LIFE OF

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE,

WARRIOR AND STATESMAN,



With an Historical Survey of the Island of San Domingo from the Discovery of the Island by Christopher Columbus, in 1492, to the Death of Toussaint, in 1803.

BY

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ACCOMPANIED WITH A MAP.

1888.

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DEDICATORY.

TO THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM AND LIBERTY,

OF

WHATEVER RACE AND COLOR, CREED AND CASTE,

THIS BOOK

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED BY

THE AUTHOR.

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PREFACE.

Twice in history there has been witnessed the struggle of the highest individual genius against the resources and institutions of great nations. For years Hannibal strove against Rome, his efforts ended in his defeat at Zama and his death by his own hands. For years Toussaint L'Ouverture struggled against the forces of Spain, England and France, his efforts ended in the establishment of a free and independent government and his incarceration in a dungeon. Hayti* owes its liberty to Toussaint L'Ouverture. He was really its father. In that vast tempest which from Europe broke upon Hayti, we see nothing but Toussaint L'Ouverture. He was the moving and directing power. In the tremendous struggle for human freedom he stood forth pre-eminent as a leader, as a statesman, as an unflinching friend and advocate of the oppressed, and to his bravery must be ascribed the success which crowned the independence of Hayti. The history of his country therefore gathers itself into his single person. But the design of this work is not to eulogize the dead, but to benefit the living; not to present a full portrait of its subject, but a few sketches of his character as a General, and incorruptible legislator. I lay no claim to originality or literary ability, for I am not a scholar—hardly a student—The very best

*Pronounced by the French a é ti, the native signification of Hayti or Haiti is "high ground."

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historical works bearing on the subject have been consulted. If due acknowledgment is not always made of the aid thus received it is because I deem it best not to multiply references. But, on the contrary, to so compile and condense that the information is contained in a single volume of such moderate size, that it is brought easily within the reach of all, especially of that class of the rising youth, who to succeed in life, must, like the subject of this sketch, make themselves. In every age men have arisen, and by the force of an original genius and a lofty aspiration, have come to stand as heralds in the forefront of the world's progress, the lives of such men are lessons and inspiration. Of men distinguished by their talents, elevated spheres of action and military prowess. Wellington, Washington, Cromwell, Grant, we have many and excellent biographies, serving as examples for the emulation of the white youth. The Negro youth also needs memoirs of men of their race, distinguished for their patriotism, high literary attainments, naval conflicts upon the seas and grand achievements upon the field of carnage. Such histories cannot fail of stimulating every Negro boy, yea! of helping them to follow the glorious footsteps of the noble descendants of Africa, our fatherland. At no time in the history of the Negro race has there been so general an interest in the biography of eminent black men as that which has been shown during the past ten years. Just here lies a weighty obligation upon those who write, and those who read about the lives of men and women of our race who have done something in the world. It is not enough for us to know *what* they have done; it belongs to us to

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discover the *why* of their works and ways, and to get some personal benefit from the analysis of their success and failures. To use the words of Dr. Trumbull, why was this man great? what general intentions and what special traits led him to success, what ideal stood before him; and by what means did he seek to obtain it? Or, on the other hand, what unworthy purpose, what lack of conscience and religious sense, what unsettled method and feeble endeavor stood in the way of "the man of genius" and his possible achievements? It is the good, therefore, that it may do those occupying relationship to the Negro race, and not the ordinary motives of the biographer, that actuated the author to write the life of *the greatest Negro the world has ever seen.* The work, however would not be complete were it only a biographical eulogy filled with sentiments of praise and incidents of personal life. The endeavor has been also to embrace in the work as much of the history of the hero's country as is connected with his public career. Writing upon the life and character of a man whose history is a part of the civilized world, in order to form a just estimate of his acts, it is necessary to advert not only to the circumstances of his birth, but to the social and political condition of his country.

With these remarks I present this volume to the present generation, hoping it will meet their approval, and may this attempt to perpetuate the memory of one of Ethiopia's greatest sons, the courage, bravery and ability of his sable coadjutors, inspire the generations yet unborn to a higher and nobler realization. R. C. O. BENJAMIN.

NOTE.—The map accompanying this work is the latest and most reliable chart of the entire island of San Domingo.

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HISTORICAL SURVEY OF

SAN DOMINGO.

CHAPTER I.

"Peace to thee, Isle of the ocean;
Hail to thy breezes and billows;
Where rolling its tides in perpetual devotion,
The white wave its plumy surf pillows.

Pure be the heath of thy mountains;
Rich be the green of thy pastures;
Limpid and lasting be the streams of thy fountains
Thine annals sustained by disasters."

The largest and most beautiful of the West India Islands is San Domingo. It lies between Porto Rico,—from which it is separated by a channel called the Mona passage, seventy-six miles on the east,—and Jamaica and Cuba on the west and northwest. The channel between Cuba and San Domingo, denominated by seamen the windward passage, is about forty-eight miles wide. The island is situated in 18 deg. 20 min. north latitude, and in longitude 68 deg. 40 min. west from Greenwich. There are a variety of statements with respect to its dimensions. Edwards estimates its length at 390 miles.

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Rainsford says it is more than 450 miles. The Abbie Raynal represents it as 200 leagues in length. French geographers state that it is 160 leagues in length by 30 in average breadth, measured from east to west.

On the parallel of 18 deg. 25 min., on the most recent maps, it has an extreme length of 400 miles and its extreme breadth may be taken at 180 miles on the meridian of 71 deg. 20 min.—the area within its boundaries, exclusive of the adjacent isles, being of about the same extent as Ireland, or 25,000 square miles. In magnificence of scenery it is unsurpassed. It contains mountains of great height, with valleys of corresponding extent, necessarily comprising great variety of soil. Perhaps no country could present an herbal more extensive and interesting than the varied vegetable kingdom of this Island. The mahogany tree, in which, the island abounds, grows to a great size and is of very fine quality; the manchineel tree affords a beautiful species of wood richly veined like marble and susceptible of the finest polish. Several species of dye wood are produced in the forests. There is a tree called the Jaqua, the fruit of which is delicious, the juice is as clear as water and makes a stain on linen that is indelible. The iron wood, remarkable for its hardness, as its name implies, is abundant, and the oak also, which differs in appearance from the European oak, frequently furnishes beams of from sixty to seventy feet in length. On the north side of the island are extensive forests of pine which is much used for the purpose of shipbuilding. The satin wood of this island is heavier than that of the East Indies, and it takes so fine a polish that it does not require to be

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varnished. The cotton tree is the largest of all the vegetable productions, and is formed into the lightest and most capacious canoes. Every variety of the palm tree is found in the woods, of which they form a principal ornament. The palmetto or mountain cabbage, is an erect and noble tree, which grows to the height of seventy feet with esculent leaves at the top. In the congenial soil of this fertile island the sugar cane, cotton and coffee plant grow in the greatest luxuriance. There is also the calabash, the fruit of which serves as a substitute for earthenware; the plantain, the staff of life of the West Indies; vanilla, which is found indigenous in the unfrequented woods; qussia or simarouba, which is a tall and stately plant waving gracefully in the wind; sarsaparilla, arrow-root, ginger and rice plants grows naturally, even in the stony soil, and in the crevices of the rocks. The fruit and nutritive roots of San Domingo are the same as those of the other West India Island, but they are more abundant and extremely fine. Of those may be enumerated the choux-caraib or Indian kail with a variety of other vegetables that come under the same denomination, the avocato or vegetable marrow, the mellon, sapidillo guava, pine apple, orange, bread and Jack fruit, mango, plum-rose, rose apple, mammie apple, almond, custard apple, nuts and plums of many different species. Flowers, in endless variety and splendor adorn the wild scenery of the woods, and exhale their fragrance on the desert air. Horned cattle, hogs, sheep, goats, horses, mules, dogs and asses roam at large on the plains and in the forests. In the wild and extensive pastures of the interior, wild fowl are abundant, consisting of various species of ducks,

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pigeons, the flamingo, the wild peacock, the minnie thrush or mocking bird, the banana bird, the guinea fowl, the ortolan, and parrots of various species. The island abounds in rivers and small streams, which flow from the mountains in the interior in different directions to the sea. Of these, the principal ones are the Haina, the Nigua, the Nizao, the Ozama, the Neyba, the Ocoa, the Yane and the Santiago, or River of Monte Cristo. These rivers all abound with fish, some of which are very delicate. Turtle of all kinds are taken, and the land crab is much esteemed. Mineral waters exist in several parts, the most noted in the eastern part of the island are those of Banica, Yaya and Pagatal; and in the west, the Chalybeate of St. Rose, the Saline of Jean Rabel, and the Alkaline Sulphur waters of Dalmarie. The mineral productions are various and rich, and include gold, platina, silver, copper, quicksilver, iron, tin, sulphur, manganese, antimony, rock salt, bitumen, jasper, marble, opal, lazulite and chalcedony. Notwithstanding these minerals abound in large quantities, the mines are little worked.

San Domingo has a hot, moist climate; but the heat is mitigated by the regularity of the sea breeze, and by the contiguity of the mountains. In the plains the thermometer rises to 96 deg. continues to 99 deg. but in the mountainous tracts it seldom rises above 78 deg. In the most elevated parts a fire is frequently necessary. In those situations meat may be kept for several days, and in the morning hoar frost is frequent. The seasons, as in tropical countries, are divided into the wet and dry; the rains are periodical and are heaviest in May and June, when

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the rivers, which at other times scarcely supply water for a continued stream, overflow their banks. Hurricanes are not frequent, but in the southern parts of the island violent gales of wind, generally preceded by a closeness and sultriness in the atmosphere, frequently occur. These, however, are not attended with such fatal effects as the hurricanes in the Windward Islands. On the southeast coast of the island is the great Bay of Samana, which in point of size and situation is the most important on the island, and the most beautiful in the world. From Cape Raffael which forms the southern point of entrance into the bay of Samana, to the opposite side of the island, or peninsula of Samana, the distance is eighteen miles, which is closed in by a bulwark of rocks and sand, the entrance only being left clear, with a safe and deep channel between the shore of Samana and several islands. This bay is about sixty miles long, and is surrounded on every side by a fertile country suited to all the purposes of trade. Within the compass of this bay, whole fleets might ride at anchor in perfect security.



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CHAPTER II.

"When first Columbus dared the Western main,
Spanned the broad gulf, and gave a world to Spain;
How thrilled his soul with tumults of delight,
When through the silence of the sleepless night
Burst shouts of triumph."

This magnificent island was discovered by Christopher Columbus on the 6th of December 1492, he landed on the north coast of the island which he gave the name of Hispanola or Little Spain. He found it, at this period, divided into five kingdoms, governed by Caques, living in a state of mutual amity and intercourse. The natives appeared to be of a Carribean race; they were simple in their manners, and chiefly supported themselves by the chase. Columbus established a settlement, which became a Spanish colony. These colonists founded San Nicholist, but their excesses roused the resentment of the surrounding natives who rose upon them and destroyed their establishments. The Spaniards thereupon betook themselves to the south coast, where they founded the town of San Domingo, which afterward gave its name to the whole island. They introduced and cultivated coffee, sugar and cotton, with which they supplied the markets of Europe. To do this successfully they entered into the wicked scheme of reducing the natives to a condition of slavery. This outrage having failed they began the diabolical work of stealing and trading off natives of Africa to the planters of San Domingo, at the rate of 20,000 a year. The slave trade was then the

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prevailing sentiment of the most highly cultivated nations of the time. All Europe were engaged in it as a state policy. Under this sentiment the Europeans who settled in San Domingo thought it a duty to make slavery the structure and spirit of the social establishment; the qualms of conscience, were quieted by the notion that the condition and prospects of the Negro were physically, socially and religiously improved by a transfer from barbaric Africa to civilized America. Whilst the supposed peculiar adaptation of the Negro's constitution to the climate of the New World and the inadaptability of the European's constitution to the same climate, were urged and accepted as potent reasons why the trade should be encouraged.* As Spain extended her conquests into the interior of the continent the prosperity of the Island of San Domingo declined. At the beginning of the 17th century the island had become a mere desert; at the same time the West India seas were infested with French, English and Dutch buccaneers†

*To Spain belongs the honor of the discovery of the great American Continent, and the first revelation of its vast natural capabilities and immense native wealth to admiring Europe. To the same nation is due the unenviable distinction of having introduced therein the inhuman institution of Negro slavery; but at the door of Great Britain lies the sin of its perpetuation; for notwithstanding the protestation of the early English settlers, the trade, owing to its lucrative nature, was taken under the patronage of Royalty and commerce and forced upon the unwilling colonists.

†Boucaniers—corrupted into buccaneers, they received their peculiar name from the rude manner of cooking their meat, a mode adopted from the Caribs in those islands, who in this manner disposed of the bodies of their enemies. This mode was simply to make a frame of green boughs known as a "boucan," upon which the meat was laid, and under this a slow fire was kept, which partly smoked and partly cooked the meat.

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who ploughed the waters in quest of plunder, committing robbery on both sea and land. The French robbers obtained a foothold in Tortuga, a small island lying to the north of San Domingo. From this place they made constant incursions against the Spanish settlements on the main island, till at last by the treaty of Ryswick,* the western part of the island was ceded to the French buccaneers and the eastern part to the Spanish settlers. The French colonists at once placed themselves under the protection of Louis XIV; from this period the island was divided into two parts.† As all Europe were then devising schemes to gain a foothold into the "New World" and acquire its treasures, Louis XIV became jubilant with the prospect of extending his kingdom, he therefore acknowledged them as his subjects and placed them under his protection. Many distinguished French families came over and settled as planters, and constant intercourse was maintained between the colony and the mother country. The comforts of the old world were transferred to the new world. New projects had been carried out; the torrents had been arrested in their course; the marshes drained; the forests cleared; the soil enriched with foreign plants; new roads opened over the asperity of the mountains; pathways over chasms; bridges over rivers; the wind and

*The allied powers of Europe in 1697 signed a peace at Ryswick, by which Spain regained all the conquests made from her by France, and the right of France to occupy and hold as her own territory the western part of the Island of San Domingo.

†Hayti and Hispanola, the former comprehending the French division, and the latter what belonged to the Spaniards—the whole island still retained the name of San Domingo.

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tides had been studied; safe sailing and convenient harborage secured to ships; beautiful villages dotted the borders of the sea, and magnificent mansions embellished the interior. In 1689 the population of the colony had reached 665,000; in the same year it exported 68,000,000 pounds of coffee and 163,000,000 pounds of sugar. The Spanish colony declined while the French colony flourished, until in 1776 it reached its greatest prosperity.



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CHAPTER III.

"Hear him, ye Senates; Hear this truth sublime—
He who allows oppression, shares the crime."

In the year 1789 the French revolution began. The kingdom of France was in a most exhausted state, and burdened with a debt that amounted to nine millions of dollars. Louis XV, the successor of Louis XIV, by all kinds of prodigality; by foolish enterprises, and by reposing his confidence in men who shamefully abused their trust, increased this enormous debt, and loaded the suffering people with additional taxes. The history of his reign exhibits a succession of wars, intrigues and tyrannical oppressions, which exhausted the kingdom. The example of dissolution and profligacy which was exhibited by the King and his court, had a most pernicious effect upon the public morals. These causes conspired to produce the terrible convulsions of the revolution which soon followed. In this state of affairs Louis XVI succeeded to the throne. A spirit of insubordination now began to appear in the people; a dreadful famine began to oppress the kingdom and increased the general alarm and excitement. Artful and ambitious men fanned the flame of sedition, and stirred up the people to tumults. The populace of Paris rushed to arms on the slightest pretext, and the authority of government was utterly disregarded. The finances became embarrassed, and the King summoned the States General, a popular assembly of the kingdom, to

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meet at Versailles. This body assumed the name of the National Assembly and undertook to prepare schemes of political reform. San Domingo responded to the political agitation of the mother country. When the news reached the colony that the King of France had summoned the States General, all the French portion of the island was thrown into a state of general excitement. The colonists held meetings, passed resolutions, and elected deputies to the States General, as representatives. The echoes of the French watch word "LIBERTY AND EQUALITY" were sounded on the island. The friends of *liberty* and *equality* became more potent. The black population of San Domingo numbered between 500,000 and 600,000, constituting an overwhelming majority of the colony, while the white population reached only 40,000. Besides the blacks and whites, a third class existed, called the "people of color," the fruit of an intermixture of the white with the black race, including persons of every variety of hue, from the perfect sable to the most delicate tinge, slightly marking their ancestry in the black and white. This class numbered 30,000, they, being the children of white fathers, were free. Many of them were sent over to France to be educated as gentlemen. A large number of them came into possession of great wealth, and held many slaves, at the same time they were an exclusive class, excluded from all political privileges, and were not eligible to positions of authority or trust. They could not attend school with their white brothers, or sit at a white man's table, or worship his God in the same part of the church; nor could they be buried in the same churchyard with the white peo-

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ple, neither were they permitted to be priests, doctors or lawyers.* They were far from being satisfied with being consigned to a degrading condition. By reason of their education and wealth, and being tax-payers, they claimed the right of sending representatives to France to guard and protect their interests. As already stated, the great revolution in France was heartily responded to by the whites of San Domingo, their deputies were instructed to proclaim to the National Assembly at Paris, the adhesion of the colony to the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity then in vogue in the mother country. The application of these principles it was intended should be confined exclusively to the whites; the mulattoes however, demanded their extension to the free people of color, that is, to themselves; their demand was rejected with contempt and indignation. Nevertheless, when the white deputies started for France, the mulattoes also sent representatives to Paris, and with them a million of dollars toward the payment of the French debt. They instructed their deputies to plead that their social disfranchisement be removed, they asked for redress of grievances only for themselves, that they should be made the equals of white men, declaring that they had no wish to change the condition of the blacks who were slaves, being themselves slaveholders. The petition produced an animated discus-

*They however differed from a similar class in the United States, the slave laws of which provided that the child should follow the condition of the slave mother: therefore every child born of a slave mother was a slave, however fair the complexion. The "people of color" in San Domingo, though they could not inherit the names or the property of their fathers, they followed their father's condition—*they were free.*

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sion in the National Assembly, one of the members of which rose and said: "I am one of the largest proprietors in that island, but would lose all I possess there rather than disown principles which justice and humanity have consecrated. I am not only in favor of admitting men of color into the Colonial assemblies, but I also go in for the emancipation of the Negro slaves." The president of the Assembly replied: "No portion of the French nation shall in vain claim its rights from the representatives of the French people." In the meanwhile the French government, apprehensive that disorder of a very alarming nature might arise in the colonies from the proceedings in France, had issued orders to the Governor-General of San Domingo to convoke the inhabitants for the purpose of forming a legislative assembly for interior regulations. These orders, however, being unaccountably delayed, the people had anticipated the measure! The inhabitants of the Northern District had already constituted a provincial assembly which met at Cape Francois, and their example was followed in the Western and Southern provinces. The Western Assembly met at Port-au-Prince; the Southern at Aux Cayes. A recital of the conduct of these provincial assemblies would lead too much into detail. They differed greatly on important questions, but all of them concurred in opinion concerning the liberty and equality of the people of color. During this period of anxiety and alarm the mulattoes were not inactive. Instructed by their brethren in Paris in the nature and extent of their rights, and apprised of the favorable disposition of the French nation toward them, they became determined to

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claim, without delay, the full benefit of all the privileges enjoyed by the whites. Accordingly, petitions were presented to the colonial assemblies then in session. The assemblies, however, was inflamed against the people of color. A mulatto named Lacombe was hanged for presenting a petition asking for his class the right of citizenship. Against such of the whites as had taken any part in favor of the people of color, the rage of the populace knew no limits. Mons. Dubois, deputy *procureur general*, had not only declared himself an advocate for the mulattoes, but sought occasion to declaim publicly against the slavery of the Negroes. The Northern Assembly arrested his person, and very probably intended to proceed to greater extremities, but the governor interposed in his behalf, obtained his release and sent him from the country. M. Ferrand de Beaudiere, a white magistrate, was not so fortunate. He drew up in the name and behalf of the mulattoes, a petition begging to be released from the hardships under which they had so long suffered. The assembly seized the author and committed him to prison; but the mob took him from thence and cut off his head.



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CHAPTER IV.

"The chains are broken, Africa be free!
Oh! ye winds and waves,
Waft the glad tidings to the land of slaves."

The King's order for convoking a general colonial assembly was received in San Domingo early in the month of January, 1790. It appointed the town of Leogane, in the western province, for the place of meeting, and the 28th of March was fixed for the time of its meeting; instructions accompanied the order concerning the mode of electing the members. These instructions were disapproved by the provincial assemblies, and another plan was adopted. They resolved to hold the general assembly at the town of St. Marc, instead of Leogane, and the 21st of April as the time of its meeting. In the meanwhile intelligence was received in France of the temper of San Domingo toward the mother country. The colonists were represented as manifesting a disposition either to renounce their dependency or to throw themselves under the protection of a foreign power. There prevailed at this time throughout the cities of France a very strong and marked prejudice against the inhabitants of the sugar islands on account of the slavery of their Negroes. Not only equality for the "people of color," but the feeling against the iniquity of Negro slavery became rampant. It became the favorite topic of both speakers and writers of the revolution. Declarations in support of personal freedom, and invectives against despotism of all kinds was severely de-

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nounced. An anti-slavery society was organized in Paris called the *Amis des Nois** [friends of the blacks]. Of this society the leading revolutionists were members, among whom were such men as Brissotte, Robespierre, Lafayette and Abbe Gregorie. They were actuated in a great measure by an earnest zeal in behalf of the Negro slaves, and in a great measure employed the movement for the emancipation of the slaves in the colony as a pretext to assist them in their home politics; and to them Negro slavery was an appropriate instance of despotism, by which they were successful in kindling a prejudice against the colonists and their interests, and it must be acknowledged that the splendid appearance and thoughtless extravagance of the San Domingo planters residing in the mother country contributed by no means to divert the malice of their adversaries, or to soften the predjudices of the public toward them. When a planter made his appearance in the streets of Paris, he was looked upon as a walking specimen of a despot, who had grown rich at the expense of the blood and agonies of his fellow man.

At this junction a considerable body of the mulattoes from San Domingo were resident in the French capital. Some of these were young people sent thither for education; others were men of considerable property, being well educated and interesting in their appearance, and having amiable manners it gave much force to the eloquence of

*The Society in France was founded on the model of a similar association in London, at the head of which was Clarkson Wilberforce and others. They loudly clamored for a general and immediate abolition, not only of the slave trade, but also of the slavery which it supported.

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the revolutionist orator. With these young people the society of *Amis des Nois* formed an intimate connection, pointed out to them the wretchedness of their condition, and filled the nation with remonstrances and appeals in their behalf. Orators of the society made it a point to have by their side when speaking, one of these prepossessing young men, when, at the conclusion of a passage of liberty the speaker would turn and indicate with his finger, to his colored friend, or when yielding to French impulses he would embrace him with sobs. With such a scene before them the audience would be moved to tears and long and loud cheering. The personal appearance, too, of these young men excited pity, and, co-operating with the temper of the times and the credulity of the French nation, raised such an indignant spirit in all ranks of people against the white colonists, as threatened their total annihilation and ruin. In this disposition of the people of France toward the inhabitants of San Domingo the National Assembly voted a DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

Among the many things in the declaration was the position that *all men are born and continue free and equal, as to their rights. According to which, there ought to be no distinction in society, nor if the possession of property is a right, can any man have a right to possess or acquire anything to the exclusion of others.*



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CHAPTER V.

"Oh, great design,
Ye sons of mercy, Oh, complete your work;
Wrench from oppression's hand the iron rod,
And bid the cruel feel the wounds they give.
Man knows no master save creating Heaven,
Or those whom choice and common good ordains."

The planters of San Domingo became alarmed by what was going on in Paris, accordingly a general ferment prevailed from one end of the colony to the other. All that passed in the mother country concerning the colonists; the prejudices of the metropolis towards them; the efforts of the society of *Amis des Nois* to emancipate the Negro; and when the Declaration of Rights, asserting all men to be free and equal, arrived on the island, they looked upon their ruin as a settled fact. They had no objection to freedom in the abstract; freedom which only applied to themselves; but considered it a violation to all decency to speak of black men—mere property—having rights. The provincial assembly entered into the consideration of these alarming things with a seriousness and solemnity suited to its importance, and after full discussion a very large majority voted:

"That it never was the intention of the Assembly to comprehend the interior government of the colonies in the Constitution which they had framed for the mother country: that the mother country could not subject them to laws which were incompatible with their local establishments; they therefore authorize the inhabitants of each colony to signify to the National Assembly their sentiments and wishes concerning that plan of interior legislation and commercial arrangement which would be more conducive to their prosperity."

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To this decree was annexed a declaration:

"That the National Assembly dare not cause any innovation to be made, directly or indirectly, in any system of commerce in which the colonies were already concerned."

Nothing could equal the clamour which this decree occasioned among the people of color resident in the mother country, and the philantropic society of *Amis des Nois*. The declaration concerning commerce was interpreted into a sanction for the continuance of the slave trade, and it was contended that the colonists were no longer subjects to the French empire, but members of an independent state. The white planters of the island, who were interested in the preservation of slavery, inaugurated inhuman persecutions against the people of color, who they claim were endeavoring to enfranchise the slaves; greater duty was required of them in the militia, and they were burdened with a heavier taxation. M. Peynier, the governor general, proclaimed himself the patron and protector of the mulattoes, and championed their cause with such success as to gain over the whole body. Discord and dissention everywhere prevailed and a civil war seemed apparent. Seeing the disposition of the provincial assembly to override the declaration of rights the National Assembly of Paris had issued, and their determination to perpetuate slavery, M. Peynier issued a proclamation to dissolve the general assembly. He charged the members with entertaining projects of independency; that they were traitors to their country, and enemies to the nation and the King; declaring that it was his intention to employ all the force he could collect to defeat their projects and bring them to condign punishment; and he called on all officers, civi

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and military, for their co-operation and support. The Northern provincial assembly, who had disagreed with the proceedings of the Western provincial assembly, rallied to the support of the Governor by sending to his assistance a detachment from the regular troops in that quarter, which was joined by a body of two hundred people of color. A much greater force was collected at the same time in the Western province, and the preparations on both sides threatened an obstinate and bloody conflict; when by one of those wonderful eccentricities in the human mind which are seldom displayed except in times of public commotion, a stop was put to the immediate shedding of blood by the sudden and unexpected determination of the Assembly to undertake a voyage to France and justify their conduct to the King and the National Assembly in person. They arrived at Brest in the month of September, 1790, and were mortified to discover that deputies from the Provincial Assembly of the North had preceded them and given a true statement of affairs on the Island. They were allowed a single audience only, and then indignantly dismissed from the bar. Their general conduct toward the mother country was censured in terms of great asperity. A report was adopted by the National Assembly which concluded by recommending, "that all the pretended decrees and acts of the said Colonial Assembly should be reversed and pronounced utterly null and void and of no effect: that the said Assembly should be declared dissolved, and its members rendered ineligible and incapable of being delegated in future to the Colonial Assembly of San Domingo." A momentary calm followed this event. The

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parties in arms appeared mutually disposed to obey the decision of the King, and M. Peynier resumed the reins of government. Such was the issue of the first attempt to establish freedom on the Island of San Domingo.*

*The revolution of San Domingo is divided into three distinct epochs—the first, the revolution of the whites; the second, that of the mulattoes; and the third, the revolution of the blacks.



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CHAPTER VI.

"For what avail
The plough and sail,
Or land or life,
If Freedom fail?"

Among the people of color residing temporarily in Paris was a young man under thirty years of age, named Vincent Oge. He had been introduced to the meetings of the *Amis des Nois* under the patronage of Gregorie, Lafayette, Brisotte and Robespierre, the leading members of the society, and was by them initiated into the popular doctrine of *equality and the rights of man.* Here it was that he first learned the miseries of his condition; the cruel wrongs and contumelies to which he and all his mulatto brethren were exposed in the West Indies, and the monstrous injustice and absurdity of that prejudice "which," said Gregorie, "estimating a man's merit by the color of his skin, has placed at an immense distance from each other the children from the same parent; a prejudice which stifles the voice of nature and breaks the bands of fraternity asunder."

First by the ideas which he had derived from the leading revolutionists, as well as being encouraged by their avarice. Oge resolved to return to San Domingo to arouse the spirit of insurrection and become the deliverer of his brethren.

As it was found difficult to export a sufficient quantity of arms and ammunition from France without attracting the

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notice of the government and awakening suspicion among the planters residing in the mother country, the society resolved to procure those articles in North America, and it was recommended to Oge to make a circuitous voyage for that purpose. Accordingly, being furnished with money and letters of credit, he embarked for New England.

But notwithstanding the caution that was observed in this instance, the whole project was publicly known in Paris previous to Oge's embarkation, and notice of the scheme and even a portrait of Oge himself were transmitted to San Domingo long before his arrival.

Oge landed on his native soil from an American sloop on the 12th of October, 1790, and announced himself the protector of the mulattoes, and declared his intention of taking up arms in their behalf unless their wrongs should be redressed. After six weeks had intervened between the landing of Oge and the publication of his mandate, he was not able to allure to his standard above two hundred followers, and of these the major part were raw and ignorant youths, unused to discipline. With this handful of raw material he determined to make the attempt to deliver his brethren and redress their wrongs. He established his camp at a place called Grand Reviere. about fifteen miles fron Cape Francois, and appointed his brother together with one Mark Charvane, a fierce, active and enterprising youth, his lieutenants. Oge himself, with all his enthusiasm, was mild and humane. He cautioned his followers against shedding innocent blood.

Intelligence was no sooner received at the town of Cape Francois of the determined actions of Oge and his follow-

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ers than the inhabitants proceeded with the utmost vigor and unanimity to adopt measures to annihilate them. A body of regular troops and the Cape militia were forthwith dispatched for that purpose. They soon invested the camp of the little band, who made less resistance than might have been expected from men in their circumstances. The rout became general, many of them were killed by the sword; twenty-one were hanged, including Oge's brother. To Oge himself and his lieutenant Charvane a more terrible fate was allotted—they were adjudged to be broken alive and left to perish in that dreadful situation on the wheel, a sentence on which it is impossible to reflect but with mingled emotions of shame, sympathy, indignation and horror.* The white planters of San Domingo no doubt must have been encouraged by the vain and fallacious idea of the conductors of the guillotine in Paris, that scenes of bloodshed and devastation would induce the great body of the world to look back with pride to their action, regarding the evils of anarchy as less tolerable than the dead repose of despotism. If such were their motives, we can only ascribe them to that infatuation with which Providence blinds a people devoted to destruction.

The cruel death of Oge made the Society of *Amis des Vois* more earnest in behalf of the Negro slaves; it laid the foundation of tragedies† which were nightly acted in

*Chavane met his fate with unusual firmness, and suffered not a groan to escape him during the extremity of his torture; but the fortitude of Ogé deserted him altogether. He implored mercy with many tears and an abject spirit.

†A tragedy or pantomime founded on the story of Ogé was represented in the public theaters, which moved the audience to tears.

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the theatres of Paris. It raised a storm of indignation in the minds of all ranks of people which the planters resident of France were unable to resist, and they became so generally odious that for a time they dared not to appear in the streets of Paris. The people clamored for a new and explanatory decree, in which the rights of the colored people should be placed beyond all future doubts and dispute. The friends and advocates of the planters and preservators of slavery argued that the Colonies would be utterly destroyed if such a proposition should pass into a law. "Perish the Colonies," said Robespierre, "rather than sacrifice one iota of our principles." The majority of France reiterated the sentiment and the famous decree of the 15th of May, 1791, was pronounced amid the acclamation and applause of the multitude. By this decree it was declared and enacted "*that the people of color resident in the French Colonies, born of free parents, were entitled to, as of* RIGHT, *and should be allowed the* ENJOYMENT *of all the* PRIVILEGES *of French citizens, and that they should not only have the* RIGHT TO VOTE *in the choice of representatives, but were* ELIGIBLE TO SEATS IN THE COLONIAL ASSEMBLIES." Thus did the National Assembly at Paris sweep away in a moment all the laws, usages, prejudices and opinions concerning these people, and tear up by the root that most unfair and unjust severity—*taxation without representation.* Simultaneous with the decree appeared the letter of Abbe Gregoire. But this is deserving of a special chapter.

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CHAPTER VII.

Translation of the Letter of ABBE GREGOIRE, Bishop of the Department of Loire and Cher, Deputy of the National Assembly, to the Citizens of Colour in the French West Indies, concerning the Decree of the 15th of May, 1791.

FRIENDS!

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

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

It is now above a century that Louis the XIVth solemnly acknowledged and proclaimed your rights; but of this sacred inheritance you have been defrauded by pride and avarice, which have gradually increased your burthens, and embittered your existence.

The regeneration of the French empire opened your hearts to hope, whose cheering influence has alleviated the weight of your miseries: miseries of which the people of Europe had no idea. While the white planters resident

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among us were loud in their complaints against *ministerial* tyranny, they took especial care to be silent *as to their own*. Not a hint was suggested concerning the complaints of the unhappy people of mixed blood; who, notwithstanding, are their own children. It is *we*, who, at the distance of two thousand leagues from you, have been constrained to protect these children against the neglect, the contempt, the unnatural cruelty of their fathers!

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

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

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

Already had the national assembly, in the instructions which it prepared for the government of the colonies, on

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the 28th of March, 1790, comprised both the whites and people of colour under one common denomination. Your enemies, in asserting the contrary, have published a forgery. It is incontestibly true, that when I demanded you should be expressly named, a great number of members, among whom were several planters, eagerly exclaimed, that you were already comprehended under the general words contained in those instructions. M. Barnave himself, upon my repeated instances to him on that head, has at length acknowledged, before the whole assembly, that this was the fact. It now appears how much reason I had to apprehend that a false construction would be put upon our decree!

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

It is a long time that the society of *Amis des Nois* have employed themselves in finding out the means to soften your lot, as well as that of the slaves. It is difficult—perhaps impossible, to do good with entire impunity. The meritorious zeal of this society has drawn upon them much obloquy. Despicable writers have lanced their poisonous

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shafts at them, and impudent libels have never ceased to repeat objections and calumnies, which have been a hundred times answered and refuted. How often have we been accused of being sold to the English, and of being paid by them for sending you inflammatory writings and arms? You know, my friends, the weakness and wickedness of these charges. We have incessantly recommended to you attachment to your country, resignation and patience, while waiting the return of justice! Nothing has been able to cool our zeal, or that of your brethren of mixed blood who are at Paris. M. Raimond, in particular, has devoted himself most heroically to your defence. With what transport would you have seen this distinguished citizen, at the bar of the national assembly, of which he ought to be a member, laying before it the affecting picture of your miseries, and strenuously claiming your rights! If that assembly had sacrificed them, it would have tarnished its glory. It was its duty to decree with justice, to explain itself clearly, and cause its laws to be executed with firmness; it has done so; and if (which God forbid!) some event, hidden in the womb of futurity, should tear our colonies from us, would it not be better to have a loss to deplore, than an injustice to reproach ourselves with?

Citizens! raise once more your humiliated countenances, and to the dignity of men, associate the courage and nobleness of a free people. The 15th of May, the day in which you recovered your rights, ought to be for ever memorable to you and to your children. This epoch will periodically awaken in you sentiments of gratitude towards the Supreme Being; and may your accents ascend to the vault

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of heaven, towards which your grateful hands will be extended! At length you have a country. Hereafter you will see nothing above you but the law; while the opportunity of concurring in the framing it, will assure to you that indefeasible right of all mankind, the right of obeying yourselves only.

You have a country: and it will no longer be a land of exile, where you meet none but tyrants on the one hand, and companions in misfortune on the other; the former distributing, and the latter receiving, contempt and outrage. The groans of your afflictions were punished as the clamours of rebellion; and situated between the uplifted poinard, and certain death, those unhappy countries were often moistened with your tears, and sometimes stained with your blood. You have a country: and happiness will shine on the seat of your nativity. You will now enjoy in peace the fruits of the fields which you have cultivated without compulsion. Then will be filled up that interval, which, placing at an immense distance from each other, the children of the same father, has suppressed the voice of nature, and broken the bonds of fraternity asunder. Then will the chaste enjoyments of conjugal union take the place of those vile sallies of debauchery, by which the majesty of moral sentiment has been insulted. By what strange perversion of reason can it be deemed disgraceful in a white man to marry a black or mulatto woman, when it is not thought dishonourable in him to be connected with her in the most licentious familiarity!

The less real worth a man possesses, the more he seeks to avail himself of the appearances of virtue. What can

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

This prejudice against the mulattoes and Negroes has however no existence in our Eastern colonies. Nothing can be more affecting than the eulogium made on the people of colour, by the inhabitants of that part of the world, and in the instructions given by them, to those they have appointed their deputies to the national assembly. The members of the academy of sciences pride themselves in reckoning a mulatto of the Isle of France in the number of correspondents. Among ourselves, a worthy Negro is a superior officer of the district of St. Hypolite, in the department of Gard. We do not conceive that a difference of colour can be the foundation of different rights among members of the same political society. It is therefore we find no such despicable pride among our brave national guards, who offer themselves to embark for the West Indies to insure the execution of our decrees. Perfectly concurring in the laudable sentiments manifested by the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, they acknowledge with them, that the decree respecting the people of colour, framed under the auspices of prudence and wisdom, is an homage

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rendered to reason and justice. While the deputies from the colonies have endeavoured to calumniate your intentions, and those of the mercantile part of the nation, the conduct of those deputies is perfectly contradictory. Ardently soliciting their own admission among us at Versailles; swearing with us in the Tennis Court not to separate from us, until the constitution should be established, and then declaring, when the decree of the 15th of May was passed, that they could no longer continue to sit with us! This desertion is a desertion of their principles, and a breach of their solemn oaths.

All those white inhabitants of the colonies who are worthy the name of Frenchmen, have hastened to abjure such ridiculous prejudices, and have promised to regard you in future as brothers and friends. With what delightful sensations do we cite the words of the citizens of Jacmel. "We swear to obey, without reserve, the decrees of the national assembly respecting our present and future constitution, and even such of them as may substantially change it!" The citizens of Port au Prince tell the national assembly the same thing, in different words. "Condescend, gentlemen," say they, "to receive the oath which the municipality has taken to you, in the name of the commons of Port au Prince, punctually to obey and execute all your decrees, and never to swerve from them in any respect whatsoever." Thus has philosophy enlarged its horizon in the new world, and soon will absurd prejudices have no other supporters than a few inferior tyrants, who wish to perpetuate in America, the reign of that despotism which has been abolished in France.

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What would these men have said, if the people of colour had endeavoured to deprive the whites of *their* political advantages? With what energy would they not have exclaimed at such an oppression! Inflamed into madness at finding that your rights had been pointed out to you, their irritated pride may perhaps lead them to make every effort to render our decrees ineffectual. They will probably endeavour to raise such disturbances, as, by wresting the colonies from the mother country, will enable them to defraud their creditor of their just debts. They have incessantly alarmed us with threats that St. Domingo will be lost, if justice be rendered to you. In this assertion we have found nothing but falsehood: we please ourselves in the belief, that our decree will draw the bands still closer which unite you to the mother country. Your patriotism, your interest, and your affections, will concur in inducing you to confine your commercial connections to France only; and the reciprocal tributes of industry will establish between her and her colonies a constant interchange of riches and good offices. If you act unfaithfully towards France, you will be the basest and most abandoned of the human race. But no! generous citizens, you will not become traitor to your country; you shudder at the idea. Rallied, with all other good Frenchmen, around the standard of liberty, you will defend our glorious constitution. The day shall arrive, when the representatives of the people of colour will cross the ocean to take their seats with us, and swear to live and die under our laws. The day shall arrive among you when the sun will shine on none but free men; when the rays of light shall no longer

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fall on the fetters of slavery. It is true, the national assembly has not yet raised the condition of the enslaved Negroes to a level with your situation; because suddenly granting the rights to those who are ignorant of the duties of citizens, might perhaps have been a fatal present to them: but forget not, that they, like yourselves, are born to freedom and perfect equality. It is in the irresistible course of things that all nations, whose liberty has been invaded, shall recover that precious portion of their indefeasible inheritance!

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

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

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fulfill a duty; you will prepare for yourselves the most comfortable reflections; you will do honour to humanity, and insure the prosperity of the colonies. Such will be your conduct towards your brethren, the Negroes; but what ought it to be toward your fathers, the whites? Doubtless you will be permitted to shed tears over the ashes of Ferrand de Baudiere, and the unfortunate Oge, assassinated under the forms of law, and dying on the wheel for having wished to be free! But may he among you perish, who shall dare to entertain an idea of revenge against your persecutors! They are already delivered over to the stings of their own consciences, and covered with eternal infamy. The abhorrence in which they are held by the present race of mankind, only precedes the execration of posterity. Bury then in eternal oblivion every sentiment of hatred, and taste the delicious pleasure of conferring benefits on your oppressors. Repress even too marked expressions of your joy, which, in causing them to reflect on their injustice towards you, will make their remorse still more pungent.

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

How will their hearts be affected when, conducting them to your shores, you direct their looks towards France, telling them, "beyond those seas is your parent country; it is from thence we have received justice, protection, happiness, and liberty. There dwell our fellow citizens,

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our brethren, and our friends; to them we have sworn an eternal friendship. Heirs of our sentiments, and of our affections, may your hearts and your lips repeat our oaths! Live to love them: and, if necessary, die to defend them!

Signed, GREGOIRE.

Paris, 8th June, 1791.



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CHAPTER VIII.

"Bleed, bleed, poor country;
Great tyranny, lay thou thy basis sure;
For goodness dares not check thee."

It would be a difficult task for human imagination to picture a more horrible scene of sword and torch of blood than that which followed the decree of the French National Assembly, passed the 15th of May, 1791. It was but the beginning of a series of insurrections and conspiracies which swept like the angel of death over one of the fairest spots on the globe; the horrors of which imagination cannot adequately conceive nor pen describe. Such a scene of woe presents itself, as no other country, no former age has exhibited. The edict giving all of God's created creatures their Almighty rights was the brand by which the flames of revolt, conflagration and massacre were lighted. The decree, together with the letter of Abbe Gregorie, enraged the white planters. The idea of sitting in the Colonial Assembly by the side of a colored man—their own children—was too large a dose to swallow. Rage and indignation spread through the colony and seemed to unite even the most discordant interests, and in no place did the inhabitants breathe greater resentment than in the town of the Cape, which had hitherto been foremost in professions of attachment to the mother country; and in promoting the spirit of disunion and opposition in the Colonial Assembly. They now unanimously determined to reject the decree. In the first transport of indignation the white

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planters proposed to seize all the ships, and confiscate the effects of the French merchants then in the harbor, an embargo was actually laid, and a motion was even made in the Provincial Assembly to pull down the National colors and hoist the British standard in the room. The National cockade was everywhere trodden under foot, and the Governor General, who continued a sorrowful* and silent spectator, found his authority, as representative of the parent country, together with every idea of colonial subordination in the people annihilated. Justly alarmed at all these proceedings so hostile towards them, and probably apprehensive of a general proscription, the mulattoes throughout the colony began to collect in different places and arm themselves.

It was on the morning of the 23d of August, just before day, that a general alarm and consternation spread throughout the town of the Cape, that the fight had begun. The white planters had concluded to subdue the people of color: the people of color had determined not to be subdued, and the blacks had determined to revolt. Death in all its horrors, or cruelties and outrages, compared to which, *immediate* death is mercy, rushed alike upon the old and the young, the matron, the virgin and the helpless infant; the

*The fear and apprehension which the Governor (Blancheland) felt on this occasion have been described by himself in a memorial which he afterwards published. He observes: "Acquainted with the temper of the white planters of San Domingo by a residence of seven years among them, and well informed of the grounds and motives of their prejudices and opinions concerning the people of color, I foresaw the disturbances and dangers which the news of the decree would inevitably produce, I was confident that this decree would prove the death warrant of many thousands of the inhabitants. The event has mournfully verified my prediction."

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black, the white, the colored; no condition, age or sex is spared. The rage of fire consumes what the sword is unable to destroy, and in a few dismal hours the most fertile and beautiful plains in the world are converted into one vast field of carnage—a wilderness of desolation.

It has been computed that within two months after the revolt began, upwards of two thousand whites of all conditions and ages had been massacred; one hundred and eighty sugar plantations and nine hundred coffee, cotton and indigo settlements had been destroyed, and one thousand families reduced to absolute beggary. On the other hand, of the colored insurgents about ten thousand had perished by the sword, famine, execution and torture of the wheel—a system of revenge and retaliation which no enormities of savage life could justify or excuse. Seeing that the mulattoes had determined on protracting the war with the assistance of the revolted blacks, and realizing the fact that they could not hold out against such dreadful odds, the whites made a truce between themselves and the mulattoes to keep the blacks in awe and general submission. The General Assembly thereupon met and recognized what to them had been the noxious decree of the 15th of May, 1791, and the citizenship of a person of color, born of free parents, was acknowledged. At the same time strange things were taking place in Paris. The tide of popular prejudice, which had hitherto ran with such violence against the colonists was beginning to turn. The National Assembly, now on the point of dissolution, took up the question of the colony. "We are about to lose the colony," said the members of the Assembly. We

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have been too hasty with that decree of ours about the rights of the mulattoes; it has brought about a civil war." At length a motion was made to annul the decree of the 15th of May, and on the 24th of September its repeal was actually voted by a large majority. Thus, almost in the very moment when the justice and necessity of the decree relative to the "people of color" were acknowledged by the Colonial Assembly, its repeal was pronounced by the National Assembly in the mother country. Of the two measures, it is difficult to say which produced the greatest calamities:—the decree as issued on the 15th of May, or its unexpected repeal on the 24th of September. At any rate, this conduct on the part of the National Assembly rekindled the flame of insurrection and war. "The decree is repealed," said the mulattoes, "the people in Paris are playing false with us; we must depend on ourselves in the future; there is no hope or possibility of coming to any terms with the whites; either they must exterminate us or we must exterminate them, there is no longer any alternative." Up to this time the mulattoes had kept aloof from the blacks—in truth, they despised the blacks as contemptuously as they themselves were despised by the whites. But now they found it necessary to induce them to join their ranks, to assist in checking the power of the white planter at all hazards. They said to the blacks, "Strange things are taking place in Paris, it is the desire of the white man to blot us entirely out of existence; we will no longer keep aloof from you, let us unite for our good."

In this disposition, being now united in one common cause, they re-enacted and extended more widely all the

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horrors of previous bloody tragedies. Open war was now renewed, all the soft workings of humanity—what Shakespeare calls the *compunction visitings of nature*—were now absorbed in the raging and insatiable thirst of revenge which influenced each class alike. It was no longer a contest for mere victory, but a diabolical emulation which party could inflict the most abominable cruelties. The first bloody engagement took place in the district called *Cul de Sac*. The whites claimed the victory; the blacks and mulattoes acting without any kind of discipline were slaughtered by the thousands; of the blacks taken prisoners the whites contented themselves with torturing them. French writers themselves speak of the scene there enacted with loathing disgust. Every refinement in cruelty that the most depraved imagination could suggest was practiced on the person of these black captives. The usual method of disposing of them was by making them kneel on the edge of a trench some twenty or thirty feet in depth, and then shooting them until the trench was filled by their dead bodies. Some were placed in vessels, carried out some distance to sea, and being chained together were forced overboard and drowned. One of the mulatto leaders was placed by the white victors on an elevated seat in a cart, and secured in it by driving large spiked nails through his feet into the boards. In this condition he was driven a spectacle through the city; his bones were afterward broken and he was then thrown alive into the flames. The author's hand trembles as he writes of these digusting scenes of slaughter, devastation, inhuman butcheries and shameful enormities.

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CHAPTER IX.

"Right, crushed to earth, shall rise again;
The eternal years of God are hers:
But Wrong, wounded, writhes in pain,
And dies among his worshippers."

The people of Paris becoming disgusted and alarmed at the state of affairs in San Domingo, sent three Comissioners* to the Island to regulate and settle the turbulent condition of things, but their attempt to accomplish this end was a failure. Though they were men of extraordinary ability and high rank in life, they commanded no degree of respect or consideration from the white planters. The first step of the three Commissioners was to proclaim a general amnesty and pardon to such people of all descriptions, as should lay down their arms, and come in within a prescribed time and take the oath required by the new constitution sent by the King, and published by them. This action of the Commissioners enraged the white planters.

A general amnesty to the men of color and revolted slaves was considered a declaration of freedom. The Commissioners, finding themselves very lightly regarded, recalled the amnesty, and with their unlimited power acted according to their pleasure, and acquired large sums of money for their own purposes, spending the greater part of their time in the practice of vicious propensities. These had their power revoked by the home government and re-

*Mirbeck, Roome and St. Leger, formerly advocates in the Parliament of Paris.

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turned to France. In the meantime the state of public affairs in the mother country was tending to a great and ominous change. Louis XVI had been dethroned and the Republican Party and the *Amis des Nois* were rising in power; the revolutionists were hourly increasing in numbers, and preparations were being made to bring the monarch himself to the scaffold. The friends of the blacks having acquired an ascendency in the legislative body, one of them named Garau de Caulon, on the 20th of February, after a long and eloquent speech, proposed the form of a decree declaring a general amnesty throughout the French colonies, and enacting that new colonial assemblies should be formed, which should transmit their sentiments not only on the subject of the internal government of the colonies, but also on the best method of effecting the abolition of Negro slavery in *toto*. The National Assembly passed this new decree on the 24th of April, 1792. Among other things it provided for the appointment of Commissioners. The most objectionable portion of the decree to the white planters was the second clause, which specified that "the people of color and free Negroes shall be admitted to vote in all the provincial and electoral assemblies, and shall be eligible to the legislature and all places of trust, provided they possess the qualifications."

The three new Commissioners to the decree arrived in San Domingo on the 13th of September; with them came 6,000 troops. They at once declared to the white planters that they came for the purpose of enforcing the decree of the 4th of April, in favor of the people of color. Finding the planters opposed to their settling the difficulties of the

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colony and establishing the future government on a peaceable, solid and permanent foundation, they dissolved the Colonial Assembly and sent the Governor to France to be executed. These Commissioners, like their predecessors, soon forgot their real mission; they plundered the public funds to satisfy their own purposes, surrounded by a military rabble.

The beginning of the year 1793 found them absolute masters of the colony; their only ambition was to gratify their passions without notice or control from any one. France was now under control of the all powerful triumvirate—Danton, Murat and Robespierre; the King had been beheaded, and war declared against great Britain and Holland. The French Council thought it necessary to pay some little attention to the safety of San Domingo, and put it into the best state of defence against a foreign enemy. They therefore revoked the power of the three Commissioners, and a new Governor (Galbaud), a man of fair character and an officer of artillery, appointed to take their place. Galbaud landed at Cape Francois on the 7th of May. Immediately a struggle ensued between him and the Commissioners, who refused to submit. He desired them to repair to the Cape that he might communicate the instructions he had received from the Executive Council. They answered that he was an entire stranger to them; that they had seen no decree of the National Convention by which they themselves were superseded, and that being vested with authority to suspend or appoint a Governor, as they alone might think proper, he could only be considered as an agent subordinate to themselves. They added that

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they were then assembling an army to suppress a rebellion in the town and neighborhood of Port au Prince, but that as soon as the business was at an end they would pay him a visit and examine into the validity of his pretentions. On the 10th of June the Commissioners, having reduced Port-au-Prince and Jacmel, according to promise, turned their attention to the Cape and Galbaud.

During the absence of the Commissioners in Port-au-Prince, Galbaud had very wisely fortified himself to maintain his position as Governor; he had collected from among the inhabitants and the seamen in the harbor a strong party to the amount of one thousand two hundred, therefore, when the Commissioners marched into the town of the Cape with the revolted blacks and mulattoes, Galbaud was prepared to give them a warm reception. The conflict was fierce and bloody. Galbaud's seamen getting possession of a wine cellar, became intoxicated and ungovernable, which lost him the battle. Galbaud was expelled from the island and forced to take refuge in the United States.

While the struggle for the governorship of the island was going on, the plantations were neglected: the whites and the mulattoes were still at war; the whites and the blacks were at war, and the blacks and mulattoes were at war. Factions, anarchy and savage cruelty continued with unremitting fury. Masses of blacks were quartered in the hills in fastnesses from which they could not be routed, and from which they could rush down upon the plains and commit outrages. From their refuge they sallied forth and seized and burned the city of Cape Francois, besides committing many other damages.

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The destruction of the beautiful city of Cape Francois—a city which for trade, opulence and magnificence, was perhaps the first in the "new world"—was a sad event, especially for the white inhabitants, who seeing no evidence of a return of peace, and their lives being endangered, great numbers of them abandoned the island. Many went to the island of Jamaica; many took refuge in the United States and some in Great Britain. Through those who left the island as well as those who fled from the mother country, overtures were made to the British government to take possession of the island and change it to a British colony, They asserted (with considerable distortion of the truth) that all classes of people wished to place themselves under the English dominion. The English ministry with some degree of complacency listened to these representations and turned their attention toward the island. Dispatches were sent to Lieutenant Governor Williamson, of Jamaica, to detach from the troops under his command in Jamaica, such a force as should be sufficient to wrestle the island from the French and retain possession of it until reinforcements should arrive from England. General Williamson, as per instruction, sent troops from Jamaica to San Domingo, who on landing commenced the desperate struggle of planting the British flag.*

*It is related that the English in their attempts to establish their power on the island of San Domingo, expended the sum of £20,000,000 sterling, losing by disease and death, 45,000 men.

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CHAPTER X.

"O dark, sad millions, patiently and dumb,
Waiting for God, your hour at last has come;
And freedom's song
Breaks the long silence of your night of wrong."

A scene now opens, which if it does not obliterate, exceeds at least, all that has hitherto been related of cruelties in this unfortunate colony. Colonel Whitelock, with a large force of well drilled soldiers, escorted by Commodore Ford, in the Europa, accompanied by five frigates, arrived at Jeremie, from England, on the 19th of September, 1793. On the 20th of the same month Col. Whitelock captured Port-au-Prince and some of the French ships that were in the harbor. At the same time Commodore Ford with his ships directed his course to the garrison of Cape St. Nicholas, took possession of the fortress and harbor, and received the allegiance of the French officers and privates. By the possession of Port-au-Prince and the port at Cape St. Nicholas, the British squadron commanded the navigation of the Island.

It was just at this particular point and moment that the sun began to dispel the gloom of slavery. The French Commissioners becoming alarmed by the success of the British forces, issued a decree abolishing all manner of slavery, at the same time inviting the blacks to join them against the invaders. Thousands of blacks responded to the invitation of the French Commissioners, but the greater majority fled to the hills to luxuriate in the liberty

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they had so suddenly obtained. Thus secured in the natural fastnesses which the interior affords, they established themselves into an army of upwards of 100,000, with Francois and Biasson as chiefs. From these recesses they poured down as occasion might offer and sacrificed the invaders and invaded in one common destruction. War was now the order of the day.

> O'er mountains far and near,
> A shout was borne from mouth to mouth,
> And echo answered, war!

Lamentation, conspiracy, tumultuous confusion and bloody butcheries swept like the angel of death over San Domingo. The warlike struggle between foreign nations, the strife of political and religious partisanship, the flames of the French revolution at Paris, the tyranny and ignorance of the white planters, and anxiety for the breath of liberty on the part of the blacks, together set the island on fire. Old and young of both sexes were put to the sword amid burning towns and blazing mansions. The French, British, mulattoes and blacks were all acting their respective parts in the turmoil. The description Josephus, the Jewish historian, gives of the cruelty of the Idumeans concerning the slaughter of Ananus in the temple,* would hardly be a comparison. This inextricable mixture in a bewildering war, could not be called a foreign war, nor a civil war, nor a war of races, but a composition of all three. Hitherto the narrative has applied chiefly to transactions in which the white planters of San Domingo defied all law

*Now there was at present neither any place for flight nor any hope for preservation, but as they were driven, one upon another in heaps, so were they slain.—*Josephus.*

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and justice as applied by the mother country to the people of color; in which the French and English were driven into the horrors of war for gain of territory; in which the people of color contended for political privileges for themselves; in which the black's only idea of liberty was revolt and bloody butcheries; in which the philanthropists of Paris to better establish liberty at home, contended for the brotherhood of man in San Domingo. The conclusion to be drawn from these scenes may be truthfully summed up in the different parties connected with the drama, as averice, ambition, cruelty and ignorance. To say nothing of that daring and desperate band of Spanish adventurers—the buccaneers—the introducers of slavery on the island of San Domingo. Whoever shall calmly deliberate on these will find no difficulty in accounting for the dreadful extent of those wars, or in assigning to its proper cause, and tracing to the fountain head those rivers of blood which flowed in this unfortunate colony. However we may condemn these rash, illconcerted and inhuman wars, let the reader be reminded that every deviation from the rule of right, that, in the conflict of contending factions, the excesses of one party are considered as the fullest justification for the outrages of the other, therefore for their fate,

> One human tear may drop,
> And be forgiven.

But now comes a part of the sequel which, though it may be followed with the rage of reformation, the contentions of party and the conflicts of opposing interests and passions, no part of the proceedings need be apologized

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for. The seeds of liberty which ever since the CELEBRATED DECREE of the 15th of May, 1791, had taken root on the Island of San Domingo now began to spring up with a rank luxuriance in all parts of the colony, and a thousand circumstances demonstrated that great and important changes were pending. Systems of real life had taken possession of the minds of the blacks, written in colors too lasting to be obliterated. The strong and irresistible impulse of human nature, groaning under oppression and private grievances were everywhere visible, and the peaceful enjoyment of happiness at home fllled the minds of the blacks. In the midst of this hostile confusion, when desolation and carnage was at its highest; when a savior was in demand who could ascertain the full extent of the distress of an enslaved people, and pour into their minds the salutary balm of sensibility, compassion and liberty, that most extraordinary man appeared upon the stage —TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.



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TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

(*Warrior and Statesman.*)

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LIFE OF

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

(WARRIOR AND STATESMAN)

CHAPTER I.

"Immortal! to thee they pour a grateful tribute to thy
natal hour;
Who strike the lyre to liberty, and twine wreath for her
triumphs, for they are thine.
Wooed by thy virtues to the haunts of men,
From mountain, precipice and rugged glen,
She bade thee vindicate the rights of man,
And in her march, 'twas thine to lead the van."

Toussaint L'Ouverture* was born in San Domingo in 1743, on the plantation of a French nobleman named De Noe. His parents were both slaves and of pure Negro blood; his father was a native of Africa and was said to be the second son of Gaou-Guinou, King of the Arradas, a powerful tribe on the west coast of Africa. Toussaint's father had been captured by a hostile tribe with whom his people were at war, and sold as a slave to white slave merchants, who carried him to San Domingo, and again sold him to Count De Noe.

*Pronounced—Too-San Lo-ver-tur.

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On the Count's plantation he found a few of his fellow countrymen, who had belonged to the same tribe of which his father had been chief, and who recognized him as the son of their king. From among his own people he made choice of a wife. To them eight children—five sons and three daughters, were born. Of the sons Toussaint* was the eldest. Upon this estate Toussaint grew up. In personal appearance he was of middle stature; strangely marked African features; well developed forehead; rather straight and neat figure; sharp and bright eyes; with an earnestness in conversation that seemed to charm the listener.

In the neighborhood of De Noe's plantation lived a black man named Pierre Baptiste, who had been in the service of some Catholic Missionaries, from whom he had received a respectable education. Toussaint having an anxiety to cultivate his mind, became a pupil of Baptiste, and all that Baptiste had learned from the missionaries Toussaint learned from Baptiste. He was allowed the privilege of his master's library—a strange kindness to give to a slave in those times, especially as intelligence was dangerous to the institution of slavery. But the director of the Count De Noe's estate, M. Bayou de

*It is thought that he was named Toussaint because his birth took place on All Saint's Day—which is the meaning of the word Toussaint in the French language. His full name was Toussaint Breda, so called (Breda) from the name of Count DeNoe's estate. The surname, L'Ouverture, was received in this wise: When Toussaint withdrew from the Spanish (see page 69,) and joined the French General, Laveaux, this General was so overjoyed on learning the consequences that he exclaimed: "*Comment mais cet homme fait ouverture partout!*" From this time he received his surname, L'Ouverture, (the opening).

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Libertas, was a mild and amiable man, and seeing Toussaint's gentle disposition, which he showed toward man and beast, his private virtues and his fondness for books, to which he gave every spare moment of his time, not only granted him this privilege, but made him his coachman, and finally gave him a post of importance and trust in connection with the sugar manufactory of the estate. He read a good number of books of ancient history, biography, morals, and military works, among them "Political and Philosophical History of the European Colonies in the East and West Indies," by the Abbe Raynal. The evil results of slavery which this book pictured had a powerful effect on him. Among many passages the book contained the following utterance:

"What shall be done to overthrow slavery? Self interests alone govern kings and nations. We must look elsewhere. A courageous chief is all the Negroes need. Where is he? Where is that great man whom nature owes to her Negro; oppressed and tormented children? He will doubtless appear. This veritable signal will gather around him his companions in misfortune. More impetuous than the torrents, they will everywhere leave the indelible traces of their just resentment. Everywhere people will bless the hero who shall have established the rights of the human race."

Toussaint, when he read this prophesy, had not the remotest idea of being the "courageous chief," the "veritable signal," the hero who would be called upon to fulfill the prediction. At this period, the Spanish who occupied the eastern portion of the island, were allied to the cause of the French King, Louis XVI, and wanted to engage the blacks on their side to help in putting down the planters who were in rebellion against the King of France. By misrepresentation they persuaded the blacks to join them.

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They said to the blacks: "We are going to allie ourselves to the cause of the French King, Louis XVI, to help put down the rebellion; the planters are against you, and their friends in Paris have imprisoned Louis XVI, and will put him to death because he wants to free the slaves." The blacks readily believed that such was the true state of the case, yet not without reason, which was, that they saw the planters, their former masters, in arms against the King. The blacks accordingly joined the Spanish, while the planters entered into an alliance with Great Britain. The conflict was sanguinary; carnage and barbarity was the order of the day; bleeding heads of white men surrounded the black camps, and the bodies of black men hung on the trees around the camps of the planters. The army of the blacks acted under directions of Joachin Garcia, the President of the Spanish Colonial Council. It was very desirous that one of such capacity as Toussaint possessed, should be induced to join the insurrectionary movement, which he at first refused to do. But the continued cruelty with which the planters treated the slaves, resolved Toussaint into a determination that he and his brethren should be free. After securing his master and family* from the

*Toussaint had promised, if possible, to save the lives of M. Bayou de Libertas, the Director of the DeNoe estate, his wife, daughter and son-in-law. Having no immediate means of providing for their escape, he conducted them into an adjacent wood; the following night he found an opportunity of bringing them provisions from the camp. The second night he returned again with a further supply of provisions, but declared that it would be a difficult matter to give them further assistance. After this they saw nothing of him for three days, but at the end of that time he came again and directed the family how to make their way to a river which led to Port Margot, assuring them they would find a canoe on a

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revolutionary danger, Toussaint entered the army as an inferior officer under Francois and Biasson, then occupying the hills. At once Toussaint rose to distinction. With 600 men he beat a body of 1,500 French out of a stronghold which they had occupied near the town of Raphael, and took successfully the villages of Marmelade, Henneri, Plaisance and Gonaives. The triumph of Toussaint over the French, however, was of short duration, as the sequel will show, for the Spanish, under whose banner he was so nobly exerting himself proved treacherous.

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part of the river which he described. They followed his directions, found the canoe and got safely into it, but were overset by the rapidity of the current, and after a narrow escape thought it best to return to their retreat in the woods. Toussaint, anxious for their safety, again found them out and directed them to a broader part of the river, where he assured them he had provided a boat. They went accordingly, but not finding the boat, gave themselves up for lost, when the faithful Toussaint again appeared like a guardian angel. He brought with him pigeons, poultry and bread, and conducted the family by slow marches in the night along the banks of the river until they were within sight of the wharf at Port Margot, when, telling them that a vessel was in readiness to take them to the United States, he took his leave, but afterward sent them remittances as he could manage to gather from the wreck of their property. Toussaint remembered the kind treatment of M. Bayou de Libertas in granting the unusual privilege of the use of books, and a position superior to the other Negroes of the plantation, and in gratitude he hid them in the woods, visited them at the risk of his own life, secured the means of their escape and provided for their comfort after their arrival in another country. Was not this an exhibition of a noble spirit in an untutored Negro?

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CHAPTER II.

"Rest not; life is sweeping by:
Go and dare before you die.
Something mighty and sublime
Leave behind to conquer time."

While the people of San Domingo were thus fighting among themselves, the revolutionary movement in France was at its height. Robespierre and Danton were at the head of affairs and the guillotine was beheading its thousands. Among the victims was the King. The death of Louis XVI reached San Domingo, and with it glowing reports of the triumph of the Republicans. The Spanish felt that there was nothing further to be gained by their attachment to the cause of the defeated Royalists, threw off their mask of deception, and entered into a league with Great Britain to divide the island between them and restore slavery. Toussaint thereupon rallied the blacks together into an independent army, with the determination of routing French, Spanish and British from the island, and establish the freedom of his brethren.

Such was the situation of affairs when news reached the island that the French Convention of the 4th of March, 1794, had declared the abolition of Negro slavery in all the French colonies. The Spanish and British having previously determined to continue their atrocious enormities, treated the French declaration as a dead leter. Consolidating themselves, they began the work of driving the French from the island as a forerunner to the restoration of slav-

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ery. With the declaration of the French Convention was the commission vesting the French General, Laveaux, with the sole governorship of the colony.

Toussaint's only object being liberty and equality before the law for all the inhabitants of San Domingo, took the oath of fidelity to the French Republic, and assisted Laveaux in driving the British troops out of the island, in which service he distinguished himself, and was no less successful than he had been while fighting under the Spanish. Laveaux discerning in Toussaint superior abilities and exhalted character, saw no reason why he should not be esteemed as much as if he had been a French gentleman, educated in the schools of Paris.* Accordingly he appointed Toussaint Lieutenant-Governor of the colony, declaring his intention at the same time to act by his advice in all matters, whether military or civil. How well Toussaint kept his oath of fidelity and exhibited it toward the French, the following will show. In the month of March an insurrection of mulattoes at the town of the Cape, Laveaux was seized and put in confinement. On hearing this, Toussaint marched at the head of 10,000 blacks, with unexampled bravery fought his way five miles through the enemy, got safe to the town, and obliged the inhabitants to open the gates by threats of a siege, entered in triumph, released the French commander and replaced

*It is claimed for Laveaux that he was the first European to do justice in practice to the Negro character, and to treat a Negro exactly as he would a European gentleman, and felt himself called upon to put in practice the maxim which had obtained among the French people, "that a Negro was to be treated like any other man, whose circumstances were the same."

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him in office. In these struggles Napoleon Bonaparte, who was now at the head of the French government, had watched the bravery of Toussaint, and regarded him as a soldier of the highest ability and courage. He therefore, in 1799, placed him at the head of the Haytian army and appointed him Commander-in-Chief of the colony.

Toussaint was now in supreme control of Hayti, for though Commissioners were sent out from France, such was the power he wielded over the people of all classes and colors, that he was able to make the Commissioners act subserviently to him. The year 1800 saw Hayti in a tranquil, settled state, with the exception of a small province in the south, where Rigand, a mulatto, with a few followers held out against the authority of the Commander-in-Chief. Hayti was now under the authority of the French Republic, which was represented by the Commissioner Roume. Toussaint was, however, the real authority; he was not satisfied, however, until he was able to claim that the whole island, including the Spanish portion, was under his dominion, and he therefore proposed to the Commissioner, Roume, that the cession required by the treaty of July, 1795, should now be carried out. Roume assented to Toussaint's suggestion, and with the Chief went about preparing to accomplish this transfer of authority. While apparently acting thus in good faith, Roume, with great duplicity, secretly sent word to the Spanish Governor that he should refuse to deliver the Spanish domain. Toussaint learning of the treachery of the Commissioner, at first imprisoned him, and finally sent him out of the country to France. The traitorous French representa-

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tive being now out of the way, and Rigand, the rebellious, subdued, Toussaint found himself in unmolested, supreme control of Hayti; and deeming it a favorable time to put in operation a plan he had long been maturing, he on the 9th of November, 1800, sent a note to General Garcia, advising him that he should send General Moise at the head of 10,000 troops to take possession of Spanish San Domingo in the name of the French Republic. In order to give force to this note, at the same time he dispatched it he put in motion the force under General Moise, his nephew, while he himself, at the head of a column also of 10,000 men, marched by the southern route directly upon San Domingo City.

General Garcia, in command at that place, made every preparation to resist these movements, and while sending word to the authorities of the Ciboa to interfere as much as possible with the march of General Moise, he himself took measures to delay the march of Toussaint upon the capital. These measures were, however, comparatively ineffectual, though much annoyance was caused Toussaint by the activity of the malitia against his columns, until he arrived at Naga. At this point, in order to avoid the spilling of blood,* he resorted to diplomacy, by sending a note

*A circumstance which showed the nobility of soul and the integrity of manhood in Toussaint, was his conduct with the British General Maitland. After numerous battles with the English, an which Toussaint L'Ouverture had met Albion's bravest son's and conquered them, completely driving them off, even from the possessions in Hayti which they had obtained when the island was under French management exclusively, a treaty was proposed by Maitland. He proposed an interview with Toussaint. General Roumé, of the French army, learning of the British General's

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to Garcia, that he, Toussaint, was surprised to find resistance on his journey, which he had not taken as an invader, but as an officer of the French Republic, to carry out the provisions of a treaty made with it by Spain, and that if the city was not immediately surrendered he would lay siege to it. General Garcia, recognizing the impossibility of holding out in the event of such an undertaking, ceded his authority, and on the 2d of January, 1801, opened the gates of San Domingo City to Toussaint, who at the head of his troops, took possession of this famous city for the French Republic; the ceremony being solemnly consummated by a *Te Deum* in the Grand Cathedral, at which the principal authorities and the troops assisted.

Being thus in possession, the commander with great

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proposal, thought he saw an opportunity to serve France and distinguish himself, even at the cost of honor. He recommended to Toussaint L'Ouverture, that on Maitland's coming to see him about arranging the terms of treaty, he should detain him as a prisoner. Toussaint had previously informed General Maitland of his readiness to receive him and hear his proposals. The British General was nevertheless informed of Roumé's proposed treachery by some of Maitland's friends. He therefore entered on his mission to Toussaint with great apprehension. On entering, the British General was courteously received by the Negro Chief in his camp, and before any futher ceremonies commenced, Toussaint showed Maitland, Roumé's letter requesting him (Toussaint,) to detain Maitland as a prisoner of war, and also showed him his (Toussaint's) reply. He then assured General Maitland that he was safe within the Haytian camp and said to him: "Sir, I am incapable of baseness." To Roumé he replied: "*What, have I not passed my word to the British General? How can you suppose that I will cover myself with dishonor by breaking it? His reliance in my good faith leads him to put himself in my power, and I shall be ever infamous if I were to act as you advise me. I am faithfully devoted to the Republic, but will not serve it at the expense of my conscience and my honor.*" What true greatness of spirit and inflexible virtue.

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wisdom turned his attention to the internal improvements of the island. He named Paul L'Ouverture, his brother, as Governor of the South, with headquarters at San Domingo City, and General Clervaux in command of the North, with headquarters at Santiago. He gave to the Spanish part of the island officers who, by their wisdom and judgment, were acceptable. Having arranged his authority satisfactorily in this part of the island, Toussaint, by a circuitous route, returned to the western part. It being stated, his journey was a perfect ovation from its beginning to its end, and the inhabitants looked forward under his rule to a season of peace and prosperity. A future they had a right to expect, since, for the first time in its history, the whole island was united under one government. Peace was restored, the reign of law and justice was established; those who had been slaves were now citizens. Religion again reared her altars; public worship was conducted with all the pomp of the Romish Church. The plantations were again covered with rich products, sugar-houses and distilleries were rebuilt, and on the sites of ruins new edifices were erected. The export* trade began to revive, and population increased. San Domingo was now regarded as the happiest spot in all the French dominions.

Schools were established, and books became common articles in the cottages of laborers. Music and the theatre were encouraged. The whites, blacks and mulattoes mingled in the same society and exchanged with each other

*It is an historical verity that Toussaint L'Ouverture was the first of the rulers of the world to introduce the system of free trade.

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all the courtesies of civilized intercourse. The Commander-in-Chief held his public levees, at which he was surrounded by his officers and visited by the distinguished French families, and his private parties vied with the best regulated society in Paris. All authorities seem to agree that under Toussaint a reign of order began in the island that was remarkable. He ordered his faithful soldiers to return to work, as they were before the war, and he gave protection to the whites, even inviting those planters who had fled the island to return and re-occupy their estates. Under his wise rule San Domingo soon advanced in the most rapid manner in her agricultural and social prosperity. Rewards were offered for industry, and heavy penalties were inflicted for idleness.

He was successful in improving and preserving San Domingo to the French government, yet he entertained, as he had a just reason to do, a secret fear that Napoleon Bonaparte was plotting his ruin. In truth and fact the great French General, Bonaparte, who had subdued the most powerful nations of the earth, and who had made kingdoms to tremble at his frown, yet feared the Negro chief. He was unwilling to meet him face to face on the battle field, as his knowledge of Toussaint's prowess warned him how futile such an undertaking would be. Filled with vanity and egotism, he believed that he was born destined to conquer the world and die without having met with a successful opponent, yet seeing a most powerful one in the Black General, Toussaint L'Ouverture. He viewed him with an eye of suspicion, hatred and jealousy; he therefore contemplated a treacherous plan to restore

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France to her former sovereignty and control of San Domingn; a plot he would have long since carried into effect, but too great was the hostility of all civilized powers against France.

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CHAPTER III.

"For the tyrant ever seeks to forge a chain
About the neck of conquered clan,
And conquered men will ever rise again
And strive to break those chains ;yea, link by link;
For ever man has tried, has fought and died,
For what? To gain the right to liberty."

The conclusion of a treaty of peace with England on the 1st of August, 1801, left Napoleon without a rival on the continent, and with a large army. He determined to send an expedition to San Domingo. In vain were efforts made to persuade him from taking such a course. "I want," said he to one of his officers, "I want, I tell you, to get rid of 60,000 men," which in all probability was the grand determination to invade San Domingo; inasmuch as the treaty of England had left a large and experienced army on his hands, which he felt to be an incumbrance, especially as there were those among them who would have criticised his government, and many whom he feared as rivals.

At the same time Toussaint had formed a constitution for the island, to supersede the military government. It was submitted to an assembly of representatives from all parts of the island, and was formally published on the 1st of July, 1801. The general effect of the constitution was to make San Domingo an independent State, under the guardianship of the French government. One of the French Commissioners declared the constitution to be the production of a "philosopher, a legislator and a good citizen." Toussaint here laid the foundation of a State

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with the foresight that could discern what would decay and would not decay. The State was governed with great wisdom and was successful in all its enterprises. To his sovereign Toussaint wrote two letters, both of which were headed, "The first of the blacks to the first of the whites," one announcing the peaceful condition of the island and requesting the ratification of certain appointments which he had made, and the other explaining the reason for cashiering a French officer. To these letters no answers were returned. Toussaint again addressed Napoleon, requesting him to ratify the new constitution, but Napoleon had made up his mind to take possession of the island.

Representatives from San Domingo had been excluded from the French Senate, and news reached the island that Napoleon, the First Consul, meditated the re-establishment of slavery.

In the harbors of Brest, L'Orient and Rochefort, a squadron of twenty-six vessels was collected. On board this fleet was a force of 25,000 chosen men, completely armed and equipped, brave soldiers whose exploits had resounded through all Italy and had crossed the snow-clad peaks of the Alpine mountains. In command of this force was Napoleon's brother-in-law, Gen. LeClerc, and with him were many other distinguished officers, Rochembeau being in command of one of the divisions. Villarret was the Admiral-in-Chief, while Madame LeClerc accompanied her husband to participate in his triumphs. Accompanying this brilliant expedition, which was now leaving France for the purpose of placing the chains again on the limbs of the people of San Domingo, were several colored men.

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Among them was Rigand,* a distinguished and brave chief, who had previously disputed the laurels with Toussaint. On the 28th of January the fleet arrived in the Bay of Samana. When Toussaint saw the ships approaching the harbor he exclaimed, "Here come the enslavers of our race. All France is coming to San Domingo to re-enslave us."

Toussaint had no ships, and had only 15,000 or 16,000 men under arms. The most he had to depend on at this critical moment was his own native genius, which soon became equal to the occasion. He immediately put forth a proclamation to his people, in which he, after declaring the island free and independent, said: "You are now to meet and fight enemies who have neither faith, law, nor religion. Let us resolve that these French troops shall never leave our shores alive."†

The invading army was divided into four bodies. The division under Rochambeau, in landing, came to an engagement with the blacks who had gathered on the beach, many of whom were slaughtered. At Cape Francois, Le-Clerc sent an intimidating message to Christophe, whom Toussaint had stationed there as commander, but Chistophe replied: "I am responsible only to Toussaint, my Commander-in-Chief. The decision of arms can admit you only into this city in ashes, and even on these ashes will I fight still."

Toussaint finding his position insecure and that the white inhabitants were inclined to admit the invaders, distributed

*See page 70.

†See "Lamartine's Toussaint L'Ouverture's address to his army," in conclusion of this work.

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torches to his principal officers for the purpose of destroying the towns rather than they should fall into the hands of the enemy. Christophe, satisfied that the Frenchmen would effect a landing, set fire to his own house, which was the signal for the burning of the town. Immediately the flames rose from the tops of the finest buildings in the finest city of San Domingo. Christophe, by the light of the conflagration, retired to the hills, carrying with him 2,000 whites as hostages. Toussaint in the meantime had taken his army to the interior and fastnesses to prepare for future action. A correspondence was opened with Toussaint by the Captain General, in which he promised to acknowledge the liberty of the blacks. What Napoleon could not accomplish by the force of arms he endeavored to effect by deceitful means. He issued a proclamation to be distributed among the people of San Domingo, in which he said: "All France, in the eyes of God and the Republic of France herself, long desolated by civil wars, but now at peace with the universe, had sent her ships to guarantee civil liberty to San Domingo, but that if the anger of the Republic be provoked it would devour her enemies as the fire devoured the dried sugar cane."

Two sons of Toussaint, Isaac and Placide, had been sent to Paris to be educated under the care of M. Coasnon, Napoleon sent for the lads to call upon him, determining to appeal to the parental feelings of the father through the two sons. When the lads arrived at the Tuilleries with their teacher they were received with great kindness, apparently. He said to them, "Your father is a great man, and has rendered many services to France. Tell him that

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I said so, and tell him not to believe that I have any hostile intentions against San Domingo. The troops that I have sent are not destined to fight against the native troops, but to increase their strength. The man I have appointed is my own brother-in-law. Tell your father all this, and tell him that unless he delivers up the island you will both be retained as hostages." They at once, in company with their teacher, set sail for San Domingo. On their arrival in the village of Henneri, where their father was, they presented him the letter from Napoleon. It said among other things, "If the French flag floats over San Domingo it is owing to you and your brave blacks. Called by your abilities and the force of circumstances to the first command in the island, you have put an end to civil war and brought back into repute, religion and the worship of God, from whom everything proceeds. The constitution which you have made contains many excellent things."

The Negro chief met his children with emotions too big for utterance. He clasped them in his arms. Picture the scene! a devoted father, in the presence of his two sons, whom he had sent to France to receive such an education as he was unable to receive, and on whom his greatest hopes rested, attempted to be kept as hostages by the enemy of his country and the assailant of his liberty, the liberty of his brethren in Hayti, and the freedom and independence of his country. In listening to these persuasions, Toussaint was moved to tears, which mantled the cheek of the brave soldier. His sons were also moved to tears; to all this was superadded the entreaties of Toussaint's wife,

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the beloved of his bosom, who besought him to let his conscience spare to her her children. It is said Toussaint looked upon his children, then upon his wife several times alternately, then turning to Coasnon, remarked, "Which am I to believe, the first Consul's words or General Le Clerc's action? Napoleon offers me peace, and yet General Le Clerc no sooner arrives than he rushes into war with us. Tell General Le Clerc hostilities will cease on our part when he stops the progress of the invading army." Then clasping his children once more in his arms, he said, "Take back my sons; I cannot receive them as the price of my surrender. I will be faithful to my brethren and my God." Was there ever a nobler act of man, a greater patriotism shown? If so, history fails to record it.*

*D. A. Straker—"Reflections on the Life and Times of Toussaint L'Ouverture."

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CHAPTER IV.

To us is here a goddess given,
Who represents man's highest victory,
Proclaiming as she lifts her hands to heaven,
"Let there be light and liberty."

Le Clerc, finding that Toussaint, by blandishments, could not be won over, prosecuted hostilities with greater energy. Battle after battle was fought, the French sustaining heavy losses. Le Clerc, seeing the inevitable destruction of his army, issued a proclamation, in which, in the most solemn way, he pronounced freedom to all classes in San Domingo. "If we are to enjoy perfect liberty," says the proclamation, "if we are to continue free as we are now, what difference does it make whether the French are in possession of the island or not?" The proclamation had its effect. Toussaint was deserted by the greater portion of the population; some of his most capable generals, among whom were Mauparas and Laplume, went over to the French. Toussaint, however, in the midst of all this, did not allow himself to become depressed. Supported by his two bravest generals, Dessalines and Christophe, he still refused to submit. When even the countenances of his two brave supporters bore the appearance of gloom, Toussaint was serene and cheerful. Trusting to the justice of the cause he had espoused, and to heaven, he persevered in the midst of difficulties which would at least have shaken the constancy of many who have deserved the names of very brave men.

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Dessalines was besieged in the Fort Creta-a-Pierrot by Le Clerc and nearly the whole of the French army. He did not give up the defence until he had caused the loss of about 300 French, including several distinguished officers, and then, rushing out, he fought his way through the enemy and effected a masterly retreat.

The reduction of Fort Creta-a-Pierrot seemed to decide the fate of the war in favor of the French. Here, again, General Le Clerc began to exhibit his cruel treachery; deeming deception no longer necessary, threw off the mask and allowed great numbers of the blacks to be massacred, without regard to sex or age, and issued a manifesto which virtually reestablished the power of the old French colonists over the former slaves. These rash performances opened the eyes of the blacks who had joined the French. They deserted in great masses, and Toussaint again found himself at the head of an army. Toussaint was far too wise a man not to avail himself of this weapon that the French had placed in his hands; with immediate promptness he arranged his plans to prosecute the war with renewed energy. Having resolved on his course he acted with ability and vigor. Joining his forces with those of Christophe, he left the shelter of the mountains for the sea coast, where the class most interested in the French manifesto were in the largest numbers. Wherever Toussaint went he called upon the blacks of every class to take arms and follow him, and this they did to such an extent that he was soon able to drive the French into the town of Cape Francois, which he would undoubtedly have captured, but Le Clerc, realizing the danger of losing all the

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fruits of his past labors and the advantages which he had gained, was compelled to fall back upon his old policy of deception; he therefore, on the 25th of April, 1802, issued a proclamation directly opposite to his former order, asserting the equality of the blacks. The blacks were again deceived, and Toussaint was again deserted. This time Christophe, despairing of any further success against the French, entered into negotiations with Le Clerc, securing as honorable terms as could be desired. The example set by Christophe was followed by Dessalines, also by Paul L'Ouverture, Toussaint's brother. Overcome by the surrender of his bravest generals and the persuasions of the blacks who surrounded him, Toussaint felt constrained to submit. On the 1st of May, 1802, a treaty was concluded between Toussaint and Le Clerc. The conditions of the treaty were, that Toussaint should be General-in-Chief of the Haytian army, under the sovereignty of France; that he should continue to govern San Domingo as heretofore; Le Clerc acting only as a French deputy; that all the officers of Toussaint's army should be allowed their respective ranks."

"I swear before the Supreme Being to respect the liberty of the people of San Domingo," said Le Clerc. Thus the war appeared to have been brought to an end.

For the signing of this treaty, Toussaint L'Ouverture has not escaped the shaft of the supercritical, who regarded it as a digraceful surrender of Haytian rights. On the contrary, it was a justifiable proceedure, the establishment of real liberty. It was good statesmanship. It was a peaceable arrangement. It was an arrangement acceptable to

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the great population whose happiness was chiefly concerned. Liberty and equality for all the inhabitants of San Domingo was the fundamental declaration of the treaty; this was all Toussaint fought for—all he asked for himself and countrymen. Here the inalienable rights of his brethren were secured; made sacred, and the flowing of blood averted.

The Negro chief could have rallied sufficient brave and good soldiers to continue the war and secure independence by force of arms, but he well knew that owing to the long and continuous wars, the island was devastated, the population thinned, the public resources exhausted and the country was in no condition to maintain an independence thus secured. In his letter to General Le Clerc, Toussaint said, "I could continue the struggle for years. I could prevent a single Frenchman from safely quitting your camp; but I hate bloodshed. I have fought only for the liberty of my race; guarantee that and I will submit and come in.*" Not only were the rights of the people of San Domingo guaranteed by the treaty, but a just protection by France, and the placing of Toussaint in a position where he could protect the rights of his countrymen and secure their advancement. In short, Toussaint supposed, as he had a right to, that the ultimate conclusion of peace was in the interest of the welfare of his country.

Mr. Straker, in his reflections on the life and times of Toussaint L'Ouverture, says; "It was, to my mind, the

*As the French General glanced along the lines of his splendidly equipped troops, and saw opposite, Toussaint's ragged, ill-armed followers, he said to him: "L'Ouverture, had you continued the war, where would you have got arms?" "I would have taken yours," was Toussaint's reply.

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highest wisdom in Toussaint to accept the treaty offered by France. Does any one believe that had Great Britain at any time offered to the American colonies their right of representation on the basis of taxation, that Washington would not have averted the bloodshed which followed in securing American independence! In the Declaration of Rights, as declared by the first Continental Congress in America, among other things, it is asserted that the colonies were entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation, * * * subject to the negative of their sovereign. This the American colonies would have been satisfied with, and had the British Parliament promised it, who would have called George Washington a traitor for accepting it under so solemn a form as a treaty?" It seemed that justice and humanity, and the faith of treaties would have their due weight, and that the settlement so solemnly guaranteed by France, would be quietly carried into effect. Whites and blacks once more mingled as friends. Toussaint retired to one of his estates near Gonaives to lead a quiet and domestic life. In the meantime the French were attacked by a new and more terrible enemy than that which they had hitherto encountered, and which made this the most disastrous expedition the French ever experienced. A pestilence, resembling the yellow fever, but more fatal and terrible, broke out in the French army, and carried many thousands to their graves. It is calculated that between the ravages of the plague and losses by war, not less than 30,000 men, 1,500 officers of various rank, among whom were fourteen generals, seven hundred physicians and surgeons, perished in the expedition. Just at this time

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Toussaint might have renewed the war, and crushed forever his cruel enemies. He could have made himself monarch, and surrounded himself with the ensignia of supreme power, but being a man of his word, he would not take advantage of the sad condition of the French.

> Among innumerable false unmoved—
> Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified,
> His loyalty he kept, his zeal,
> Nor numberless, nor example with him wrought.
> To swerve from truth or change his constant mind.

Though peace reigned, yet the hatred Napoleon bore Toussaint prevailed over all other considerations. The popularity of the Negro chieftain stood too much in the way of re-establishing slavery in San Domingo. The spirit of independence among the blacks must be broken. France must exercise her independence though the heavens fall, but the heroic blacks of San Domingo, men though born to liberty, must reconcile themselves to servitude. To accomplish this design the Negro chief must be made a prisoner and sent to France, "what I cannot do by force of arms I will do by burglar's art."

Toussaint was now at his home watching the fruits of peace assured by Le Clerc. Napoleon knowing that the Haytian chief was unprepared for immediate defence, relying as he was on the good faith of the treaty, planned and effected the capture of Toussaint by the most diabolical plot that ever stained the annals of history.

Toussaint was made the object of many aggravating insults by French officers, who intruded upon his premises and destroyed the fruit of his grounds, with the hope of provoking him to an insurrection, that they might have a

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pretext for arresting him. Finding that private remonstrances did no good, he therefore reported to French headquarters that he and others of his neighbors were annoyed and made uneasy by the rudeness of the French troops. In reply, Toussaint received a very nice answer from General Brunet, who extended to him a very pressing invitation to visit him at his headquarters. Not suspecting treachery, Toussaint accepted the invitation and made the visit, accompanied by a few of his attendants on the 10th of June, 1802. To all outward appearances he was received with the greatest cordiality. Conversation was entered into freely in regard to the general interest of the island and future prospects of the colony. Toward evening Brunet left the room; shortly afterwards, an officer with twenty armed men entered, saying: "The Captain-General has ordered me to arrest you; your attendants are overpowered; if you resist you are a dead man." Resistance was useless, and in yielding he exclaimed: *"Heaven

*Toussaint yielded, leaving his cause to be vindicated by future time. This vindication came. It appeared and was evident when England defeated France at the battle of Waterloo and Napoleon Bonaparte was put in exile at St. Helena. Who doubts that in Napoleon's confinement a remorse gnawed his conscience for his base treachery to the Haytian Chief, and he saw in his fate the table of events inverted as to his power. Did the God of vengeance forget this brutal and unkind act, aimed in degredation of a race of people? No; for it is to be remembered that after many years we find the descendant of Napoleon Bonaparte entering the battle field to fight against that race for which Toussaint L'Ouverture was sacrificed. In the Zulu war, in which England was engaged against the forefathers of the brave Toussaint, he was avenged. Africa laid in death the grandson of Napoleon in this war, and when in the prime of life and amidst his fairest hopes. It was the punishment of the "sins of the father even unto the third and fourth generation."—*D. A. Straker.*

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will avenge my cause." At midnight, Toussaint, with his wife and all his family, were carried on board the French frigate Creole, which had sailed into the harbor in the dead of night. From thence he was transferred to the man-of-war Hero, which immediately sailed for France.

> He, like a solid rock by seas enclosed,
> To raging winds and roaring waves exposed,
> From his proud summit looking down, disdains
> Their empty menace, and unmoved remains.

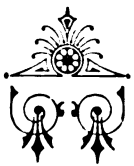
The reader will naturally imagine the grief with which this good man must be seized on being forced from his home and his country. As he looked back upon his native mountains, he said: "They have cut down the tree of liberty, but the roots are many and deep."

On arriving at Brest, after a short passage of twenty-five days, the great chieftain was separated from his family, never to see them again in life. While his family were sent to Bayonne, Toussaint was hurried off to the Chateau of Joux, East of France, a cold, damp, dark prison among the Jura mountains, a bleak and dismal region. Not satisfied with confining his unfortunate prisoner to the meagre limits of the fortress alone, Napoleon ordered that he should be placed in a dungeon secluded from all communication with the outer world; denied everything excepting what would barely sustain life. The dungeon in which Toussaint was imprisoned is said to have been built by the Romans. It stands on the brink of the river Daubs, on the land side leading into Switzerland. Toussaint's living tomb was a room twelve feet by twenty, with a stone floor. "In winter ice covers the floor, in summer it is deep with water." After an imprisonment of ten months, Napoleon

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finding that the prisoner was not starving fast enough ordered the Governor of the fort to absent himself. On his return he found the hero dead—STARVED TO DEATH.

Thus, in the year 1803, died Toussaint L'Ouverture, one of the most illustrious men of modern times.



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CHAPTER V.

And here let Memory turn her tearful glance
On the dark horrors of tumultuous France,
When blood and blasphemy defiled her land,
And fierce Rebellion shook her savage hand.
* * * * * *
Then blood-stained Murder, bare thy hideous arm,
And thou, Rebellion, welter in thy storm.
Awake, ye spirits of avenging crime,
Burst from your bonds and battle with the time.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

This chapter will call the reader's serious attention to a man who played a conspicuous part in the world's great history. Napoleon Bonaparte was one of those men whom the world has agreed to praise highly without knowing much about them, and who are therefore more likely to lose than gain by a close examination. He was born in Ajaccio, Corsica, August 1, 1769, and died in exile in St. Helena, May 5, 1821, aged 52 years. As a boy, he was passionate and self-willed. His own way and wishes were the supreme law of his mind. At ten years of age he was sent to a military school, where he was regarded as taciturn and morose. His military education connected him with a regiment, in which his ability soon began to show itself, and procured him promotion to a general of artillery. The events of the French revolution were moving rapidly forward, but he kept clear of entanglements with it. At the siege of Toulon he planned and executed such a successful attack that the commanding officer wrote to the government concerning him. "Reward this young

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man and promote him; for should he be ungratefully treated, he will promote himself."

The war against Piedmont came right on, in which he soon had a leading part. Then followed his career in Italy, Austria and Germany; his campaign in Africa; his assumption of imperial power; his dethronement of kings and crowning his brothers in their stead; his imprisonment of the Pope: his possession of the most of Europe; his campaign in Russia; the decline of his power; his final defeat, banishment and death. It was such a career of personal power as perhaps no other man had ever had, and evinced military greatness, self-reliance and power over men of the highest order, in this he makes a highly respectable appearance. But when considered in relation to his fellow men and to the whole sphere of human greatness, it was so supremely selfish, and cruel, and heartless, it so trampled on the rights of kings and men and women, that it becomes the career of a great monster rather than a great man. He loved fame, but not with the love of an exhalted and generous mind. He loved it as an end, not at all as a means; as a personal luxury, not at all as an instrument of advantage to others. He scraped it together and measured it up with a timid and niggardly thrift; and never employed the hoard in any enterprise, however virtuous and honorable, in which there was hazard of losing one particle. He was a great butcher of his kind rather than a great man; a great robber who rioted in the plunder of nations; a great incendiary who burned cities to light the way to his own supreme power over men. No, not a great man in any true sense of the word, was Napoleon

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Bonaparte, but a mighty savage, a terrific scourge, who, whatever were his original purposes, became the impersonation of remorseless self. He is not an example but a warning to men. The best part of a great *man* was largely wanting in him. His intellect and will were colossal, his heart and conscience were pigmies. Many of his deeds seem great because of the savage celerity and fury with which he accomplished them in the utter disregard of all rights and all moralities. He was a great warrior, a great destroyer of men, kings and nations—millions of men dying to promote his glory, and nearly all the nations of Europe prostrated to gratify his ambition; but he was not a great man, and must be looked at as trampling the manliest and noblest things of true human greatness under his feet. The treachery and cruelty of Napoleon Bonaparte toward Toussaint L'Ouverture, a military genius equal to himself, and superior in moral virtue and feeling of humanity, of itself shows a period in the history of Napoleon blacker than *sixteen midnights concentrated.*

Had Napoleon Bonaparte been brought before Dante's infernal tribunal, he would not have been condemned to the deeper recesses of the abyss. He would not have been boiled with Dundee in the crimson pool of Bulicame, or hurled with Danby into the seething pitch of Malebolge, or congealed with Churchill in the eternal ice of Gindecca; but he would perhaps have been placed in a dark vestibule next to the shade of that inglorious pontiff—

"Che fece per viltate il gran rifiuto."

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CHAPTER VI.

Who, then, shall lightly say that Fame
Is but an empty name;
When but for these our mighty dead,
All ages past, a blank would be,
Sunk in Oblivion's murky bed—
A desert bare—a shipless sea.
They are the distant objects seen,
The lotty marks of what hath been;
Where memory of the mighty dead,
To earth worn pilgrims' wistful eye,
The brightest rays of cheering shed
That point to immortality.

Toussaint was about fifty years of age when called upon to champion the cause of liberty in San Domingo, and something over sixty years at the time of his death. Born of low estate and reared amidst the obscurity and dense darkness of slavery, by diligence and perseverence he raised an educated superstructure and wisdom, which enabled him to successfully compete with the most favored crowned heads of the world.

As a legislator and chieftain, what age or nation has produced his superior? As a patriot he was independent, honest and uncompromising. What a spotless character he possessed. With what equity, with what moderation he behaved toward his enemies. What intrepidity! What greatness of soul! In short, what a multitude of stirring qualities appear in Toussaint L'Ouverture. He shone as conspicuously in the Cabinet as in the field. His only ambition was the welfare and freedom of his race; his disregard of wealth at a time when he had so many oppor-

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tunities to enrich himself, is a confirmation of this fact. Endowed by nature with high qualities of mind, he, by his genius, courage, individuality and irrepressible perseverance, conquered difficulties which appeared insurmountable.

Splendid examples of some single qualification no doubt there are. Cæsar was merciful; Hannibal was patient; Scipio was continent; Washington was serene; but it was reserved for Toussaint L'Ouverture to blend them all in one, and, like the lovely masterpiece of the Grecian artist, to exhibit in one glow of associated beauty the pride of every model and the perfection of every master in one transcendant superiority. As a general, he marshalled the slave into a veteran, and supplied by discipline the absence of experience. As a statesman, he originated a comprehensive system of constitutional law, of legislation and diplomacy, of preserving the peace, keeping the honor of, and vindicating the neutral rights of his country and developing its resources. He was the first ruler in the world to promote foreign commerce and domestic industry by a system of free trade, and such was the wisdom of his views, that to the soldier and the statesman he added the character of the sage. A conqueror, he was untainted with the crime of blood; a revolutionist, he was free from any stain of treason, for aggression commenced the contest and his country called him to the command. Liberty unsheathed his sword, necessity stained, victory returned it. His body is dead, his deeds are not dead. His name is not dead; his glory is not dead. He is one of the few, the immortal names—

"That were not born to die."

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When generations yet unborn shall read the world's great book of fame, and glance at the names of the renowned characters who laid their best offerings upon the sacred altar of liberty, they will find the name of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the hero of San Domingo, indelibly inscribed upon its immortal pages. Everywhere the warrior, philosopher, and patriotic statesman and thinker will find that Toussaint L'Ouverture has been before him lighting the way—sounding the abyss. His noble character, the recorded wisdom, the great example, the assured immortality, will be raised to view, and live to be deciphered when the final catastrophe shall lift the granite foundation in fragments from its bed.

> Nothing need cover his fame but heaven,
> No pyramids set off his memories
> But the eternal substance of his greatness,
> To which I leave him.



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APPENDATORY.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE DEATH OF TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE, IN 1803, TO THE ADVENT OF PRESIDENT SAGET IN 1870.

Last scene of all,
That ends this strange, eventful history.

The author did not intend to continue these chapters further than the death of Toussaint L'Ouverture, hence no mention is made of it on the title page; but, while the manuscript was in the hands of the publisher, he had occasion to converse with a number of persons concerning the work, and was surprised to find how little was really known of the general history of Hayti* subsequent to the death of the father of Haytian independence. A want of time makes it impossible to give an elaborate desertation of affairs that have taken place on the island since 1803. My only endeavor will be to bring together in a continuous and condensed form a few of the most important historical facts for the benefit of the general reader. In doing this the author confesses that he has made free use of the latest valuable authorities. Soon after the death of Toussaint, Le Clerc, the French commander-in-chief, worn out with trouble of body and mind (remorse no doubt gnawed his conscience for the diabolical and inhuman treatment of the heroic black chief), died on the island, and his corpse was

*Pronounced—Hay-t.

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sent to France, followed by his apparently inconsolate widow. Rochambeau succeeded to the command. But the seeds of liberty sown by Toussaint L'Ouverture and the breach of faith by the French, opened the eyes of the blacks. They therefore resolved to maintain the independency left them by their lamented chief. Dessalines and Christophe, Toussaint's compatriots, placed themselves at the head of large bodies of troops and drove the French from the island. Dessalines was made Governor-General for life. On the death of Dessalines the power fell into the hands of Christophe, the second in the command of the army. The tranquility of the country, however, was soon disturbed by the appearance of another candidate for power in the person of Petion, a mulatto general who had succeeded to the rank of third in command. At the death of Dessalines, Petion was commander-in-chief at Port-au-Prince, the capital of Hayti. He had been educated in the military schools at Paris, and was supposed to be a man of letters; his disposition was mild and his manners engaging. Each of these chiefs in support of their claims had recourse to arms. On the first of January, 1807, a battle was fought between the two parties, when Petion was defeated and pursued by Christophe to the gates of Port-au-Prince. A sort of tacit agreement was entered into by which Christophe took the entire northern district, with his capital at Cape Francois, with the title of King, and Petion took possession of the southern province as President, with his capital at Port-au-Prince.

In 1818 Petion died and was succeeded by Jean Pierre Boyer, his aide-de-camp. Boyer immediately renewed

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the war with Christophe. On the 3d of October, 1820, Boyer captured the garrison of St. Mark, Christophe's stronghold. On the 6th the garrison of Cape Haytian, headed by General Richards, sent their submission to General Boyer. On the 8th of the same month Christophe, seeing his affairs desperate, shot himself. Boyer entered Cape Haytian on the 24th with an army of 20,000 men, and General Romain, who had taken post on the mountains of Gros Morne, immediately surrendered on condition of his soldiers and himself being admitted citizens of the republic. Boyer issued an address to the people and to the army declaring that there now existed only one government and one constitution in Hayti, and so it remained in peace and quiet for upward of thirty years.

In 1824 Boyer showed his want of wisdom by sending an embassy to Paris to entreat for the independence of Hayti, a fact that for years had been tacitly conceded by the French government. For this recognition Boyer instructed his commissioners to offer a pecuniary consideration of 1,000,000,000 francs. But the French Cabinet promptly refused the sum on the ground that if the soil of Hayti belonged to France, then France would not yield it only on her own terms. They therefore demanded that the inhabitants of the French part of San Domingo pay to France, in five annual instalments, the sum of 150,000,000 francs as an indemnity for the loss of the ancient colonists; that the ports in the French part of San Domingo shall be opened to the commerce of all nations, and that the French ships and merchandise shall be admitted into Hayti on paying only half duties—exports the same; that

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when the conditions of the *ordanance* are fulfilled the French part of San Domingo is declared independent, and in case the same is not complied with, Hayti should become a colony of France.

Thus through the shortsightedness of Boyer, a right was ceded to France which had been strictly forbidden in the original constitution which says: "Never again shall a colonist or a European set foot upon this territory with the title of master or proprietor." The Haytians rejected Boyer's action with scorn, declared the republic free and intimated their resolution to preserve it so without further intercourse with France. The Spanish inhabitants flatly refused to be taxed in any way to contribute to this claim, maintaining that they never belonged to France. The banner of discontent was raised, and in 1843 Boyer was overthrown and driven from the island by a revolution headed by Rivieri Herard, who succeeded him as President. After four months the Spanish part of the island revolted, declared themselves a free and independent State. Riviere Herard marched with an army to reduce them to subjection. In this he did not succeed, and the Spanish population, known as the Dominicans, were left in possession of their part of the island. Herard becoming unpopular with the Haytians was deposed and fled to Jamaica, and one Guerrier was appointed his successor. Guerrier dying in 1843, soon after his election, was succeeded by Pierrot.

In the spring of 1846 another revolution was inaugurated and General Riche was made President. Riche died in 1847, without naming his successor, and the Senate named

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Faustin Solouque. On the 26th of August, 1849, Solouque declared himself Emperor, with the title of Faustin First. In 1859, Fabre Nicholas Geffard, one of Solouque's generals, raised the banner of revolt, and Faustin the First was compelled to vacate his throne and take refuge in Jamaica. Geffard soon became unpopular with the people, and he too had to escape to Jamaica. On the 14th of June he was succeeded by Sylvian Salnave, who was soon after tried by a court martial on the charges of cruelty, bloodshed and treason. His trial lasted three hours, and he was pronounced guilty, sentenced to death, and twenty minutes afterwards shot to death on the steps of his palace. He was succeeded on the 20th of May, 1870, by Nissage Saget, and peace reigned supreme.

About that time the people of San Domingo, and more especially the Dominicans, by a vote expressed a desire to annex themselves with the United States. Application to this effect was made, and after much discussion in the national halls at Washington, a commission was appointed by the United States to proceed to San Domingo and investigate the condition of affairs on that island and report thereon. The commission, after diligent search and extensive travel through the island, reported in favor of annexation. But the treaty failed to receive the two-thirds vote of the United States Senate. After speaking in glowing terms of the unrivaled beauty of the island in their report, the Commission said: "The population numbers over two hundred thousands; the cultivated and educated, such as the President, members of his Cabinet, Senators, Judges and local Magistrates, compare well with

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the same classes in other countries, and the uneducated appear equal to the same class in any country with which we are acquainted. They seem to be practically destitute of prejudice of class, race or color. In their intercourse with each other and with strangers, they are courteous in manner, respectful and polite. They are an honest and inoffensive people, among whom, in the rural districts, a person may travel alone and unarmed all over the country with treasure without danger. Such high crimes as murder, arson, burglary and the like are nearly unknown among them. They are temperate people, and drunken men are rarely seen. No intolerance or religious persecution can be discovered among them. In all their relations with them your Commissioners found them kind and hospitable."

Indeed, this speaks well for a people, who, but a few years before were incapable of distinguishing right from wrong. Obscurity, desolation and misery has made way for sound government, intelligence, industry and enterprise.

The Constitution of Hayti is a good one, it begins with a preamble that "the Haytian people, in presence of the Supreme Being, in order to consecrate forever its rights, its civil and political guarantees, it sovereignty, and its national independence," etc., etc. The Constitution, amongst other articles, provides that, "the Republic of Hayti is one and indivisible, essentially free, sovereign, and independent." The territory is divided into departments, each department is subdivided into "arrondissements," and each one of these into "communes," all of

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which are determined in their number by law. All Haytians are equal before the law, they are all equally entitled to civil and military offices, dependent on merit alone. The liberty is guaranteed every citizen to go and come, or remain, as he pleases.

Three powers form the government of Hayti—the legislative, the executive, and the judicial; and each power is independent of the two others. The legislative power is exercised by the Senate and the Chamber of Communes, forming together the National Assembly. The President of the Republic is the executive. The Chamber of Communes is composed of the direct representatives of the people, elected by the primary assemblies of each commune; this chamber elects the Senators. The President of the Republic is elected by the National Assembly for four years, and no one can be re-elected but after an interval of four years.

Such a Constitution is quite sufficient to make happy and prosperous any people living in a land so highly favored by nature as Hayti.

* * * * * *

"Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hand unto God. * * * And men shall speak of the might of thy terrible acts; and I will declare thy greatness."—*Bible.*

The memory of Toussaint L'Ouverture is the proudest heritage of a once down-trodden and oppressed race of people. He was not a mere exceptional Negro, cast up as it were once for all, but he was only the first of a possible series of able blacks, as the great qualities of his successors clearly shows, and their greatness may fairly be taken as a

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proof of certain capabilities in the Negro character. The black race must work out their own salvation, not by the same means that were employed by the blacks of San Domingo, unless brought under the same circumstances, but, those of a moral, religious and intellectual nature must in the future be used in the battle for the blessings of life, such as are enjoyed by any other people who are elevated high up in the scale of civilization. In the great drama of human events, each nation has its part to play, each exemplify a principle peculiar to itself, and excel in some particular. In the past the Egyptians excelled in massive and unique architecture, geometry, astronomy and chemisty; also in many branches of manufacture. The Chaldeans were distinguished for the magnitude and glory of empire and astrology. The Greeks excelled in letters, oratory, the fine arts and the beautiful. In arms, law, and iron manhood, the Romans excelled. The Jewish nation was the great repository of the knowledge of Jehovah and the economy of God's church on earth, the symbols of that religion by which the world is to be saved. Modern Europeans and their descendants appear to be characterized by a combination of all the characteristics of the great nations of the past. It still remains for the black race to act its part in the great drama of the world's history.

There is reason to believe that the black race is destined to be at some future day (not so very far off) as important in some respects as any other of the great nations. The African nation may never be as great in commercial and scientific enterprises as many other nations have been and

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are, however great they may become in other respects. Geographical position and climate may not be as favorable to such development, yet Ethiopia will "stretch out her hand unto God" in the fullest and best sense of the term; God will grasp those hands and lift to a higher plane of vital and truer Christianity than that occupied by any other people. In the composition of the African there appears to be a religious element which very readily adheres to the doctrines and precepts of the bible and the worship of God. Every indication, therefore, is presented, and brings us to the conclusion that through the medium of the black race the excellency of God's wisdom will be more clearly shown and seen than ever before on earth, and down through future ages will be the reflex of a higher Christianity than the world has ever seen. Then the power and goodness of God will be demonstrated in the use of the weak things of the world to confound the mighty. Down through not many ages, the missionary and the merchant, the scholar and the agriculturist, the soldier and the statesman and representatives of rich corporations from every section of the now DARK CONTINENT and (it may be) from all quarters of the globe may meet together upon some central mountain or fertile plain, in the land of Ham, and unite in the general chorus of her redemption.

"A holy gathering, peaceful all,
No threat of war, no savage call
For vengeance on an erring brother."

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LAMARTINE'S TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.*

FROM A TRANSLATION BY SARAH C. BIERCE SCARBOROUGH.

Advance,
My children, friends, brothers in ignominy,
Whom nature seems to hate and man disowns;
In whom the milk from breasts bruised by chains
Has formed in bodies thin but hearts of gall;
You, like in all to that which makes the brute!
Reptiles!
Of whom I'm venom and the head!—
The moment's come for us to sting in heel
Th' oppressor race now crushing us—Come then!
They are advancing, and in proud disdain
Are 'bout to set their white feet on our turf;
The day of judgment rises 'twixt us two!
Hoard up all ills they've bro't on you:
The scorn and hate, the shame and injury,
The torture, sweat, hunger and nakedness:
The marks of lash and rod upon your skin,
The tainted food, vile refuse of the flocks;
Your naked children suckling at dry breasts,
Your maidens from their mothers, husbands, torn
As tiger tears her darlings from her breast
To gratify its brutal appetite;
Your limbs, devour'd by insects vile, unclean,
In prison rotting on infectious chaff;

*This extract is Toussaint L'Ouverture's address to his army on the mountain heights of Hayti, where they are awaiting the approach of the French army. [See page 78.]

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Your unions base, 'thout offspring and 'thout wife,
And e'en the earth refus'd unto your bones!—
All this in order that the black, proscribed
And solitary ev'rywhere, might be
'Thout brother 'neath the sun, 'thout God on earth.
Recall, I say, all names they've branded us,
All epithets of baseness, scorn, disgust;
Count o'er and tell them, and in memory,
In these—the white's insults—let us take pride!
It is the bloody goad thrust in its skin
Which makes the bull against the driver kick:
At last he turns his dull and stupid head
And gores his tyrant's body with his horn.

You have seen cannon-dust made, pounded find
With the saltpetre and the charcoal black—
Together on a hollow stone they're kneaded;
We load, ram down and fire! a shot—earth reels!
With worthless rubbish of the earth, and fire,
We have God's thunderbolt with which to kill!
Well then! as powder's made, so ram your hearts;
You're the saltpetre, charcoal—thunderbolt!
And I—I'll be the fire, the whites the mark.
You wretched refuse both of earth and heaven,
You, race aveng'd at last, show, blazing forth,
With what explosive pow'r has time charged you.

They're there!—quite near!—your coward oppressors!
The cursed hunters of the poor black game!
Toward hidden snare my hand has laid for them,
With dull'd steps they ascend, thinking surprise.
But tho' they speak so low, my ear is keen,
And from the sea's edge hears their steps mount up.
Hush!—Now their horses drink from the cascades,
In strong ambushes they their troops divide,
And one by one ascend our rugged stairs.

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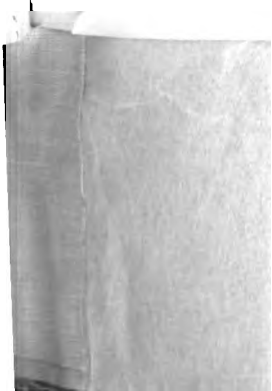
'Fore long, by thousands they go down again!
How long to place this rock upon the peak?
To roll it down, how long?—a minute's all!
Are you afraid of them—the whites?—Afraid!
And why? I also was afraid.—But hear:
When I was fleeing with the fugitives,
No refuge was obscure enough for me,
So, one night, that I might take a sleep, I sought
That field where death places the white near black—
The cemetery, far from village huts,
Where trembling moonbeams glided 'neath the leaves;
There 'neath the cedar branches' outstretched arms,
My hammock scarce had been suspended safe
Than 'peared a tiger huge, whetting his teeth,
Wand'ring from grave to grave scenting his prey.
Op'ning the dead's low bed with his sharp claws,
Two human corpses were disclosed to view—
One that of master, the other of a slave.

My ear heard his feasting upon the two;
Then, when he'd finished his dismal repast,
Licking his lips, he left with lengthen'd strides.
Colder than marble, trembling more than leaf,
When day dawned I descended from the tree,
Wishing to cover 'gain with holy earth
Our brother's bones exhumed beneath my eyes.

Desires and efforts vain! the tiger'd left
Those hideous skeletons with frame complete,
And gnawing those two bodies from head to toe,
Their skin removing had made them both alike.
O'ercoming horror, said I to myself:
"Let's see where God the limit puts 'twixt them;
By what nerve-bundles, organs separate,
Did nature make them alike and different;
Whence comes the diff'rence great between their lot—
Why does the one obey, other command."

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Into that human m
From sole of foot t
Each membrane by
Like openings pier
Same bones, same s
Said I: "The tiger
And with the same
And of decay made
Where, then, the di
The one more cowa
Cowards! shall it b
The one whom wor
Then put out your t
Both beasts and wor
But if God made yo
Obtain to-day the f
The weapon's in yo



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