sténio Vincent and C. Lhérisson, La Législation de l'Instruction Publique de la République d'Haiti. Mr. Lhérisson is the founder and Principal of the College Louverture at Port-au-Prince, one of the most important private schools in Haiti.

borne out by facts, I hope to prove the absurdity of the slanders made by people who, for reasons of their own, avail themselves of every opportunity to give to the public the false impression that Haiti is retrograding instead of progressing. Any foreigner by visiting our schools can verify for himself the truth of what is here reported; he can see the sons of our country people who have been brought up in these schools and form an idea of the headway gained from generation to generation. That a State which willingly makes so many sacrifices in order to diffuse public instruction is returning to a condition of barbarism and savagery is an accusation as absurd as it is unjust.

For the administration of justice the territory of Haiti is divided into twelve jurisdictions, at the head of each of which is an official called the Commissary of the Government (Commissaire du Gouvernement), who together with his deputies (substituts), represents the Executive Power. These Commissaries of the Government are appointed by the President. Their duty is to see to the carrying out of the law and of the decisions of the courts; to prosecute all persons accused of crimes or misdemeanors; to appear in all cases concerning the State, as well as in cases concerning persons under age or who are declared *non compos mentis,* when the interests of those persons are neglected by their guardians.

Justice is administered by the Supreme Court (Tribunal de Cassation), civil and commercial tribunals, and by justices of the peace.

To become a justice of the Tribunal de Cassation one must have reached the age of 30 years, and of 25 years to become a judge of the other tribunals.

The President of Haiti appoints all the members of the judiciary body; but he has not the power to dismiss the justices of the Tribunal de Cassation or of the civil tribunals; they cannot even be appointed from one tribunal to another without their formal consent; to be retired on a pension they must be quite incapacitated by illness to perform their duties.

The Tribunal de Cassation, which is at the summit of

the judiciary organization, sits at Port-au-Prince and consists of a President, a Vice-President, twelve Justices, one Commissary of the Government, and two Deputies (substituts). As a rule this tribunal takes no cognizance of the issues between litigants, its special mission being to prevent the other courts from violating the laws or from interpreting them wrongly; consequently, when it annuls a decision the case is referred to the nearest tribunal, the suit beginning anew. However, in order to put as speedy an end as possible to a law-suit, the Tribunal de Cassation, sitting in assembled sections (sections réunies), settles the matter by a decision which is final when the same case between the same parties has been brought before it twice.

The Tribunal de Cassation is divided into two sections: the civil section, which takes cognizance of all civil, commercial, and maritime matters; and the criminal section, which has to do with criminal, correctional, and police decisions. The quorum for each section is five justices including the president; in assembled sections (sections réunies), nine are required to make a quorum.

There are civil tribunals at Port-au-Prince, Cap-Haitien, Cayes, Gonaives, Jacmel, Jérémie, Anse-à-Veau, Aquin, Port-de-Paix, Saint-Marc, Petit-Goave and Fort-Liberté.

All civil suits on matters exceeding $150 must be submitted to these tribunals, whose quorum is limited to three justices. In places where there are no commercial tribunals they settle commercial and maritime cases as well.

Under the name of criminal or correctional tribunals they try all persons arraigned for crimes or misdemeanors. The decision of these tribunals is directly submitted to the Tribunal de Cassation.

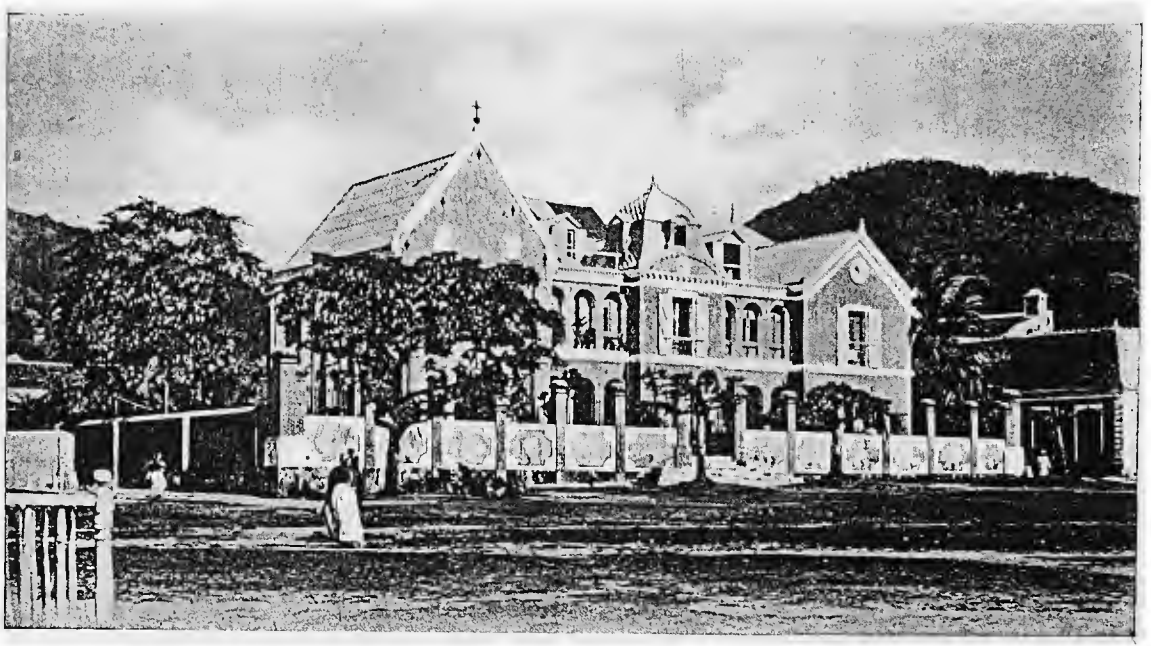
There are commercial tribunals at Port-au-Prince, Cap-Haitien, Cayes, Gonaives, Jacmel, and Jérémie. The justices of these tribunals, who are elected for two years by a certain class of merchants, must be 25 years of age, besides being merchants paying license. These

tribunals take cognizance of all cases between merchants, bankers, etc.; of all issues relative to an act of commerce; of all matters concerning bankruptcy, failures, etc.

In every commune there is at least one justice of the peace. At present there are in the whole Republic 104 justices of the peace with civil, commercial, and police jurisdiction; all civil and commercial law-suits not exceeding $150 must be submitted to them; under the name of police courts they attend to all transgressions (contraventions). An appeal against a decision of a justice of the peace is deferred to the civil or correctional tribunal according to the nature of the case. Justices of the peace are appointed and dismissed by the President of Haiti.

Catholicism being the religion of the country, Haiti is divided into dioceses, and the dioceses into parishes. The dioceses are identical with the Departments and the parishes with the communes; there are consequently five dioceses. At Port-au-Prince there is an Archbishop; there are Bishops at Cayes and Cap-Haitien; a Vicar-General in the diocese of Port-de-Paix as well as in the diocese of Gonaives. At the head of each parish there is a rector (curé) appointed by the Archbishop or the Bishop of the diocese. The Archbishops and Bishops are appointed by the President of Haiti, their canonical investiture being granted by the Holy See; before entering upon the duties of their offices they take the following oath before the President: "I swear to God, upon "the Holy Gospel, to be obedient and faithful to the "Government of Haiti and to undertake nothing directly "or indirectly in opposition to the rights and interests "of the Republic." The Vicar-Generals and the rectors (curés) take the same oath before the justice of the peace.

The great majority of the Haitians are Catholics; consequently this religion is specially protected. In conformity with the Concordat signed at Rome in 1860 the Republic provides salaries for the Archbishop, the Bishops, and rectors; and furnishes them with proper



Bishop's House, Cap-Haitien

Facing 270

lodgings. Besides which, Haiti maintains 20 bursaries at the Seminary of Saint-Jacques in France. The most cordial relations exist between Haiti and the Pope, who has a diplomatic agent at Port-au-Prince.

The privileged situation which the Catholic Church enjoys in Haiti does not prevent the Haitians from granting full protection to all other creeds. Religious freedom is proclaimed by the Constitution and has always been respected since the first day of the country's independence. In Haiti are to be found Episcopalians, Wesleyans, Baptists, Methodists, etc. As to tolerance of the Haitians in their liberal views, there can be no question when it is known that the Republic makes annual appropriations toward the support of many of the Protestant sects.

CHAPTER II

Climate of Haiti—Sanitary condition—The absence of poisonous insects —Fauna—Flora: fruit-trees; vegetables—Fertility of the land.

The climate of Haiti, though very hot, does not endanger the lives of the foreigners. Persons coming from a cold country who land for the first time in Haiti run no greater risk than those who spend the summer in New York or Washington, where the heat is more oppressive on account of the humidity of the atmosphere. In general the climate of Haiti is dry. It all depends upon the newcomer's mode of living as to whether he will enjoy good or poor health. Many a time diseases have been attributed to the temperature when caused in reality by intemperance or bad hygiene.[1]

The warmest season of the year at Port-au-Prince begins about May. That which makes the tropical climate so trying is owing more to the continuous heat than to the intensity of it, the thermometer registering on an average 90° Fahrenheit during the month of August. During the daytime sea breezes moderate the heat, the nights being made quite pleasant by the land breeze. A very agreeable temperature can be obtained in the delightful hills which surround Port-au-Prince

[1] Foreigners who wish to go and live in Haiti would find some valuable information in the book of one of my distinguished fellow-citizens, La Pathologie Intertropicale, by Dr. Léon Audain, late intern and surgeon of the hospitals of Paris and Director of the School of Medicine in Port-au-Prince. (1905.)

and are dotted here and there by country residences. Here the temperature at night is considerably cooler than in the city, and the absence of mosquitoes constitutes one of its greatest charms. Heavy rains cleanse and cool the atmosphere. The climate of Haiti has long been known for its healthiness. Moreau de St. Méry has said the following about it:[2]

"The great diversity of the climate and temperature "of the island is owing to its configuration of alternate "lofty mountains and deep valleys. This diversity is "due chiefly to the situation of the island in the region "of the trade-winds; Saint-Domingue is exposed in all "its length to the east winds, which, entering into the "spaces between the mountain-ranges, form channels "of air which serve to cool the temperature of these "mountains, an advantage not enjoyed by the plains, "where the mountains sometimes deviate the winds. "Apart from these causes many local circumstances, "such as the altitude of the land, the quantity of water "which irrigates it, the scarcity or the abundance of "forests, affect the climate greatly.

"If a powerful cause did not counteract the effect of "the heat of the sun, which is always intense in the "torrid zone, and whose beams during three months of "the year fall at right angle on Saint-Domingue, the "temperature of this island would be unbearable to "man. * * * That which causes this counteracting "effect is the wind to which allusion has just been made "and whose healthful coolness tempers the heat of the "sun. To this can be added the influence of the equal-"ity in duration between days and nights and also the "influence of the abundant rains which water profusely "the surface of the island and have a cooling effect on "the air through evaporation caused by the heat. * * * "The difference between the two seasons (summer and "winter) is more distinguishable in the mountains than "in the cities. In the mountains the temperature is

[2] Moreau de St. Méry's book on Saint Domingue can be found at the Library of the Department of State at Washington.

"milder, there is neither that oppressive heat nor those "strong breezes which dry up the air instead of cooling "and freshening it. For this reason life in the mount- "ains is more pleasant than in the plains. * * * In "the mountains the thermometer seldom rises above 18 "or 20 degrees [3] centigrade, whilst in the plains and in "the towns it registers on an average as high as 30 "degrees.[4] The nights are sometimes cool enough to "necessitate the use of a blanket; in some of the mount- "ains of Saint-Domingue it is often necessary to build "a fire. This is not owing to the intensity of the cold, "the temperature being only 12 or 14 degrees centi- "grade,[5] but on account of the contrast of this tempera- "ture with that felt during the day and which produces "a sensation that is not rightly expressed by the words "cold and hot as they are generally understood in a "cold country." [6]

All that Moreau de St. Méry wrote about the climate of Haiti is still true of it. Nevertheless, in their frenzy of misrepresentation the detractors of Haiti spare not even her climate; they make it out to be a menace to the life of foreigners. As a matter of fact, these detractors generally know little or nothing of Haiti; after a stay of a few hours or a day or two in one of the cities or towns they take upon themselves to speak *ex cathedra* about the country, its inhabitants, customs, etc.

Besides the numerous residences in the suburbs of Port-au-Prince, at Turgeau, Peu-de-Chose, etc., which, nestling in their picturesque setting of green, offer a pleasant change from the heat of the city, there can be found in the surrounding mountains several places cool enough to bear comparison with many of the summer resorts in the United States. Pétionville or La Coupe, at an altitude of 500 metres above the sea level, is scarcely an hour's drive from Port-au-Prince; the nights there are always cool and pleasant. Beyond Pétion- ville, at a distance of 17 kilometres from the capital, is

[3] 64 or 68 degrees Fahrenheit. [4] 86 degrees Fahrenheit. [5] 52-54 degrees Fahrenheit.

[6] B. Ardouin, Géographie d'Haiti, p. 20.

Furcy at an altitude of 1,540 metres, whose forest of pines was once of great beauty, but is now very much impaired through the felling of the trees. In August the thermometer here registers as low as 10 degrees centigrade or 50 degrees Fahrenheit. This delightful temperature and the exquisite beauty of the scenery have made Furcy extremely popular among visitors to the island, Europeans especially, who seldom miss the opportunity of spending a few days in this place. In order to escape the severity of the winter the wealthy people of the United States will go some day to Furcy and there recuperate their strength and repose their minds in the enjoyment of a balmy climate. When Haiti becomes better known abroad Furcy will surely take her place as one of the most delightful of summer resorts.

Everywhere in the vicinity of the towns can be found cool and beautiful spots where one may escape from the heat. Death by sunstroke is unknown in Haiti; and the heat there does not kill people as it does in New York and many other cities of the United States during the summer.

The drought and the rainy season succeed each other regularly. At Port-au-Prince the rainy season begins about April and lasts until late in November; it showers mostly in the afternoon and at night.

In the South, at Cayes, heavy rains occur in May and October; the rivers and streams, of which there are many in the vicinity of this town, overflow their banks and inundate the plain; they fertilize the soil, but when excessive occasionally inflict great losses upon the inhabitants. The north wind which begins to blow in December occasions the drought, when the weather becomes very dry and cool.

The sanitary condition of Haiti is very unlike that which it is represented to be abroad; it is in reality better than in many countries. Yellow fever and smallpox do not exist in the island, except when brought over from some neighboring country. Typhoid fever is so uncommon that it is believed that very often doctors

have mistaken some fevers peculiar to the country for that disease.[1]

Without any intention of finding fault or of making comparisons, I cannot, however, help noticing that typhoid fever and smallpox are endemic in many of the cities of the United States, and that in Washington, for instance, cases of these diseases can be found throughout the year. It would surely be unjust to infer from this that Washington or the United States is a source of danger to the world. Yet newspapers in the United States have often undertaken to pervert public opinion against Haiti by representing it as the seat of all kinds of diseases. According to them the Federal Government ought to make it its duty to take possession of the island in order to compel its inhabitants to comply with the rules of hygiene.

These declamations have had a bad effect on the minds of those who, knowing nothing about Haiti, are led to believe that her sanitary condition is a great danger. This opinion would not long be entertained if the sanitary condition of this country were compared in good faith with the numerous contagious and infectious diseases which claim so many victims in some cities of the United States. However, this cannot justly be made a subject of reproach to the Americans; for few people take as much care as they do of public health; few nations are as prompt as the United States always is to ward off and fight against diseases, regardless of cost or sacrifice. The endemic smallpox and typhoid fever which exist in Washington do not prevent that city from being exceedingly clean and healthy. Nowhere is there more ease, nor are the rules of hygiene, prophylactic or otherwise, better enforced than there. Nevertheless, foreigners who have lived in Washington but a short time have often been heard to say that it is a dangerous place on account of its diseases. This hastily formed opinion has as slight a

[1] Dr. Léon Audain, Pathologie Intertropicale.

Yet Mr. St. John, in Haiti or the Black Republic, strives to create the impression that the climate of Port-au-Prince is most unhealthy.

foundation as that generally heard on the sanitary condition of Haiti.

Haiti is not a Garden of Eden from which human infirmities have been banished; its inhabitants are in no wise exempt from the sufferings and diseases that fall to man's lot; but those sufferings and diseases are no greater here than they are elsewhere. Tuberculosis, for instance, whose victims in Europe and America cannot be numbered, is quite unknown among the country people in Haiti. But bilious fever is very common and malaria exists in many places.

The country life is more pleasant from the fact that there are no dangerous animals or poisonous insects or reptiles; neither are there any venomous vipers. Such snakes as exist here are harmless and always ready to flee upon the approach of man. The climate is so mild that the country people need not close their windows and doors at night; they very often sleep in the open air. Yet cases of death caused by the stings of insects are unheard of. In some places, towns principally, flies and mosquitoes are a great nuisance; but these can be got rid of by taking the proper precautions.

Among the reptiles there are many different kinds of lizards, all of them quite harmless.

Birds are very numerous in Haiti, there being at least 40 varieties of them, of which 17 are peculiar to the country.[8] Among the best known are the nightingale, humming-bird, swallow, finch or cardinal-bird, ortolan, turtle-dove, quail, wood-pigeon, teal, wild duck, water-hen, plover, oyster-catcher, flamingo, woodpecker, parrot, etc.

There is a great variety of beautiful butterflies; there are wasps whose sting is very painful, and bees which produce a superior quality of honey.

The only wild animals which exist in Haiti are boars, wild goats, and wild oxen; and they are to be found only in some of the adjacent islands—l'Ile-à-Vaches, Tortuga, etc.

[8] Handbook of Haiti issued by the Bureau of American Republics, Washington, D. C.

Land-crabs, fresh water and sea-turtles are to be had in great abundance and are much sought after as food.

The following is a list of the chief fruits of the country: star-apple, guava, mango, sappodilla or nasebury, peach, plum, West-Indian mammee, orange, tangerine, lime, sweet lemon, bread-fruit, alligator-pear, chestnut, sour-sop, sweet-sop, pineapple, custard-apple, rose-apple, date, wild strawberry, banana, watermelon, muskmelon, grenadilla, sweet-cup, papaw, etc.

The lofty cocoanut-tree furnishes the thirsty traveler with cool water of delicious flavor, the interior of the nut, when young, being lined with a soft, sweet, jelly-like substance, which hardens with age to the thickness of an inch. The palmetto (palmiste), which abounds in the island, produces an edible shoot, the cabbage palm, which is considered a great delicacy and is prepared as a salad.

Port-au-Prince is well known for the fair quality of its vegetables; nowhere can there be found better artichokes, finer green peas, beets and carrots, egg-plants, lettuce, turnips, and so great a variety of beans [9] and juicy fruit. Other vegetables grown are yams, plantains, sweet potatoes, etc. Throughout the country the necessities of material life can be easily satisfied; food is wholesome, plentiful, and nourishing.

Nature does not limit her bounty to providing Haiti with such things only as are necessary for the bodily wants of its inhabitants. Her prodigality is seen on every hand in the luxuriant foliage which clothes the hills and valleys throughout the entire year with green from the tenderest to the deepest shades, and varied by large flowering-trees and brightly colored leaves, making up scenes of unsurpassed beauty that meet one's gaze at every turn. From January to December flowers bloom in profusion, delighting the eye with a variety of coloring and scenting the air with their fragrance. The atmosphere is often heavy with the perfume of such flowers as jasmine, tuberose, camellia,

[9] The inhabitants of Haiti call the beans "pois."

and many other beautiful plants unknown outside the tropics. The large flamboyant-tree (*Caesalpinia pulcherrima*) displays on coast and hill-tops alike the crimson glory of its blooms against the soft green of the surrounding foliage, and lights up the scene with its vivid glow as of a lighthouse placed by nature for the guidance of invisible travelers. The cockscomb (*Celosia cristata*) empurples the fields with its velvet clusters, with here and there a touch of gold where the sunflower sways on its slender stalk, still another color being added to the scene by the deep pink blossoms of the coralilla (belle Mexicaine) (*Antigonon leptopus*), which runs along the hedges and hangs in graceful clusters from the surrounding bushes. Along the country waysides and in the fields are to be seen varieties of wild begonia, fuschia, lilac, rose-bay, marigold, reseda, the large trumpet-like flower of the datura, many varieties of lilies and wild roses, whilst in the cool of the mountains, along the banks of the streams, grow masses of wild forget-me-nots. Around the humblest peasant's hut the fragrance of flowers perfumes the air; climbing-jasmine, the honeysuckle, the sweet verbena, hidden in the bushes, reveal their presence by their sweet odor, mixed up with that of the mint which in some places carpets the ground. The convolvulus vine engarlands trees on whose trunks and branches wild orchids bloom. The fairy-like beauty of the scene is still more enchanting when seen with every leaf and blade of grass glistening with dew, shining like diamonds as they are lit up by the rays of the early sun. The very swamps are made beautiful by the nelumbo and the nenuphar, which spread over the stagnant waters, hiding them from sight by their large leaves and their yellow and white flowers.

Each hour of day seems to bring out some new beauty in the landscape. As the sun sinks slowly in the west, in a blaze of color such as is seen only in a tropical sunset, a gentle breeze passes caressingly on the land, carrying with it the faint fragrance of flowers such as the mirabilis and the night jasmine, which grow more

lavish with their perfume as night comes on, as though to make up for the darkness that falls upon the earth. The moonlight is another of the chief beauties of the tropics. Under the influence of its mysterious lights the hills in Haiti are given a touch of grandeur never seen in the daytime.

The Haitian soil is inexhaustibly fertile. Man is not obliged to exhaust his strength in order to gain a scanty living; the slightest effort brings forth an exuberant vegetation. This has naturally a great influence upon the customs and the temperament of the people.

CHAPTER III

Customs and manners of the people; their hospitality—Marriage and divorce—The Haitian woman—The Haitians are not lazy—They entertain no race prejudice—Advantages which foreigners enjoy; their safety—Naturalization—Right to hold real estate.

One of the chief characteristics of the Haitian peasant is his thorough kind-heartedness; he is free from all envious thoughts and is pleased with his lot, his few wants being so easily satisfied. He has no cause for hatred, nature's liberality supplying him with all that he requires. His tastes are of the simplest. On week days his costume consists of a "vareuse" [1] and trousers made of blue denim; sandals, and a broad-brimmed straw hat. But he always has in reserve at least one good suit of clothes for festival days and the dances, which are the greatest sources of enjoyment.

Although he is seldom to be seen without his "manchette" (machette), the Haitian peasant is of a quiet, confiding, and cheerful disposition, not given to fighting or quarrelling. He holds in abhorrence any abuse against the feeble; and crimes against children and women always disgust him. Nevertheless, quiet and harmless as the Haitian peasant appears, he can be transformed into a fierce and stubborn fighter when there is question of the independence of his country being in jeopardy. He has always in sight the two ends which it is his ambition to attain: to be a landowner and to give education to his children; with these

[1] A kind of loose jacket with two pockets in front.

ends in view he will lay aside every cent he can possibly spare. In spite of his apparent carelessness, of his fondness for enjoyment, especially in the form of dancing, the Haitian peasant is more thrifty than the men of the towns and cities, the latter as a rule spending all that they can earn.

The Haitian people are noted for their hospitality and the kind welcome they extend to foreigners. In the country parts as well as in the towns a stranger is always sure of finding shelter. One can travel without fear all over the island; no one would think of molesting a traveler, even were it known that he had his pockets full of gold. Foreigners, men and women, who have ridden all about the country know perfectly well that they can do so in all security; not only will the Haitian peasant not think of stealing, but he will even often refuse any remuneration for the hospitality he so readily offers. The best room, the best bed, in the humblest abode, is given to the transient guest, whom in all probability they will never again see; they set their choicest dishes before him.[2] And what is the reward of this kind-hearted people? Many a time the very foreigner who has taken the greatest advantage of the hospitality of the Haitian peasants will be the first to represent them as returning to barbarism, as adepts of *Vaudou,* snake worshippers, and even as cannibals.

There are men who hunger so for notoriety that in order to obtain it they do not hesitate to resort to falsehoods of the most flagrant type. The truth is of very little account to a certain class of travelers. Provided that their sensational books be sold, what matter to

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[2] *The Tribune* of Nassau (Bahamas), under date of February 3, 1904, contains the following impression of an Englishman, Mr. A. S. Haigh, who had recently traveled through Haiti: "There are no more law-abiding, "civil, peaceful and well-behaved people to be found anywhere than the "common people of Haiti. One can travel alone, at any hour of the "night or day, in any part of the lowlands or mountainous districts, "with money or valuables in his possession, without fear of molesta-"tion; and they will give up all they have, gladly, to accommodate "strangers. They are exceedingly hospitable."

them that they outrage the honor and the dignity of a whole nation!

However, imputation of cannibalism and Vaudou will be looked into later on; for the time being it is the characteristics and customs of the Haitians which are in question. These customs are not quite the same in the towns as in the country. In the towns life assumes a more complex aspect; here the wants being more numerous and pressing, there is a greater tendency to selfishness. However, the middle classes still retain their simple manners and mode of living.

One of their greatest aims is to give their children as thorough an education as possible; these children are sent at the cost of great sacrifice on the part of their parents to France and to Germany in order to complete their education, to study a profession or a trade. The Haitians are fond of traveling; almost all of their statesmen have either made their studies in Europe or have lived there long enough to be thoroughly conversant with its customs and its political organization.

Haitians, as a rule, do not marry late in life; men marry at about the age of twenty-five and women about nineteen. Divorce is comparatively rare and is granted for adultery, for outrage, and grave public abuses; it can also be granted when one of the parties is sentenced to "peines afflictives et infamantes."[3] A woman whose marriage has been dissolved either by divorce or by the husband's death cannot marry again before the expiration of one year; and a divorced woman is not allowed to remarry her former husband; inversely a divorced man may not remarry his former wife.[4]

The formalities required for the validity of a marriage are very strict, thereby affording a good protection against bigamy. Before a marriage can be contracted, both parties must have obtained the formal consent of their parents, besides having their banns published at their respective places of permanent resi-

[3] Civil Code of Haiti. Art. 215-219, 284.
[4] Loc. cit. Art. 213, 283.

dence. The civil marriage, adopted in Haiti at the beginning of her independence, is generally followed by the religious ceremony. The Catholic Church likewise takes many precautions against clandestine marriages. Notice of the projected marriage must be given out from the pulpit in the church of the parish to which each party belongs and no ceremony can be performed without the presentation of the certificate of the civil marriage.

Every family strives to have a comfortable home. The houses are furnished with good taste, according to the means of their owners. Men and women alike dress well; those whose income permits it, order their clothes from Paris. They are fond of entertaining; the christening of a child, engagements (fiançailles), birthday and wedding anniversaries, all of these occasions form a pretext for entertaining. Other striking characteristics of the Haitians are their open-heartedness and straightforwardness; their word may be relied upon, and in friendship they are sincere and devoted. They are intensely patriotic, although they will be the first to laugh at their own failings and shortcomings. This tendency to treat everything with raillery is strongly noticeable in the popular songs. During the festivities of the carnival the satiric spirit knows no restraint. Woe to those whose conduct has not been blameless. From the President of Haiti down to the humblest citizen no one whose behavior has merited it is immune from the attack in the popular songs; in spite of the comical form in which it is clothed this has become a great moral force, and many men and women who might be inclined to do otherwise behave so as to avoid becoming the theme of a song which would soon be heard about the streets in every part of the city.

One of the characteristic features of the Haitian woman is her strong sense of duty. As a devoted wife and unrivalled mother she is always prepared to make any sacrifice in order to secure the happiness of her family. Upon getting married she willingly gives up worldly pleasures in order to devote herself to her

home; she becomes the real companion of her husband in poverty as well as in luxury, in sickness as in health. The Haitian woman will not give up to any outside help the care of husband and child stricken with disease, no matter how deadly or contagious it may be. With the fearless unconcern peculiar to her sex, she becomes the most tender and skillful of nurses at the patient's bedside, and the doctor's principal auxiliary. Should misfortune overtake her family she rises nobly to the occasion, helping and encouraging her husband with her courage and sympathy. Her delicate rearing does not prevent her from working hard, should the necessity arise, in order to assist her husband and help with the education of her children. Few Haitian women there are who understand otherwise their duty as wife and mother.

It would be erroneous, however, to believe that they are stern and cheerless; they are, on the contrary, bright and gay, enjoying life according to circumstances. Consequently their influence is great and their advice much valued. The one reproach that can be made to them is that their extreme fondness leads them to spoil their children somewhat by over-indulgence.

The peasant woman is quite as devoted as those of the cities. She will till the soil along with the man of her choice, both working side by side through the heat of the day; together they set out for the nearest market, there to sell the fruits of their common labor. The woman shrinks at no task, however rude; to dispose of her goods she will journey many miles into the town, her basket on her head and often with her child fastened to her back or on her hips;[5] thus she goes singing merrily or chatting whilst journeying with her friends or neighbors toward their destination. Her garment is very simple: a "caraco"[6] tied at the waist by a cloth, her head tied with a picturesque colored handkerchief

[5] This way of carrying children is not common to all Haitian peasants; it is practised principally in the Western Department. And the Government is striving hard to discourage such a practice, as being detrimental to the development of the child.

[6] A "caraco" (Karr-ah-ko) is a loose garment reaching to the ankles.

on which she sometimes wears a broad-brimmed straw hat to protect her from the sun.

The hard work the peasants have to accomplish does not prevent them from enjoying their simple amusements. At the beating of the drum or at the sound of the violin [7] the hard tillers of the soil are transformed into women of lithe and graceful form, who give themselves up wholly to enjoyment. The Haitian country woman is far from having the sad, disheartened, and disillusioned look of the female peasants of some other countries. On the contrary, the sound of frank and hearty laughter is always to be heard issuing from her lips; the spotless whiteness of her teeth is always disclosed by her merry smile. Always in good spirits, she excels in extemporizing the cheerful songs which help so materially to enliven the dances of the country people.

The Haitian laborer, whether from the country or from the towns, is frugal, sober, and cleanly in his habits. His food is as simple as his way of living, the country people especially being mostly vegetarians. The manioc supplies them not only with starch but also with cassava and couscousou, which advantageously takes the place of bread; the sweet potato, plantain, rice, red beans, yam, all kinds of vegetables and many edible roots form the principal part of their diet; they occasionally eat some meat, salted and smoked fish, such as cod-fish or red-herring. On the sea shore, where fish is plentiful, the people live mostly on fish.

Alcoholism is unknown among the country people, who will, however, readily quench their thirst with a drink of tafia or rum; [8] but this is never carried to excess. Even in the towns, where the heat invites to drink, drunkards are not commonly found.

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[7] In the country dancing takes place to the beating of the drum or to the sound of violins. Foreigners, upon hearing the beating of the drum for the first time, imagine that some ceremony of Vaudou is going on, so convinced are they that Vaudou is practised everywhere in Haiti.

[8] Tafia is a popular drink extracted by distillation from sugar-cane syrup; it is white in color. Rum is distilled from the tafia and after a while becomes yellow.

As to cleanliness, it is a well-known fact that a laborer or a peasant never goes to bed without taking a bath, or at any rate a thorough washing, if there be a stream in the neighborhood. They are not sparing of soap and water. One must not judge them by their appearance when at work; they are not expected to be clothed like people who live in a colder climate.

Owing to his excellent hygienic habits and the wholesome food he lives on, the Haitian peasant is the personification of health: strong and robust, he is able to endure all kinds of fatigue and hardships.

Those detractors who persist in representing indolence as one of the principal features of the Haitian peasants either know nothing of them or have not taken the trouble of observing their customs; or else a few cases of laziness having perhaps come under their observation, they thereupon hasten to generalize. The fact is universally recognized that human beings exert themselves in proportion to the wants they have to satisfy; some of the higher classes there are who overwork themselves in amassing riches, but as a rule the masses will always strive to obtain all that they require by the slightest exertion of effort possible. This being such a well-known fact it is surprising that the Haitian people are not more indolent. They are not obliged to put away stores for the winter, there being none to put a stop to their labor in the fields; they have not to think of procuring fuel for the heating of their houses and of warm garments for themselves. The whole year through they wear the same light clothing; the ever-verdant fields guarantee the maintenance of both man and beast. They need not have anxiety about good or bad seasons; for the season is good from the 1st of January to the 31st of December. All this engenders a natural disposition to carelessness. Then again an exuberant vegetation supplies numberless articles of food to those who do not care to work. Mangoes, alligator-pears, bread-fruits, guavas, oranges, etc., grow wild along the roadside, where those who will may gather their fruit. The bread-fruit and the alligator-

pear, forming a kind of vegetable bread and butter, are of themselves wholesome and sustaining food. Mangoes are such nutritive fruit that people can live on them alone for weeks, and they are so plentiful that they are used for feeding pigs. Nature not only lavishly provides food, but her large bushy trees form such a heavy covering overhead that they may serve as resting-places in a country where it is not sufficiently cold to cause inconvenience in sleeping out of doors.

Nevertheless, the Haitian peasants do not yield to these temptations to idleness. In passing through the country one will come across innumerable green patches where vegetables are being raised; perched upon the steep sides of the hills, seeming from the distance as though they were suspended on the very brink of precipices, are numerous fields of plantations of maize, millet, coffee, beans, bananas, plantains, etc., whilst in the valleys there is an equal abundance of sugar-cane, rice, cocoa-trees, etc. The laborer is proud of his cultivated land; and hoe in hand he works, singing the while under the burning rays of the sun.

In the towns the workmen who, for instance, are employed in transporting or embarking coffee, start work at about 5 o'clock in the morning and continue until 5 or 6 P. M.; they will even work beyond this time if adequately remunerated. Until now strikes are unknown in Haiti.

The Haitians entertain neither race hatred nor race prejudice. Consequently, they find it difficult to understand why a man should be persecuted and made to endure humiliation solely on account of the color of his skin. They extend a welcome to all who arrive on their territory, irrespective of their color. When, therefore, they hear that in some countries people of different races are not allowed even to pray together in the churches, in the house of God, they wonder if the God of the Christians can be the same in those countries as in theirs; for they look upon their God as the Father of all mankind, as a benevolent Being who listens to the prayer of the humblest of His children, unmindful

whether the souls of those who invoke His mercy be concealed beneath a white, green, or black exterior. In their churches all races join in prayer; kneeling side by side they plead for grace and offer up their sufferings to God, the ever-abundant source of mercy and consolation.

In the schools there is also no color line drawn. But in social life absence of prejudice is still more noticeable. Whites and blacks intermarry; many Haitians marry French, German, and English women, these unions as a rule resulting very happily.

In Haiti a man's color constitutes neither a bar nor a disadvantage to him. Every man is a man; that only which is taken into account is intelligence, probity, and courage. A coward or a dishonest man, be he white, yellow, lilac or black, will receive the contempt he deserves. It is the brain and the heart which constitute a man rather than the color of his skin. Consequently, to do away with everything which might seem to be the outcome of race prejudice, President Geffrard, in 1860, caused the abolition of a custom which up to that time prevented marriages between Haitians and foreigners; it was rightly believed that such a prohibition was contrary to the laws of nature and that love was a surer guide than any law-maker when it comes to choosing a partner for the struggle of life.

However, in spite of all these facts, Haiti is persistently being charged in the United States and elsewhere with entertaining race hatred and race prejudice.

Haiti is the Eden of foreigners. Few are there who do not succeed in making a fortune after doing business there for a while. All their undertakings are facilitated, being even allowed in some cases the enjoyment of more privileges than the natives. As a rule they like Haiti, generally settling there without any intention of returning to the country of their origin. Some others, however, after making sufficient money, go to live in Europe, where, wanting in the first elements of gratitude, they become the worst detractors of the people

who have helped them to acquire the income on which they live.

Instead of retrograding, as is often said in bad faith of Haiti, she is progressing daily in her liberality toward foreigners. Formerly only Africans, Indians, and their descendants could be naturalized citizens of Haiti. In 1886 I proposed the removal of this discrimination;[9] this was granted in 1889 by an alteration of the Constitution. All foreigners may be naturalized Haitians by observing the following formalities (Art. 14, Civil Code): "All those who, by virtue of the Con-"stitution, are qualified to become Haitian citizens, "must, within a month of their arrival in the country, "declare before a justice of the peace of their place of "residence and in the presence of two well-known citi-"zens, their intention of settling in the Republic. They "will at the same time swear before the justice of the "peace to give up all other countries in favor of Haiti. "Provided with the certificate of the justice of the "peace relative to their declaration and oath, they must "then present themselves at the bureau of the President "of Haiti, where the act of naturalization is delivered "to them."

Thus since 1889 Haiti grants to foreigners, without regard to color, the greatest facilities for becoming citizens.[10] In this respect she can advantageously bear comparison with many other countries; in the United States, for instance, up to the present time no members of the yellow race may become American citizens. Still, the newspapers continue to charge Haiti with having race prejudice. This assertion contains as little truth as the accusation that the Haitians show their hostility to the whites by depriving them of the power to hold real estate. It is not the white man who may not hold

[9] Politique Extérieure d'Haiti, p. 59.

[10] According to a law enacted in 1903 Syrians must reside ten years in Haiti before being eligible to become citizens of the country, and for hygienic as well as economic principles, with which the question of race has nothing to do, she forbids them to enter her territory. The measure is the same as that taken by the United States against the Chinese.

real estate, but the foreigner, whatever his color be. Article 6 of the Constitution reads as follows: "None "other than a Haitian may own land in Haiti or acquire "real estate." This measure is not the outcome of race hatred or prejudice; it is of a merely precautionary nature. Other nations, older and considerably more powerful than Haiti, have seen the advisability of reserving to their own citizens the right of holding real estate. In many States of the United States of America,[11] even in Washington,[12] the very capital of the great Republic whose influence is paramount in the New World, foreigners are not allowed to own real estate. Nobody thinks of blaming the United States for this exclusion. Why then impute a wrong motive to Haiti for adopting the same measure of self-protection? This prohibition, however, does not place foreigners at a disadvantage: by means of mortgages and through emphyteusis they succeed in enjoying almost all the privileges of a land-owner. And in order to gain their cooperation in exploiting the resources of the country, a law enacted in February, 1883, confers citizenship, i. e., the right of acquiring real estate, on all manufactories or corporations organized with a view of improving the grade of coffee, cocoa, tobacco, etc.

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[11] In the following States aliens must declare their intention to become citizens before they are allowed to hold real estate: Arizona Territory, Delaware, District of Columbia, Indiana, Kentucky, Minnesota, and New York. No statute applies to aliens in the following States: Idaho, Montana, Oklahoma Territory, Vermont, and Wyoming. In the following States they must be fully naturalized, a certain time being required for this purpose: Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, and Texas. (A Treatise on the Law of Real Property, by Darius H. Pingrey, Vol. II, p. 1189.)

[12] "It shall be unlawful for any person not a citizen of the United "States or who has not lawfully declared his intention to become such a "citizen, * * * to hereafter acquire and own real estate, or any "interest therein, in the District of Columbia * * * provided that "the prohibition shall not apply * * * to the ownership of foreign "legations or the ownership of residences by representatives of foreign "governments or attachés thereof." (The Code of Law for the District of Columbia, Sec. 396, Washington, 1902.)

CHAPTER IV

Commerce of Haiti—Her products of the present day compared with those at the time of the French domination—Haiti at the St. Louis Exposition—The various industries—Timber and cabinet woods—Mines.

For the purpose of showing that the Haitians are reverting to barbarism, their detractors affect to praise the prosperity of the island at the time of the French domination; they are especially fond of alluding to the agricultural products which, according to them, have not only never been surpassed, but have not even been equalled since the independence of Haiti. Instead of finding out from trustworthy sources the exact truth of the matter, they hasten to draw the conclusion that the Haitians are lazy and unworthy of possessing such a rich and beautiful island. But they present no evidence in support of their assertions. As it is not my intention to follow the same plan, I will here furnish my reader with a few figures which will enable him to make his own deductions; figures which for obvious reasons the detractors of Haiti, as a rule, omit to mention in their works.

In 1790, at the time when Saint-Domingue was at the height of its prosperity, the products of the island were as follows: White sugar, 70,000,000 lbs.; brown sugar, 93,000,000 lbs.; coffee, 68,000,000 lbs.; cotton, 6,000,000 lbs.; indigo, 1,000,000 lbs.; cocoa, 150,000 lbs.; lignum vitæ and mahogany, 150,000 lbs.

At the first uprising of the slaves almost all the cultivations were destroyed. When Toussaint Louverture had reestablished order he devoted the greater part of his attention to agriculture, and even at the present day the prosperity of the country under his administration is highly spoken of. According to Mr. Vollée, who was Administrateur Général des Finances, the total products from 1800 to 1801 were: White sugar, 16,540 lbs.; brown sugar, 18,518,572 lbs.; coffee, 43,220,270 lbs.; cotton, 2,480,340 lbs.; indigo, 804 lbs.; cocoa, 648,518 lbs.; logwood, 6,768,634 lbs.; lignum vitæ, 75,519 lbs.

The war of independence which began at the end of 1802 was a war of extermination. Both parties killed, burned, and destroyed all that stood in their way. When the Haitians at last became masters of the land which they had watered with their blood, all the magnificent plantations, sugar-houses, mills, the very towns, were one mass of ruins. Everything had to be built up afresh in this devastated land. Although in constant fear of an aggression from France, the Haitians courageously set to work. In 1824 they exported the following products: Coffee, 44,270,000 lbs.; cotton, 1,028,000 lbs.; cocoa, 461,000 lbs.; tobacco, 718,000 lbs.; logwood, 3,567,000 lbs.; mahogany, 2,181,000 ft.

Their exports in 1838 were as follows: Coffee, 49,820,241 lbs.; cotton, 1,170,175 lbs.; cocoa, 453,418 lbs.; tobacco, 1,995,049 lbs.; logwood, 7,888,936 lbs.; mahogany, 4,880,873 ft.[1]

From 1st October, 1903, to 30th September, 1904, the exports were as follows: Coffee, 1st grade, 81,407,346 lbs.; inferior quality, 4,805,281 lbs.; total, 86,212,627 lbs. Cotton, 3,017,014 lbs.; cocoa, 5,028,615 lbs.; logwood, 154,466,658 lbs.; mahogany, 30,576 ft.; lignum vitæ, 4,982,502 lbs.; cedar, 1,499,750 lbs.; cotton seed, 275,847 lbs.; wax, 228,612 lbs.; goat skins, 224,786 lbs.; pite (textile), 63,825 lbs.; honey, 22,044 gallons; cabinet wood, 770,650 ft.; ox skins, 252,392 lbs.; copper, 24,356 lbs.; horses and mules, 1,414; oxen, 1,521.

[1] B. Ardouin, Vol. II, p. 238.

It is true that Haiti no longer exports sugar, through no fault of her own, however. A great deal of money would have been necessary to rebuild the sugar-mills; and the Haitians depended on their own resources, which were very limited, all the great Powers being ill-disposed toward them; at the outset they were thus compelled to undertake those branches of agriculture which did not demand a great outlay. Later on the exportation of sugar was prevented by the same economic reasons which have obliged the British colonies in the West Indies to give up this industry. In Jamaica, especially, the large estates which formerly were devoted to the cultivation of the sugar-cane have been transformed into banana plantations. In this respect the white colonists of the British West Indies have made no more headway than the Haitians, if the fact of their having ceased to export sugar was to be considered as indicating retrogression instead of progress.

The Haitians, however, have not abandoned the cultivation of the sugar-cane; they employ it for making rum and tafia. This rum, celebrated for its aroma and fine quality, was awarded three gold medals at the St. Louis Exposition. At Mon-Repos, Chateaublond, on the Ogorman and Vaudreuil sugar plantations, in the vicinity of Port-au-Prince, the sugar for inland consumption is made. This sugar was also awarded the gold medal at the St. Louis Exposition.

As to the other products, some of them have not only equalled but have considerably exceeded the yield of the most prosperous period of the French domination. One hundred years after taking over a devastated land the Haitians succeeded by their own unaided efforts in exporting 86,000,000 lbs. of coffee, viz., 18,000,000 more than in 1790, or twice the quantity exported in 1800-1801; 5,000,000 lbs. of cocoa, when the amount exported in 1790 was 150,000 lbs. and 648,518 lbs. in 1800-1801; 154,000,000 lbs. of logwood, compared to 6,000,000 lbs. in 1800-1801; 4,982,502 lbs. lignum vitæ and 30,576 feet of mahogany, whilst in 1790 only 1,500,000 were exported; and this without mentioning the honey, wax, orange

peel, cedar, skins, cabinet wood and various grains which figure among the present exports of Haiti and are not mentioned in the statistics of the time of the French domination.[2]

It will be noticed that Haiti has just begun to raise cattle; and in 1904 she exported 1,414 horses and mules and 1,521 oxen.

In spite of these well-founded facts there are still people of bad faith who declare that such is the laziness of the Haitians that the coffee which they have been exporting since their independence is the product of the plantations of the French colonists.

In 1890 the total amount of the commerce of Haiti was estimated at $24,226,758, the exports amounting to $14,165,788 and the imports to $10,060,979. The imports from the United States amounted to the sum of $6,454,600, whilst the exports of Haiti to the United States amounted to $2,289,292.[3]

Owing to various causes, the most important of which being the exceedingly low price of coffee, the commerce of Haiti has of late considerably decreased. In 1903 her imports amounted only to $3,981,675 and her exports to $8,585,687.[4]

According to the "Foreign Commerce of the United States," page 298, imports of the United States from Haiti, for the fiscal year ended 30th June, 1904, amounted to $1,214,133, and their exports to this country

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[2] National Bank of Haiti, statement made on December 31, 1904.

[3] Report made to the Haitian Congress for the year 1890:

Exports from Haiti to the United States		$2,289,292
France		8,437,500
England, Germany, Belgium, etc		3,518,986
Imports to Haiti from the United States	$6,454,600	
Germany	1,930,713	
France	917,994	
England	662,190	
Others	95,580	

[4] Report made to the Haitian Congress:

Imports from the United States	$2,917,302
France	389,437
England	385,678
Germany	61,401
Others	227,675

to $2,594,740. The commercial relations of Haiti with the United States began to decline as soon as the latter country placed a duty on coffee.[5] Were this staple more consumed, but more chiefly were it not that the continual misrepresentations of Haiti have had the effect of keeping the people of the United States aloof from this country, the commerce between the two nations would surely once more become very flourishing. However, as compared with that carried on with other countries, this commercial intercourse is steadily increasing and the exports from the United States to Haiti are higher than those from any other country.

The participation of Haiti at the St. Louis Exposition, although modest and very limited, has given to all impartial persons who viewed her products an opportunity to appreciate the efforts and the work of the people. These products were spoken of as follows:[6] "There can be seen in the Haitian pavilion a fine col-"lection of liquors and syrups, such as anisette, maras-"chino, crème-de-menthe, orgeat, grenadine, crème-de-"cacao; there are also bay-rum and rum of the finest "quality; cigars; the mappou-cotton, which being cooler "than silk-cotton or the ordinary cotton, may be used "for making mattresses and pillows; cocoa, coffee, pea-"nuts, sugar, honey, shoes, skins, and leather. The "work of the pupils of the 'Orphelinat de la Madeleine' "(Port-au-Prince) was in no way inferior to similar "products on exhibition at St. Louis. The section of "the 'Orphelinat' consisted of skirts made of embroid-"ery, and Luxeuil lace, babes' caps, handkerchiefs, "ties, dresses, cushions, all made of lace; embroidered "petticoats and babies' shoes, embroidered pillow-cases "and sheets, etc. Next to these products there were

[5] In 1881 the export of coffee from Haiti to the United States amounted to 31,000,000 lbs., falling as low as 7,540 lbs. after a tax had been placed on coffee; since the removal of this tax the export of coffee to the United States began to increase again; in 1904 it amounted to 4,000,000 pounds. (Department of Commerce and Labor, Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finances of the United States, July, 1905, p. 93.)

[6] A Brief Sketch of Haiti, p. 14.

"hats made of palm and corn leaves; combs, and many "ornaments of tortoise shell; willow chairs, many "carved vases, pedestals, mortars and pestles, urns and "snuff-boxes."

Three Grand Prix, nine gold medals, twelve silver medals, and ten bronze medals were awarded to the Haitian exhibits. The embroideries and laces made by the girls of the orphan asylum of La Madeleine were awarded a gold medal.

Before the independence of Haiti what was the condition of such children? They lived under the brutalizing influence of slavery, subject to the whims and fancies of their masters; they could neither read nor write, still less embroider and make lace. In this respect the progress made is unquestionable. Yet, still we hear the fiction of Haiti reverting to barbarism!

The awards granted to her at St. Louis are all the more noteworthy, as Haiti only decided at the last moment to take part in the Exposition; therefore the exhibits sent were things which were already on hand, made with no idea of being placed on exhibition; and the space given to them in the Exposition was very restricted, measuring only 30 feet by 75.

In Haiti there are many skillful workmen: excellent joiners, cabinet-makers, hatters, tailors, tinsmiths, tanners, saddlers, potters, silversmiths, printers, bookbinders, etc. There are soap factories and brick-yards; at Port-au-Prince an ice factory supplies the town with very pure and wholesome ice made of distilled spring water; saw-mills exist in some places where the exploitation of timber and cabinet-woods is carried on. At St. Louis the following samples of these woods were greatly admired, and won the Grand Prix:[7] "Lignum 'vitæ; bayaronde; bois de quinquina (*Chincona luci-* "*aya*); chêne (*Bignonia arborea*); coquemolle (*Theo-* "*phrasta americana*); manguier (*Mangifera india*); rai- "sinier (*Cocobola pubescens*); acoma (*Xaumalium* "*rascimiosum*); tamarinier (*Tamarindus indica*); man-

[7] A Brief Sketch on Haiti, p. 21.

"cenillier (*Hippomane-mancenilla*); acajou (mahog-"any); bois rose (*Cordia gerascaubus*); chêne noir "d'Amérique (oak) (*Catalpa longisiligua*); tendre "acaillou (*Acacia arborea, Mimosa tenuifolia*); ébène "noir (*Acacia lebbek* or *ebenus*); bois de fer jaune "(*Sideroxylon americanum*); ébène verte (*Tecoma leu-"coxylon-a-saratiplea*); bois blanc (*Simaruba offici-"nalis*); chêne des Antilles (*Bignonia arborea*); bois-"de-fer blanc; oranger (orange-tree); cèdre (cedar); "goyavier (guava-tree); campêche (log-wood)," etc.

Mr. Edmond Roumain, professor of chemistry of the National School of Pharmacy at Port-au-Prince, who was the Haitian Commissioner-General at the Exposition of St. Louis, has devoted a great deal of his time to the mines of Haiti. At St. Louis he exhibited a large collection of iron, copper, platinum, and iridosminum ores.

According to Mr. Roumain there are millions of tons of lignite at Maissade; in the South there are manganese ore (pyrohisite) right on the surface and in great abundance, and also a considerable deposit of lignite. Gypsum, cinnabar, petroleum, and gold are to be found also in Haiti.

"In the outcrops called Rocher and Reserve the cop-"per ore is gold and silver bearing;[8] specimens cut off "the vein known now to be over five feet wide at "Rocher, gave to Mr. Charles Merry, mining engineer "of Columbia University:

"Gold, ounce 0.50 (half an ounce to the ton).

"Silver, ounces 45 (forty-five ounces to the ton).

"Copper, 20 per cent (twenty per cent).

"In one other outcrop, at Lhercour, the mineral is "the so-called peacock ore, yielding right at the surface "27.83 per cent of copper. The iron found in the same "district is magnetite of 67 per cent iron. Regis Chau-

[8] This information concerning the mines and ores is an extract from the pamphlet, "A Brief Sketch of Haiti," St. Louis, 1904.

"venet & Bro., of St. Louis (Mo.), made the following "analysis of this iron-ore:

"Metallic iron	67.52	per cent.
"Sulphur	0.01	" "
"Phosphorus	0.041	" "
"Silica	3.67	" " "

The Haitian law relative to mines and quarries has been translated into English and was printed in the Bulletin of the Bureau of the American Republics [9] of June, 1902.[10]

[9] Professor Robert T. Hill, in his book, "Cuba and Porto Rico with the other Islands of the West Indies," has endeavored to be just toward the Haitians; but he could not resist the temptation of repeating some of the misrepresentations contained in M. St. John's book, the hold of these misrepresentations being so strong even on the best well-meaning men. Professor Hill affirms that Haiti has no law relative to her mines (p. 272); such a law has existed since 1860 and can be found in English in the Bulletin of the Bureau of American Republics of June, 1902.

CHAPTER V

Origin of the calumnies against Haiti—Unsympathetic attitude of the foreign Powers toward her: Great Britain, Spain, France and the United States—Even Simon Bolivar forgot the help rendered him by Haiti—Germany—Conditions in Haiti at the time of her independence—Difference between these conditions and those of the United States at the time when they severed their relations with Great Britain—Civil wars in Haiti as compared with those of Germany, Great Britain, and France—Some of the causes of civil strife in Haiti.

To fully appreciate the origin of the unceasing and persistent calumnies of which Haiti has been made the target, one must go back to the very first days of her existence and call to mind the circumstances under which she started life as an independent country.

When in 1804 Haiti was so bold as to proclaim the abolition of slavery all the countries where this inhuman practise was still in favor were inclined to consider her attitude as somewhat of a challenge; consequently, they deemed fit to take such steps as to enable them the better to protect a system the abolition of which, according to the opinion of the civilized world of that time, would cause the greatest calamities. By rising up against their masters and in revealing themselves on the battlefields their equals in courage, the slaves of Saint-Domingue had committed what was to the minds of the partisans of slavery an unpardonable crime, rendered all the more monstrous as the Haitians, after having dispossessed the whites of their property and becoming in their turn masters of the country, openly declared that any man of the black race upon setting foot on the Haitian soil would be considered as a freedman. They were not satisfied with having cast off their own yoke, they wished also to give some hope to other unfortunate beings who were receiving worse treatment

than beasts in those countries where slavery continued to flourish. Such an example was considered highly dangerous; and the partisans of slavery deemed it of the utmost importance to prevent the exploits of the Haitians from becoming known to those whose flesh was still being lacerated by the whips of the overseer. In this way began the slanders against the Haitians, the ridicule and distortion of all facts concerning them succeeding so well as to provoke the greatest aversion at the mere mention of their name. In the United States, in the English, French and Spanish possessions in the West Indies, the whites unscrupulously exaggerated or misrepresented facts, concealing all those to the credit of the new State whilst magnifying beyond measure everything to its disadvantage. It is not to be expected, for instance, that the Southern planters of the United States would be likely to sing the praise of Haiti to their slaves; by force of circumstances such men found themselves among her immediate enemies and consequently joined the ranks of her detractors. Those who would go to the length of resorting to civil war in order to uphold slavery were hardly to be considered enthusiastic admirers of the people who had just abolished this institution. Among the planters naturally arose a chorus of imprecations against Haiti. The bad reputation she thus unjustly acquired was transmitted from generation to generation; legendary stories, some of them of the most atrocious character, were thus diffused and are still in circulation. Few people take the trouble to find out the true facts; either through indifference or indolence they find it more convenient to adopt and repeat preconceived opinions and the ideas current in their families or among their friends; errors and misrepresentations are thus oftentimes unwittingly propagated. Little by little, therefore, it has become the habit to represent Haiti as the home of all evil and where right and virtue are the exception rather than the rule.

Surrounded by Powers to whose greatest interest it was to maintain slavery, Haiti met with no sympathy abroad. Great Britain, although at that time the ruth-

less enemy of France, could not lose sight of the fact that her subjects in Jamaica and other islands of the West Indies were slave-owners; consequently this new State which, by abolishing slavery, had assumed the part of champion of human dignity, did not enjoy her favor. The noble and unceasing efforts of Clarkson, Wilberforce, Fox, Benton, Brougham, Pitt, and Macaulay succeeded in deciding Parliament in 1833 to abolish slavery, a condition so entirely opposed to the liberal principles of the English people. The emancipation of slaves did away with England's chief cause of distrust against Haiti; nevertheless, there are up to the present time Englishmen [1] who cannot forgive the Haitians for having kept for themselves an island which, in their opinion, ought to be numbered among the British possessions.

The Spaniards likewise could not be expected to be

[1] One of these Englishmen, Sir Spenser St. John, could not help giving vent to his annoyance at the failure of the British in Saint-Domingue, especially at the loss of the Môle Saint-Nicolas (Haiti or the Black Republic, p. 58). In order to vindicate the defeat of his fellow-countrymen, he endeavors to produce the impression (p. 54) that the invading army numbered but few Englishmen, consisting for the most part of colored hirelings. In spite of this statement he says at page 57 that "The English became convinced that it was useless to "attempt to conquer the island, and that their losses from sickness were "*enormous*," adding in the foot note of page 58 that "it is humiliating "to read of the stupidity of the chiefs at Port-au-Prince, who made the "soldiers work at fortifications during the day and do duty at night; "no wonder that we find a regiment of 600 strong losing 400 in two "months, and the Eighty-second landing 950 men to be reduced in six "weeks to 350."

The mention of the enormous losses from sickness leads to the belief that the English were numerous at Saint-Domingue, and that the army which Toussaint Louverture and Rigaud were successfully combatting did not consist solely of colored hirelings. Nobody thinks of questioning the courage and gallantry of the British soldiers; but Sir Spenser St. John was unwilling to make known the true cause of the failure of the English in Saint-Domingue without bringing into prominence the bravery of the soldiers of Toussaint Louverture and Rigaud; this cause being the intention of the English of re-establishing slavery. He hinted at this on page 46, but took care immediately to explain that sickness and treachery were the compelling motives in their evacuation of Saint-Domingue. Sir Spenser St. John, whose book is quite a bill of indictment against Haiti, seems unable to be impartial in his appreciation of the colored inhabitants of this country, even whilst they were yet under the French domination.

kindly disposed toward the Haitians; they also were slave-owners in Cuba and Porto Rico. Their attitude was most unfriendly; they availed themselves of every opportunity to humiliate the new State. Their disagreement with Haiti concerning the Spanish portion of the island made the position still more delicate.

France, apart from the fear she entertained for the safety of her other colonies in the West Indies, where slavery was abolished only in 1848, could not at the outset be other than unfriendly toward Haiti; she could not easily accept with resignation the loss of one of her most important American possessions. Her long-standing grudge against the Haitians is noticeable in the many books written by or under the influence of former colonists of Saint-Domingue, their descendants or their sympathizers. It need hardly be said that in the first days of her existence Haiti could look for no help or sympathy from France.

Neither could she rely on the United States of America. Their attitude was so irreconcilable that even Simon Bolivar, in order to please them, thought it advisable to overlook the services rendered him by Haiti and the Haitians. Upon summoning the Congress of Panama he, who was personally under the greatest obligation to Pétion and his fellow-citizens, deliberately ignored the people who had helped him, thereby slighting the only nation that had supported him in his struggle for the independence of his country.

The slavery question was unquestionably the principal cause of the ill will of the American people toward Haiti.[2] Since the abolition of this inhuman institution, however, the relations between the two countries have

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[2] Concerning the Congress of Panama, Mr. John W. Foster (A Century of American Diplomacy, p. 453) says: "The debates in the "Congress of the United States were of a most acrimonious character, "and were conducted upon domestic party lines, the opponents of the "Administration almost unanimously voting against the mission. The "two strong points of opposition were, first the objection to no alliance, "especially an armed one, with any other nations; and, second, the "*recognition of the negro Republic of Haiti which opened up the slavery "question.*"

become very cordial; the two nations will esteem each other in proportion as they mutually acquire a fuller knowledge of each other.

As has just been pointed out, Haiti has, without exaggeration, never enjoyed either support, nor even the mere good will of the foreign Powers. The sum of their liberality toward her has only been to overwhelm her with criticisms, reprimands, and threats. But who has ever extended a helping hand to her?[3] Where is the Power which, in the past, has ever rendered her simple justice? Appalling catastrophes have destroyed her cities, decimated her population, and left numberless families starving and shelterless: earthquakes, hurricanes, and fires have inflicted the greatest sufferings on the country. From abroad no word of sympathy was sent to comfort the victims; no one was moved by their trials. However, this indifference to their sufferings has not made the Haitians selfish; in their kind-heartedness they are ever ready to sympathize with the misfortunes of others. Even when undeserved calamities have befallen her, Haiti has never received the sympathy or help of the other nations. Abandoned to her own resources she is, step by step, making steady progress up the ladder of civilization. This progress, though considered slow by many, is worthy of a higher appreciation when one realizes the obstacles she has had to surmount. By extorting heavy and unjust indemnities from her, the foreign Powers themselves have impeded her evolution; for the money she has had to pay solely in order to avoid brutal treatment at the hands of some powerful nations in their support of unscrupulous

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[3] "Whatever success the Haitians have attained has been solely by "their own unaided efforts. The Christian world, which looked with "horror on the institution of slavery and cried loudly for its abolition, "neglected this self-emancipated people when they most needed its help "and aid. Although hardly three decades have passed since our country "was inflamed with sentiments demanding the abolition of slavery, and "eager to alleviate the condition of the freedmen, we have extended no "aid or sympathy to the Haitians who first lifted the banner of emanci-"pation on American soil." (Robert T. Hill, Cuba and Porto-Rico with the other Islands of the West Indies, p. 288.)

claimants might have been employed to much advantage for her schools, in the repairing or building of her roads, and the irrigation of her fields.

Prejudice against Haiti is so universal abroad that even certain Powers who, like Germany for instance, had never owned slaves in the West Indies or on the American continent have nevertheless fallen under the influence of this prejudice. Acting probably under the impression made upon her by these slanderous misrepresentations, Germany, at the outset of her relations with Haiti, acted toward her with a harshness and irritability which all lovers of justice must deplore. In the past other nations, such as Great Britain, France, and Spain, had had grievances real or supposed against Haiti; but with Germany there existed no such excuse for a misunderstanding or strained relations. Therefore it was to be expected that Germany would be at least impartial in her attitude toward Haiti and even lend her a helping hand. These expectations are far from having been realized.

Few nations have found themselves in the position of Haiti; few of them have had such difficulties to surmount from the start. And when her detractors reproach her, after but one century of her independence, with not having made as much progress as the United States or the old States of Europe, the sense of their injustice is lost in their manifestation of supreme ignorance, at least of their complete disregard of the historical evolution of the world. The Haitians would indeed be extraordinary beings if their civilization, which dates back only one hundred years, could equal that of Europe for instance. Before passing judgment on them by peremptorily declaring that they are incapable of governing themselves, one must remember the condition of their coming into existence as a nation and their extraction, and compare this with the length of time which France, Great Britain, and Germany have taken to arrive at their present state of civilization. The fact that after a century of free government the United States of America have been able to equal and

even exceed the progress accomplished by some of the European States cannot be used as an argument against Haiti. The conditions of the two nations differed so vastly that no comparison is possible. Reflecting upon the conditions in the United States and those of Haiti, considered at the beginning of their independence, the most narrow-minded of men must at once concede that the difference which existed between the two countries takes away all question of comparison between them. When on the 4th of July, 1776, the colonies, in Congress assembled, proclaimed their independence, the men who were about to create the United States of America could be likened to children who were deserting the paternal home in order to found their own homes and families. The first American citizens were, as a matter of fact, Englishmen continuing on their own account the work begun by other Englishmen. The people of this new nation possessed the intellectual culture, the customs, the methods, and all the moral advantages of their former mother country; they had inherited from their ancestors centuries of accumulated efforts and instruction. Atavism had moulded and impressed their intellect. In organizing their government all that was necessary was to adjust it to immediate personal requirements in order to take up the onward progress begun by those from whom they had just parted. Moreover, the Americans were fortunate in that Great Britain accepted the accomplished fact without delay. Lord Cornwallis had hardly handed his sword to Washington (Yorktown, 1781), when George III recognized, in the House of Lords, the full independence of the United States (1782). Consequently, the Americans were able to set to work at once in building up their government without any fear of an aggression from their mother country.

What were Haiti's advantages under the same circumstances? At the time of her independence was it Frenchmen who were separating from other Frenchmen? Could the Haitians be considered as the successors of those whom they had just expelled from the

island? Had they inherited from their ancestors centuries of accumulated efforts and instruction? The obvious answer to all these questions must be in the negative. The slaves who by marvels of dauntless courage had succeeded in gaining possession of a country had nothing in common with the Frenchmen; centuries of serfdom had kept them bound to the soil; their brains and higher instincts had been left uncultivated; their only notion of government had come from the whip of the overseer who had subjected them with the utmost cruelty to a severe discipline. Exposed to sufferings and humiliation from their childhood up to the time of their self-emancipation, brutalized by their unscrupulous owners, they could not have the same ideals as their masters. Some of them had succeeded in throwing off the degrading yoke of slavery and in acquiring knowledge. These more enlightened ones led them on to victory, but were unable to teach them from one day to another all they had to learn in matters of self-government. On the ruins of Saint-Domingue, still reeking with the blood of the Frenchmen, another race had risen, the great majority of whom, by reason of the treatment to which they had had to submit throughout all these years, were completely ignorant. This ignorant mass it was which had to be transformed into useful citizens, into a nation. One can appreciate what a delicate and difficult task this was, all the more so as the Haitians were greatly hampered by the continual menace of an aggression from France as well as by the ill will of all the foreign Powers, who at that time were in favor of slavery. For nearly a quarter of a century Haiti had to be on the alert, bent as she was on preserving her independence which no one was willing to recognize. Everything had to be created and organized. It was literally a new people who had come into life. Was it to be expected that in a century this nation could attain its complete and full development? As with other nations, progress must of necessity be slow with this new people. Spenser St. John "*e tutti quanti*" has overwhelmed Haiti with

abuse in that her civilization is not as advanced as that of the Old World. But do these persons recollect how many centuries Great Britain, France, and Germany spent in all kinds of struggles before arriving at the state in which they are to-day?

And if civil wars, for which the Haitians have been so severely taken to task, were an evidence of the incapacity of a nation to govern itself, then the great Powers of to-day would not have existed. All of them have gone through trying ordeals, have paid for their advancement with the blood of the best among their citizens; every effort toward a higher ideal was marked by hecatombs; and those who have sacrificed their lives for the advancement of civilization cannot be numbered. Having now arrived at the pinnacle of glory the great Powers of to-day overlook the obstacles which they had to surmount; in their natural tendency to treat with disdain the young States that are now striving, as they themselves did in the past, to mount up step by step to the summit, they liken themselves to the upstarts who look with contempt upon the poor who are endeavoring by hard work to enrich themselves in their turn. By the position they occupy in the world, Great Britain, France, and Germany are unquestionably the most important nations of Europe; they are justly proud of their position. But has such an end been attained at the cost of no sufferings or struggles?

To obtain religious freedom alone has caused blood to flow freely in Germany. When in 1517 Luther nailed his celebrated protest at the door of the church of Wittemberg, his action stirred many souls who theretofore had been either passive or indifferent; their awakening set Germany ablaze. Massacres and incendiarisms were the order of the day throughout almost the entire sixteenth century. Catholics and Protestants did not cease to shed one another's blood until the seventeenth century, after the Thirty Years' War. This struggle left Germany dismembered and worn out, her commerce entirely destroyed, famine adding its horrors to the trials she had just gone through. This discord and

these calamities, trying as they were, did not prevent Germany from continuing her march toward progress, they did not keep her from becoming one of the most powerful nations of the world. However, she had to fight desperately in order to secure even her political stability. To go back no farther than the twelfth century we find that her history is a series of oppressions, of rivalries and murders for the possession of power. The dispute between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines alone stained the country with blood for many centuries. At the death of Henry VII, Guelfs and Ghibellines had each a king; there ensued a civil war which ended when Otto IV was crowned in 1208. Otto was dethroned by Frederick I. Henry, the son of Frederick, made an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow his father; he was defeated and put in prison, where he died. Some time after the death of Frederick II many pretenders fought for the possession of the crown. This period is known as the Interregnum. There was no security throughout the land; the barons fought continually among themselves, plundering peasants and travelers and committing all sorts of crimes, there being no law to check them. In Westphalia there were the "Wehmgerichte," secret tribunals which indicated to men, hired for the purpose, those whom they had decided were to be killed. For three hundred years these tribunals held sway. Rodolph of Austria succeeded in destroying the castles of the barons. His son Albert was murdered by his nephew after his struggle with Adolph of Nassau, who was striving to get possession of the throne. Henry of Luxemburg, who became Emperor under the title of Henry VII, died from poisoning (1313). Two pretenders then laid claim to the crown: Frederick and Louis of Bavaria. Frederick was defeated and imprisoned; but later on, the victor, Louis, was divested of his office and replaced by Charles IV, a son of the King of Bohemia. The barons became once more very powerful and again began their depredations. Wenceslas, the next Emperor, committed such atrocious cruelties that his sanity was questioned and

he was kept imprisoned in a castle in Austria. Frederick III, whose indolence earned for him the nickname of Emperor Night Cap, occupied the throne from 1440 to 1493. The barons were continually at war with each other; the disturbances and dissensions were of such a character that Germany and the Emperor became the byword of Europe. Charles V, who succeeded Maximilian, entered into a struggle with the Lutherans, and a religious war raged during the seventeenth century; the Thirty Years' War having begun during the reign of Mathias who was elected in 1612. In 1806 the Empire of Germany ceased to exist and was replaced by thirty-nine States. All the bonds which formerly united the members of the great German family looked as if they had burst asunder; each State had its own laws and currency and levied taxes upon the products of the neighboring States. In 1848 the people resorted to violence; an insurrection broke out and was quickly subdued. It was only after sixty-four years of constant effort that the political unity which was shattered in 1806 succeeded in being reconstituted: the Empire of Germany was reestablished only as far back as 1870. Germany has thus gone through centuries of vicissitudes before reaching her present state of splendor.

England had to undergo like tribulations. The blood of a great number of her children was shed in establishing the liberty she enjoys to-day and of which she is justly proud. A century of continual warfare was necessary to obtain the unity of the kingdom. From 1074 to 1174 the barons fiercely defended their prerogatives; and many kings of England lost their lives in the cause of centralization. The struggle for the possession of power and religious quarrels also made numberless victims.

In 1100, whilst hunting with his brother, William Rufus was killed by an arrow; he was succeeded by Henry II, who had to fight against his brother Robert. After Henry's death two pretenders claimed the crown: his nephew Stephen and his daughter Mathilde (1135). A civil war ensued which lasted fifteen years. Henry II

was obliged to fight against the barons. They succeeded in 1215 in forcing King John to sign the Magna Charta; this was followed by another civil war, during which the barons solicited the aid of the King of France. The strife continued when Henry III ascended the throne, his brother-in-law, Simon de Montfort, heading the rebellion. Victorious at the battle of Lewes (1264), Simon de Montfort summoned Parliament, and in 1265 the House of Commons met. Edward II had to fight against Roger Mortimer; the King was defeated, deposed by Parliament, and committed to Berkeley Castle, where he was murdered (1327). In 1381 began the agitation for the abolition of villeinage. The head-tax caused the discontent which had been fermenting among the serfs and free laborers to burst forth; they rose up in arms at the voice of Tyler and John Ball.[4] For three weeks the mob was in possession of London; they pillaged and burned houses; beheaded the Lord Chancellor and the chief collector of the odious head-tax; destroyed all the law papers they could lay their hands on and murdered a number of lawyers;[5] "for the rioters believed that the members of that profession spent "their time forging the chains which held the laboring "class in subjection."[6] The revolt was crushed and the peasants were mercilessly put to death; their blood flowed freely. But the sacrifice of so many lives was not in vain; for the days of villeinage were numbered; they would ultimately succeed in ridding themselves of this institution and reestablishing the dignity of man. Although he was successful in subduing the uprising of the serfs, Richard II was unable to maintain his authority. Henry Bolingbroke rose against him. Richard was defeated, deposed by Parliament (1399), and confined in Pontefract Castle, where he was murdered.

[4] John Ball was a priest; he demanded that all property should be equally divided and that all rank should be abolished. (D. H. Montgomery, The Leading Facts of English History, p. 139.)

[5] It is interesting to note that the Haitian peasants also, when they rose in 1844, believed that the lawyers were responsible for the plight in which they found themselves. Page 196.

[6] D. H. Montgomery, The Leading Facts of English History.

Upon ascending the throne Henry IV had to subdue many uprisings. And the House of Commons availed itself of the opportunity to assume the exclusive right of granting the money needed for the expenses. Henry V (1413), who succeeded him, caused many of the Lollards [1] to be put to death. Their leader, John Oldcastle, was burned as a heretic. Henry VI was dethroned in 1461 and died a prisoner in the Tower of London. Some important events of this reign were the rebellion of Jack Cade, the mismanagement of public affairs, and the personal rivalries which provoked the civil war known as the War of the Roses. For thirty years the English soil was stained with blood; and the contest was not for principle, but for place and spoils, and became a war of extermination.

The reign of Edward IV (1461-1483) was one of continual civil warfare. Edward V was murdered by his uncle, who thereupon took possession of the throne. But Richard III (1483-1485) did not long profit by his crime. He succeeded in crushing Buckingham's revolt, but was defeated by Henry Tudor and was found dead on the battlefield of Bosworth.

The accession of the Tudors to the throne with Henry VII (1485-1509) did not put an end to the effusion of English blood. Under the reign of Henry VIII (1509-1517), whose deeds are too well known to need being retold here, numbers of people were put to death for treason and heresy. Men and women alike were burned, some for being too zealous in their faith, others for not having enough belief. The establishment of the Church of England made matters still worse, adding as it did

[1] The name of Lollards was given to the followers of John Wycliffe, who, after attacking the religious and political corruption of his time, had organized the order of the "Poor Priests" in order to take up the work formerly accomplished by the "Mendicant Friars." In the beginning these friars led a life of self-sacrifice; they went from place to place preaching the Gospel and exhorting the people to penance; growing rich, they forgot their former duties. Coarsely clothed, barefooted, and staff in hand, the "Poor Priests" went from town to town preaching the law of God and demanding that church and state bring themselves in harmony with it. The Lollards afterward became socialists or communists. (D. H. Montgomery, The Leading Facts of English History.)

religious persecution to the already existing political rivalries. Conversion or extermination became the watchword of the two parties; and Protestants and Catholics were by turns burnt at the stake.

Queen Mary (1553-1558), known as "Bloody Mary," after suppressing the rebellion organized by Thomas Wyatt, caused Lady Jane Grey, whose reign had lasted only nine days, to be beheaded. In her proselytism Mary caused many Protestants to be burned at the stake. But upon Elizabeth's accession to the throne (1558-1603) it was the turn of the Catholics to suffer ruthless persecution and martyrdom. In order to rid herself of a dangerous rival, Elizabeth caused Mary Stuart to be beheaded. There were numerous plots against the Queen, treason was everywhere, and "had "grown so common," says Hentzner, a German traveler in England, "that he counted 300 heads of persons who "had suffered death for this crime, exposed on London "Bridge." [8]

The change of dynasty did not put an end to the religious and political strife. The Stuarts, by proclaiming the doctrine of the divine right of kings, provoked a bitter struggle between the people and the sovereign. James I (1603-1625), who asserted this theory, had, at the beginning of his reign, to baffle two plots: the "Main plot," whose object was to place Arabella Stuart on the throne, and the "By plot," which aimed at obtaining religious toleration. The Conspirators in the Gunpowder plot were mercilessly dealt with. The tendency to absolute power manifested by James I increased under the reign of Charles I (1625-1649). The struggle between the King and Parliament assumed a violent character. Civil war began once more. Defeated in 1645, Charles resorted again to arms in 1648. Meeting with severe reverses he was tried and sentenced to death as a "tyrant, traitor, murderer and public enemy," and was beheaded on the 30th of January, 1649.

[8] D. H. Montgomery, The Leading Facts of English History, p. 223.

The Commonwealth and Protectorate (1649-1660), which became the Government of England after the execution of Charles I, were in reality but a military despotism. Cromwell's will was supreme, as the real power lay in his army. At the head of a troop of soldiers he expelled Parliament, "the speaker being "dragged from his chair and the members driven "after him." The new Parliament which he summoned adopted the Constitution known as "Instrument of Government." Cromwell, who by this Constitution (1653) was made Lord Protector or President for life, arrogated the authority of a king. He repressed with extreme severity the revolt of the Irish, many of whom were deported and sold as slaves in the West Indies. England was divided into military districts ruled by martial law and with despotic power. All Catholic priests were banished; and no books or papers could be published without permission of the Government.

During the latter part of his life Cromwell was in such dread of being murdered that he constantly wore concealed armor. When he died in 1658 he was succeeded by his son Richard (September 3), who, however, remained in office but little over seven months, the military chiefs compelling him to abdicate on the 22d of April, 1659.

Parliament was expelled by the army and the country was left without any organized government. Insecurity and anxiety provoked a reaction. General Monk invaded England and monarchy was restored upon Charles II ascending the throne.

As soon as Charles II (1660-1685) had become King, he began to avenge his father's death. The regicides were either put to death or imprisoned for life. Violent religious persecutions ensued. The Dissenters, all those who were not Episcopalians, were dealt with with the utmost severity; they were sent to jail, fined, and even sold into slavery. The Covenanters principally were made to undergo cruel punishments. They were hunted down like animals and mercilessly hanged or drowned. "The father of a family would be dragged

"from his cottage by the soldiers, asked if he would "take the test of conformity to the Church of England "and to Charles's Government; if not, then came the "order, 'Make ready—present—fire!'—and there lay "the corpse of the rebel."[9] Under mere suspicion many innocent persons were thrown into prison and executed.[10]

James II (1685-1689) was no less cruel than his predecessor. The defeat of the rebellion led by Monmouth was followed by the "Bloody Assizes" (1685). This tribunal was a travesty of justice. Those who were brought before it were not allowed to defend themselves. Judge Jeffreys, who presided over it, was the embodiment of cruelty and corruption. Over 1,000 persons were sentenced either to be hanged, beheaded, or sold as slaves. "The guide-posts of the highways were "converted into gibbets from which blackened corpses "swung in chains, and from every church tower in "Somersetshire ghastly heads looked down on those "who gathered there to worship God; in fact, so many "bodies were exposed that the whole air was tainted "with corruption and death."[11] To rid themselves of James II the English people were obliged to call William of Orange to their aid. The latter landed in England (1688) with a force of 14,000 soldiers. Deserted by his army, James fled to France.

William and Mary succeeded him (1689-1702). This revolution had great consequences. Courts of justice ceased to be "little better than caverns of murderers."[12] The divine right of kings was no longer asserted and the liberty of the press was established.

However, the dynasty of Orange did not maintain

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[9] D. H. Montgomery, The Leading Facts of English History, p. 265.

[10] One Titus Oates pretended that he had discovered a conspiracy (the Popish Plot) formed by the Catholics with a view to burn London, massacre the inhabitants, kill the King and restore the Roman religion. On the charge preferred by him many innocent persons were executed. (Ibid., p. 279.)

[11] Ibid., p. 278.

[12] Hallam's Constitutional History of England. Montgomery, op. cit., p. 284.

its authority without the effusion of blood. Before long James II landed in Ireland, but was defeated and fled once more to France (1690). As a sequel of this civil strife Roman Catholics were hunted like wild beasts and thousands of the Irish were compelled to leave their country.

In Scotland also the struggle was fierce and desperate. Terrible measures followed upon William's victory. At Glencoe the clan of the Macdonalds was entirely exterminated.

The reign of Queen Anne (1702-1714) was disturbed by party strife. Superstition was rampant. Anne herself sincerely believed that she could cure the sick by touching them. An official announcement actually appeared in the *London Gazette,* "Stating that on certain "days the Queen would 'touch' people to cure them of "' 'King's evil' or scrofula." [13]

After eighteen centuries of self-government there was no efficient police force in London; it was dangerous to go about at night in the streets, which were miserably lighted and heaped with filth, and infested with ruffians. Neither was there any safety along the highways; and even in the daytime it was imprudent to travel without an armed escort. The roads were in a fearful condition; and so great was the expense of transportation that farmers often let their produce rot on the ground rather than attempt to get it to the nearest market-town. The poor man's parish was virtually his prison, and if he left it to seek work elsewhere he was certain to be sent back to the place where he was legally settled.[14] Hanging was the common punishment for most offenses. Men and women were frequently whipped along the streets. Fastened to the pillory ordinary offenders were publicly exposed to the insults and outrages of the populace.

Notwithstanding the change of dynasty when the House of Hanover came into power, civil wars con-

[13] D. H. Montgomery, The Leading Facts of English History, p. 320.
[14] Ibid., p. 295.

tinued still. George I (1714-1727) had to defend his crown against the son of James II. The adherents of the Pretender were defeated and many men sold as slaves in the West Indies, the leaders being either hanged or beheaded.

Party feeling caused by too frequent elections was instrumental in provoking a revolt; consequently, to do away with this cause of unrest the duration of Parliament was extended from three to seven years. And in order to maintain his authority the Prime Minister, Robert Walpole, resorted to corruption, bribing the voters and conferring titles and distinctions. His theory was "that every man has his price," and that an appeal to the pocket was both quicker and surer than an appeal to principle. However, he established the form of government still in force, viz., the administration of the affairs of the state by a Cabinet whose members are chosen by the Prime Minister.

The military success of George II (1727-1760) did not prevent the continuation of political unrest. Charles Edward, a grandson of James II, laid claim to the crown, and fought for it almost a year. He was ultimately defeated at Culloden and made his escape to France.

George III (1760-1820) was also compelled to shed blood in order to maintain his authority. Whilst England was waging war against her rebellious colonies in America Lord George Gordon stirred up the people at home to rebellion. "London was once more at the "mercy of a furious mob, which set fire to Catholic "chapels, pillaged many dwellings, and committed "every species of outrage (1780)."[15] One's life was in constant danger from the rioters; those especially who did not wear the blue cockade of the Protestants ran the greatest risk of being killed.

The rebellion of Ireland in 1798 was put down with great severity; blood flowed on all sides and horrible atrocities were committed daily. Even after the union

[15] D. H. Montgomery, The Leading Facts of English History, p. 337.

with Great Britain the sons of Erin tried to free themselves from the English domination. In 1803 Robert Emmet took up arms, but was defeated and put to death.

In 1811 the English peasants, brought to despair by the competition of steam machinery in modern industry, resorted to violence under the leadership of Ludd; they broke into factories, destroying the machinery and burning down buildings. This riot was suppressed and numbers of the rioters were executed.

It was only during the reign of George III that the press acquired the right of reporting Parliamentary debates, whereas under the Stuarts and the Tudors it would have been highly dangerous for members of Parliament to make public their criticism of the government.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the condition of England could still admit of vast improvement; punishments were of an excessive and barbarous nature, men of birth flocked to the prisons to look on at the flogging of wretched women; even children were hanged for petty larceny. And not only were the jails dens of misery and disease, but also schools of iniquity and crime.

After centuries of existence there was little safety in the capital of Great Britain. The streets of London were dark and dangerous by night and highway robberies were of frequent occurrence; the streets began to be properly lighted only toward the close of the reign of George IV. "In the country the great mass "of the people were nearly as ignorant as they were in "the darkest part of the Middle Ages. Hardly a peas- "ant over 40 years of age could be found who could "read a verse in the Bible, and not one in ten could "write his name." [16] When George IV ascended the throne (1820-1830) the condition of the people was still very bad; such was the scarcity of food that they were on the verge of famine; and a great majority could not

[16] D. H. Montgomery, The Leading Facts of English History, p. 352.

find employment; as a result of this state of things public meetings were held, but were considered seditious and dispersed by force. Freedom of speech, liberty of the press, and the rights of persons to assemble in a body were restricted. These measures resulted in the conspiracy known as "Cato Street plot," the leaders of which were either executed or banished.

Nevertheless, these agitations did not prevent the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from carrying out very great reforms. Religious toleration was established and the creed of a man was no longer a bar to public office; henceforth Dissenters were eligible to all municipal or corporate offices, and Catholics were no longer excluded from sitting in Parliament (1829). And in order to force the House of Lords to abolish the rotten boroughs the people, during the reign of William IV (1830-1837), resorted to riots. At Nottingham the mob burnt and pillaged the castle of the Duke of Newcastle, who was known to be one of the leading opponents of the reform. The Reform bill which gave to the country over half a million more voters was ultimately passed in 1832. Up to that time the election of a member of Parliament very often occasioned great disturbances; the small towns found themselves infested with "drunken ruffians" who assaulted their opponents, going so far as to confine prominent citizens, setting them at liberty only after the elections were over. Peaceful men were in this way so intimidated that in many instances they abstained from voting.

The Reform bill, however, did not grant the right of voting to the peasants; a certain class only of these were admitted to the franchise in 1884, owing to the energy of a laborer, Joseph Arch. Voting by secret ballot was adopted only in 1872. It was not until the year 1888 that persons of all denominations were eligible to become members of Parliament.

It thus took the English people nineteen centuries of constant struggles and untiring efforts to acquire true electoral freedom; and they do not yet enjoy universal

suffrage. Even at the time of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne (1837-1901) there was great discontent among the people. "Wages were low, work scarce, "and bread dear. In the cities thousands of half-fed "creatures lived in squalid cellars; in the country the "same class occupied wretched hovels hardly better "than cellars. * * * A very large proportion of "the children of the poorer classes were growing up in "a state of barbarism. They knew practically little "more of books or schools than the young Hottentots "of South Africa."[17]

As to public offices, those were considered up to 1870 as the booty of the party which was successful in an election; and the motto of some politicians was, "Every man for himself and the National Treasury for us all." These scandalous proceedings ceased when positions in the civil service were to be obtained solely by competitive examinations.

In spite of her unquestionable wealth and her powerful position in the world England has still to solve a very delicate problem—the agricultural question, which is giving some concern. Thousands of acres of fertile soil are no longer under cultivation and the laborers thus left without employment are congregating more and more in the towns.[18] The consequences of the agricultural crisis were also felt in the British colonies of the West Indies; they have lost much of their former

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[17] D. H. Montgomery, The Leading Facts of English History, pp. 392, 397.

[18] Many detractors, the principal among them being Spenser St. John, affect to see a new evidence of the incapacity of the Haitians to govern themselves in the fact that agriculture is not as flourishing as they think it should be; yet the resources of Haiti cannot be compared with those of England where agriculture is causing so much concern. Very few foreigners take the trouble of looking for the economic causes when there is question of the condition of Haiti. If agriculture is not prosperous there are many who pretend that it is the fault of the Haitians, and hasten to charge them with being a lazy and indolent race; and when, as in England, the people desert the country and show a tendency to congregate in the towns Spenser St. John will affirm in all seriousness that cannihalism and fetichism have driven them from the fields; he does not care to go into the matter and find out whether like causes may produce like effects in England as in Haiti.

splendor. By importing beet sugar into England it became impossible for them to continue with advantage to themselves the cultivation of the sugar-cane. The preponderance of the English in these colonies, or in other words and to use an expression familiar to the calumniators of Haiti, *the supremacy of the white man,* was unable to preserve the former prosperity of the British possessions in the West Indies. It is therefore more than unjust to impute to the laziness of the Haitians or to their so-called incapacity for governing themselves the abandonment of the cultivation of many products which for economic reasons are no longer profitable.

Will the English writers of the school of St. John now admit that more than one century was necessary to their country in order to attain political stability, to conquer its liberty and achieve its full development? From her many severe trials England has emerged stronger and more powerful; and she is the more justly proud of her present condition in that it has been acquired at the cost of great effort and the lives of a great number of her sons.

Haiti, which has comparatively come into life but yesterday, need not be disheartened; she knows that the struggle for progress is a hard one and that success is not easy to be obtained. Were she inclined to ignore this fact, the tribulations through which France has passed would have been sufficient to make her realize the difficulty of the task. This nation, which was and still is one of the greatest exponents of civilization, should have long ago been struck off the maps of the world if intestine dissensions and civil wars were to prove the incapacity of a people to govern itself. With France, as with Germany and Great Britain, almost every step on the thorny road of progress has been paid for with the blood of her children. Her history, to go no farther back than 1789, is at least as agitated and surely more bloody than that of Haiti. It took this people, who rank to-day as one of the leading nations of the world, more than eighteen centuries to obtain

true political cohesion, civil equality, the right to choose its own government and the liberty which seems to be now firmly established. It is unnecessary here to recall the horrible massacres caused by religious strife, the disturbance occasioned by the rivalry of political factions and by various struggles for the possession of power. The history of France contains many glorious pages as well as some most deplorable ones. She has undergone many trials, great suffering and humiliations; yet she has always risen from her ashes, preserving intact her supremacy in letters, arts, and sciences.

For more than eighteen centuries absolute monarchy prevailed in France. The authority of the monarch was boundless, in him were vested all the functions now allotted almost universally to different people; he possessed at the same time all executive, legislative and judiciary power. His Ministers were as so many irresponsible clerks. His decrees and ordinances were laws and he levied taxes according to his will. By his orders (*lettres de cachet*) he could cause to be imprisoned for life or for an indefinite time any one who gained his displeasure. In 1789 this despotism received its first blow; but a series of revolutions was necessary in order to free the country of it and to obtain political freedom. During the whole of the nineteenth century France strove to secure the form of government most suited to her requirements. The crisis began with the fall of the Bastille (July 14, 1789), and for ten years thereafter the country was in a constant state of convulsion, each party plotting the downfall of the other. There was safety for no one; the guillotine perpetually at work threatened all alike. From the 14th of July, 1789, the most violent passions were unbridled, causing the most refined people in the world to become guilty of all manner of atrocities; scores of persons were put to death and their heads paraded through the streets, these ghastly sights exciting the people to fresh carnage.

In 1791 strenuous efforts were made to do away with the doctrine of the divine right of kings in favor of that

of national sovereignty. The Constitution adopted in that year caused severe friction between the King and the masses; and Louis XVI was defeated in the struggle which ensued. He was suspended from office by the Legislative Assembly on the 10th of August, 1792, and the authority was vested in a provisional Executive Council. The horrible massacres of September were the forerunner of the establishment of the Republic. The National Convention soon assumed supreme authority, chiefly through its famous Committee on Public Safety. By the Reign of Terror which he inaugurated, Robespierre in 1793 became the master of France. In the mean time, in order to assert the complete severance between them and the long-established monarchy which had held sway in their country, the people caused the unfortunate King Louis XVI, who had been formally deposed in September, 1792, to be guillotined on the 21st of January, 1793. The province of Vendée rose up in arms; and the atrocities of a civil war were added to the horrors of the foreign war which at the time was being waged against France. In their mad frenzy the French mercilessly slaughtered one another. The inhabitants of Vendée hunted down the Republicans like wild beasts, women being often seen giving the finishing stroke to the victims. The Republicans, in their turn, gave no quarter to their enemies. Carrier, at Nantes, ordered many innocent people to be drowned; at Lyon the prisoners were mowed down with grape-shot. Threatened from abroad by the coalition of Europe and at home by the insurgents, the new government regarded as its enemies all those who did not profess their admiration of it, the slightest act of opposition being considered treasonable. And, according to the law adopted in September, 1793 (Loi des Suspects), "all of those who had done nothing for the cause of "liberty" were liable to be held as foes whom it was well to be rid of. This was a year of unequalled bloodshed; the prisons were overcrowded and the guillotine never ceased in its ghastly function. Men and women alike fell victims to it. Marie-Antoinette, the ill-fated Queen

of France, as well as the famous Republican, Madame Roland, were beheaded by it. Numbers of innocent persons were put to death. France seemed on the verge of being dismembered: Toulon had placed itself under the dominion of the English; Paoli had made them masters of Corsica; Roussillon and Béarn were occupied by the Spaniards; the Prussians were at Mayence; the Austrians at Conde and Valenciennes. Still France would not allow herself to lose heart in the face of the fearful odds against her; her dogged energy saved her from the many perils by which she was surrounded. The blood of her children flowed freely: The Girondists, Hebertists, and Dantonists, the extremists as well as those of more moderate inclinations, were by turns guillotined. In order to put an end to the carnage it was necessary to overthrow the leading spirit of it all; and Robespierre, the man who was feared by all, was eventually dragged to the guillotine, half dead, his jaw broken by a pistol-shot (Thermidor 9, 1794). The Reign of Terror had lasted but 420 days, and during this comparatively short space of time the executions alone amounted to 2,596!

The Constitution of the first year of the Republic (1793), which the National Convention had immediately adopted, was never carried into effect; it was replaced by the Constitution of the year III (1795).

The Directory failed to restore quiet; in the reaction which followed Robespierre's death, the Reign of Terror continued, the Republicans becoming this time its principal victims; they were massacred in the South, at Toulon, Marseilles, Aix, and Lyons; armed bands scoured the country, plundering, murdering, and setting fire everywhere. In Paris the mob broke into the National Convention and killed Deputy Ferrand, whose head they placed on a pole and presented to Boissy d'Anglas, the president of the Assembly. On the 13th of Vendémiaire, year III (October 4, 1795), the troops of General Bonaparte had to subdue the riots of the royalists at the mouth of the cannon.

When the Directory was established (October 25,

1795) the situation was not a very promising one; the people were on the brink of starvation and the treasury was entirely depleted. "The Generals did not even "receive every month the eight francs in metallic money "to which amount their pay had been reduced besides "the assignats." [19] Measures of extraordinary severity had to be taken to maintain order; and numerous conspiracies were being plotted. Babeuf and the Jacobins were guillotined. The army interfered in political affairs; the soldiers surrounded the Council of the *Five Hundred* and that of the *Ancients,* whose royalist members were arrested. Two members of the Directory, Carnot and Barthélemy, were deported. Barras's corruption, the bad morals of the time, and the general state of insecurity increased the discontent of the people. The nation was at the disposal of the first daring man possessed of sufficient energy and courage to undertake its salvation. General Bonaparte, who had just arrived from Egypt, constituted himself the savior of France. As soon as he had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Paris (November 9, 1799) he caused the Council of the *Five Hundred* to be invaded by his soldiers; the Deputies were forcibly dragged from their seats. This high-handed proceeding met with the approval of the people; and in the evening of Brumaire the 19th the Council of the *Ancients* and what was left of the Council of the *Five Hundred* passed a resolution abolishing the Directory.

The new government which was organized consisted of three provisional Consuls: Bonaparte, Siéyès, and Roger-Ducos. The Constitution of the year VIII (1800) afterward decided that the three Consuls should remain in office for ten years; Bonaparte, Cambacérès, and Lebrun being appointed. The first Consul had all the powers of a king; his two colleagues being there only to give advice.

In spite of the absolute power vested in him, Bonaparte's ambition was to obtain still more unlimited

[19] R. Jallifier, Histoire Contemporaine, p. 142.

authority. In virtue therefore of the services he had rendered France and of the prestige he had acquired by his victories, he caused himself to be appointed Consul for life on the 4th of August, 1802, with the right of selecting his successor. In this way the authority became once more vested in one man, and the semblance of republican government which still obtained was before long abolished. On the 18th of May, 1804, a Senatus-Consultum established the Empire. The Constitution which was enacted (year XII) tried to save appearances by stating that the "government of the Republic was intrusted to an Emperor"; but Napoleon's will became supreme and knew no restraint. For more than ten years France was in a state of constant warfare with Europe.

Defeated in 1814, Napoleon resigned his office and withdrew to Elba, of which he became the sovereign. A provisional government was organized under the presidency of Talleyrand and held authority until the arrival of the Bourbons. On the 4th of May Louis XVIII entered Paris and soon after granted the Charter of 1814. The new monarch was no sooner installed than he found himself compelled to fly to Gand; Napoleon had landed at Golfe Jouan on the 1st of March, 1815; and on the 20th he was in Paris. A new Constitution, entitled the "Additional Act to the Constitutions of the Empire," was enacted, a sort of constitutional monarchy being decreed. But Napoleon's liberalism did not have the opportunity of a fair test; for, upon his defeat at Waterloo on the 18th of June, 1815, he abdicated his sovereignty forever, and was banished to St. Helena, where he died.

A Commission presided over by Fouché was in authority until Louis XVIII, brought back for the second time by the foreign troops, was able to retake possession of the throne of his ancestors (July 8, 1815); upon which a series of reprisals commenced. Marshal Brune was assassinated. Murder and plunder terrorized Nimes and Uzes; prisons were invaded and Protestants, Republicans, and Bonapartists were dragged from them

into the streets and massacred. Ney and Lebédoyère were shot, and the death sentences of the military courts were carried into effect within twenty-four hours.

The Charter of 1814 which was reenacted was unable to protect Charles X, who succeeded Louis XVIII in 1824, from the thirst for liberty of the French masses. The tendency of the new monarch to assume absolute power created great discontent among them. On the 28th of July, 1830, the inhabitants of Paris took up arms and fierce encounters took place at the barricades which were erected in the streets. At last Charles X was compelled to fly to England (August 16, 1830).

The Charter of 1814 was altered and Louis Philippe became King of the French (August 9, 1830).

There was fresh shedding of blood in order that the new dynasty might maintain its authority. The following year, 1831, a riot occurred in Paris, in the course of which the archbishop's palace was invaded and pillaged; an insurrection broke out also at Lyons. In 1832 and 1834 fresh riots broke out in Paris, grave disturbances taking place also at Luneville, Grenoble, Saint-Etienne, and Marseilles. Another insurrection which broke out at Lyons was quelled after four days of bloody fighting.

The opponents of the Government demanded certain electoral and parliamentary reforms; their demands were very moderate and did not include universal suffrage; they would have been satisfied with having the electoral qualification reduced from 200 to 100 francs, and with the "adjonction des capacités," i. e., the right of the participation in the elections of a certain class such as university graduates, public functionaries, etc. The refusal of Louis Philippe's government to grant these two reforms for which the public was so eager, provoked what Lamartine termed "the revolution of contempt." On the 22d of February, 1848, Paris was in a great state of agitation. On the evening of the 23d a group of citizens who were parading through the streets was fired upon by the soldiers. This was the signal for the insurrection. Next morning found Paris

covered with barricades; the city was once more in a state of war. Louis Philippe, like Charles X, had to seek safety in flight. The victorious mob invaded the Tuileries and hacked the throne to pieces.

The House of Representatives organized a provisional government, as did the municipality. A compromise was at last effected; a provisional government was established and universal suffrage adopted. The National Assembly met on the 4th of May, proclaimed the Republic, and decreed a new provisional government consisting of five members. This Assembly, which seemingly possessed the full confidence of the citizens of Paris, was nevertheless invaded by the mob which, on the 15th of May, demanded its immediate dissolution. They were about to form a new provisional government when the militia arrived in time to frustrate their plans and rescue the representatives of the nation. The riot was put down, but broke out again before long. The Assembly was not favorable to the socialistic experiments which were being carried on; and the "ateliers nationaux," organized for the sole purpose of procuring work for men without employment, did not meet with its approval. On the 21st of June it decreed the abolition of these "ateliers." When, on the 23d, the news of this decision reached the workingmen, they at once resorted to violence. Fighting started once more in the streets and during four days Paris was one vast battlefield where blood flowed in torrents. The Archbishop of Paris, Monseigneur Affré, was shot whilst endeavoring to pacify the fighters on both sides. In order to suppress this insurrection the Assembly was obliged to invest General Eugène Cavaignac, the Secretary of War, with dictatorial power (June 25); and the Executive Commission which was in authority had to resign. Generals Duvivier and Négrier were killed; General Bréda was murdered by the insurgents, who suffered a complete defeat on the 26th of June. On the 28th General Cavaignac relinquished his absolute authority; but the Assembly maintained him at the head of the executive power and enacted the Constitution of

1848. The President of the Republic was to be elected by the vote of the people for a term of four years. At the election which took place on the 10th of December, 1848, Louis Napoleon defeated General Cavaignac. The new President took the oath of office on the 20th of December, and before long was at odds with the Legislative Assembly. His term was to expire in 1852; and, according to the Constitution, he was not eligible for reelection. But Louis Napoleon, who had no intention of giving up the power he held, tried to have the Constitution altered so as to enable him to remain in authority; upon his plans being frustrated he resorted to violent measures. On the night of December 2, 1851, several Deputies were arrested and locked up in the prison of Mazas; Generals Cavaignac, Lamoricière, Changarnier, Bedeau, and Lefio were also imprisoned. The President ordered the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly, which he styled "a centre of conspiracies." On the 4th of December the streets of Paris once more ran with blood; the provinces also took up arms in protest against that which they considered the first step toward the establishment of absolute power. Thirty-two Departments were declared in a state of siege. Louis Napoleon succeeded in restoring peace and order, but the repression was very severe; extraordinary courts were organized, which rendered over a thousand sentences of banishment; sixty-six Deputies were sent into exile.

On the 20th of December, 1851, a plebiscite ratified the high-handed proceedings of Louis Napoleon and intrusted to him the enacting of a new Constitution; thus conferring on him dictatorial power. He availed himself of this opportunity to attain his desire, and on the 20th of January, 1852, he proclaimed the new Constitution conferring on the President of the Republic, who was to be elected for ten years, the exclusive right of introducing laws. The legislative body was not permitted to alter the laws submitted for its approval without the consent of a Council of State whose members were appointed by the President. The days of the

Republic were decidedly numbered. A *senatus-consultum* moved that the Empire be reestablished, and the measure was ratified by a plebiscite on the 21st of November. On the 1st of December, 1852, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte became Napoleon III.

The Constitution of January, 1852, was altered so as to agree with the new régime which France had adopted. At first the Imperial Government was fortunate with its military operations in Europe. But the victories won in Italy and the Crimea were unable to counterbalance the appalling disasters which resulted from the conflict with Germany. Invasion, humiliation, and dismemberment: such were for France the consequences of the second Empire. The catastrophe of Sedan (September 2, 1870) was speedily followed by the overthrow of the dynasty of the Napoleons. On the 4th of September the Republic was once more proclaimed in Paris, whose Deputies organized a provisional government called the "Government of National Defense," which was presided over by General Trochu. This revolution, which occurred whilst the enemy was marching on the capital, was the beginning of the last severe trials which remained for France to undergo during the nineteenth century before definitely securing her political liberty.

When Paris was besieged by the Germans its inhabitants gave proof of marvelous energy and courage; but well-nigh starved to death, they were compelled to capitulate and the city was occupied by the German army; an armistice was signed; and the National Assembly which was elected met at Bordeaux. Mr. Thiers was appointed chief of the executive power of the French Republic (February 17, 1871). Yet the tendency of the majority of the Assembly was monarchical —a fact not calculated to gain the confidence of the Republicans. The presence of foreign soldiers on the national territory did not prevent a terrible civil war from breaking out. The National Assembly had transferred its sittings to Versailles and decreed the abolition of the pay of the militia. This decision was followed

by the same evil consequences as the suppression of the "ateliers nationaux" in 1848. The inhabitants of Paris, most of whom were already distrustful of the Assembly's intentions, immediately took up arms. On the 18th of March, 1871, the militia captured an artillery park encamped upon the heights of Montmartre. The insurrection began by the murder of two Generals, Clément Thomas and Lecomte. The Government gave up Paris to the Commune and withdrew to Versailles. The struggle was appalling in its cruel pitilessness. The French, in a frenzy, slaughtered one another, the Prussians remaining mere spectators of this fearful carnage. Paris was once again in a state of siege. On the 20th of May the troops from Versailles succeeded in forcing an entrance into the unfortunate city, and war was again carried on in the streets. Blood ran in torrents during the fight and again in the innumerable executions which followed. When every hope was lost, instead of submitting to the inevitable, the *Communards* resorted to revolting crimes; the Archbishop of Paris, the President of the Court of Accounts, and numbers of priests and friars were mercilessly butchered. The Tuileries, the Court of Accounts, and the City Hall were destroyed by fire; bands of ruffians were seen with cans of petroleum in hand setting fire to the finest houses in Paris. The Commune was subdued after a week of severe fighting; but the suppression was as terrible as the struggle had been. The soldiers shot all suspects who fell into their hands. The executions alone numbered over 6,500, and more than 7,000 persons were sentenced by court martial to be deported.

This was the last bloody crisis through which France passed during the nineteenth century, though many unsuccessful attempts were made in order to overthrow the Republic, which now seems to be firmly established.

After investing Mr. Thiers with the title of President (August 31, 1871) the Assembly persisted in regarding the Republic as a provisional form of government, and assumed such an attitude that Mr. Thiers resigned his office (May 24, 1873). Marshal McMahon was then

elected President of the Republic for seven years and the constitutional laws were enacted in 1875.

However, intrigues for the restoration of the monarchy did not cease; they resulted first in the dissolution of the House of Representatives (1877) and then in the resignation of the President of the Republic (January 30, 1879).

Jules Grévy, who succeeded Marshal McMahon, had to resign before the expiration of his second term; Sadi-Carnot, who succeeded him, was assassinated, and Casimir-Perier, who was elected on the 27th of June, 1894, resigned on the 14th of January, 1895.

The foregoing events serve to prove that after nineteen centuries of existence France spent almost the whole nineteenth century seeking for the political régime best suited to her needs. In order to secure this political régime she had to change her Constitution twelve times, to go through civil wars, disorder, confusion, and such terrible crises as at times caused her best friends to despair of her future. Yet this nation still exists and is moreover still respected and powerful.

By recalling the tribulations, the painful episodes of the history of Germany, Great Britain, and France before they arrived at their present political stability and at the high place they occupy in the world, it is not my intention to infer that for centuries to come Haiti must remain a prey to civil strife and discord. By relating what may be termed historical fatalities I intend simply to establish that she does not deserve the anathemas launched against her; I want principally to show that the question of race has nothing to do with the disturbances which from time to time have agitated her. Few countries have progressed without bloodshed and fierce struggles. Haiti did not escape the consequences of this fatality to which all nations seemed doomed in the beginning; she is no exception to the rule. Her detractors are aware therefore that they are acting in bad faith when they affect to believe and cause others to believe that her civil wars are due solely to the so-called incapacity of her people to govern themselves;

they intentionally forget the disturbances which have given so many anxious moments to France, whose inhabitants, however, are not black. If this powerful, rich, and highly educated people had, during nineteen centuries, to grope for the political régime best suited to their temperament, can the world refuse to make some allowance and to have a little indulgence for Haiti, whose existence dates back but a hundred years and whose sons possessed none of the advantages enjoyed by those of the older nations of Europe?

The lesson taught us by the history of the Old World should make it clear that there is nothing surprising in the fact that after a century of existence Haiti has not attained the height of modern civilization; neither is there anything humiliating for her in the fact that she also had to grope for the best political régime most suited to her people. King, Emperor, and President have each in turn been tried by her; and the Republic, in spite of some temporary failures, is definitely established; the people have energetically shown their preference for this form of government, and since 1859 no ruler, however fond he may have been of absolute power, has dared to disregard the firm will of the nation on this point. The understanding, therefore, is now complete as to the form of government; all that remains to be done is to consolidate and perfect it. It is this work of consolidation and improvement which has cost such great efforts and provoked so many convulsions and disturbances. The civil wars in Haiti have not all been caused by personal rivalries or by unbridled ambition. The struggle has been more for the sake of principle than is generally thought. In order fully to understand and appreciate the causes which brought about the revolutions which have agitated Haiti, one must closely study the character of the people and endeavor so to enter into their feelings as to form a just conception of their ideals, their hopes and expectations, and of the spirit by which they were animated. The same love of liberty which rendered the yoke of slavery unbearable to them led them to sacrifice their

liberator Dessalines when his rule appeared to be growing too despotic. And the conflict between Pétion and Christophe was more the outcome of a difference of opinion as to principle than a matter of personal rivalry: it was a struggle of republican against monarchical ideas. And the Haitians, as fond of equality as they are of liberty, will give their firm support against all odds to that system of government which does not establish privileges and renders public offices accessible to all citizens according to merit.

The first civil war which took place in Haiti resulted in the triumph of the Republic; monarchy disappearing with Christophe in 1820. The new form of government was planned in accordance with the requirements of the day. The necessity of taking precautions against the possibility of an aggression from France, the absolute authority vested in the Governor-General still fresh in people's minds, and the natural inexperience of men just freed from slavery, all combined in deciding the people to invest the Chief Executive with extraordinary powers and prerogatives. And in order to avoid the disturbances provoked by too frequent elections, Presidency for life was established.

The circumstances which had necessitated a strongly organized Executive Power underwent a change when the independence of Haiti was fully recognized by France. As soon as they were relieved of the fear of an attack from the former mother country the people began to object to the amount of power of which their ruler was possessed, and desired to have his authority curtailed and adapted to the new state of things. At that time the exclusive right to introduce laws was held by President Boyer, the members of his Cabinet being like so many clerks. The House of Representatives wished to partake in the privilege of introducing laws, requesting also that public affairs be managed by responsible Ministers forming a Council of Secretaries of State, presided over by the President of the Republic. In their youthful enthusiasm this new nation demanded reforms which the Executive Power did not

deem advisable to grant. This brought about the revolution of 1843; again it was a question of principles which actuated this revolution. The Constitution enacted in the same year did away with the Presidency for life, limiting the term to four years, and the Council of Secretaries of State was instituted. The right of introducing laws was conferred on both the Executive and the Legislative authorities. Trial by jury was introduced for all criminal cases. Municipal authority was at the same time increased to such an extent as to subject the military to the civil power. This last reform was an untimely one and in part provoked the disturbances which for four years agitated Haiti. A clash resulted before long between the two forces, and from 1843 to 1847 Haiti underwent a period of transition complicated by the uprising of the peasants, who demanded the betterment of their condition. The insecurity which reigned created a strong reaction against the ideas of liberty, and the military party gained the advantage in the struggle. Faustin Soulouque became Emperor in 1849. The country, weary of the four years of turmoil which it had just gone through, accepted for a while the despotism of its ruler, but resumed the struggle for liberty as soon as it had regained strength. The Empire was overthrown in January, 1859; and the Republic which Geffrard reestablished has been since that time the form of government of the country. This was another revolution in which two opposite principles fought for supremacy the one over the other, and it resulted in the reforms adopted in 1843 being asserted.

There are people who may contend that the reestablishment of the Republic should have put an end to revolutions. So it might if no fresh causes had crept up to disturb the harmony of things; as it was, there were two principal causes which provoked new disturbances, namely, Presidency for life and the conflicting opinions of the military and civil parties. Geffrard had made the mistake of accepting the Presidency for life, which the people were bent on abolishing; after eight years of successful administration he was compelled to

resign. The Constitution of 1867 once more abolished Presidency for life, limiting the term to four years. But the new President, Salnave, ill advised and ill inspired, had the unhappy idea of inducing the army to invest him with Presidency for life. Thereupon the struggle began anew; the people took up arms, decided to teach their rulers a lesson that they would long remember. Salnave was defeated, sentenced to death by a court martial, and shot on the 15th of January, 1870. His tragic fate served to confirm the principle of a limited term of Presidency, Presidency for life being forever abolished. The struggle was a long and costly one; but the wish of the nation was realized and their hard-won reform, introduced for the second time in 1843, was at last definitely secured. Presidency for a limited term is unquestionably a move in favor of a liberal and progressive Republic.

Since 1879 the term of the Presidency has been extended to seven years. This septennial duration gives to the country the peace and the tranquillity of which it is so greatly in need. Salomon remained in office during his full term, and would have retired peaceably had he not sought to be reelected. Hyppolite died one year previous to the expiration of his term of office, whilst Simon-Sam remained President for the stipulated time, and General Nord Alexis, who was elected in 1902, has been in authority for four years (1906), during which time the country has enjoyed great tranquillity.

At the time of Presidential elections there is great excitement among the people, who sometimes unfortunately resort to violence; but these regrettable disturbances are very often far from having the importance with which they are credited abroad, quiet being restored as soon as the election is over; for the general tendency of the people is to accept and support the President-elect; which is unquestionably a good omen as regards future tranquillity.

It has not yet been possible to do away with all the causes liable to bring about disturbances, such as the

continual struggle for supremacy between the civil and the military parties. The experience acquired in the past will help to facilitate this transition; meanwhile, the Haitians have secured many important points, viz., first, the definite triumph of the principle of equality over favoritism by adopting a form of government in which public offices are accessible to all; second, the curtailing of the power of the President by limiting his term of office and by the check on his executive duties of a Council of Ministers accountable to Congress; third, the division of the right of introducing laws between the President and Congress; fourth, the establishment of the annual enactment of the Budget; fifth, the adoption of trial by jury for all criminal cases and all violations of the law committed through the press; sixth, the organization of a Court of Accounts for the control of public expenses; seventh, rendering effective the personal responsibility of officeholders; and securing greater freedom for all citizens in the towns as well as in the country. The acquisition of these rights, although costing in some cases the sacrifice of many lives, is nevertheless a cause of self-congratulation. Civil wars in general are not to be approved of; but not all of those which have taken place in Haiti have been barren of good results, having in many instances promoted the cause of liberty. Enlightened by the experience of the past, the Executive Power will become less and less unyielding and will cease to oppose uncompromisingly the just reforms desired by the people; it will thus become easier for them to forge and to work out their destiny without further violence and bloodshed.

A nation which has been through so many crises and has voluntarily endured so many hardships in order to improve its political régime cannot be considered degenerate and retrogressive. Like the countries of the Old World, Haiti will achieve the conquest of its ideal by the steadfastness of its faith in personal effort and the consciousness of its dignity and its duty toward the race whose rehabilitation it has willingly undertaken to secure.

When all is considered, especially the fact that the existence of Haiti as a nation dates back only one century, one is brought to the conclusion that this country has been no more disturbed nor agitated than France for instance; her changes of government have at any rate not been more numerous. France has had in succession the rule of the Directory, the Consulate, the Empire, the Monarchy of the Bourbons, the Empire and the Monarchy of the Bourbons for the second time, the Constitutional Monarchy of the Orleans, the Republic, the Empire, and eventually the Republic. From 1800 to 1900 France was under the administration of about eighteen different rulers, just the number of rulers that Haiti has had from 1804 to 1900. Forced to fly from France, four sovereigns, Napoleon I, Charles X, Louis-Philippe, and Napoleon III died in exile; and of the seven Presidents who from 1870 to 1900 ruled the Republic, one, Carnot, was assassinated, and four others, Thiers, McMahon, Grévy, and Casimir-Perrier, resigned before the expiration of their term of office.

I am merely stating facts without drawing any comparisons, my sole aim being to prove that Haiti is no exception to the general rule, and that what has taken place in her case has been the same in the case of other nations. Neither have some of her rulers escaped the fate of some of the French monarchs; but it is untrue to say that all of the Presidents have been compelled to seek safety abroad. Out of nineteen she has had in the course of a century five of them—Boyer, Hérard, Geffrard, Domingue, and Salomon—died away from their country; eight others—Pétion, Guerrier, Pierrot, Riché, Soulouque, Saget, Hyppolite, and Boisrond Canal—passed peacefully away in Haiti. One ex-President, Légitime, is still living in Port-au-Prince, where he is surrounded by the esteem and respect of his fellow-citizens.

Two rulers, Dessalines and Salnave, were put to death. This event, although much to be deplored, is not peculiar to Haiti. Other nations have also rightly or wrongly found themselves under the necessity of

putting their rulers to death. Charles I was beheaded by the English, Louis XVI by the French, and Iturbide was condemned to be shot by the Mexicans. States, like individuals, commit errors. The errors of others are allowed to sink into oblivion, but not so with those of Haiti, which meet with implacable and lasting severity. Her most insignificant deeds are purposely exaggerated and misrepresented, with the sole aim of creating the impression that she is incapable of governing herself. People hasten to dignify mere riots or disturbances which elsewhere would not even have attracted the attention of the public, with the name of revolutions or insurrections. Some of the strikes in the United States, for instance, are more bloody and fraught with much more danger for the safety of the peaceful inhabitants of the disturbed locality, and cause many more victims, than many of the so-called revolutions in Haiti. The *Washington Evening Star* of May 3, 1905, printed the following concerning one of these strikes which occurred at Chicago: "There "seems to be no power in the city to check the excesses "and crimes of the mobs. The streets are not safe for "the pedestrians. Traffic is crippled, trade is being "ruined. Losses are mounting into millions and lives "are being sacrificed. The processes of government "are defied by the mob."

At Frankfort, Kentucky, the Governor-elect, Mr. Goebel, was murdered in the streets in broad daylight by his opponents, the disturbances which ensued lasting many weeks.

In Russia very grave events have taken place recently; for a while no life was safe and horrible massacres were of frequent occurrence.

All these things passed almost unnoticed; a few lines in the newspapers, and the cases were dismissed. But if, perchance, such events had occurred in Haiti, endless would have been the charges preferred against the character of the people; foreign Powers would have hastened to despatch men-of-war, under the fallacious pretext that the lives of their respective citizens were

in jeopardy. And yet since the much to be regretted reprisals which followed the war of independence, the most bitter foes and detractors of the Haitians have never been able to quote a single case of foreigners having been killed during the political disturbances which have from time to time shaken the country. Nowhere do foreigners find greater protection and security than that which is granted by Haiti. There are instances in the United States when Italians and Austrians have been put to death by an infuriated mob. The closest examination of the history of Haiti and the events of daily occurrence will not reveal one instance of foreigners having been killed either by reason of their nationality, the color of their skins, or on account of the rivalry more or less great between them and the natives.

I do not mean to infer that Haiti has attained to perfection. Like other nations, she also has her imperfections. I am only trying, and I cannot repeat it too often, to lay before my readers the unjust treatment she has up to the present time met with. She does not deserve the needless calumnies with which she is overwhelmed.

Everything is made a pretext for turning Haiti into ridicule; even the number of her Constitutions is brought forward as a subject of derision; whilst it appears quite natural that France, for instance, should have enacted the following twelve Constitutions from 1791 to 1875: the Constitutions of 1791, of the year I (1793), of the year III (1795), of the year VIII (1800) modified in 1802, of the year X (1804); the Charter of 1814; the Additional Article of 1815; the Constitutions of 1830, of 1848, of 1852; the imperial Constitution of 1852; the Constitution of 1875 modified in 1884.

From 1804 to 1889 Haiti was under the successive rule of the Constitutions of 1805, 1806, 1816, 1843, 1846, 1849, 1867, 1874, 1879, and 1889. Most of these Constitutions proceeded from two prototypes—the Constitution of 1816, which organized a strong Executive Power, and the liberal Constitution of 1843; all others were

modifications or adaptations which represented the reforms adopted or the progress realized. The people on each occasion issued the whole Constitution for greater convenience, naming it after the year in which the change was made; and this has given the impression that each Constitution was an entirely new one, differing essentially from all those which had previously been in force. But even if Haiti, like France, had enacted almost twelve Constitutions during the first eighty-four years of her existence, this should not be brought forward as an evidence of her incapacity for self-government, which her maligners lead others into believing. These changes would rather indicate a strong desire of bettering such institutions as were found to be inadequate or unsuitable to actual circumstances. It is surely pardonable in so young a nation as Haiti not to have succeeded from the very first in establishing and maintaining the best form of government, when older nations, like Russia for example, are still seeking after a proper political organization.

CHAPTER VI

Corruption—Cannibalism—Voodooism—*Papa-loi*—Superstitions — False assertion that the Haitians are reverting to savagery.

The principal impression produced by many books on Haiti is that honest men are in the minority in the country and that the great majority of the Haitians, from the highest to the lowest classes, are corrupt, their chief occupation consisting in plundering the treasury. There have been Presidents, Ministers, and other minor officials who have betrayed the trust placed in them by the people. In the management of public funds some of them have been oblivious of the primal rules of right and honesty; they have not always had present in their minds the fact that every cent unlawfully drawn from the treasury was like stealing a portion of the scanty earnings of the producer who, by the taxes which he has to pay upon his coffee, cocoa, etc., is made the principal victim of their corrupt dealings. These dishonest actions are to be regretted and deserve the severest condemnation. But it is unjust beyond measure to hold a whole nation responsible for the action of a few of her citizens. In every country wrong goes side by side with right; and in order to establish an average one must find out which prevails over the other. Those dishonest men who accumulate wealth at the expense of the people seem at first glance to be more numerous, the display of their ill-gotten wealth making them conspicuous. They attract by these means more attention than the great majority of honest citizens who perform their

daily duties in an unpretentious manner; and this great majority are thoroughly trustworthy. Far from approving of unscrupulous and corrupt officials, the bulk of the people are always ready to give their support to any man of whose integrity they are convinced and who is determined to cause the public funds to be respected; and the delinquents, when brought to trial, are punished with a degree of severity which they have merited by their actions. The public have never failed to show their gratitude to the statesmen who have served them with honesty and fidelity. Such men may have gone through severe trials; for the cause of right, like that of civilization or progress, has its martyrs. But sooner or later those who have not swerved from their duty receive their just reward. It is not right that one should judge by a few individual cases when there is question of forming an estimate of the characteristics of a people. A few functionaries have disgraced their names; but the others, after occupying high positions for years, retire with their integrity unquestioned and in possession of the esteem of their fellow-citizens when they relinquish their authority. These are the men who are in the majority, but pass unnoticed by the foreigners, because they do not noise their honesty abroad, but content themselves with the inward satisfaction of having been faithful in the performance of their duties. In Haiti there are to be found a great number of statesmen, former Ministers, Deputies, Senators, etc., whose moral soundness is equal to that of the best statesmen of the countries which ceaselessly endeavor to slander us.

One must bear in mind that the salary of the President of Haiti is $24,000 a year and that his traveling expenses amount to $15,000. Yet if we stop to consider some facts of recent occurrence which can be easily verified, we find that after nine years of Presidency General Salomon has left his heirs in very modest circumstances; and that the inventory of the estate of General Hyppolite, who died in the sixth year of his Presidency, was a great surprise to many, and proved

that he could not be considered to have been a wealthy man. General Boisrond Canal, who was at three different times at the head of the administration of his country, lived on the pension granted him and on the products of his plantation up to the time of his death, which occurred in 1905, upon which Congress granted a pension to his widow. Ex-President Légitime's sole income is the pension which the country grants to its former rulers.

Those who charge all the Presidents of Haiti and the Haitian people at large with being dishonest and corrupt are merely propagating slanders in more or less good faith.

At times there are grave scandals in France; nevertheless, no impartial-minded person will infer from this that the French people are corrupt, for their probity is proverbial; a whole nation cannot be made to suffer for the faults or the failings of a few of its citizens.

In the United States the administration of some important cities—unnecessary to name here—has often been in the hands of very unscrupulous men who have enriched themselves at the expense of the people. Even among the members of a body as deserving of respect and as justly esteemed as is the Senate of the United States there have been some men who have forgotten the duty they owe to themselves and to the States which placed their trust in them. Does it follow that because a few men have transgressed the rigid code of honor, that the Americans are as a whole a corrupt people, or that the Senate is undeserving of the universal respect it enjoys? Most assuredly not. The foreigner who, in making use of a few particular cases in generalizing, makes the whole nation or all Congress responsible for the misconduct of a few individuals, the "black sheep" among them, would be guilty of gross slander toward the United States in thus misrepresenting the solid qualities and virtues of a thoroughly honest people. When there is question of the Senate, its tradition and its reputation place it so high in the public opinion that it does not suffer by the failings of any of its members.

The Americans as a people are patient, and being of an honest nature and not over-ready in thinking evil of others they are thus easily taken in. But once convinced of the corruptness of any of their functionaries they will allow no consideration to interfere with the course of justice in prosecuting those who have betrayed their trust, irrespective of their wealth or their social and political standing. This goes to prove in the best way how wrong it is to stigmatize a whole nation on account of the transgression of a few men of unsound morals.

Although public opinion in Haiti has not yet acquired the authority and influence it enjoys elsewhere, yet given favorable circumstances it does not fail to act, and upon occasion loudly demands the prosecution of those who are guilty of malversation. A recent case has just established that the Haitian people are bent upon causing the public funds to be respected and in bringing the strictest integrity into the management of their affairs; they did not hesitate to hand over to justice all those who were implicated in the "consolidation" scandal.[1] The high standing and the services rendered in the past by many of those who were indicted in connection with this affair in no way influenced the jury or the judges, who unflinchingly pronounced on them the sentence prescribed by the law. A nation capable of punishing in this manner some of its most prominent men cannot with any degree of truth be termed a nation of corrupt men. From whence would the courage and energy to inflict the punishment which these misdemeanors deserved have come if the entire people did not condemn the fault? All the world over men yield to the same temptations; everywhere the thirst for gold provokes social catastrophes and many a time stains the honor of the best families. Haitians are mere human beings, swayed by human passions like the rest of mortals. Some of them lacking strength of mind have yielded to temptation. But it does not fol-

[1] See page 254.

low that they are all bad and unworthy of consideration. If a whole nation were to be declared criminal and corrupt because of the presence of a few criminals and unscrupulous men among its citizens, which of the nations of the world would enjoy the reputation of respectability? For amongst all nationalities, in every class of men assembled in society, there will be found good and bad men, and thieves and assassins in the midst of honest and honorable men. Let us then judge every one according to his merits and refrain from the injustice of holding a whole country responsible for the shortcomings of a few of its citizens!

Sympathy, or even mere impartiality, has seldom inspired those who have written about Haiti. On the contrary, they seem to take a special pleasure in repeating one after the other the same slanders and the same horrible fictions. In this manner they have almost succeeded in producing the impression abroad that the Haitians are cannibals and that human flesh is accounted a delicacy amongst them. Before confuting all the ridiculous and extraordinary stories told by St. John, Pritchard, and others, I will here recall the authentic fact that the island which is now called Haiti is the only one in the West Indies where cannibalism has never prevailed. Before Columbus's arrival the first inhabitants [2] of the island lived in constant dread of the neighboring islanders, the Caribs, who were anthropophagous; and the latter never succeeded in settling at Quisqueya.

When the blacks took the place of the Indians whom the Spanish rapacity had exterminated, cannibalism did not take root in Saint-Domingue; only one tribe, says Moreau de St. Méry,[3] were anthropophagous: the

[2] The first mention made of these people in history is contained in a letter written by the discoverer to Ferdinand and Isabella in October, 1493, in which he stated that the people of Haiti lived in constant dread of the Caribales, who dwelt in the long chain of the islands to the south, now known as the Lesser Antilles. (*Christian Advocate*, New York, October, 1903. American Cannibals, by John Cowan.)

[3] Moreau de Saint Méry, Description de la partie Française de Saint-Domingue, p. 33.

small tribe of the *Mondongues*. The *Congos*, who were of a bright and kind-hearted disposition, did their utmost to rid their companions in misfortune of this horrible habit. Even under the brutalizing influence of slavery the blacks imported from Africa gave evidence of their dislike and aversion for cannibalism, and undertook to eradicate the evil by their own efforts. In this they were successful; for the slaves of Saint-Domingue, however grossly they may have been abused and misrepresented, have never been considered at any time as cannibals; even the maroons who lived in the depths of the forest in a real state of barbarism have never been charged with the habit of eating their fellow-creatures. Therefore, after over a century of independence how has it come about that the Haitians have become cannibals? Where could they have acquired the unrestrained and depraved taste for human flesh which their unscrupulous maligners attribute to them? The theory of atavism is out of the question in this case, it being a well-established fact that their ancestors had not such a habit. Those who know the Haitian peasant and his kindly, confiding, and hospitable disposition will not hesitate to affirm that the charge of cannibalism brought against him constitutes one of those calumnies which, by reason of their constant reiteration by foreigners interested in misrepresenting the country, have become so rooted in the minds of outsiders as to be difficult to eradicate. None of those who contribute to propagate such a slander lay claim to having been an eye-witness of the horrifying scenes described in the many books concerning Haiti. St. John, whose book seems to be universally accepted as a truthful account of the country, has related the most extraordinary tales upon no better foundation than hearsay. Does it not appear strange that having lived so long in Haiti he has never tried to see one of the many horrible scenes described in his book? It is still more surprising to notice that instead of availing himself of the opportunity, he avoided all fair chances of ascertaining the truth. One of his friends, a Haitian, invited him to

spend a few days among the country-people in order to "show him all the superstitious practises of the blacks"; he declined this invitation, remarking on page 208 [4] of his book that he regretted having missed the opportunity of seeing something new. St. John, whose assertions have done so much harm to the Republic of Haiti, thus admits that he has not witnessed the atrocities which he so glibly describes; he confesses that, being invited by a Haitian friend who probably wanted to convince him of the harmlessness of the superstitious practises of some of the peasants, he willingly let pass the opportunity to search into a matter seemingly of so much interest to him. After voluntarily abstaining from finding out the truth, he however gathered and published all the fabrications which reached his ears. In one instance it is a French priest who furnished him with the account of a human sacrifice; [5] at another time it is from a New York newspaper that he takes his story.[6]

It is most unwise to give credence to all one gathers from hearsay. If an illustration were necessary to make the reader cautious it might be found in Washington, where the good faith of a reliable newspaper was abused. In January, 1901, the *Washington Post* printed a sensational article, stating authoritatively that Professor Robert T. Hill, who had just returned from Haiti, had witnessed a *vaudou* ceremony whilst in the country; together with the following assertions which were attributed to Professor Hill, who was described as a government explorer in order to probably lend more strength to his statement: "Cannibalism is "a conspicuous feature of these rites," said Professor

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[4] Spenser St. John, Haiti or the Black Republic (1889 issue): "In "the year 1873 an intimate Haitian friend, educated in France, the pro- "prietor of an estate on the plain of Cul-de-Sac, invited me to spend a "fortnight with him in the country, promising to show me all the "superstitious practises of the negroes. I regret I did not accept, as at "all events I should not have been called upon to witness a murder, and "might have seen something new."

[5] Haiti or the Black Republic, p. 200.

[6] Ibid., p. 203.

Hill yesterday. "It is unquestionably a fact that large "numbers of young children are offered up annually in "Haiti as sacrifices to the great yellow snake. Indeed, "it is known that mothers frequently dedicate their "infants at birth to this purpose, the fatal ceremony "being postponed ordinarily until the victim has "reached the age of two years. Invariably the ritual "winds up with a feast the details of which are too hor- "rible to be described. Only when human prey is not "obtainable is a black goat, which must not have a "white spot on it, used as a substitute, or a white cock. "The cock chosen for this purpose is always one of "those freak chickens which have their feathers grow- "ing the wrong way."

Such are the things which Professor Hill was made to say. The particulars seemed to be accurate enough and were intended to give to the account all appearances of truth; there was nevertheless not a word of truth in the story, which was fabricated solely with the intention of casting opprobrium on Haiti. Mr. E. D. Bassett, who was United States Minister to Haiti and lived at Port-au-Prince for more than nine years, hastened to confute this calumny.[7] Thereupon Professor

[7] The following is an extract from Mr. Bassett's article which was printed in the *New York Sun* of the 24th of March, 1901: "As the "diplomatic representative of a great Power it was a part of my official "duty to inform myself of everything that tended to show the animus "of the people or the drift of their social and political inclinations. I "do not see how any foreigner could ever have fuller facilities than I "enjoyed for getting at the real facts. I went among the country people. "I spoke their language (the French Creole) and I personally knew "hundreds of them in many different localities. I could never discover "that there was any attempt to conceal from me anything of their modes "of life or social or religious customs. It is fair to presume that if "there had been any such attempt or purpose at all general or persisted "in, I would have become aware of it.

"This brings me to assert my unqualified belief that the cannibalistic "practises alleged to have been described by Professor Hill and affirmed "by others have no existence whatever in Haiti. Even if they did exist "there, it would be most extraordinary—I repeat it, most extraordinary "—if Professor Hill or any other white person could ever gain access "to them.

"Primitive dances to primitive music, festivals and celebrations also "primitive in character and held on holidays and evenings after the

Hill wrote the following letter to the *New York Sun* of the 26th of March, 1901:

"*To the Editor of the* SUN.

"Sir: I notice a lengthy communication on your "editorial page of to-day from ex-Minister Bassett "correcting certain alleged assertions of mine concern- "ing cannibalism and voodooism in Haiti.

"Permit me to say that your correspondent, whose "communication was most courteous, labors under a "mistake in thinking that I said the things which it is "alleged that I said. The article in the *Washington* "*Post* and other papers concerning Haiti purporting to "be an interview with me was not written by me at all. "It was written as a syndicate article by my friend, "Mr. Réne Bache, and contrary to his usual custom, "and no doubt unintentionally on his part, did not cor- "rectly quote me.

"I have personally seen no cannibalism in Haiti and "written nothing concerning the Republic except the "matter contained in my book on 'Cuba and Porto Rico

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"day's toil is over, exist and may even be said to abound among the "peasantry of Haiti just as in other countries. If Professor Hill or any "other foreigner ever saw or in any way witnessed in Haiti a 'ceremony' "to which he was unaccustomed and which he might on that account and "in view of the declarations of Spenser St. John and others twist into "a 'voodoo ceremony of which cannibalism is a conspicuous feature,' it "was probably one of these innocent dances or festivals.

"Diligent inquiry made upon the spot under the conditions and ex- "ceptional facilities already explained and running through quite a "number of years utterly failed to bring within my knowledge any per- "son who had ever seen or knew of anybody else who had seen or knew "of his or her own personal knowledge of any such horrible practises as "Professor Hill is alleged to have described, and I solemnly declare my "unqualified conviction that the whole story about cannibalism in Haiti "is nothing more than a myth, which, like many other myths, has gained "credence by persistent repetition.

"And it is due to the Haitian people as well as to a true statement "of the matter, that I should add as I do that in my opinion the exist- "ence of any practise by which, as Professor Hill is said to have declared, "the sacrifice of 'large numbers' or any number at all of 'very young "'children' or of any one human being, would be regarded in Haiti with "the same abhorrence as it would be in New York or Pennsylvania.

"Now there are in Haiti eighty-six communes, a commune being "somewhat like a town in Massachusetts or Connecticut, and there are "one hundred and fifty Roman Catholic priests so stationed throughout

"with the other Islands of the West Indies,' a review "of a book entitled 'Where Black rules White,' in the "*Nation* of last week, and an unpublished article on my "desk entitled 'The Other Side of Haiti.' In all these "articles I agree with your correspondent that Haiti "is not so black as it has been painted.

"ROBERT T. HILL."

This absolute denial passed quite unnoticed, the *Washington Post* in all probability never having any knowledge of the contradiction of the sensational story attributed to Professor Hill, no mention being made of his letter to *The Sun;* therefore up to the present time the readers of this newspaper, one of the most important of those edited in the capital of the United States, must be under the impression that they know the truth about cannibalism in Haiti.

Like the author of the *Washington Post* interview, Spenser St. John, in quoting others, may have taken

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"the Republic that no commune is without one or more priests of this "faith. Almost every one of these is a European, born, brought up, and "educated in Europe, and sent out to Haiti under the strict rules of the "Church and the requirements of the Concordat with the Holy See. And "besides there are about thirty clergymen of the Protestant faith. The "Government gives liberal support and encouragement to all, Catholic "and Protestant alike.

"Professor Hill is surely in error in his alleged assertion that 'there "'are few priests permanently resident in their parishes.' The fact is "that no parish is ever left without a priest in charge, and the serious "allegation that the churches of that faith are desecrated by the per-"formance within their sacred walls of the alleged voodoo rites is little "less than a signal indignity offered to the Church as a whole. No such "a proceeding is more possible in Haiti than it would be in New Eng-"land.

"If now so horrible and shocking a practise as that of cannibalism "under the guise of religion or any other cloak existed at all in Haiti, "how could it be that this considerable body of educated, devoted religious "teachers, the vast majority of whom are Europeans, keep silent about "it through all these years and years? Surely they are all at least "civilized men, and if so horrible and revolting a practise as that of can-"nibalism existed at all in Haiti they would surely know of it. If it "existed, and the great body of priesthood had agreed to throw a cloak "over it, how could it ever happen that none of them through years and "years has ever let leak out at least some hint about its existence? In "other words, how is it that the story is in general left to be told by "fleeting visitors who never or at any rate rarely go among the country "people and who know little or nothing of their language?"

great liberties with the truth, for decidedly some of the statements to be found in his book would have done credit to Baron Munchausen. According to this former British Minister, people under the influence of a narcotic, having every semblance of death, were buried; they were afterward taken out of their graves, revived, and then really killed, some portions of the mutilated corpses being carried away to be eaten.[8]

With the customs prevalent in Haiti for the preparation of a dead body for burial it is absolutely impossible for any one to be buried alive. A person in a state of coma could not possibly remain alive after undergoing the treatment inflicted on the corpses in the preparation for burial; and the dead bodies of the rich as well as those of the poor are treated in the same way. The corpse is first thoroughly washed and afterward a large quantity of chloride of lime or of some powerful antiseptic is poured down the throat; the nostrils and the mouth are then filled up with cotton or some antiseptic stuff. The respiratory organs being thus stopped, one has very little chance to return to life should death be only apparent. The corpse is exposed to public view and is after a while enclosed in a coffin in the presence of the family and friends of the deceased. Upon arriving at the cemetery the coffin is placed in the grave, which is closely covered with earth, or else sealed in a vault. An important fact to bear in mind is that according to Haitian laws no burial can take place before the expiration of twenty-four hours from the moment of death.

Who will now believe that a person who has swallowed a large quantity of a powerful antiseptic, whose nostrils and mouth have been firmly stopped, and who, in this state, lies exposed to public view for a whole day or a whole night, is afterward enclosed in a coffin and buried under six feet of earth or else sealed in a vault —who will believe that such a person can retain life for a few hours even after being buried? Such a resur-

[8] Haiti or the Black Republic (London, 1889), pp. 236-240.

rection would be as miraculous as that of Lazarus. Yet St. John finds such a course not only quite natural, but he affirms that the resuscitated person is so much alive that he is killed afterward; and this is the fairy tale he wished to lead his readers to believe!

With regard to the flesh of corpses which, according to the detractors of Haiti, is eagerly sought after, it suffices to have an idea of the tropical climate to be at once convinced of the impossibility of this loathsome idea and of the risk which those who would indulge in such practises would run. The intense heat of the Antilles is not long in decomposing dead bodies, and ptomaine would have quickly rid Haiti of the ghouls who would feed on them. In Haiti, as in France and in the United States,[9] there are from time to time desecrations of graves. But cannibalism is not the motive for these occasional profanations; robbery, in Haiti as elsewhere, is the leading motive of such abominable crimes. The Haitians are accustomed to bury their dead in their finest apparel, the common people especially considering it their duty to clothe the dead in entirely new garments, from the shoes to the gloves. Some beggarly scoundrel who is in tatters will not scruple to strip a corpse of its clothes; and in order to conceal one crime he commits another by mutilating the body, thus provoking all kinds of superstitious conjectures. "At "Jacmel," says Spenser St. John,[10] "they found the "cover of a coffin broken to pieces, the corpse resting "on its side, an eye and a part of the face and the hair, "and doubtless other parts of the body, carried away. "The shoes had also been removed." Were he not so bent upon making out that the Haitians are cannibals, St. John might have seen in the removal of the shoes, and doubtless of other parts of the dead man's apparel,

[9] "Extraordinary precautions have been undertaken that the body of "Russell Sage shall not be disturbed in its last resting-place. * * * "The fear that the body might in some way be stolen, as was that of "A. T. Stewart, has influenced the family to resort to every measure to "guarantee that the tomb is not despoiled." (*New York Herald*, July 25, 1906.)

[10] Haiti or the Black Republic, p. 239; London, 1889.

the true motive of the crime.[11] Desecrations of graves in Haiti, as in the United States, are of exceedingly rare occurrence. And it would be highly unjust to hold a whole country accountable for or sharing in the evil actions of a few depraved members of its community. Depravity of morals and sentiment exists everywhere. The characteristic traits of a people cannot be found in the morbid or wicked passions of a handful of bad men. For instance, not long ago twenty persons were arrested at Jaszbereny (Hungary), charged with having killed and eaten many children; the leader of the band alone is alleged to have eaten eighteen children.[12] Must we infer from this that all Hungarians are cannibals? Certainly not. Why then do writers generalize in speaking of crimes committed in Haiti? If there were occasion for it they might agitate for the proper punishment of crime when the offenders can be found. But there is no necessity for any such outside agitation as this duty is well discharged by the Republic. The juries and the courts have never hesitated to sentence to death assassins even when they pretend to have acted under the maddening influence of superstition; nor are women spared; found guilty of murder they are publicly shot. Such severity is the best evidence that superstitious beliefs have not a strong hold on the conscience of the people. In reality, crimes inspired by witchcraft are exceedingly rare. As a rule, murders and poisonings are not common in Haiti; and, all things considered,

[11] An Englishman, Mr. A. S. Haigh, from Huddesfield, speaks as follows of St. John's book (*The Tribune*, Nassau, N. P., Bahamas, February, 1904): "I have read Spenser St. John's book, 'Haiti or the Black "'Republic,' and it was indeed surprising to me to find things in Haiti "so very different from what he had written. I can illustrate this work "in no better way than this: a person having been entertained by another "in his parlor, in the best of style, on going away writes a description of "his host's ash pit and back yard. I do not hesitate to say that the "books written about Haiti show up the very worst side, and that even "is, in some cases, exaggerated. It is like writing up the slums and "calling it a representation of London. The glaring and preposterous "accounts of belief and practises in witchcraft and obeah by the Haitian "have been very much exaggerated by writers."

[12] *New York Herald*, June 29, 1905.

the average of crime, compared with that of other countries, is inconsiderable.

Unfortunately there is among the Haitians a strange tendency to ascribe all cases of sudden death to supernatural causes; and the foreigners who live in the island share this idea with the natives. In the United States apoplexy, heart failure, acute indigestion, etc., daily cause sudden deaths; nobody thinks of imputing them to witchcraft. But in Haiti when a person, apparently in good health, drops dead in consequence of one of these diseases, some people will in nine cases out of ten hold the "papa loi" responsible for this sudden decease; and even when the doctors perform a post-mortem examination, stating the cause of death and all the particulars, many people will still refuse to believe that the death was a natural one. Numerous stories of "loup-garou" and "papa-loi" proceed from this error.

"Papa-loi," "mama-loi," and "loup-garou"—these are words which one is sure to find in every article and book written about Haiti. According to these writers, these names represent very important personages of the "vaudou" cult, the mere mention of which occasions a thrill of horror and fear. We will here examine the matter in all its bearings in order to allow the reader to form his own rational opinion about it.

Because "vaudou-cannibalism," as described by St. John and other writers, does not exist in Haiti, it does not follow that there are no superstitions in the country. It would be ridiculous to affirm the contrary. The most civilized nations, after many centuries of existence, have not yet succeeded in freeing themselves from superstitious beliefs. Consequently it is not surprising to find superstition in Haiti; but such as it is in reality is very different from what it is usually represented to be.

In order to understand the effect that the mere utterance of the word "vaudou" produces up to the present time on some minds, and to appreciate the persistence of the calumnies with which Haiti is overwhelmed on this account, one must go back to the dark days of

slavery. The slaves who were imported and scattered about the island of Saint-Domingue had all different beliefs and fetiches; very often they came from hostile tribes. The sufferings endured in common soon formed a bond of sympathy amongst them; and the "creole" patois, which was quickly learned, allowed them to understand each other. Through the interchange of ideas which followed, hope entered into the hearts of the most daring among them. The vital question for them was how to shake off the abhorred yoke of slavery. The colonists had done their utmost to imbue their slaves with a superstitious fear of their power and of the might of France. Would these ignorant men, who had been brutalized by years of constant ill-treatment, ever dare to rise up against their redoubtable masters? The leaders, who were longing for the betterment of their condition, had to find out the safest way of instilling their boldness into their unfortunate companions. The ignorance and even the superstitions, which clouded the intellect of those who seemed to be forever bound to the soil, furnished a good opportunity for carrying out the work of redemption. Hatred of slavery, rancor provoked by revolting cruelties, and the craving after liberty united all the victims of the inhuman institution. Associations were formed and clandestine meetings took place in the depths of the forests. Whilst dancing and singing, the leaders went about sowing seeds of revolt; and in order to inspire the slave with confidence in them they pretended to possess supernatural powers, such as being able to insure happiness, to make their enemies impotent, and defy death itself by becoming invulnerable. Hyacinthe carried about with him an ox tail which he said was a charm against bullets; and Hallaou pretended to be immune from death by virtue of a white cock which never left him; these men were followed with confidence by their companions, who blindly rushed into all kinds of dangers at their command. These semi-political and semi-religious tales raised the courage of the slaves.

Christianity, which they were practising without

understanding its importance and meaning, was mixed up in their minds with the superstitious beliefs taught by those who were unquestionably deceiving them, but with the praiseworthy object of bettering their condition. Hierarchy was established to insure the success of the undertaking; the leaders had subordinates under their authority scattered through the island, whose duty was to carry out their decisions. The colonists at last began to fear these meetings, which assumed the appearance of a menace to their domination. The beating of the drum which was supposed to summon the adepts or to form part of the mysterious ceremonies of *vaudou* struck terror into their hearts. These ceremonies had a two-fold aim: on one hand to inspire the ignorant masses with confidence in order to decide them to rise up against their powerful masters; on the other hand to conceal as much as possible the true object of the leaders in order to remove the suspicions of those whose yoke they intended to shake off. Toussaint Louverture, whose religious sentiments were unquestioned and who was a strong protector of the Catholic cult and clergy of Saint-Domingue, had nevertheless witnessed the secret meeting in which the conspirators, stirred by the fierce Boukmann, had taken the "bloody oath" on the entrails of a wild boar.[13]

The slaves have never been charged with indulging in human sacrifices in all the *vaudou* meetings at which they prepared for their uprisings. And what was called *vaudou* can be compared with the many secret associations, with political and religious purposes, which existed and are still to be found even nowadays in Europe. From the meetings in which *vaudou* ceremonies only were supposed to be practised came the signals which would cause the slaves to rush upon the colonists and to set fire to the plantations. In order to strike the masters with fear and to impair their resistance, the leaders who were preparing the great struggle for liberty did not scruple to spread all kinds of horrible

[13] See page 50.

stories and to exaggerate the influence and power of the *vaudou* cult. Legends were thus created; and as it is very difficult to uproot the legends of a people, especially when based upon fear, those concerning *vaudou* are still in circulation.

Traces of this institution can perhaps still be found in the mountains of Haiti; for, after having helped to accomplish heroic deeds, what is called *vaudou* could not be expected to disappear from one day to the other. But this *vaudou* never has had, nor has it at the present day, the odious character ascribed to it; in some respects it can be compared to some of the religious sects which exist in the United States.

And the worship of the yellow snake, which the adepts of *vaudou* are charged with practising, is one of the assertions which nobody has been able to prove. It would not be surprising to see a people brought up in slavery worshipping idols and deifying various reptiles. Nations whose civilization was far from being backward have deified animals. It is a well-known fact that the Egyptians worshipped the crocodile; and the snake in many instances has been worshipped. The Romans adorned many of their temples with Æsculapius's snake, which they held sacred; and, according to tradition, Moses was instructed by the Lord to make an iron serpent, which it sufficed to behold to be cured of the poisonous bite of the snakes sent to chastise the sons of Israel. Consequently, as a fetich, the snake is not of African invention. Without upholding the doctrine of Auguste Comte, I may safely say that even up to the present fetichism is more widespread and more generally practised than people will admit; very often it cannot be distinguished from idolatry. Intelligent men, and the average among the less intelligent ones, will see in images but mere symbolic figures and do not confound with them any idea of divinity; but not so with the great majority of believers, who sometimes worship the symbol like the divinity—thus, without thinking, many people are fetichists.

Be it as it may, I am in a position to affirm that the

Haitian peasants do not worship any kind of snake. A foreigner can go all over the country, nowhere will he find a deified reptile. Were such a cult in existence its adepts would not fail to pay the greatest respect to their god, which would occupy the most conspicuous place, both in the temples and in the homes of its worshippers; no believer is ashamed of his god, consequently he has no interest in concealing it; on the contrary, he would have a tendency rather to show off its power and its superiority over other deities. Yet not one of those who have so largely contributed to spread false ideas about Haiti has ever been able to say that he has seen the famous yellow snake or that he has witnessed one of the ceremonies of the cult devoted to it. A whole nation is charged with being addicted to a vulgar fetichism and none of its detractors can be found who is in a position to say truthfully, "I have seen the deified snake and have *witnessed* the ceremony of its cult."

A Haitian peasant will in many instances hesitate to kill a snake; and the foreigner, who does not know his motives for so doing, will at once attribute the sympathy shown the reptile to some superstitious fear or respect for the so-called god. The true reason for the reluctance shown is that in many places the fields are infested with rats; and, as everybody knows, some snakes help greatly to destroy the troublesome rodents, which sometimes cause great damage; consequently the peasants do not care to destroy the harmless snakes, which take the place of cats or ferrets in ridding them of the rats which are a nuisance.

There is nothing of impenetrable mystery in Haiti. Her mountains and her forests can be traversed from one part to another in all safety by travelers, native or foreign. In the most remote places chapels are to be found in which the Catholic religion is practised. Christianity prevails everywhere; and should there still be some adepts of what is called *vaudou,* they cannot be very numerous. Therefore, when Spenser St. John affirms that all the Haitians belong to that cult, he is

deliberately untruthful and is to be compared to the writer who would charge the whole people of the United States with being polygamous because plurality of wives was formerly practised by the Mormons.

There are certainly many superstitions in Haiti, great advantage of which is taken by the *papa-loi* and the *manman-loi.* The *papa-loi,* who is represented in the many books and articles about Haiti as an extraordinary being, is in reality what in the United States and in Europe is called a charlatan, quack, *clairvoyant* or fortune-teller. Turning to his own account the ignorance or the credulity of those who consult him, the *papa-loi* does his best to foster the beliefs that he has the power to cure all kinds of diseases, to procure happiness, to insure the success or the failure of all kinds of undertakings, to influence love and hatred, to enrich or impoverish. He profits by his oftentimes great knowledge of the medicinal herbs and tropical plants to gain the confidence of his clients; but he will carefully avoid administering poison. The advantage to be gained by this would not compensate the great risk he would run, as he knows well that, should it be detected, his crime would cost him his life, for in such a case he would be sentenced to death and shot; and no human being needlessly exposes himself to death.

In the United States [14] many cases of poisoning have occurred through flowers and through candies sent by post; at Connellsville, Pa., an attempt was made on the life of a young woman, who received a pair of shoes the heels of which had been hollowed out and filled with nitroglycerin. If such a thing had occurred in Haiti her foreign detractors to a man would ascribe these crimes or criminal attempts to the *papa-loi,* of whom, however, Haiti is far from having the monopoly. This

[14] "Boxes of candy sent by messenger or despatched through the mail "have contained poison, and gifts of this kind have produced great sen- "sations. Mortal potions have been sent with flowers. Now comes the "report of a shoe sent to a young lady, with enough nitroglycerin con- "cealed in the heel to blow the bearer off her feet." (*The Washington Evening Star,* May 26, 1905.)

sort of charlatan is to be found all over the world; he exists as well in France and in the United States under different appellations.

"There is perhaps not a village in France which does "not possess its healer (guérisseur) or *rebouteux*. Both "continue to be serious competitors to the country "doctors. They assume the appearance of sorcerers "and profit by the fear they inspire. They occasion- "ally make use of mediæval drugs the eccentricity of "which takes the fancy of their customers and secures "their authority over the minds of those already pre- "pared to respect the traditional and ancestral art of "the healer.

"We must confess that most of these unlawful doc- "tors are clever and possess efficacious means of curing "some diseases. They know quite well how to set a "leg or an arm, to cure sprains, wounds, and burns. "Their lasting fame is the best evidence of their skill. "The healer has existed from the earliest ages." [15]

Papa-loi is, as it were, the Haitian form of the French *rebouteux,* who is perhaps more skilled and has certainly been longer in existence than the *papa-loi.* Nobody would think of saying that the French nation is at the mercy of such quacks. Yet many writers state in a serious manner that the influence of the healer is so great in Haiti that the doctors are unable to earn a living by the practise of their profession. It suffices but to notice the prosperous condition of the Haitian doctors to be convinced of the absurdity of such an assertion; theirs is one of the best paid and the most profitable callings.

As to the philters which the *papa-loi* is said to administer to those who wish to make themselves beloved, they do not seem to be unknown in the United States. In a divorce suit introduced before the court of North Platte, Nebraska, the husband charged his wife with having given him "dragon's blood," which, it seems, is what the American *papa-lois* prescribe in love af-

[15] *Les Annales Politiques et Littéraires,* Paris, August 20, 1905.

fairs. The following question was publicly asked the defendant: "Did you ever administer 'dragon's blood' "for the purpose of making the Colonel love you more "and other women less?"[16] Such a query would not have been made in a law-suit—in which it would be well to note that the litigants did not belong to the African race—if in some places in Nebraska, at any rate, people were not inclined to believe in the charm of "dragon's blood." Must we infer from this that all the inhabitants of Nebraska and the whole people of the United States in general share this superstition? Certainly not. Why then should all Haitians be charged with believing that the *papa-loi's* philters have really the power of exciting love or hatred?

At Leadville, Colorado, a judge "sitting in full orders "at a session of his tribunal made bold to declare that "testimony affirming the witchcraft of a young woman "so charged before his honor was eminently admissible, "since two-thirds of the population thereabouts be-"lieved in such things."[17] The case was of an exceedingly extraordinary character. One Martin Roberts had committed assault and battery on Catherine Rothenburg, a beautiful Jewess who was reputed a sorceress. No fewer than six different persons were on hand to display ills that she had practised upon them. Robert's defense was that "the Jewess had cast a spell over him, "in pursuance of a threat she had made some weeks "before, and caused him to fall ill as she had foretold "she would do. He had become ill in a very queer way; "his head buzzed and he saw things continually whirl-"ing before his eyes; he looked like a crazy man. Phy-"sicians could not account for the malady by any regu-"lar formula known to medical science and muttered "something about it being very strange. He remem-"bered then that Catherine Rothenburg had told him "once that whenever she succeeded in afflicting any one "with disease, as she often did, there was but one way "to destroy her power over the invalid, that was for

[16] *The Washington Post*, March 1, 1905.
[17] *The Washington Post*, September 17, 1899.

"the invalid to draw blood from her mouth. He con-
"cluded to put this remedy to the test, and he went to
"Rothenburg's house while Catherine's husband was
"away and found the alleged witch sitting in a chair
"holding her child in her lap. He laid hands on her
"unceremoniously, and beat and chopped her until the
"mouth ran red with blood, and she was bereft of her
"senses." Roberts proved by doctors' sworn state-
ments that since the maltreatment of the mysterious
woman he had recovered his normal health, and had
begun to improve the moment the deed was done.

Twelve men and women recounted the uncanny doings of the Jewess. Sickness had come to one family because she had sprinkled earth from a murderer's grave in their water barrel; a certain man who had declined to give her $5 had become a cripple; she had been seen prowling at midnight in a cemetery near the grave of a gentleman whose departure from this life at the end of a rope had given him distinction among the *shades;* her eyes had been observed to shoot fire.

Had Spenser St. John known these facts he would not have failed to ascribe them to Haiti, and his book would have had one more sensational chapter.

The following account of a religious meeting which took place at Beal's Island, which is a part of Jonesport, Maine, is still more extraordinary:

"Scenes during the meetings were weird, spectacular
"and horrible," says the *New York Herald* of March 13, 1904. "Elder Buber preached a hell-fire doctrine
"with a vivid and impassioned eloquence. He pictured
"to the awe-stricken villagers awful torments which
"are to be theirs if they did not speedily believe and
"repent. He told them that they must purify them-
"selves, body and soul; that they must sever all earthly
"ties, must give all their money, houses, lands, cattle,
"and even clothing to the preachers. His listeners,
"terrified by the awful fate in store for them and quak-
"ing before the awe-inspiring gaze of Allaby, assented.

"The exhorter worked himself into a frenzy. He
"shouted that the mouth of hell was eagerly yawning

"for sinners. He leaped high into the air, placed his "hands on the top of the tall pulpit, and vaulted back "and forth over it. He grovelled on the floor, pounded "his head on the timbers and worked up to a point of "delirious frenzy, performing feats of contortion which "rival those of a professional circus athlete. * * * "Men and women groaned aloud, grovelled in their "seats, their minds answering sympathetically every "emotion depicted by the exhorter. 'How much will "'you give to the Lord?' he shouted in thunderous "tones. 'All, all!' answered the people, rising in their "seats, and they meant it. On Friday night of last "week the most violent meeting of all was held, continu- "ing until after midnight. At this meeting the vil- "lagers turned their pockets inside out for the preach- "ers. They gave the few valuables they had with them. "It was arranged that a final meeting of renunciation "was to be held on the following Sunday, at which a "monster contribution was to be made to the preachers. "The people of the island, with few exceptions, pre- "pared to sell their homes and lands, their places of "business and fishing tackle, their cattle and household "possessions, so that all could be converted into cash "for the purpose of the offering. They were in a "frenzy, practically insane with the intoxication of "their emotions.

"Stranger rites and ceremonies were performed, and "finally Elder Buber announced that by reason of "divine power he could perform miracles.

"Thurman, the nine-year-old son of Mrs. G. F. Beal, "a cripple since birth and beloved by all on the island, "was brought into the church. He was placed on the "altar before the congregation. He was then covered "with a sack, while the exhorter, working himself into "a frenzy, commanded the spirit of which the child was "possessed to depart. The miracle was a failure. The "child remained a cripple, but, strange to say, the "people did not lose faith. They ascribed the failure "as due to a devil in the boy. This meeting ended at

"midnight, Elders Buber and Buck being so exhausted "that they could hardly stand.

"Some of the more zealous of the converts desired "to continue in their frenzy, and twenty or more re- "paired to the home of Mrs. Beal, near the church. "Their imaginations were so wrought up that with the "first words of exhortation they became insane, and "horrible ideas and suggestions followed.

"Mrs. Beal was the centre of the group. She said "that they had sacrificed or were about to sacrifice, all "their worldly possessions, but that was not enough. "A living sacrifice was required, she said. She pro- "posed crucifixion, and appointed her son Eli, a young "man of twenty-eight, as the chosen instrument, or "executioner. Wild approval met the suggestions of "Mrs. Beal.

"Raising her hands high in the air, as if seeking "inspiration, she said that a certain dog in the village "must be killed. It was brought into the room. Mrs. "Beal said that the dog was to typify the Lord. Eli "Beal grasped the dog with hands made stronger than "normal by insane fervor and tore open its throat. The "fanatics groaned and shouted while the dog breathed "its last. A cat was the next victim, similar ceremonies "being gone through.

"Then it was that Mrs. Beal groaned because the "holy spirit did not wholly yield to her, and said that "her little boy Thurman must be sacrificed. Some joy- "fully acceded and other women proposed to sacrifice "their children. Frank Wallace and John A. Beal, two "strong-minded men who were present, but not par- "ticipating in the ceremonies, protested. Wallace told "a *Herald* correspondent that in five minutes more the "Beal child would have been killed and others would "have followed. Wallace seized the boy, dashed for "the door, and held the crowd at bay while the fright- "ened youngster fled for his life, finding a hiding-place "among the rocks.

"Mr. Beal hurried to the mainland and notified the authorities there. Mrs. Beal was adjudged insane and

"sent to an insane asylum in Bangor. And the select-
"men of Jonesport have issued strict orders that there
"be no more religious services of any kind on the
"island."

Had the foregoing events occurred in Haiti, instead of taking place in the United States, her detractors would not have missed the opportunity to assert that Haitian mothers are accustomed to sacrifice their children in the *vaudou* ceremonies. The incident would have been grossly exaggerated and would not have been imputed to the insanity of a handful of fanatics. Within ten or twenty years after, these ceremonies would have been related by foreign writers to cast aspersion on the whole Haitian Republic.

Public instruction, which is comparatively much more wide-spread in the United States than in Haiti, has however not yet succeeded in protecting the inhabitants of the former country from charlatans and fortune-tellers. In a suburb of Baltimore, Maryland, a woman was the victim of one of these American *papa-lois*. The case was tried at Elmira, New York, where Walter P. Collins, alias Dr. Zollo, was arrested on a charge of grand larceny. "I am very superstitious," said the complainant, Miss Mary M. Miller, "and I believed in
"Dr. Zollo, for he read my palm very cleverly. He told
"me that it was necessary for me to bring money,
"because money was the one goal in the world for which
"every one was pushing, and one's thought centred
"upon it constantly. He said that through this money
"he could transmit an influence on me, as a result of
"which my affairs would not be so tangled, and that I
"would be able to rent my property, the poor returns
"from which caused me much worry. I brought him
"$500. He put it in an envelope, as I supposed, and
"gave it to me, telling me to go home and bring him
"more the next day, also to bring back the envelope
"supposed to contain the $500. I brought back the
"sealed envelope and $300. He opened the envelope,
"apparently took therefrom the $500, and, bunching
"the $300 in bills with it, asked me to hold one end while

"he held the other. I did so, and he again apparently "put the money in an envelope, sealed it and told me "not to open it, but to wear it in a jewelry bag around "my neck until the next day, when I should come to his "office for him to open it, so that the charm might not "lose its full effect. I paid him his fee and the next "day when I visited his office he had disappeared. I "found a newspaper in the envelope, but no money." [18]

One Dr. Theodore White was arrested in the very city of Baltimore on the charge of using the United States mails to defraud. He was selling love-powders said to contain three hairs out of a black cat's tail, seven hairs out of a white mule's tail, eight drops of blood out of a dog's tail, and one or two equally astonishing that his operations had extended all over the United the directions were carefully followed out.[20] Dr. White antee that he would at once rival Romeo in his ardor if had numerous patrons for this powder of his; for $12,800 in cash was found in his safe; and he admitted ingredients.[19] Directions were given for administering this powder to the reluctant or cold lover, with the guar- States, Europe, Central America, and a portion of South America.

In Washington, the capital of the United States, the police had to intervene on behalf of the credulous and superstitious people who were being taken advantage of by clairvoyants, fortune-tellers and that class of charlatans who would have been called *papa-lois* had they been found in Haiti.

"The police department announced yesterday," says the *Washington Post* of the 19th of February, 1904, "that war is to be waged on all clairvoyants, fortune- "tellers, and mediums in the District. * * * The "detectives have received numerous complaints re-

[19] *The Washington Post*, March 31, 1906.

On the 23d of June, 1906, Dr. White was sentenced by Judge Morris to serve three years in the penitentiary and to pay a fine of $1,500.

[18] *The New York Herald*, June 22, 1903.
(*Washington Post*, 24th June.)

[20] *The Washington Evening Star*, March 31, 1906.

"cently. All of the victims were women, and they were "mulcted, so they said, of sums ranging from $1 to "$100; but woman-like they refused to prosecute for "fear of publicity. One of the letters received by the "police reads as follows: 'The Professor talked me " 'right out of my money, and instead of bringing back " 'my husband, as he promised, he seemed to drive my " 'husband away, for I am now alone. My husband has " 'gone to Pittsburg. The Professor said that if I had " 'him arrested, he would tell all my story, and would " 'swear besides that I was after another man instead " 'of my husband.'

"One other contribution to the stock of complaints "is a tiny yellow envelope stamped on the outside: " 'Phychio Magneto, Nepal, India.' The woman who "gave it up confessed that she had paid $5 for the "envelope, which was supposed to contain an all-power- "ful powder, which had only to be placed under the "pillow for so many nights to accomplish as many won- "ders as Aladdin's lamp. The powder failed of its "purpose, and the remnant of it still left in Captain "Boardman's desk needs only a test to prove that it is "nothing more than common table salt."

From the above-mentioned facts it does not follow that the whole people of the United States are grossly addicted to superstition. The foreigner who would draw such a conclusion would show either astonishing ignorance or bad faith. The inhabitants of the United States constitute at the present one of the most civilized nations. They have spared no pains for diffusing public instruction throughout their country. I have mentioned the superstitious beliefs of a few of them only to illustrate the fact that these beliefs exist everywhere and are not peculiar to Haiti, where they are found under the same character as they assume elsewhere. In Haiti, as elsewhere, religion and a broad diffusion of knowledge alone will cause superstition to disappear. Violence and ill-timed repression might only serve to make those who would be too severely dealt with seem as victims and martyrs to the cause. A belief, by being

persecuted, has many chances it otherwise would not have of making proselytes. The school-master and the minister of religion are, in such cases, more powerful and more efficacious than the police. The Haitian statesmen know this; for this reason they rely upon religion and upon education to fight superstition; this is the reason why, in spite of her comparatively limited revenue, Haiti devotes a large part of it to public instruction and subsidizes all Christian cults, although the great majority of her inhabitants are Roman Catholics. The impartial foreigner traveling about the country without any preconceived idea of slandering the people cannot fail to notice the good results attained.

Every country, even the most advanced and civilized, has certain peculiarities. Haiti is no exception to this rule; like other nations she has her peculiarities, but the one who describes these peculiarities alone in order to excite the ridicule of his readers is like a person who, after visiting a mansion, describes only the kitchen or the stables; kitchen and stables certainly have their particular uses, but they do not give any idea of the beauty of the mansion. For more than a century it has been the usual thing to ridicule Haiti; none of the means which might bring discredit on her has been neglected. Nevertheless, she still exists and has proudly maintained her independence. This fact may seem to be unimportant to many; but it is the best evidence that a country placed in so disadvantageous a position as was Haiti, and has nevertheless shown such a vitality, cannot be a mere collection of ignorant, corrupt, and abjectly superstitious men. Such a nation must unquestionably possess a certain amount of sterling qualities. But the foreign writers do not care to know these qualities, and if perchance the knowledge of it is forced upon them they do not care to make them known to the public. The ridiculous point of view has more attraction to them; they have almost all made the caricature rather than the description of the Haitian people.

Men who are ignorant even of the correct geograph-

ical position of the island think themselves competent to give information about the Haitians; undeterred by the scantiness of their knowledge, they hasten to affirm that instead of progressing they are relapsing into barbarism. This is another assertion as common and as widespread as the charge of *vaudou*-cannibalism. Even the grave Encyclopedia Britannica has been led into adopting and propagating such slanders on the authority of writers of the class of St. John and Pritchard. When a work of the kind contains such misleading information about Haiti, one wonders what faith can be placed in what it says of other countries.

In the United States people take all possible advantage of this slander. Does a politician desire to create the impression that it is necessary to assume a certain control on some of the American Republics on account of the probable opening of the Panama Canal, he at once resorts to the famous theme of Haiti's reverting to barbarism. Does he wish to establish that it is not safe to confer the right of voting on a certain class of his fellow-citizens, he will always draw his principal argument from the thesis of Haiti's relapsing into savagery. Haiti thus at the same time is made into a sort of moral scare-crow as well as continually serving as a scape-goat.

However, she need occasion no anxiety to the United States. She has never thought nor ever will think of alienating the smallest portion of her territory, no more than does Haiti entertain the idea of consenting to the least attack upon her independence. Consequently it is very hard that the people of the United States, in order to facilitate some of their home problems, should make use of such calumnies against a small State which is earnestly striving to fulfil all its duties.

I am glad to say that an American citizen has of late done us justice on this point. Professor Robert T. Hill says in his book that "Sir Spenser St. John's conclu-
"sions are not borne out by history, and the Haitians,
"instead of degenerating, are, excepting the Cubans,
"Porto Ricans and Barbadians, the only virile and ad-

"vancing natives of the West Indies * * * and what-
"ever may be said against them, it should be remem-
"bered that these people nearly a century ago initiated
"the movement which, ending in Brazil in 1889, resulted
"in driving the institution of slavery from the Western
"hemisphere." [21]

In conclusion I will content myself with recalling what I said on the matter in the *North American Review* of July, 1903.[22] To revert to a condition almost of savagery, to relapse into barbarism a nation must be, at the time when the charge is made, in a state of civilization less advanced than formerly; it must be going backward instead of forward. So, to ascertain whether, since the removal of the white control, the Haitians have or have not reverted to a condition almost of savagery, one must necessarily compare their condition of to-day with their condition before the removal of that control. What was the condition of the Haitians over a hundred years ago? The great majority of them were slaves. They were treated like beasts. They were compelled to work like machines in the fields. They could not read. They could not write. They were not even good artisans, not being allowed to learn anything. Their degradation was complete.

Such was the condition of the Haitians under the French control. It is needless to say that their condition now is different.

The factories, the rich plantations had been all destroyed during the war of independence. The Haitians found themselves in possession of a devastated land. They have rebuilt their cities and towns. They cultivate now their own properties, almost every inhabitant

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[21] Cuba and Porto Rico with the other islands of the West Indies (New York, 1903).

It is to be regretted that Professor Hill was not able to stay in the country long enough to become convinced of the absurdity of all the false charges brought against the Haitians. His book contains some mistakes resulting from his insufficient knowledge of the people and their character; but it is a book written in good faith. And Professor Hill honestly strove to be impartial and just.

[22] The Truth about Haiti.

of the Republic being a land-owner. Now every man is a man. The sons of the former slaves are to-day lawyers, doctors, surgeons, architects, engineers, sculptors, chemists, skilled artisans, shrewd business men and good laborers; some of them, without being multi-millionaires, live on large incomes. The Haitians operate their own telegraph and telephone systems. Under the French control there was not even a good primary school in the island; to-day Haiti devotes almost a sixth of its revenues to education. All the public schools are free, from the elementary ones to the highest grades. There are schools of law, medicine, pharmacy, electrical and applied sciences (sciences appliqués), even a school of painting; and these are open to all. Not satisfied with the education which can be had at home, many Haitians go to France to obtain still higher or special instruction, and achieve success in the French schools of mineralogy, agriculture, moral and political sciences, etc.

In the light of these facts, which may be easily verified, I may confidently appeal to the fair-minded and intelligent reader to decide whether the assertions so frequently made, that the Haitians are relapsing into barbarism and falling back into a state almost of savagery, are worthy of credence, or whether they are merely unjust and ungrounded aspersions upon a people who since their independence have been striving, with success commensurate to their opportunities, to attain the practical ideals of modern civilization!