TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE,

THE HERO OF SAINT DOMINGO,

SOLDIER, STATESMAN, MARTYR;

OR,

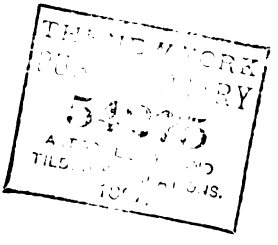
HAYTI'S STRUGGLE,

TRIUMPH, INDEPENDENCE, AND ACHIEVEMENTS.

BY REV. C. W. MOSSELL, A. M., B. D.

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1896.

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DEDICATORY.

This book is dedicated to the good and brave people of the United States, who in any way have contributed to the preservation of the Union and the abolition of slavery; and who in the future by their votes and every other legitimate method, will seek to perpetuate free institutions and bequeath to posterity a government of the people and for the people; in which every citizen shall remain equal before the law, and secure in all his rights. In this relation it affords no ordinary pleasure to mention the name of Judge Albion W. Tourgee, who is doing his whole duty in creating a wholesome public opinion, without which the hopes and sentiment herein expressed cannot be realized.

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NOTE.—The authority upon which this work is based is four fold: Unpublished official documents, historic and secret letters of the L'Ouverture family, contemporary history, and current Haytien tradition. For the two former sources of rare information we are indebted to Gragnon-Lacoste, member of the Academy of Science, Belle-Lettres, Art of Bordeaux; so also a member of the Legislative Academy of Toulouse, one of the commission appointed on historic monuments and the author of several works on Saint Domingo.

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INTRODUCTION.

Hayti, as its name signifies, is a country full of mountains. It is not, however, to be inferred that it is not rich in plains and valleys of inexhaustable fertility, nor that the mountains are not productive even to their summits. Indeed it would be difficult to find a country more abundant in all those qualities of nature and soil calculated as developed in richness, character and quantity of production, to make a people independent and wealthy. Hayti is, too, a country of wondrous beauty. Her landscapes, no less than her matchless skies, charm and delight one, and it is no mistake to call this island the Queen of the Antilles. But the chief glory of Hayti, that which gives her name and place among even the most advanced nations of the world, is her brave defense and triumph in behalf of human freedom. There is no spot in the 28,000 square miles, which compose her territory, which has not been made even richer by the blood spilled thereon as it flowed from the veins of some brave son, wounded and dying for liberty.

The most remarkable fact connected with any people's history, of which the world has knowledge, distinguishes the life of the former slaves of this island. The history of the world outside of Hayti furnishes no record of a slave class asserting its right to freedom as against their masters, and maintaining such assertion through all the stages of personal liberty and national independence and sovereignty. The honor and glory of self-emancipation, crowned with the final consummation of national masterhood, belong only to the Haytian slave, who was led to his victory by the matchless, indomitable heroes, L'Ouverture and Dessalines. There is nothing pertaining to

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such a people, their past history and present condition, their prospective progress and prowess, which may not justly command the attention and consideration of mankind, and every effort to make fully and correctly known the true character and hope of such a people, should be recognized as a special and useful service done the world. How can one better serve his race than in making known the virtues of a brave people, whose examples in deeds and sacrifices to advance individual and popular welfare, furnishes a light by which the conduct of others who struggle for freedom, for just recognition, may be guided? And how can this be done more successfully than in the portraiture of the character and deeds of the person who by presence and word animated and controlled such people? Indeed, Toussaint L'Ouverture is the strong, steady mirror which reflects nobility and power of Haytian character. Too much cannot be said of him. He deserves the applause of the world.

A work at this time, after eighty-six years of national freedom and independence, as secured to Hayti through the struggles of Toussaint and Dessalines, and sustained through the efforts of Boyer and Petion as the exemplars of the later leaders and statesmen, Soulouque, Jeffrard, Salnave and Solomon, not to mention others, must be welcome as a valuable contribution to the world's literature upon a subject full of interest and importance. Especially must this prove to be true if such work be written by one whose impartiality of conviction and learning, inspired and supported by actual observation of the people and the country, their character, habits and life, in daily intimate social, educational and religious association with them at their own homes, in their own cities, upon their own plantations, in their own schools and colleges, in their own churches and cathedrals, in their own courts of justice, their legislative assemblies and their marts of trade and commerce. Then add the ability still, after large observation of them from such standpoints, connected with their

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divers revolutionary movements, as to be able and ready to do them, in such respect, simple justice, and one is fitted for the task of impartial and just authorship in their case.

The author of this book, an American by birth, education and habits of correct study, reflection and conclusion comes to his work fully and fitly prepared.

The Rev. Charles W. Mossell, a missionary of the African Methodist Episcopal church, of long residence on the island of Hayti, enjoying while there large social, general contact and observation, is the author of this book. Every page of it will be found full of interest, instinct with historical and personal reminiscence, as well as learned in philosophical comment and conclusion. It is commended therefore to the careful, appreciative consideration of the public.

JOHN MERCER LANGSTON, LL. D.

Petersburg, Va., July 26th, 1890.

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PREFACE.

The island of Hayti, with the exception of Cuba, is the largest of the West Indies group, and is situated at the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico, between 17° 37′ and 20° north latitude, and between 68° 20′ and 74° 28′ west longitude. It has a territory as extensive as that of Ireland. The extreme western point is Cape Tiburon. The extreme eastern, Cape Engano. Its greatest length is 407 miles, and its greatest width is 160 miles. From Cuba the distance is 70 miles and from Jamaica 130 miles. Puerto Rico is 60 miles east, and from the United States to Hayti the distance is 1200 miles. The population of the whole island, which is occupied by the two republics, Haytian and Dominican, may be estimated at twelve hundred thousand; of these, 800,000 are found within the limits of the Haytian republic. This beautiful island, which presents such a varied aspect, elevated and mountainous, is very properly characterized by the name of Hayti, which was given to it by the aborigines. Their ancient traditions bring to light two other names, and the significance of both depends upon the point of view from which the territory is considered. Quisqueya was the name applied to the eastern section, the interpretation of which is, extensive territory. Bohio was the name applied to the western section and signified the territory where there are many valleys. In the time of the aborigines Hayti was divided into five kingdoms, La-Gua, LeMarien, LeXaragua, LeMaguana, LeHiquey, governed by Kaciks, hereditary chiefs, who had under them as tribal and vassels the Nitaynos, or governors of provinces. When Christopher Columbus, after having touched at Cuba, discovered

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the island of Hayti, December 6th, 1492, finding between it and parts of Spain a striking resemblance, he gave to it the name of Hispanola—Little Spain. He wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella: "Hispanola is a marvel." Recently one of Hayti's poets, M. Charles Villevalaix, charge d'affaires d' Hayti, at London, has saluted Hayti in a charming manner, as the island nestled among the evergreen and as the amiable daughter of the waves. And later still he has spoken of the fascinating odor of the foliage, of the variegated hues of the fish which swarm the waters and of the unequalled lustre of the moonlight nights. Had I not visited the country I would not attempt to describe it, but even now after having resided there a number of years, I hesitate. My best effort to convey correct impressions as to what the island really is must necessarily give a very faint idea of the beauty of her landscapes. I shall faithfully perform my task without even hoping to produce a good imitation of the original. The reader is invited to assist by his imagination. Picture to yourself an island green as an emerald, surrounded by and elevated above a sea as blue as indigo, and whose sides are indented with a number of beautiful bays, upon the silver sands of which the waves exhaust their force and subside. The artist who will prove most successful in throwing this tropical picture upon the canvas must be the one who understands best how to blend the opal of the sky, the verdure of the hills, and the indescribable blue of the ocean, which modifying each other, throw a soft halo of glory over the landscape. The interior of Hayti, like the interior of Cuba, is crowded with rough mountain chains, which differ very much in construction, are unequal in height and which extend in all directions. Between these mountain ranges are plains; the more extensive resemble the prairies of the United States, the less extensive the dales of Europe. Cultivation in these plains reminds one of the famous garden of Hesperides, so exhuberant is the growth of the orange tree and the mango tree, covered with golden

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fruit; so prolific are the banana trees and the fig trees, whose branches are burdened with delicious fruit. Beside this nutritious food, we find growing in great profusion on these fertile lands the palm tree, the cocoa tree, the coffee tree, the cotton tree, and sugar cane. In Hayti nature seems to have been prodigal in the distribution of her blessings. She has given without calculation, and the result is Paradise. Nevertheless this garden spot of the world has been the theatre of horrible scenes; the stage upon which has been enacted dramas almost too awful to be mentioned, which prove, however, the strength and weakness of human nature. The soil of Hayti has been moistened with blood from the summit of the highest mountain to the seaboard. Soon after the discovery of the island the search for gold attracted to it large numbers of colonists. They divided among themselves the native population. These avaricious masters forced them to work the mines. In a very short time the nature of the labor they were called upon to perform and the hardships they endured led to the extermination of the native population. In fifteen years there was a decrease of 1,000,000. The Spanish emigrants soon repaired this loss by bringing in Africans, supplied by the Portugese, who at that time occupied themselves with the slave trade. Aerrera, who claimed to be an authority, said that one negro would do more work than four Indians. It is worthy of remark that more gold was dug out of the mines of Hayti than is now in circulation in Europe. In 1630, a number of French adventurers were expelled by the Spanish admiral, Frederick de Tolede, from St. Christophe, which place they had taken possession of five years before, under the leadership of Niel d' Enambuc of Dieppe. They sought refuge on the western side of Hayti, but fearing they would be disturbed there they abandoned their refuge and shortly afterward established themselves at La Tortue. They now asked for the protection of the Metropolis. In 1640, the governor of the French Islands in America sent to take charge of

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them Levasseur. This man, who was always so fortunate in his contact with the Spanish, was shot by Willis, chief of the English buccaneers. After the death of Levasseur, his lieutenant, Rausset, became his successor, and gathering around him 500 men at Port Margot, recaptured La Tortue, of which he was first proclaimed governor, then afterward proprietor. Called to France to render an account of his administration, Rausset was shut up in the Bastile. From this prison he was not permitted to emerge until the 15th of November, 1664, after he had conceded his rights in La Tortue to the West Indes Company. The company, in order to take possession of the island in its own name, made choice of Birtrand d'Orgeron, who had resided in the new world for eight years. His administration was very satisfactory, but he died in 1675. His successor was De Pounancey, his nephew, who moved the seat of government to Cape Francais. He died in 1682, and his place was filled the following year by M. de Cussy, who was charged to organize the government of Saint Domingo after the system in vogue at Martinique. At the same period M. de St. Laurent and M. Degon established at Petit-Goave a supreme court, from which place it was afterward transferred to Leogane. This was the tribunal of final resort. They established also four imperial courts, at Petit-Goave, Leogane, Port de Paix and at Cape Francais. To the end that he might maintain order through his administration, not always peaceable, the new governor sent an expedition to Mexico, which returned with rich spoils. After that he took from the Spaniards San Yago. It is proper to say, however, that attacked by the enemy the following year, he was defeated and shot on the plains of Limonade. The victorious Spanish taking possession of the Cape burned it. Le Ducasse, who was sent in October, 1691, to occupy the position made vacant by the death of de Cussy, found the colony in a deplorable condition. In 1695, he had to sustain a war both against the English and the Spanish, who pillaged the Cape and Port de Paix in order

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to avenge the loss of 3,000 slaves which they had taken the year previous on the coasts of Jamaica. It was not until 1697, by virtue of the treaty of Ryswyk, that an end was put to these savage contentions. Louis XIV. obtained, under the treaty mentioned, from the King of Spain, Charles II., the cession of all the western part of the island, which for forty years belonged to the French by virtue of conquest. The section of country around Cape Beata was sparsely settled indeed. One might travel the country to the extent of 150 miles and not find 100 inhabitants. The Marquis de Signaley granted it, in 1698, for thirty years, to the company called St. Louis, which placed itself under obligation to transport in the course of five years, 1,500 whites and 2,000 negroes. This company made poor use of its privilege and was ruined by the extravagance of its agents. Ducase was made commander of the navy, in 1703. His successor in office was M. Anger, a native of Guadaloupe. Up to this time the civil and military power exercised by the governor, was placed in the hands of a commission. These two administrators, under whom the colony prospered, died in 1706. The former was replaced by Count de Choisell-Beaupre and the later by M. J. J. Methon de Senneville, who received the title of Minister of Justice and of Finance, and who occupied the position for nearly four years. The following named gentlemen were his successors in office: de Gabaret, Count d' Arquin, Charles de Blenac, de Chateau, Morand, Le Marquis de Sorrel. Under the government of the last mentioned official, during the year 1722, complaints against the Indies Company were frequently made. This company had a monopoly of the slave trade, but it did not furnish enough Africans to do in a profitable manner the extensive cultivation projected by the planters. In consequence of which they took up arms. They burned the houses of the company and laid violent hands on the Governor, whom they forced to agree with them. This revolt did not subside until the privileges enjoyed by the company were abolished by the

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treaty of Leogane. Two years later great distress prevailed throughout the colony, caused by an earthquake which lasted fifteen days. During these days of tribulation Port au Prince was demolished. De Nolivos was governor at this time. His successor in office was the Count d' Ennery, to whom the colony was indebted for the convention, the object of which was to settle the boundary question, and which did, in 1778, definitely fix the frontier line between the two possessions. It is worthy of remark that while the Spanish settlement declined, the French colony, although more recently established, seemed to take on new vigor every year. It was at this epoch that the greatest splendor of the French colony clearly manifested itself. The Haytian historian, in his work entitled, "Petion and Hayti," writes that one cannot imagine a more beautiful spectacle than the cultivation of the soil as conducted in this island, which he was pleased to call the Queen of the Antilles. At the time of which Moreau d' Saint-Remy writes, "there were established in Hayti 792 sugar refineries, 2,810 coffee plantations, 3,097 indigo manufactories, and 705 cotton factories in full operation. The exports amounted to sixty-four millions, three hundred and thirty thousand dollars annually; the imports were a trifle in excess of the exports. One thousand four hundred vessels were required annually to carry the cargoes shipped from the ports of Hayti."

There is nothing more interesting in a country than its population. Between the colonists and the slaves there grew an intermediate class, which was composed of what was known as the Affranchis. This class muliplied as rapidly by marriages among themselves as they did by the marriages which they contracted with the whites. In 1789, the number of slaves on the island was estimated at 500,000; the class known as the Affranchis at 300,000, and the colonists at 40,000, and these 40,000 were responsible for the painful oppression, the degrading servitude endured by a multitude

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numerically speaking twelve times greater. As for the Affranchis, they were not permitted to exercise any political rights. As a result of the presentation of their grievances, which were urged by the society known as the Friends of the Blacks, organized at Paris, 1787, and which numbered among its members Brissot, Gregoire, Mirabeau, Lafayette, Petion, Robespierre, in harmony with Barnave's proposition, appeared the decree of the 28th of March, 1790. The colonists not only became irritated when they saw the Affranchis, by virtue of said decree, permitted to exercise political rights, but positively refused to submit thereto. Vincent Oge, who represented at Paris the Affranchis, allowing himself to be deceived by the pretended friendship of the chief of the French navy, aided by the goodness of Clarkson, the English philanthropist, returned to Saint Domingo under the assumed name of Poissac. He tried in vain to reach the Governor, Count de Peinier. After every effort and every measure proving ineffectual, seconded by his friend, J. B. Chavannes, he took up arms at Dondon, and associated with him were 250 men of color. What could this handful of determined men do against 1,500 regular troops, supported by two pieces of artillery, commanded by Colonel Cambefort? Put to flight they sought an asylum, one in the wood of the Grand Riviere, the other in the Spanish part of the island. Oge was arrested at Hincha, Chavannes at San Juan. Rouxelle de Banchelande, who was the successor of Peinier, and who was at the time exercising gubernatorial functions, required their extradition. The Spanish governor, Don Joaquim Garcia, gave them up. The superior court, which convened at the Cape, condemned them and ordered them to be broken upon the wheel. After this painful death, their heads were separated from their bodies; that of Oge was placed upon a pole and set up in the public road which enters Dondon, and that of Chavannes, treated in the same way, appeared in the highway which entered Grand Riviere. In this case, from the blood of the martyrs, there

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sprung up, like the teeth of the dragon, a multitude of warriors. A few days intervening and insurgent bands appeared on different habitations. On the 14th of August, 1791, they were seen near the Red Bluff, on the habitation of Lenormand de Mazy. The 21st, they appeared on the habitation Rateau; the 26th of the same month they were seen on the habitation Diegue, not far from Port au Prince in the west. The revolt once started moved on by virtue of its own momentum. The slaves seized the neck of the vulture which had devoured them through long years and wrung it without remorse, without compunction of conscience. They called upon God to witness while they wrought destruction by the torch and indescribable havoc with the machette, more terrible in their hands than the claymore in the hands of the Scotch Highlanders. The chiefs who directed these firebugs, these murderers, these fiends given to pillage, did their awful work in a painfully thorough manner. They were, with a few honorable exceptions, a strange lot of fellows. They were wicked; they were cruel. Their hearts were stone; their nerves steeled. Beauvais was followed by 300 blacks, which he called ground squirrels. Buckman, of Jamaica, was the chief of 125 negro maroons from the Blue Mountains, and in obedience to his orders these maroons drank the blood of a hog, sacrificed according to the dark rites of the vaudoux-worship. Then there was Martin, the furious; Romaine Riviere, a mulatto, who called himself the god-son of the Holy Virgin, and who exercised undefinable influence over the unfortunates who were in the revolution, not so much for the cause of liberty as for the opportunity it afforded them to indulge their inordinate appetites and baser passions. To this list we must add the name of Hallaou, the much dreaded, who carried a charm in the thickest of the conflict, which was said rendered him invulnerable; and we add another name, Biassou, who called himself the viceroy of the conquered territory, and who did not hesitate to burn in a slow fire the prisoners who fell

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into his hands. And again, Jean Francois, who was known as general-in-chief and grand admiral of France, covered himself with laces and crosses and other articles taken from his victims. He inspected his troops, mounted upon a richly harnessed horse, or in a carriage drawn by four chargers. Jeannot, who was perhaps the most ferocious of the insurgents, called himself the avenger of Oge and Chavannes. His standard was the body of a white child fixed to the end of a pike. The entrance to his camp was between two rows of poles and the end of each pole was crowned with the head of one of his white victims. The trees surrounding his camp were provided with hooks from which were suspended by their chins the bodies of the white masters. The prisoners who fell into his hands were placed between boards and sawn asunder. He mingled the blood of his victims with rum and drank it in order to quench his thirst. This list is completed when we add the names of J. J. Dessalines, who was the incarnation of the destructive forces of the revolution; Henry Christophe, a king of the north, who became the Nero of the times, and whose end was like that of the notorious Roman; and finally, Toussaint L'Ouverture, who was in the war not for revenge, but to advance the cause of liberty, who at an early stage in the revolution separated from the insurgents, positively refused in any way to be made responsible for them, who declared that the crimes committed by them were calculated to compromise, rather than help, the cause of freedom, and whose character and reputation, whose life and deeds we have labored faithfully to unfold, in what we have written, and so also in the translation of works which rest upon the very highest authority.

We have named the leaders of the Haytian Spartans who forced Governor-General Blanchelande to fly; who tired the civil commissioners, Roume, St. Leger and Mirbeck, Polverel, Sonthonax, and Ailhaud; who thrashed, at Crate-a-Pierrot, General Leclerc, the brother-in-law of Napoleon Bonaparte;

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who routed, at the ridge known as Tranquility, General Pamphile de Lacroix, and who humiliated Chambeau—Chambeau, whose guard was a pack of miserable Cuban blood hounds, used for the purpose of hunting down runaway slaves. These terrible warriors, who buried the English in the sands of Grande-Anse, Leogane, Archaie, St. Marks, Mole St. Nicholas, and who caused the Spaniards to find premature graves along the ridges of Quanaminthe, Marmelade, Plaisance, Limbe and Borgne, have written their names where they cannot be erased. France, in whose path the disturbance of the peace of Amiens had thrown many difficulties, let go her grip. During this favorable period the insurgents proclaimed, with becoming solemnity, their independence, on the first of January, 1804. This was the first arrow shot from the palm planted by Toussaint L'Ouverture. J. J. Dessalines, elected governor, soon declared himself emperor, under the title of James I. His immoral conduct and impolitic measures alienated the hearts of his partisans. He was murdered at Pont Rouge. A stilletto in the hands of an obscure Brutus was the instrument with which the fatal wounds were inflicted. After the death of Dessalines public gaze fixed itself on Henry Christophe, who had distinguished himself in the revolt against the Metropolis. The important question, especially the question which suggested itself to the more intelligent of the community, was: Will he profit by the example of his predecessor? Will he amend the course of conduct through which he has already become notorious? The most anxious were not kept long in suspense. In imitation of Dessalines, he caused himself to be proclaimed king, under the name of Henry I. His was a reign of terror, through which massacre followed massacre; and for this reason his government stood in marked contrast with that which had been established by Petion in the south. Alexandre Petion, wise, just, pacific, spared the blood of his countrymen, and his mild government in the south offered a refuge for those who were fortunate

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enongh to escape the tyranny of Christophe. In the death of Petion the country sustained an irreparable loss, and the profound grief which seized the hearts of the people gave ample proof that they were conscious of their misfortune. The successor of Alexandre Petion was Pierre Boyer. The accession of Boyer to power seemed to intensify the wrath of Henry I. He ordered St. Marc, the bulwark of his kingdom, to be put in condition of defence. This order would have without doubt been executed had it not been that he was stricken with apoplexy. The administration of President Boyer was a success. In thirteen months order was established and prosperity everywhere restored. He conquered the Spanish part by force and ingenuity, and made one government out of the two sister republics. For twenty years Hayti had been permitted to hold on in the even tenor of her way without interruption from other nations. All things considered this was a tacit recognition of the independence of the island. In 1825, after negotiations with France, which covered a long period, the Republic of Hayti obligated herself to pay to the colonists the damage which they sustained in the loss of habitations, thirty million francs in thirty years, and Charles X. added to the instrument, which carried this agreement, an explicit declaration, "France's sanction and recognition of Hayti's autonomy." Here we give the rulers of Hayti which came after Boyer, in the order of their service: Riviere-Herard, Guerrier, Pierrot, Riche, Soulouque, Jeffrard, Salnave, Nissage Saget, Michel Dominque, Boisrond-Canal, Solomon, and Hypolite, the present incumbent, whose administration is both vigorous and progressive. Since the reigns of Dessalines and Christophe, the only crown government known to Hayti was that of Emperor Soulouque, Faustian I. His majesty occupied the throne, which he ascended in 1848, for twelve years. In form of government Hayti is a republic. The president is the chief executive officer; the legislative functions of the government are confided to the National Assembly and the

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Senate. The Cabinet is ordinarily composed of five Secretaries of State, who preside over as many different departments, namely: Justice, Finance and Foreign Affairs, Interior and Police, Agriculture and Commerce, War and Navy, Public Instruction and Worship.

The forty-two chapters of this book are replete with valuable information never before presented to the American public. Thirty-four of these chapters crystallize around the hero of San Domingo; the events which transpired in rapid succession between 1790 and 1804—the most important period in the history of Hayti—the period of violent changes, and the beginning of the transition in which a nation passed from the house of bondage to the promised land. We have produced overwhelming evidence which proves conclusively that the most stupendous struggle in the life of the Haytian nation was, after all, conducted by a moral, intellectual and humane force, of which Toussaint L'Ouverture was the personification.

In the name of the hero of San Domingo we send forth this book, and in the name of this man, who conventionality made a slave, but whom God made great, may this volume convince the world that while the noblest qualities of heart and mind do not at all enter into the character of the whites, who are vain and intolerent, they most assuredly ornament the lives of the blacks who are civilized.

C. W. MOSSELL.

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WENDELL PHILLIPS' ESTIMATE OF TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

History says that the most statesman-like act of Napoleon Bonaparte was his proclamation of 1802, at the peace of Amiens, when, believing that the indelible loyalty of a native born heart is always a sufficient basis on which to found an empire. He said, "Frenchmen, come home; I pardon the crimes of the last twelve years; I blot out its parties; I found my throne on the hearts of all Frenchmen!"—and twelve years of unclouded success shows how wisely he judged. That was in 1802. In 1800, this negro made a proclamation; it runs thus: "Sons of San Domingo, come home. We never meant to take your houses or lands; the negro only asked that liberty which God gave him. Your houses wait for you, your lands are ready; come and cultivate them." And from Madrid and Paris, from Baltimore and New Orleans, the emigrant planters crowded home to enjoy their estates, under the pledged word that was never broken. Carlisle has said, "The natural king is one who melts all wills into his own." At this moment Toussaint L'Ouverture turned to his army—poor, ill-clad and half starved—and said to them: "Go back and work on these estates you have conquered, for an empire can be founded only on order and industry, and you can learn these virtues only there." And they went. The French admiral who witnessed the scene, said that in a week his army melted back into peasants. It was 1800.

The world waited fifty years before, in 1846, Robert Peel dared to venture, as a matter of practical statesmanship, the theory of free trade. Adam Smith theorized, the French statesmen dreamed, but no man at the head of affairs had

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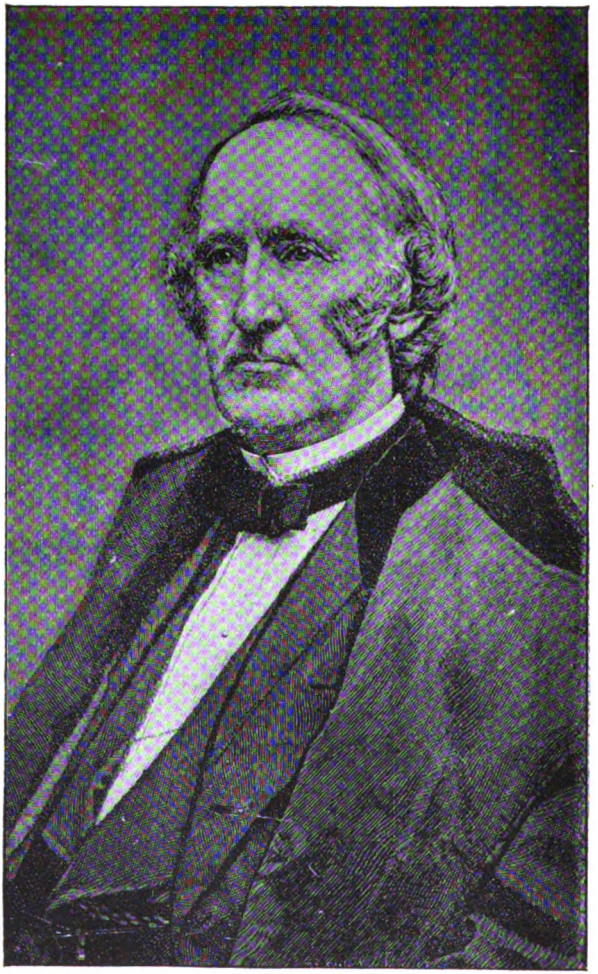
ever dared to risk it as a practical measure. Europe waited till 1846, before the most practical intellect in the world, the English, adopted the great economic formula of unfettered trade. But in 1800, this black, with the instinct of statesmanship, said to the committee who were draughting for him a constitution, "Put at the head of the chapter on commerce that the ports of San Domingo are open to the trade of the world."

Again it was 1800, at a time when England was poisoned on every page of her statute books with religious intolerance, when a man could not enter the House of Commons without taking an Episcopal communion, when every state in the Union, except Rhode Island, was full of intensest religious bigotry. This man was a negro. You say that that is a superstitious blood, he was uneducated. You say that makes a man narrowminded. He was a Catholic. Many say that is another name for intolerence. And yet—negro, Catholic, slave—he took his place by the side of Roger Williams, and said to his committee, "Make it the first line of my constitution that I know no difference between religious beliefs."

It was 1801. At this time Europe concluded the Peace of Amiens, and Napolean took his seat on the throne of France. He glanced his eye across the Atlantic and with a single stroke of his pen reduced Cayenne and Martinique back into chains. He then said to his Council, "What shall I do with San Domingo?" The slave-holders said give it to us; Napoleon turned to the Abbe Gregoire, "What is your opinion?" He replied, "I think these men would change their opinions if they change their skins." Colonel Vincent, who had been private secretary to Toussaint, wrote a letter to Napoleon, in which he said, "Sire, leave it alone, it is the happiest spot in your dominion. God raised this man to govern; races melt under his hand; he has saved you this island, for I know of my own knowledge that when the Republic could not have lifted a finger to prevent it, George the III.

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offered him any title and any revenue if he would hold the island under the British crown. He refused and saved it for France." Napoleon turned away from his Council and he is said to have remarked, "I have sixty thousand idle troops, I must find them something to do." Then again like Napoleon,—like genius always—he had confidence in his power to rule men. You remember when Bonaparte returned from Elba and Louis XVIII sent an army against him, Bonaparte descended from his carriage, opened his coat offering his breast to their muskets and saying, "Frenchmen, it is the Emperor," and they ranged themselves behind him, his soldiers, shouting, "Vive L'Empereur." That was in 1815. Twelve years before, Toussaint finding that four of his regiments had deserted and gone to Leclerc, drew his sword, flung it on the grass, went across the field to them, folded his arms and said: "Children, can you point a bayonet at me?" The blacks fell on their knees praying his pardon. His bitterest enemies watched him and none of them charged him with love of money, sensuality, or cruel use of power. I would call him Napoleon, but Napoleon made his way to empire over broken oaths and through a sea of blood. This man never broke his word. "No retaliation" was his great motto and rule of his life, and the last words uttered to his son, in France, were these: "My boy, you will one day go back to San Domingo, forget that France murdered your father." I would call him Cromwell, but Cromwell was only a soldier, and the State he founded went down with him into his grave. I would call him Washington, but the great Virginian held slaves. This man risked his empire rather than permit the slave trade in the humblest village of his dominion. You think me a fanatic to-night, for you read history not with your eyes, but with your prejudices. But fifty years hence, when truth gets a hearing, the muse of history will put Phocion for the Greek, and Brutus for the Romans, Hampden for England, Fayette for France, choose Washington as the bright consumate

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flower of our earlier civilization and John Brown the ripe fruit of our noonday; then dipping her pen in the sunlight will write in the clear blue above them all the name of the soldier, the statesman, the martyr, Toussaint L'Ouverture.

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Origin, education, early occupation of Toussaint. Insurrection of San Domingo.

CHAPTER II.

Toussaint throws himself into the insurrection. The position he occupies in the Black Army.

CHAPTER III.

Toussaint takes an active part in the Revolution.

CHAPTER IV.

Toussaint enters the service of Spain.

CHAPTER V.

Toussaint subjugates Dondon and Marmelade. In consequence of these victories he receives the name of L'OUVERTURE.

CHAPTER VI.

Toussaint L'Ouverture enters Gonaives. Invasion of the English.

CHAPTER VII.

Toussaint L'Ouverture, having conquered all his enemies, placed himself with 4000 men within the pale of the French Republic.

CHAPTER VIII.

Toussaint L'Ouverture distinguishes himself in the service of France.

CHAPTER IX.

Toussaint L'Ouverture engages in several battles with the English, and takes possession of several positions, which prove advantageous.

CHAPTER X.

Toussaint L'Ouverture takes from the Spanish St. Michael and St. Raphael. Rigaud recaptures Tiburon and Leogan from the English.

CHAPTER XI.

Toussaint L'Ouverture takes vengeance on the Spanish for the masssacre committed by them at Fort Dauphin. His first interview with General Laveaux.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XII.

Toussaint L'Ouverture defeats the English in several engagements and recaptures Verrettes. Toussaint leaves a testimony of his humanity at at Petite Riviere. Expedition against Jean Francois. Composition of the Western line of workers. Death of Blanc Cazenave.

CHAPTER XIII.

Toussaint L'Ouverture takes Mirebalais. His magnanimous conduct after the victory. He receives a deputation of Independent Blacks.

CHAPTER XIV.

Toussaint L'Ouverture obtains a brilliant victory over the English. The English again take possession of Mirebalais.

CHAPTER XV.

Touissaint L'Ouverture receives the brevet General of Brigade. His indignation on learning the trouble at the Cape. Generals Laveaux and Desagneaux visit the places where he was in command and exercised authority. Pinchinat, principal instigator of the movement at the Cape. Efforts of Toussaint L'Ouverture in favor of the French Republic.

CHAPTER XVI.

Conduct of Toussaint L'Ouverture during the events of the 20th of March. He is named Associate Governor of the Colony. Reflection on the crisis at the Cape.

CHAPTER XVII.

Toussaint L'Ouverture receives from the new Civil Commissioners the title General of Division. Troubles in the South. Election of the Colonial Deputation. Toussaint L'Ouverture recompensed by the Supreme Executive Council of France. Toussaint L'Ouverture organizes his regiments. He evades the proffers of Rigaud. He sends his sons to the Colonial Prytaneum at Paris.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Toussaint L'Ouverture drives the English from Mirebalais. Results of the expedition.

CHAPTER XIX.

Toussaint L'Ouverture is proclaimed General in Chief of the Colonial Army, His installation at the Cape. Comments on the discourse of L'Ouverture. He corresponds with Laveaux. Promotions in the Army of the North. New conquest of Verrettes and Mirebalais. Toussaint L'Ouverture's efforts prove abortive before Saint Marc.

CHAPTER XX.

Toussaint L'Ouverture expels Sonthonax from the Colony. The reason why. The manner in which Toussaint L'Ouverture protects his former benefactors.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XXI.

Toussaint L'Ouverture is proclaimed the Benefactor of the Colony. Refutations of Saint Remy. Toussaint L'Ouverture assumes an offensive attitude toward the English. Hedouville at Saint Domingo. Toussaint L'Ouverture negotiates with the representative of Great Britain for the evacuation of Port au Prince. His interview at the Cape with Hedouville. Hedouville gives audience to Toussaint and Rigaud. Results of the interview.

CHAPTER XXII.

The English evacuate Jeremie. Toussaint L'Ouverture negotiates with Brigadier Maitland for Mole Saint Nicholas. Merry making at the Mole. Toussaint L'Ouverture refuses the Kingship of Saint Domingo. Refutation of the French historian. Report of the giving up of the Mole. Toussaint L'Ouverture dissaproves of the order of cultivation carried out by Hedouville. Dissatisfaction among the soldiers.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Toussaint L'Ouverture gives protection to the Emigrants who have become landed proprietors. His proclamation. He appears at the Insurrection of Fort Liberti. Departure of Hedouville. Toussaint L'Ouverture sends delegates to France. Melancholy proclamation of Hedouville. The General-in-Chief, Toussaint L'Ouverture, repairs to the habitation Descahaux and there resides.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Toussaint L'Ouverture Governor-General in the mean time. His sojourn on the Habitation Descahaux. Anecdotes. Thoughts on prejudice of color.

CHAPTER XXV.

Toussaint L'Ouverture commences correspondence with Rigaud. Arrival of Roume at Port au Prince. Emancipation celebration. Roume changes the Government from Port au Prince to the Cape Francais. Troubles at Corail. Execution at Jeremie. Toussaint L'Ouverture foresees the need of the Colony. Treaty of Commerce with the United States. The contracting parties, the President of the United States of America, John Adams, and General Toussaint L'Ouverture. Toussaint L'Ouverture refuses to receive the English Envoy.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Toussaint L'Ouverture, unable to secure by peaceable means the submission of Rigaud, carries war into the South.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Toussaint L'Ouverture at Aux Cayes. He organizes both the civil and military service.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Toussaint L'Ouverture disposed to take possession of the Spanish part of the Island. Toussaint L'Ouverture receives the new French Constitution. Don Garcia surrenders the Spanish part of the Island to Toussaint L'Ouverture.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Toussaint L'Ouverture causes the Colonial Constitution to be written out.

CHAPTER XXX.

Toussaint L'Ouverture sends the constitution to France. Character of M. de Vincent. Work of codification. Insubordination of General Moyse.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The French Government receives the Colonial constitution from San Domingo. Motives of and preparation for an expedition against the Colony.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Manuscript of M. Isaac L'Ouverture. Three months war.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Departure of Toussaint L'Ouverture and his family. The Blacks take up arms again. Aboard the vessel Heros. Toussaint L'Ouverture's voyage to France. Arrival of other members of the family at Bayonne.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Fort de-Joux. Toussaint L'Ouverture interrogated. The circumstances of his death. The post-mortem examination. Evacuation of San Domingo. The autonomy of the Haytiens recognised. The Island is again called Hayti: the name by which it was known when discovered by Christopher Columbus.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Presidents Jeffrard and Solomon contrasted.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The Revolution of 1879.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Revolutionary condition of the country.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The aims of President Solomon's administration.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Hayti and the Uuited States.

CHAPTER XL.

A Question in Diplomacy.

CHAPTER XLI.

Haytian Proverbs.

CHAPTER XLII.

The Christian Religion in Hayti.

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TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN, EDUCATION, EARLY OCCUPATION OF TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE. INSURRECTION OF SAN DOMINGO.

The origin of this black man, that the abolitionist of the last century considered as providential; of this individuality which to say the least was extraordinary; whose fame occupies a place in both the old and new world; and who had in hand during several years the destiny of San Domingo, the most important of the colonies which the French still possessed in America at the commencement of this century, merits our consideration and deserves our attention for a moment.

Pierre Dominique Toussaint, surnamed at first Breda, afterwards L'Ouverture, was descendant of Gaou Guinou,* chief of a powerful nation of the Aradas, who on account of his military qualities, was feared or dreaded among all those people who in former times inhabited the slave coast. The father of Toussaint, second son of this king,† was taken prisoner in one of those severe engagements that the love of combat and thirst for gain keep up among savage people, and was sold as a slave, following the custom of the barbarous Africans.‡

*Guinou in Arada, or Adra, signifies good, a language which is yet spoken at Dahomey, the kingdom of which this ancient tribe constitutes a part.

†About 1802, after the capture of Toussaint, one reproached him as being the descendent of an African king.

‡Chataubriand has often described, in his journeys through America, the wars to which the savages of Louisiana and Natchez gave themselves up. So far as ferocity is concerned, all these wars are much alike, only in Africa the prisoners, reduced to a state of slavery by the conquerors, were sold in the market. To-day they serve in the hecatombs, that is, in the religious service which requires a sacrifice of an hundred oxen.

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The slave ship landed the father of Toussaint L'Ouverture on the island of San Domingo, toward the middle of the eighteenth century. There reduced to a most abject condition by an odious prejudice which Christian sentiment repels, he was left in the midst of one thousand of his ancient subjects, whose condition was congenerous to his own, on a sugar habitation that Count de Noe owned, in the section of the cape* known as the highlands.

Separated from his native land, the second son of Gaon Guinon, who took his father's name, heard no more the war songs of his nation in which was celebrated the valor of their kings and the exploits of their ancestors. But he had treasured them up in his memory, and their recollection in some degree, softened the first years of his captivity. He found in the house of Count de Noe, and among the laborers of neighboring habitations, some of his countrymen, who like himself were slaves in another hemisphere; but they recognised him as their Chief, and rendered to him the honor due his rank, saluting him according to the manner of their country.

Informed of this fact M. Beager, overseer of the habitation Breda, a Frenchman of a very polite stamp, anticipated the intentions of the master of the house in giving to the African Prince la liberte de savanne.†

*This point is interesting from historical consideration. The first French who left the island of Tortue in order to establish themselves in San Domingo, were but a dozen in number, at the time they commenced to dispute with the Spanish, and it was in San Domingo they mustered their forces and means,—attracted there by the superb and sublime so grandly displayed in nature. The Count de Noe owned in this place, 1789, a rich sugar habitation, which was called by the name of the former proprietor—Count de Breda. Count de Noe, originally from L' Ile-en-J' Ourdain (Gascogne), was very highly esteemed. He was considered by the blacks a very humane master, so much so that they often used the expression, "Happy as a negro of Breda." Cham, so dear to the readers of Charivari, has perpetuated in France the good reputation of his family.

†La liberte de Savanne is a sort of liberty of which the historian does not speak, and therefore merits a word of explanation. The condition of the African passing from servitude to this new state was, at the time, almost

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He was put in charge of five negroes with whom he cultivated the portion of ground assigned to him. It was not long before he became a member of the Roman Catholic Church. He married a woman of his own country who was both beautiful and virtuous, and who had received in baptism the name of Pauline. The occasion of this marriage, brought about in the region of the Cape, a tragic event, which we will relate in abridging the notes we have had transmitted to us.

Among the prisoners of war sold on the market of Whyda,* and crowded aboard the slave ship which entered the harbor of Cape Francais,† for the purpose of leaving there a cargo of human freight, was found the woman and two infants of the son of Gaou Guinou. Slavery had united for the second time, this young couple ; barbarism and cupidity had to break this double union, in order to rivet hand-cuffs on them in their separation.

The young African was the daughter of the king of the Aygas—Aguapeens of to-day—neighbors of the Aradas. Two children, a boy and a girl, formed the appendage of the unfortunate woman, and doubled the value of the future slave. She was of slender figure, not deficient in grace ; a physiognomy at all times agreeable and imposing, presenting in her person the harmonious blending of those native qualities

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preferable to a freedom absolute, in this particular, that he who obtained such a favor rested under the protection of his former master, both as to his person and his goods. This intermediate class was not numerous. A partial liberty did not equal, however, what we might call, for want of a better term, freedom absolute, notwithstanding the train of inconveniences connected therewith. The freed people were not like the whites in regard to their prerogatives.

*The word Whyda the black Aradas pronounced Ouida. This word is Creole. Whyda, a large village situated some distance from the sea coast, belonged to the kingdom of Dahomey. This city was open to Europeans, as well as Godoune, a rival city. Whyda, or Ouida, had long been an important slave market.

†Cape Hayti.

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attributed by the ancients to warlike women,* whom they claim to have met in the plains of Themiseyre, and whom travelers still find in some countries of Asia and America and who constitute in this our day the best battalions of Dahomey.†

Affiba was beautiful indeed, under the rag of cotton which scarcely covered her person. The African girl became the property of the highest bidder. Happily he was a man very much esteemed for his humanity, who, when he became acquainted with the circumstances of her captivity, set her free and placed her under the care of a worthy person, in order that she might be initiated in the first notions of civilization.‡ Slave on the earth, man, whatever may be the color of his skin, which is, when we have said the worst, a mere accident of birth, does not differ from his neighbor in the sight of God.

D'Affiba, pagan, became therefore by the grace of baptism, Catharine ; her daughter took the name of Geneviere ; her son the name of Augustin, which was associated always with the former name of his mother,—D'Affiba.

If it were not that Catharine found herself in a strange land, so differnt from her native patrie,—the remembrance of which strongly binds itself about the heart of the exile, l'ajoupa paternal,—if it were not that she had regrets caused by a cruel

*The king of Siam has his warlike women.

†Badon, the actual king of Dahomey, finds his best troops for assault and attack among his warlike Aradien women. The word Arada is Creole. One ought to say Allada in French. Allada is the word used by modern geographers. "The Aradas," says M. Morean de Saint Mery, "respire from a large chest, and a view of their bodies gives an image of force and beauty. These qualities, which do not discover themselves in the house of Toussaint L'Ouverture, reappear in an eminent degree in the person of his eldest son. Les Bordelais, the people of Bordeaux, a few years ago, saw in their midst a negro remarkable for his height ; in appearance, grave and distinguished. His forehead was marked by the intelligence it concealed ; his physiognomy reflected the beauty and purity of his soul. This negro was the son of General Toussaint L'Ouverture, who was the ancient governor of St. Domingo."

‡She was baptised by a Catholic priest.

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separation from the grand lakes, where the copious mongrove trees unite their branches in forming a thick grove,—a forest of sweetest perfume in which one's ears are constantly saluted by the chirping of birds, whose plumage represents a hundred different colors exceedingly bright and beautiful,—we repeat, were it not for these sad recollections added to another, viz.: that while she was free, she was in the midst of her brothers and sisters bowed under the yoke of slavery; the young negress had almost no reason whatever to envy the whites.

In the meantime, shouts of joy were heard from a distance, and these announced a day of merry-making on the habitation of Breda. Catharine, obedient to a sentiment of curiosity which moved her to seek the cause of this emotional effervescence, learned soon that an emancipated slave was about to be united in marriage to the beautiful Pauline, a young girl of Arada, like herself. Now it was that a thousand bitter thoughts traversed her soul. O, despair! The happy husband is Gaou Guinou from whom an awful destiny had separated her on the slave coast.

A chagrin, mortal in its nature seized her soul and very shortly afterwards she died. The Aradas who dwelt on the highlands about the Cape related long afterwards to their little children the painful history of D'Affiba, the African girl.

From the marriage of Gaou Guinou with Pauline, five children were born. John, the youngest, who resembled his grandfather, received the name of Gaou. He died in infancy; Peter, who received the grade of colonel and served in the army of Charles IV., King of Spain, who was at that time in possession of the Spanish part of the Island of St. Domingo; Paul, who became a general in the colonial army of France; Marie Jeanne, who was united in matrimony to Colonel Claude Martin; last, but not least, the oldest of all, Toussaint, more illustrious by himself than by the rank his forefathers had occupied in Africa.

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Several historians copying from each other have fixed the 20th of May, 1743, as the date of the birth of Toussaint. *C'est une erreur.* He was born on the heights of the Cape, on the habitation of Count de Noe, the 20th of May, 1746.

Toussaint from his birth was so frail and puny, that his parents feared for a long while they would not be able to conserve the life of their first born. Being in a suffering condition in his infancy, his constitution very naturally became weak, and every part of his body was so badly formed that his associates called him nothing but fatras-baton. Fatras taken in the sense of disorder, confusion, and baton giving the idea of his whole being. Baton literally means a stick, a cudgel. In the evenings after the victories, which he won so often over the enemies of France, Toussaint L'Ouverture pleased himself in exciting the patriotic enthusiasm of his officers, by relating narratives of the heroes of the mother country. "For me," he would say pleasantly, with the fine tone of voice which was peculiar to him, "I am 'fatras-baton,' as you know." This qualification, to which his own words bear ample testimony, indicating an amount of good nature and a large degree of personal satisfaction, caused his hearers to laugh and inspired their courage in battle.

In spite of his apparent feebleness, Toussaint, whose nervous system was extremely exercised by the activity of his mind and the bias of his character, gave himself to various physical games. No child of his age could dispute with him the prize or reward of the race, nor surpass him in the games which required suppleness, and in which youth loves to participate. None knew better than he how to lance a *cheval* to the end of the road, and riding bare back to jump over a precipice, and in a word to excite, curb or moderate, the ardor of a racer. It seems as if we see here something which foreshadows the future destiny of the young Toussaint; for the success of his arms, and indeed the safety of his person, he owed more than one time to his dexterity in the art of managing a horse.

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Intelligence was not lacking in the home of our young negro, whose development was not postponed for a great change or amelioration in the physical forces.

Gaou Guinou, his father, taught him what he knew: the history of his forefathers, the language of the Aradas, and the knowledge of plants known for their medicinal qualities. Toussaint owed to these precious notions his first elevation in the black army, where there was a want of doctors.

One has said it was a happy hour for the old Aradas of the habitation of Breda and the village on the heights of the Cape, when they could talk with the young Toussaint about the Fatherland, in the idiom which recalled to them the joys of childhood and the land of their nativity,—"Home, sweet home."

There was living on the highlands of Cape Francais, a black man esteemed for the purity of his manners, and who was not wanting in knowledge. His name was Pierre Baptiste. He knew a little of French, still less of Latin; add to this some notions of geometry, and a thorough knowledge of the map of his district, and you have an accurate idea of the scientific baggage of our sage.

Pierre Baptiste was in fact a scholar for the time and place where he lived, and especially when we take into consideration the prejudice of caste. A black man instructed as was Pierre Baptiste, in the midst of a multitude degraded and demoralized, was he not truly a prodigy? He possessed in a high degree a quality more precious than all others,—the philosophy of the heart. Ah! How true it is, if slavery debases the soul, liberty exalts the man and creates a consciousness of his own worth, his rights and his duties! Pierre Baptiste emancipated, set at liberty, was no longer the creeping worm of servitude, no longer the plaything of chance.

This black man, Pierre Baptiste, owed the favor of his instruction to the goodness of one of those Jesuit missionaries, who in preaching the power of a holy religion, enlight-

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ened and ennobled the spirit of man in the different countries where Providence led them. This important and influential man was the godfather* of the son of Gaou Guinou, and did all in his power to transmit to his godson all that he had learned at the school of the good missionary.

A writer speaking of Toussaint, said: Having received some rays of light, he conducted himself in an admirable manner in the revolution, which, terrible as a volcano of the Andes, turned upside down the island of St. Domingo.

Toussaint might properly be spoken of as a self-made man. He was endowed with great intelligence, with excellent judgment, with a prodigious memory, and with an astonishing faculty of assimilation. By his example he neither encouraged indolence nor ignorance. Looking to future honors, he read first, history and biographies, and afterwards treaties on military tactics and the commentaries of Cæsar. He read also the lives of the great military chieftains. He had his manner of thinking and writing,—his style we discovered in a multitude of writings, proclamations, correspondence, administrative acts, memoires, etc., which reflect the fire of his imagination and the individual stamp of his genius.

Toussaint knew what a major ought to know:—to draft a plan for a campaign, to take the topography of a place, to dictate to his secretaries orders, proclamations, and all other official communications, which disclosed a superior spirit and

*The negro respects, perhaps, his godfather more than his father. "Ce papa douan bon Die disait-il." "This papa, or father, the good God gives," says he. The same is true of the godmother. The force of this nepotism was so strong in St. Domingo that one of the ancient colonists wrote truthfully that the godfather, the godchildren and the godmother decided all when occasion required it. The godfatherhood became the cause of sublime devotion on the part of some of the negroes during the horrors of the revolution, in which the whites were the victims, in expiation of the enslavement of their black brothers. It is worthy of remark that on many occasions when they were powerless and in imminent danger, the godchildren put their own lives in jeopardly in order to save the lives of their godfathers and godmothers who were white.

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a degree of knowledge simply wonderful. Such is the property of the man of genius. He comes from the hand of God, if not entirely developed, fully endowed. Some have undertaken to reproach this man, who sprang as a meteor from the bosom of darkness; this man whom God raised up in order to restore a people to their proper place in the human family. We repeat, some reproach this man on account of his little knowledge of language*. It is to be believed that Merovee, Pepin-le-Bref, Hugues-Capet, and many other illustrious warriors, knew no more of letters than did Toussaint L'Ouverture; but did this hinder them from founding dynasties and winning victories? What! was he only an ordinary man,—this black who was placed at the head of the simple laborers of the cornfield; who improvised himself general; this valiant gladiator that the French Convention proclaimed general of brigade, and whom the *Directoire Executif* made general of division; this warrior to whom the hero *d'Abouker et des Pyramids* gave for the second time the supreme command of San Domingo; this legislator whose work still lives in the destinies of the people, which it ought to have conducted into the path of modern civilization, at a time when France had neither admintration nor law?

The French generals who took part in the expedition against San Domingo—Bourdet, Dagua, de Vincet, Tressinet; the admirals, Latouche, Treville, and Gautheaume—have rendered justice to the ability, military and administrative; to the elevated character of Toussaint L'Ouverture, whom they had seen engaged on the battle-field.

When Toussaint became a full grown man, he had no longer the appearance of a fatras-baton. He was of ordinary height, of a striking figure; his deportment did not lack that dignity which ought to be the appendage of the chief who exercises

*M. B. Ardouin, a Haytien writer of whom we shall often have occasion to speak, has wished to push this matter to the point of demonstration. To what end?

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the first command. His face round and almost without beard, showed a nose with open nostrils, and thick lips, but expressive, with eyes sparkling, reflecting the fire of his soul. If his forehead appeared uncovered, it was because he combed his hair back in order to make a queue, which he wore after the French mode. In everything he studied to appear as he ought. His civilian clothes, as well as those he wore on parade, evinced a taste equal to that of a cutter, expert in his art. He loved jewelry and beautiful accoutrements. His house at the Cape was built entirely of white marble, and held beautiful furniture. He was in the same condition on each of his habitations, where he loved to rest himself after the fatigues of his campaign, and to enjoy the sweet association of his family.

In following the order of facts from which we digressed for a moment, we find Toussaint on the habitation Breda, not armed with the lash of the commander, but overseer*, after having acted in several different capacities intelligently and caring for the utensils of the sugar refinery, etc. For this high position he was indebted to the intendant general, M. Bayon de Libertat,—a position calculated to satisfy his ambition, for it elevated him to the rank of the whites, and gave him the advantages enjoyed by them. Since one has spoken of his good qualities, why should not one declare his faults ? Toussaint had the reputation of being inconsistant and fickle. Pierre Baptiste, having had notice of some wicked proposals, wished him to marry. Toussaint has himself said somewhere, that M. Bayon de Libertat wished him to choose a young and frisky negress, but that he prefered to marry a woman well "versed in the art of housekeeping." He chose Susan Simon, the sister-in-law of Pierre Baptiste, a girl of Aradas, in order not to be unequally yoked. Both had already followed the custom of the Colony, or using a more common expression,

*A free negro, or mulatto, they called overseer. This commander was most of the time very hard on the slaves, whose work he superintended in the field and in the workshop.

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they had contracted marriage according to the Creole.* The domestic circle was therefore complete on the day when the nuptual benediction was pronounced. Susan who was good and industrious, had by a former husband, a son named Placide. Toussaint welcomed him around the domestic hearth, and brought him up as his own son, and called him in the day of his prosperity, to a brilliant destiny. But what returns did the adopted son make to the family of Toussaint? He was nothing less than a judgment in the Yard d'Agen, where the family resided during several years. Some events, which will be related further on, hindered Placide from usurping the name of L'Ouverture, and denied him all right to the heritage of the General in Chief.

Toussaint cultivated with care the homestead. "We went," said he, one day, "Susan and I to work in our field. Scarcely did we perceive the fatigue of the day. Heaven has always blessed our labors. Not only do we roll in abundance, but we have still the pleasure of giving food to those who stand in need of it. Sundays and holidays we went to mass; after an agreeable repast we passed the rest of the day at home, and we terminated it by prayer, in which we both took part."

The happy Toussaint, on account of the regularity of his habits and his application to study—which elevates the spirit of a man and directs his thoughts—was really loved and respected by all classes. His own people, after a manner, worshipped him, and often did him honor, recognizing in him a child of royal parentage. The planters themselves, surprised to find in a black man so much elevation of soul and depth of thought, were not able to prevent themselves from esteeming him. His intellectual faculties matured in proportion to the habitual contact with the more intelligent.

Dwelling often in his thoughts on the degradation that a barbarous regime had caused to weigh heavily on his brethren,

*Nobody, except the priests, regarded it as an evil in the colonies.

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he asked himself if it were a result springing from the curse prononnced upon Ham ; or, simply the result of an inhuman speculation ? "For God," said he, to himself, "has created all men in His image, and for the same end." Had he not read in his books that the civilization which the whites spread out with great vanity, had had its birthday in the extreme Orient ? And was not humanity symbolized in the adoration of the wise men, who, following the star, left their homes in the East ? Elevating his thoughts, and dwelling upon metaphysical subjects, he did not see in the color of the skin but an accident, the result of climate ; nature having prepared all beings for the necessities of their existance, in the midst of which they were born, and where they were to go the rounds of the days allotted them. The supplement of this was made known to him by a man of science,* viz.: That the children of the negroes scarcely differed from those of the whites at their birth, and that the air altered the color of their bodies in developing a quality, or, speaking in a more commonplace manner, a corruption of blood.†

It was also in reflecting on the law which governs the transformation of men in our epoch, and the conditions which bring about this transformation, that he arrived at this result indicated by science: That the transformation of man is by transition, from the white type to the black type, in the action of the tempers. He knew also that in Africa, *par example*,

*In San Domingo there were several learned societies. The men who constituted them sent their communications to the French Academy, and the Academy of Science, Belle-Lettres and Arts of Bordeaux. They all convened at Cape Francais, capital of the French portion of the island.

†It is necessary to consult the works of M. Moreau de St. Mery when one writes on San Domingo. He has made this observation: Negro children have on the day of their birth, a skin of which the red tinge would remain the index of their color, if a slight dark border were not observed on certain parts of the body and at the roots of the nails. We will add that one finds white lines in the hands of negroes, whatever may be their age. Buffon says, that negroes are only found in climates where all the circumstances combine to produce a constant and excessive heat. "Hist. Nat."

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certain portions of the population of Asiatic origin have conserved the white type in the northern portion of the desert; while those dwelling in the regions negricentes of the south, were transformed in proportion to the time they remained there; that in the transformation one recognizes the march of the active operation of the tempers, which is different from that which is the result of crossing the blood.

"Has not the black man," said he again, "been created as the white man, to look to heaven; does he not enjoy the ability to think? Has he not a conscience, a soul; and does he not carry about with him the idea of God? And does not religion in stamping upon the forehead of the negro the seal of Christianity, assign to him his place? In what, therefore, consists the moral? If he is degraded, only by his color does he differ from others."

Toussaint, who was not able to see from this time a reason for slavery, which is an institution contrary to nature, and in opposition to the religion of Christ,—which has regenerated the world—found himself so close to liberty; and yet such a simple difference in the skin, had placed such an enormous distance between one man and another. His imagination exalted him, while listening to passages in a new book, that the abolitionists of Europe had introduced clandestinely into America: L'Histoire Philosophique des Deux-Indes de l'Abbe Raynal.* He finally procured for himself this work. The reading of certain passages enabled him to see all the infamy which crushed his neighbors. Perhaps, indeed, he asked himself then, if he would not become one day their liberator?† For the

*The celebrated society, "Friends of the Blacks," lisez des mulatres, distributed at the same time in the colonies, the work d' Hilliart d' Auberteuil, treating of the legitimate revenge of the black race.

†The philosopher, Raynal, called forth the liberator of the blacks by this vehement cry: "Nations of Europe! Your slaves are not in need of your generosity, or of your councils, in order to break the sacreligious yoke which oppresses them. The negroes lack but a chief. Where is the great man? He will appear; we have no doubt of it. He will show himself; he

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moment the exaltation that a similar discovery ought to have stamped upon his mind, was happily tempered by the sentiments that he imbibed in the Holy Book whose doctrines he cherished. What have they not said of his "monkish ideas ?"

A partisan fanatic of the colonial system has written, "The negro differs from the white." Mark the affirmation. Let us hear now the explanation: "For the yan, the worms of Guinea, crabs at the sole of the feet, the disease of the skin, the spalme in the adults, and the convulsions among children are diseases common among the blacks, but infinately rare among the whites, whether Creole, or not." And this is sufficient to disturb the laws of human nature. Another sophistry: "In the New World, one has only found light and civilization in the temperate zone—Peru and Mexico." Let us bear in mind these citations, for the reader will soon be left to exercise his own judgment. The time advanced. A new philosophy came to throw in doubt all that which men had respected up to the present—authority and religion. A grand revolution, which resulted in changing the principles of which we have just spoken, burst upon the continent of Europe, in the bosom of the metropolis. The echo of the canon of Bastile was heard as far as San Domingo. The moment was solemn for a man of the intelligence and courage of Toussaint. We will soon see him face to face with the events. A word, in the way of preliminary explanation of the immense catastrophe, which spreads itself out before our eyes. The colonists, having had to groan for a long time, on account of the despotism exercised by those who administered the affairs of the government, welcomed with a blind enthusiasm the day of a revolution which

will unfurl the sacred standard of liberty. This venerable signal will cause to gather around him the companions of his misfortune. More impetuous than the torrents, they will leave everywhere the indellible traces of their just resentment. The Old World will join in applause with the New. Everywhere people will bless the name of the hero, who shall have established the rights of humanity. Everywhere, the people will institute trophies to his glory."

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promised to free them from the yoke of an administration extravagant and unstable. Heavy taxation, injustice and service in the militia, constituted the burden of their complaints. They swore to win, unber favorable circumstances, their ancient privileges, and to establish for themselves, also, their constitution. The movement came without any further provocation, and developed itself with fury. The freedmen, blacks and mulattoes, entered in favor of the famous declaration—the rights of man. The resistance of the white patriots, to some exigencies which would have caused them to forget their griefs, was obstinate. (From both sides they came in arms.) The execution of a colored man who had come from France, armed with the chart granted by the National Assembly, was the improvised signal for the uprising of the mulattoes, which preceded but a few days the revolt of the blacks.* The insurrection burst out in the northern part of the island, on the night of the 21st of August. The negroes under the leadership of Bouckmann, rose with fury for the massacre of the whites and to burn the habitations. They committed such atrocities that pen is unable to depict them. This subject has, however, tempted some writers. "The spread of the fire," wrote a man of color, grieving over the losses, "traced by the flames, were so rapid, that in the space of a week the burnt district covered all the plains of the north, from the east to the west, from the sea-beach to the foot of the mountains. These wealthy mansions, these superb manufacturies of great productiveness, which poured out millions in the bosom of the metropolis, were annihilated. The activity of the flames was such, that the smoke and cinders, pushed by the breeze in the mountains, caused them to resemble volcanoes; the air intermingling and dry, resembled a burning furnace. The habitations, already set on fire, threw out perpetually, sparks, ruin, debris. Fine clothing was dispersed and disappeared. The

*His name was Vincent Oge. He left France with a coat ribboned and decorated with the ensign of the Golden Lion.

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land was watered with blood, strewn with dead bodies abandoned to the voracity of birds of prey and ferocious beasts. Here is the picture which the richest portion of the colonies presented in a very short time after the work of destruction commenced. The flames which devoured Cape Francais, now called Cape Hayti, a little while afterward were the complements of the triumph of the mulattoes over the whites, and the step of the advance guard of the pre-eminence of the blacks—who continued to give themselves to devastation and to cruelties the most unheard of—less by cupidity than by the spirit of hatred and vengeance.

Sections of the west and south did not witness at first parallel atrocities on their territories; but there also civil war commenced, and massacres followed in regular order. The evil, however, was neither as general nor as terrible as in the north. The most civilized countries are the most horrible to see in times of revolution.* "In the midst of this universal conflagration," says M. Saint-Remy, a historian of Hayti, "and of this outburst of all the excesses of vengeance, Toussaint, faithful to his master, protected the plantations during a whole month, at the head of the blacks of the habitation,† and hindered the insurgents from burning the fields of cane." All the whites, women and children, flying bewilderd from their residences in the country, flocked to the city. Madame Bayon de Libertat continued at her own house under the protection of Toussaint.‡ M. Bayon de Libertat was encamped on the heights of the Cape and came often to the habitation to excite the vigilance of the laborers. "It was,"

*Cape Francais was called the capital of the island,—the Paris of the Antilles. The civilization there was more advanced than in any other part.

†He managed the habitation of Breda. It is well known that Toussaint was the manager of the sugar refinery of this habitation.

‡It is an error that M. St. Remy wrote Bayon de Libertat. The overseer of the Compte de Noe appertained to an honorable family of Languedoc, who maintained a warm attachment for the son of Toussaint L'Ouverture, during his captivity in France.

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said he, with inexpressible joy, "that Toussaint saw me among the slaves in a moment, when to be white, was sufficient reason to be massacred."

Thus the revolution embraced all the country; but Toussaint Breda still fulfilled all the duties towards his unfortunate masters. "Finally," says the author already quoted, "Toussaint, seeing the revolution take an irresistable course, from this moment, exhausted by fatigue, perceived no means by which he might longer protect the residence of Madame Bayon, at Breda. Fearing, on the contrary, for her existence, he prevailed upon this woman to set out for the Cape, during the absence of M. Bayon. He put the horses to the coach and placed in it a few necessaries and some very valuable things, and then causing Madame Bayon to enter, he committed the charge to his brother Paul, who afterwards became a general in the French service. After the departure of Madame Bayon the greater portion of the working men took part in the insurrection."

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CHAPTER II.

TOUSSAINT THROWS HIMSELF INTO THE INSURRECTION. THE POSITION THAT HE OCCUPIES IN THE BLACK ARMY.

One asks himself what part will Toussaint take in these distressed and perplexing times, the revolt being in every camp. Will he allow himself to go over to the whites on account of the horror of the excesses committed by the insurgents? The recognition accorded him invited him to that side; but the whites themselves divided into patriots and counter-revolutionists, or to say the same thing, into red pompoons and white pompoons,* gave an example of the most vile dissension. Will he turn his eyes towards the west or the south, in order to find shelter during the outburst of the tempest? Andre Rigaud, Beauvais, Lambert, and others,—old members in the legion of the French army—had raised the flag of liberty in these quarters only for the people of color, leaving to the blacks their chains, their bondage. Will Toussaint permit himself to remain longer insensible to the misfortunes and to the aspirations of those for whom he ought to sound the hour of deliverance?

He was their liberator, reserved by Providence! It will be under the banner dipped in his own blood that Toussaint will

*There was in San Domingo a party of patriots composed of colonists, and one of royalists, composed of the chiefs of the army and the principal agents of the government. The provincial assembly of the north intended to manage affairs in a different manner from that of the general assembly for the French part of San Domingo. The former of these wore the black cockade instead of the cockade of three colors, and gave to the troops following their division cockades of white, green and yellow. They formed two regiments. The flag of the first was white, with stripes of white, black and red, having a lizard in the middle, with these words: "Je vis dans le feu." The second flag was black, red and white, with white stripes, having a phœnix in the white, beneath which was this device: "Je renais de ma cendre."

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MARBLE PALACE—Vicinity of Cape Hayti.

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enroll himself; not for crime, but for liberty—holy cause—to which he will remain faithful from that time on, till the day of his death.

"Toussaint," said M. Saint Remy, the testimony of whom we love to invoke, because we find more often in him, a contradictor, "was for the most part known by the chiefs and the members of the bands for his instruction and his moderation. No one blamed him because he came at a late day, into the revolution. In the meanwhile it required a little time for him to establish himself in the confidence of the insurgents and increase his influence among them."

At this epoch, more than a hundred thousand negroes were in revolt in a single quarter of the north. These bands, organized to kill and burn, had no arms other than torches, clubs, knives, marchettes,* a few swords, and a few guns stolen from the habitations. They had that which was more powerful than all the rest, an inordinate fury for destruction. After Bouckmann† had been killed in repelling an attack made on the village of the Cape, the insurgents recognized for their principal chief a young Creole, of a happy exterior, who had belonged to a colonist by the name of Papillion. Long before the revolution he had fled from the house of his master, from which time he lived the life of a maroon, in the mountains. This negro was not exactly cruel, yet in the meantime his hands became stained with crime.

Jean Francois had for lieutenant a negro named Biasson, one of the slaves of the Fathers of Charity, who lived near the Cape. He was a monster in the true acceptation of the word. Nature had stamped him with a repulsive countenance and evil instincts. His predominent faults were lewdness and drunkenness. As for other things, he was enterprising and active in conducting business. Jeannot, a slave of the habita-

*The instrument with which they cut sugar cane.

†A man endowed with Herculean force, he sowed fire and flame, and strewed his path with dead bodies. He commanded the first insurgents.

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tion Bullet, was a little man, and in every respect frightful. Naturally wicked and vindictive, he lived without regret or remorse for his horrible crimes. Like Biasson, he was capable of conducting the grandest enterprises, especially when he had to spill torrents of blood.

Such were the men that Toussaint joined in camp Galiffet, in the plains of the north, where dwelt the quartermaster general of the insurgents. Toussaint remarked that the blacks did not spare any but the surgeons, on the habitations where they committed devastation and murder; not from pity, but from an instinct of self-preservation.

Not wishing to be an assassin in the midst of brigands, Toussaint commenced, on the contrary, to render himself useful to humanity by turning to profit the special knowledge of the secret virtue of plants which he had received from his father. He dressed the wounds of those who had fallen in battle and organized the service of the ambulance. While the others drew upon their heads the malediction of Heaven, Toussaint, who had been drawn into the movement only by force of circumstances, fulfilled to some degree the mission of an apostle of charity. In this modest position he had time to study the art of war and to familiarize himself with the strategies of the camp. Both the art and war itself were alike new to him. We will see later the progress made, which was to make for him the reputation of a genius. He was able to form a correct idea of the faults and qualities of the generals who had the principal commands. This discrimination in characters carried him to the conquest of supremacy.

"Letters really humanize," said M. St. Remy, "if authorized to speak of humanities in a country where they were not generally in favor." It was owing to the art of reading and writing—and this was not the limit of his instruction—that Toussaint possessed a sufficient influence over the people to enable him to make his way without staining himself with murder, or dishonoring himself by plundering and committing

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crimes, examples of which too often came under his notice. As for the rest, we will say here, his godfather, whose counsel he followed almost blindly, had marked out for him the line of conduct he ought to observe; which was indeed, to direct the insurrection according to the preponderance of his knowledge, rather than to imitate insignificant men and traitors to the African cause—whom one met following circumstances at this time; now in the ranks of the insurgents, then in the militia, as the government of the colony poised on one point or another; on victory or defeat. In harmony with this tactic, Toussaint, when the time came, exchanged his position of doctor for the title of aid-de-camp of General Biasson.

In the meantime, Jean Francois and his lieutenants, finding nothing more to avenge in the plains of the Cape—but recently the pride of the colony—resolved to go and beard the whites in their camp.

Jeannot succeeded particularly well in the most audacious undertakings. The inhabitants of Grand Riviere and of Dondon* took to flight before these triumphant hordes.

The evening came, and the insurgents danced the Chica in the glare of devasting and wide-spread conflagration. The day following a night of such debauch, Jeannot went out intoxicated with wine, and stained with carnage. Proud of such exploits, he covered himself with the epaulettes of a general. He gave himself the name of the Great Judge. He who was but a hideous tormentor, covered his meanness with marks of distinction and ensigns of glory. Once master of Dondon, Jeannot marched against Valliere, which he took on the 26th day

*It is not difficult to discover the ridiculous in these peculiar and fantastic names. Dondon, Marmelade, Sale-Trou, Anse-a-veau, Coupe-a-Pintade, et Tulli-Quante, for the most part have their etymology from the peculiarities of the places found and occupied by the first colonists, and from other circumstances either natural or fortunate. We may laugh at the word Marmelade, or Lemonade, but have not the French une Ville d'Orange—a village called Orange, a principal city, and in other days a principality of great celebrity.

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of October, 1791. Of fourteen prisoners who fell into his hands, eight perished by tortures the most atrocious. The cruelties of this hideous brigand grew with the fortunes of war. No sooner was he seated in his camp on the habitation Dufay, near the Grand Riviere, than he seemed to undertake the task of rendering the place celebrated by a series of crimes, of which not even the most infamous were capable. The decorations of his camp were gibbets and scaffolds.

Toussaint who exercised already a marked ascendancy over the insurgents, comprehended that to kill men from whom the possibility of defence had been taken, murder prisoners of war, put to the knife innocent women, impale and mutilate dead bodies, drink the blood of victims with the sensuality of cannibals, was rather to compromise than to serve the cause of liberty and independence ; and in the interest of the sacred cause for which he was contending, he never ceased to call the attention of Jean Francois and Biasson to the conduct of Jeannot and the long list of his crimes. He required them to respect *le droit des gens.*

Surprised by Jean Francois in his camp, at Dufay, during a night in October, Jeannot was brought before a council of war. At the moment of the execution, the priest Bienvenu, rector of Marmelade, offered him the pardon of God, to which he gave little or no attention,—so great was his anxiety, and so earnest his petitions in asking and begging for his life.

The war, if one may call it thus, viz.: eruptions, hand-to-hand fights, in turn followed by successes and reverses, assumed a character before unknown, and Toussaint had become influential, in the council especially, when it was a question of administration.

In proportion as the opposing assemblies formed their regiments and distinguished their armies by local colors, Jean Francois, Biasson and Toussaint had it in mind to organize their battalions. Their companies were constituted. The flag was white, *aux armes de France*, bearing on one side this

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device, "*Vive le Roi*," and on the other, "*Ancient regime.*" They called themselves "*Gens du Roi*,"—"People of the King." The officers wore a black scarf. Do you not see here two antithesis the most piquant—the black and the white unite together,—despotism and independence compounded in the same love? They gave themselves titles in order that they might wear the corresponding decorations.* Jean Francois, who fought only by land, called himself Grand Admiral of France. Biasson, who never had the military merit of his ancient chief, wished to be military dictator of the countries won by conquest. Toussaint appropriated to himself also,—and why not, since he was an officer superior—the uniform of general, though he was in reality only a non-commissioned officer; yes, but a brigadier of the king. The two principal officers decorated themselves with lace and large red cords, shoulder straps covered with flowers in imitation of the lily, and large-sized epaulettes.

It now becomes necessary that we should initiate the reader into the tendencies of the times and new events of the war.

Why these colors; why these devices; why these aristocratic uniforms among men, who, with the exception of Toussaint, the favorite of Breda, had known but the dress and condition of the slave? In arraying themselves in the manner already described, did they obey only a sentiment of stupid vanity?

The answers to these questions are implied in the terms of the proclamation which these chiefs of the blacks addressed to the inhabitants of St. Domingo—a proclamation, the echo of which they thought would resound in the ears of the powerful monarch of the metropolis. "We have taken arms," said they, "for the defence of the king, whom the whites retain as a prisoner in Paris, for the reason that he wished to free the blacks, his faithfnl subjects." Hence they

*The soldiers were fantastically dressed in the belongings of their masters.

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did not make the war in order to massacre and pillage, but in order that they might enjoy the rights of those who wore the red turbans—the patriots. Such was indeed the policy of the negroes, in this second phase of the insurrection—a policy which disclosed the mind and intention of Toussaint.

The war of St. Domingo assumed the double character of *politico religieux comme en Vendee*, with this difference, the Vendeens fought for God and the king, while the black French fought to the end that they might mitigate their sufferings and ameliorate their condition.

Toussaint asked himself now and then, what would be the end of the insurrection, and if the condition of the negroes would not be worse after the overthrow of the existing regime, as the colony would not be able for a long time, to recover from it. Was it not, therefore, more wise and more advantageous to compromise, and accord pardon always on condition of repentance. He profited on an occasion of the suspension of arms, at the hour of bivouac to suggest to his military chiefs, that propositions looking to the establishment of peace would be favorably received from the whites; to weigh well all things, as the war would possibly turn to their disadvantage, for he had heard it said that the National Assembly had had information concerning the troubles in St. Domingo, and that the Assembly was disposed to send commissioners to the colony with an armed force quite sufficient to remand each faction to its respective task; that they knew quite as well as himself the ameliorations that the crown proposed to substitute in lieu of slavery. It was therefore prudent in this matter, to confide themselves to the word of the king. He added that no one could say truthfully, that fear had been the cause of their determination. Had they not sufficiently proved that which showed the valor of their arms and courage? Did heaven not appear to declare in their favor by throwing discord in the camp of their enemies? No one would question their fidelity when it was known tac-

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ictly that the colonists had essayed to turn St. Domingo over into the hands of the English.*

The representatives of France received with deference the negro deputies, but on the other hand they themselves did not find a welcome reception from the colonial assembly. Toussaint advised his colleagues not to divulge the results of his first interview. Finally the assembly dismissed the emissaries without giving them a satisfactory reply.

When Biasson learned of the failure of this new measure, he allowed his temper to control him in all of his actions. Already he had given orders to have all the prisoners of war brought into his camp, and he was himself disposed to cut off their heads, when Toussaint, in whom the sentiment of humanity was predominant, unexpectedly arrived. He first praised his idea of vengeance, in order more easily to appease his wrath. Speaking upon this subject, M. Saint-Remy said, "Toussaint possessed an eloquence rapid, animated and figurative; an eloquence, the triumph of which, was in perfect accord with the laws of nature. And this is precisely the distinguishing property of a man of genius." Thus the wrath of Biasson was subdued.

We would say in passing that the pamphlets, the libels, the cry of "wolf," and indeed political writings published at a certain epoch, had left on the popular mind the impression that it was common to hear in these words: "Toussaint, the black, was a monster of cruelty, and that he took to himself the honor of every crime of which the negroes, and indeed

*In a moment of despair, the colonists of the Cape addressed themslves to the governer of Jamaica, asking him for protection. This step on their part gave rise to the accusation, viz.: that which they did in this particular, was in perect keeping with a long-cherished desire to turn the colony over to the English. The proclamation of this fact was the very instrument by which their enemies succeeded in crushing them. The deputies whom they sent to Paris, gave certain explanation to the National Assembly in session Nov. 30th, 1791. Their memorial rejects the accusation. The tactics of Toussaint were, to say the least, adroit and ingenious.

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even the mulattoes, proved themselves capable." Posterity, however, on the contrary, will render justice to his humanity.

The commissioners foresaw the deplorable effect which would follow the resistance of the Colonial Assembly to the divers conciliatory efforts, that they endeavored to arrange with caution, and which were always, it is necessary to say, accepted or challenged with respect by the principal chiefs of the blacks. Therefore despairing of success in the object of their mission, and seeing the authority of the government disregarded by the personal treatment they received, they resolved to re-embark. On their arrival at Paris, Messrs. de Mirbec and de Saint Leger* enlightened the National Assembly on the true situation of things in St. Domingo. They declared to the Assembly that if the amnesty of which they were the representatives had in no way been made profitable to the negroes, conciliation had become of less importance among the men of color. This exposition of the condition of things in St. Domingo gave rise to the decree of the National Assembly, April 4th, 1792, by which it was declared that men of color and free negroes were to enjoy the same political rights as the whites; and ordered new elections both for the municipalities and the colonial assemblies. The decree also named three new commissioners, on whom it conferred almost unlimited power.

Associated for the purposes of carnage, destruction and theft, Jean Francois and Biasson were thrown into confusion when they learned, by the decree, that their rule was at an end through the abandoned districts where they had each taken the title of vice-roi of the conquered countries. Several times they were about to come to action in the borough of the Grande Riviere. By common consent they established two governments, after a manner; one in the north and the other

*M. de Roume entertained particular views, and being a Creole, was more familiar with the colonists and the natives, but took good care not to disclose his views.

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in the east. These two chiefs, Jean Francois and Biasson, were now without a rival. It was, however, an officer of the army of Biasson, already very high in rank and influential on account of his intellectual superiority, who contemplated for himself an independent course.

Toussaint, according to the testimony of his detractors, remained in the very crisis of the insurrection perfectly free and clear of all crime. M. Saint Remy rendered him this justice. How can we reconcile the good he thought of Toussaint with the evil he said of him? The answer to this question is easy when we learn that M. Saint Remy, in writing his book, complied first of all *a un esprit de system*. The same spirit has tended for a long time to pervert the moral sense among the Haytiens.

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CHAPTER III.

TOUSSAINT TAKES AN ACTIVE PART IN THE REVOLUTION.

Up to the present time Toussaint seemed to be attached to the army with the object of gaining its esteem without taking a direct part in the war. He was, however, no mere novice in the art of commanding. A certain document gives us to understand that he possessed a thorough knowledge of the theory of arms. His professor, in fencing and the military art, was an old officer in one of the regiments of the Cape. As he had great intelligence, he was soon able to conduct, not only the movements of a campaign, but also the undisciplined battalions of Biasson. Charles Belair, who became his aide-de-camp assisted at these exercises, and indeed on one occasion he informs us that Toussaint received the felicitations of "*ungrand manœuvrier*" Lieutenant-Colonel Desfourneaux.*

The manner in which Jean Francois and Biasson conducted affairs, brought disgrace on the cause of the blacks in the eyes of Toussaint, who resolved on that account to commence and continue the war for liberty, with due regard, under all circumstances, for the rights which belong to prisoners.

The law which went into effect on the 4th of April, so favorable to the men of color, maintained and encouraged slavery.†

Toussaint rather assumed that he might obtain the command of Camp Pele, the advanced post in the section of the Tannerie. This position, which occupied the crest of an elevation between Dondon and Grande Riviere, overlooked

*Un autre officier, nomme Gilles Lorette, ancien soldat dans la milice du Cap, lui servit, au debut, de premier instructeur ; l'armee blanche Coloniale lui fournit par la suite de quoi former des cardres.

†The Assembly, complying with the solicitation of the society known as the Friends of the Blacks—Amis des Noirs—accorded to the Affranchis the liberties for which they had taken up arms. The slave institution, however, remained intact.

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the surrounding country for a great distance, and constituted a permanent menace to the soldiers camped in and about the Cape. A young officer by the name of Assas,* who commanded the National Guard of the Cape, received the order to drive the negroes from the heights they occupied and take possession of their battery. Toussaint did not wait to be attacked in his camp. He took his position some distance in advance of it; drew up his army in battle array, and watched the enemy bravely, in order to advance himself. The troops of the Cape, animated by a noble ardor, precipitated themselves, struck and dashed headlong. Stubborn determination was manifested equally on both sides. The officers proved to be embodiments and prodigies of courage. Toussaint was seriously wounded on the arm in the melee; his ranks were broken, and his men covered the earth. He simply sounded the retreat and withdrew to the Tannerie, leaving to the brave Assas the advantage he had gained, October, 1792. The conqueror received a few days later the epaulettes which belong to the rank of colonel.

The new commission, composed of Sonthonax, Polverel and Ailhaud, three enthusiastic Jacobins, landed at the Cape, the 17th of September, 1792. The commission was accompanied by 10,000 troops, commanded by three generals. In the ranks of this army figured several captains with whom we will soon become acquainted, through the unfolding of events—Etienne Laveaux, lieutenant-colonel; Desfourneaux and Montbrun, both of the same military grade. The last mentioned—Montbrun—was a mulatto and creole of St. Domingo. General Rochambeau was also with the squadron. He was at the head of a small army destined to repress any attempts at revolution which might manifest themselves at Martinique.

Rochambeau, who was for the time being intrusted with the general command, cleared the sections of the Tannerie and

*He was related by blood to a hero of the same name.

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the Grande Riviere without difficulty. The 8th of November he recaptured the village Quanaminthe by assault, the fort of which was defended by Jean Francois in person. Several other forts met the same fate. In the north the success was not so complete. Toussaint, although suffering from the wound recently received, had retaken bluff Pele, sur le Colonel d'Assas, and maintained his position there, in spite of the efforts of the troops of the Cape to dislodge him.

Laveaux, who had taken the command after the departure of Rochambeau, finally came into possession of this fortification, and soon did not find any serious resistance, except before the Tannerie. This point had always been considered as the bulwark of the insurgents. The road which conducted thither was shut up by double doors which stood eight feet from each other. The first door was lined with copper, and on the side towards the camp there was a large trench into which had been turned the water of the river; on the other side there was a trench running up to the middle of the bluff, strengthened by a thick palisade. The batteries were placed on a platform in the center of the bluff, protected by a barricade constructed according to the rules known to the art of civil engineering. It is acknowledged that Biasson encamped at the Tannerie. The happy arrangements—if indeed we are not agreed to say the surprising means of defence described in the the report* of this siege—had been prized by Toussaint, who was in himself the embodiment of the genius of the black army of the North. After the loss of this position which they regarded as impregnable, Biasson and Toussaint aimed to situate between themselves and the enemy, the double range of mountains of Valliere. As under the circumstances amnesty had been happily proclaimed, an opportunity was lost, and a second error committed, viz., the voluntary halt of Laveaux in in his victorious course. Sonthonax seemed to consider no

*The Report of Laveaux.

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want more pressing than certain changes in the army, in order to make room for volunteer companies composed of negroes and mulattoes. There were the Legion of Equality, the Legion of the West, and the Legion of the South. This arrangement points back to an intention to draw upon and drain the African blood at the very source, for the black men and the colored men were soon to find themselves face to face, for the purpose of destroying each other.

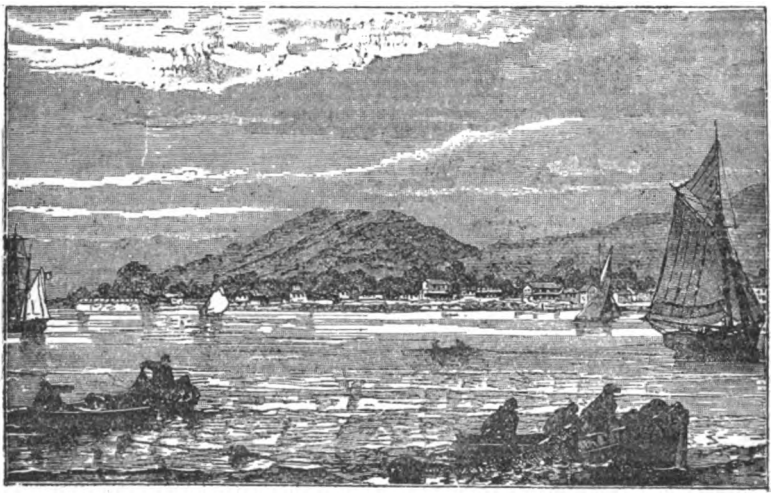
At this epoch the unfortunate Louis XVI. was put to death on the scaffold! With one breath France declared war against the great powers. In this provocation England found a pretext to send an army for the purpose of invading San Domingo. Monge, who was secretary of the navy and of the colonies, thought it best to withdraw from the sections of San Domingo in revolt, and he so advised; but on the other hand, the commissioners Polverel and Sonthonax offered the insurgents un code noir, in which they annulled that which was objectionable in the former ordinances (May 5, 1793).

The destruction of the city of Cape Francais showed to what disastrous consequences the policy followed by the commissioners had led. All that ancient history recounts about the sack of Thebes, the fires which consumed Troy, the despair of the inhabitants of Sagonte, and the sad and painful extremities to which the Jews were reduced in Jerusalem at the time when Titus beseiged it, dwindle into insignificance as they are brought into comparison with this awful calamity.

Such crimes ought not to go unpunished. The convention had already pronounced, on the 16th of July, against the civil commissioners. A second acquisition against them, brought before the tribunal after the burning of the Cape, was strongly supported by Jeambou-Saint-Andre. The dictators were not able to maintain themselves in their positions, flattering and caressing the men of color, whom they were not slow in sacrificing to the blacks.

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In the meantime Don Gaspard, of Gassassola, called the soldiers of Jean Francois and Biasson into the service of the king of Spain.



CITY OF CAPE HAYTI.

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CHAPTER IV.

TOUSSAINT ENTERS THE SERVICE OF SPAIN.

As the apathy of Jean Francois rendered him indifferent to every thing which did not become in some way a satisfaction in gratifying his vengeance and increasing his pleasure, he regarded with a jealousy mingled with fear, the progress which was bringing fame to Toussaint in his command. Indeed, did he not already see in him a rival? He conceived an animosity against Toussaint, the first lieutenant of Biasson, after the brilliant military feat at the bluff known as Morne Pele, and under a pretext which remains unknown, caused him to be arrested and put in prison at Valliere. Placed at liberty, however through the favor and intervention of his chief, Toussaint resolved to depend in the future solely upon himself. He knew full well that since the battle at Morne Pele, all the soldiers of whom he had command, were disposed to follow his fortune in war, whatever that might be. Toussaint owed nothing to the generosity of the king of Spain. Following the example of captains of the ancient regime, he had formed on his own account a corps of six hundred choice men, well disciplined and armed. It was, therefore, in the quality of Marechal de Camp —Lieutenant-General—the title with which he was already decorated, that he placed himself under the orders of the Marquis d'Hermonas, Governor of Saint Raphael, reserving to himself liberty of action and the right to direct his movements. The commissioners, hoping still to retain the negroes in their service, opened negotiations with Jean Francois and Biasson. They wrote to them, and said, "Come and rejoin us; you will be free; you will be citizens; and you will conserve your military grades, &c." These agents counted unseasonably and preposterously without Toussaint—Toussaint, who was a man of true courage. To attack him for the pur-

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pose of subduing his spirit, was not to attack him at all. It was to M. de Nully, then commander of Dondon, that the commission confided the task, which was fraught with anxiety, of winning over the army of Biasson. The officers came together in the camp, which occupied the Bassin Caiman, and declared to him in every response, that they would never treat or have negotiations with the civil commissioners, whose authority and power they did not recognize; that having up to the present time fought with their soldiers to sustain the rights of the king, they would shed the last drop of their blood for the defence of the Bourbons, to whom they had promised an inviolable fidelity. "Jusqu'a la Mort.*" June 25, 1793.

From the attitude of these officers it would seem that the commissioners were responsible for the conduct of the insurgents. After the defection of the blacks came the revolt of the whites.

The attitude of the commissioners was dictatorial. The unjust orders frequently issued to the officers of the regular army, were a constant source of vexation, and brought about a condition of things insupportable. In France many officers of the army were put to death ignominously. They sought, therefore, a place of refuge under the Spanish flag. MM. de Nully, de Lafeuillee, and several other officers of the first rank, were among the number. The defeat and loss most keenly felt was that of the Tannerie, recently captured by Laveaux. This camp covered nearly the whole plain. The officer who commanded it, instead of seeking to win Toussaint by promises, according to the trust which had been committed to him by the commissioners, delivered himself up to the black general, arms and baggage. All of his officers left the service, and being generally well instructed, were voluntary and valuable accessions to the line and staff of Toussaint.

*This reply, written by the secretary-general of the army, was signed thus: "Toussaint, General of the Army of the King; Moyse, Brigadier; Galbart, Colonel; Thomas, Commandant de le Crete Ronge; Biasson, Governor General for the King."

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CHAPTER V.

TOUSSAINT SUBJUGATES DONDON AND MARMELADE. IN CONSEQUENCE OF THESE VICTORIES HE RECEIVED THE NAME OF L'OUVERTURE.

The departure, or rather the flight, of M. de Nully left Dondon without a defender. This post, as a consequence, fell to the charge of Colonel Brandicourt, whose merit was equal to his courage. But was it possible at this moment to maintain a position already compromised by the loss of the Tannerie? All the communications with the Cape were intercepted, and a scarcity of provisions was an early probability. A council of war decided the evacuation of Marmelade, where they had hoped that the army would be able to find subsistence.

Toussaint saw very clearly, from the point of view where he was making his observations, the movements of M. Brandicourt, and judged as to his intentions. After which he stationed himself in ambush on the way between Dondon and Marmelade. He had but 600 black soldiers and some reserves who came from Dondon and Grande Riviere, to oppose an army of 1,500 men, composed of soldiers bearing all sorts of arms, and a great number of auxillaries. Lieutenant-Colonel Pascaud commanded the white troops; M. Raynal, the auxiliaries; the lieutenant of the grenadiers, Planel, was at the head of the advance guard; M. Brandicourt occupied the center.

Toussaint entertained the notion that artifice and tactics alone, on this occasion would be able to triumph over the greater numbers and valor of the French. He would effect this result if he could manage to obstruct and bar the passage of his adversary and turn the enemy in a different direction.

"Toussaint," mentions a document which we consult, "approaches as near as possible to the borough of Dondon and intercepts the route which leads to the Cape." The next day,

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having perceived the movement in the earthworks of M. Brandicourt, he judged that the intention of his adversary was to come to action, or to evacuate the borough of Dondon ; to go as soon as possible towards the camp at the bluff, known as Morne Pele, in order to draw near to Marmelade once more. Toussaint took the following precautions in case of an attack : He set out at the head of 300 choice men, and in passing crossed some by-ways and frightful precipices. He continued his march in order to place them advantageously in ambush between the two camps, under the orders of his first officer, Charles Belair. Then he came and rejoined his troops, who were in front of Dondon, with the firm resolution to give battle in the position he occupied, or to pursue the enemy if he moved out of his position.

From five o'clock in the evening until dark the two parties were near enough to observe each other. M. Brandicourt awaited this moment as the most favorable to facilitate his retreat. M. Pascaud had received orders to effect it, and while he commenced from his side a retrograde movement in the direction of Camp Pele, the colonel advanced, accompanied by a few officers. From a military point of view he regarded the route upon which he was passing without interruption, as inaccessible to the enemy—made so by Nature's own arrangement—and therefore perfectly free. He perceived his error, however, when he fell into the hands of the vigilant Charles Belair, and discovered from the situation the greatness of his péril, and the grandeur of the intrepid movement attempted by Toussaint. M. Brandicourt, surprised and surrounded, was made prisoner, with all his attendants, and conducted to the general quarters of his happy adversary, who was absent. An officer came to the advanced post and announced the news to the general-in-chief.

Toussaint repaired very soon to his headquarters and treated M. Brandicourt very honorably, exhorting the chief of so many brave men not to expose them inconsiderately, as all

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further attempts at defence would prove abortive. M. Brandicourt responded that if he was a prisoner, his soldiers were not, and inasmuch as they were surrounded by enemies whom they would be obliged to face on all sides, honor required them to fire their last cartridge. It was for this purpose he asked the privilege to expedite a courier to M. Pascaud. Toussaint replied: "I have too much admiration for your courage not to grant that which you desire, but I would admire much more your humanity, if—all possible retreat being cut off from your troops—you should not give an order to invite the effusion of blood." In the interval, an officer arrived whom Lieutenant-Colonel Pascaud had dispatched to M. Brandicourt, in order to ascertain his last instructions. M. Brandicourt, touched by the magnanimity of Toussaint and the painful position in which he found his soldiers, advised M. Pascaud to yield to the force of circumstances, and not to make any use of his arms, whatever, unless the enemy should refuse to accord him the honors of war. M. Pascaud surrendered in obedience to this order; entered the Grand-Bassin, while Toussaint's quartermaster-general was beating the tambour, and displaying the flags. One had then a spectacle altogether new, in the camp of Toussaint—the conquerors perfectly delighted in the midst of the vanquished, whose apparal was imposing, but who trembled in the presence of their enemies, and perhaps would have attempted flight had they not been reassured as they read the countenance of their general. "This was not a matter of surprise," adds the historian; "it was the first time that such good fortune crowned their efforts, and the war had in reality only commenced." M. Pascaud and his troops filed out with their baggage, in charge of a small detachment. All of the officers were allowed to retain their side arms and carry them in the march to Saint Raphael, where M. Brandicourt had already arrived.* The

*The commissioners did not neglect to accuse this unfortunate officer of treason. At other times he was the spoiled child of the revolution. M.

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Marquis of Hermonas wrote Toussaint a letter in which he expressed his thanks and satisfaction, touching the unexpected event.

Encouraged by the success of an enterprise, in which the good fortune was itself a proclamation of superior qualification on the part of the leading spirit, Toussaint conceived a grand project, which was to subjugate the entire section, including Marmelade, Ennery, Plaisance and Gonaives.

This combination, once achieved, would prove judicious and advantageous. By establishing a strong line of works from east to west, he would make himself master of all the communications and roads to which access to the north was possible. He calculated also that in possession of the places mentioned, it would require less men to defend a single line and less trouble for him, personally, to overlook the works and pieces of artillery, than if he had his soldiers and all his means of defence scattered over a vast plain. There were, also, other considerations ; he would be able to supply his army with greater facility in a country where all the inhabitants were his friends. His munitions of war dispersed here and there in the impregnable parts of the line, would be less exposed when surprised by the troops of the republic. Finally, inasmuch as he intended to give his personal attention to all matters appertaining to the army, the fortifications and redoubts, the oversight would be much less difficult.

He not only put himself into communication with the people of the districts where he desired to extend his operations, but gave his personal attention to all correspondence, and was prompt and exact in all his negotiations. These reliable means naturally suggested themselves to him in the absence of topographical maps, viz.: Charts, giving distances from one point to another ; the direction of mountains ;

Ardouin, who was seldom capable of being generous, indulged this opinion. Thanks for the details furnished in our document, M. Brandicourt is free from any such crime.

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the course and depth of streams; the difficulties of roads, and the accommodations for filing out in case of retreat.

Hereafter we shall understand better these advantages. Toussaint was already experienced in the art of war, although up to the present he had practiced it by intuition.

We see very clearly from preceding events that the insurgents were already nothing more nor less than soldiers in the cause of liberty—fighting to better their condition before serving the interests of Spain. They were not unmindful of the assistance rendered by Spain, and expressed themselves well and fully with regard to it, in order to draw therefrom munitions of war and money with which to pay troops.

Royalty was at this time in sympathy with their fetich worship. In Charles IV. we see an example of it, the most remarkable. In the eyes of the insurgents two men, Polverel and Sonthonax, the authors of the new black code, personified the Republic. For these men they had nothing but contempt and that in the highest degree ; and the Republic with its retinue of irritating patrons and furious declamations was odious to them.

The proclamations issued by the civil commissioners followed each other in rapid succession, and for a few days, there was on every occasion, an effort to inaugurate a war, that would be in its character detestable, and in its far-reaching results the most unfortunate.

The war as set forth in the plan of the commissioners and to some extent carried out, was fratricide. The soldiers with whom the government fought the blacks, were the very superior white Silhouettes selected from the mulatto troops. From this moment and occasion a prejudice of color sprang into existence, which neither time nor mutual interests have been able as yet to overcome entirely. Toussaint's first object, and first prize which he hoped to win, was Marmelade, the country adjacent to Dondon. He took, by storm, under a heavy and severe fire of musketry, Camp Pele, situated in front of Bluff

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and Crete-a-Pin, positions which formed two formidable barriers to the aggressors whose objective point was Marmelade. The brave Vernet commanded at this point, having at his command Lafrance, colonel of the legion known as "Nouveaux Libres." Toussaint entered the field with two corps of troops, the right wing having been placed under the command of Colonel Desrouleaux, who came of his own accord into the ranks of the black army, Toussaint himself directing the left wing. Vernet, commanding a strong force of artillery, occupied the center of the borough of Marmelade. Colonel Lafrance and Captain Jean Baptiste Paparel with their armies faced on either side the right and left wings of Toussaint's forces. From the moment they began action, which took place in the morning, Lafrance compromised his position. Both sides fought bravely, until prevented by the shades of night, manifesting at times, the spirit of desperation. Then it was that the adversaries of Toussaint decided to pour out their troops on the Ennery.

The conqueror found in Marmelade large quantities of munitions of war, of which he had great need and a dozen field pieces. In possession and master of Marmelade, after a a battle which covered him with honor, Toussaint gave for the second time since he exercised an independent command, an example of wise moderation, a proof of executive ability and the genius of organization which were inate in him and manifested everywhere in his movements and establishments. He called together all the proprietors, who, from the commencement of the civil war, were refugees, thoroughly organized throughout the country, on Spanish territory; and to Jean Baptiste Paparel who joined him after his great victory, Toussaint confided the care of these refugees and the responible mission of defending the country from all outside aggression. Very shortly after this, 300 men from the regiment of Bearn came over and joined the ranks of Toussaint, from whom he selected some of his best officers. Dubuisson, a native of

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Bayonne, Birette, a young planter of Marmelade, and Jacques Maurepàs, from a company of footmen, were attached to his staff. The following is an extract from a MS., showing the popularity and high esteem in which Toussaint was held at the time. "Tout le monde," porte un manuscrit, "etait content de lui; on ne parlait que de l'elevation de son esprit de son genie et de sa magnanimite." "Everybody," said a MS., "was satisfied with him and talked only about his high moral tone, c-est-a-dire the elevation of his spirit, his genius, and his magnanimity,"

After the battle which resulted in the overthrow of Marmelade, Lieutenant Colonel Desfourneaux marched against Saint Michael, a village situated on the Spanish frontier, in order to commence a movement that would enable him to carry out his intention of extending his line of works from east to west. Desfourneaux did not go very far beyond Gonaives. August 27, 1793.

If Toussaint triumphed by virtue of his tactics and the valor of his troops, he at least sometimes owed his success to the inconsistency of the civil commissioners. This assertion rests upon the following facts: After the evacuation of Marmelade, Colonel Vernet came and camped with his troops at Ennery, on the habitation Pilboreau. This place was a short distance from the Grande Riviere, where Polverel had made a halt during his march from Port au Prince to the north. Vernet profitted this occasion to make some explanation of his defeat at Marmelade. He said to the commissioner: "If Marmelade has been lost, it is to be attributed simbly to the little attention given to the declarations made from time to time by Paul Lafrance, and to the insufficiency of the means of defence at command." In answer to which Polverel, in an angry tone, asked the question, "How many men did you have?" "Twelve hundred," said the colonel. "Twelve hundred men! You had better say twelve hundred cowards," responded the commissioner. This insult was a slap. It was a fatal slap.

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Indignation seized Vernet, and he went over to increase the force of Toussaint, who gave him a position of great distinction; won his esteem; secured his devotion, and afterwards gave him the place of a relative in his family.

A few days after the event of which we have just spoken, the same commissary, Polverel, speaking before several persons on the slope of Rouffeliers about the hero of Dondon and Marmelade, made the following exclamation: "Ce b——grela se fait donc ouverture portout!"* The word passed from mouth to mouth, and from the moment it was uttered public opinion confirmed the epithet. From this time the chief of the blacks never dropped his surname, L'Ouverture (the Opener), which he transmitted as a glorious heritage to his family.

Let us pass in review the result of these events. Colonel Desfourneaux, whose objective point was Saint Michael, continued his retreat towards Gonaives, which it was his purpose to protect in marching toward the east, leaving Paul Lafrance on the habitation Pilboreau. He was not aware that he was followed by an indefatigable adversary, who was actuated by the principle contained in the axiom, "A good general ought not to accord truce to the enemy." Toussaint invaded the district of the Ennery; attacked the post at Pilboreau; took possession of it without much difficulty, and installed himself there, while Lafrance hastened to seek succor at Gonaives. The Ennery was handed over on conditions. Duvigneau passed into the service of the conqueror.

Toussaint was now inclined to lead in person a large number of troops against Gonaives, the possession of which would place him in direct communication with the sea. It would be an outlet, the point of departure for the line of defence, the eastern extremity of which touched the confines of the Spanish frontier. At this very moment, while Toussaint was con-

* "This negro makes an opening everywhere."

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templating his grand march to the sea, A. Chanlatte, commander of the post at Plaisance (pour la Republique), arrived suddenly at Rouffeliers, where the garrison of Pilboreau found supplies, drove Toussaint L'Ouverture from his position, and reassured the people of Gonaives by his presence. Bleck, captain of the Legion Republicaine de l' Ouest, landed at Gonaives at the same time a reinforcement of 1,500 men of color. The results of this victory, like summer fruit, were of very short duration. Toussaint L'Ouverture recaptured Ennery, after coming in possession of the camps of Audigier and of Merion—the first situated on the Grande Colline and the second on the Grande Riviere d'Ennery. This success caused Toussaint L'Ouverture to think more seriously than ever over the contemplated conquest of Gonaives.

The following Haytien authors have made mention of Toussaint L'Ouverture: Thomas Madiou, Saint-Remy and Beaubrun Ardouin,* but they have apparently, with intention, taken no notice of several victories which the chief of the blacks won over his enemies at the commencement of his career. M. Beaubrun Ardouin confesses, however, what was the art of his military success, "He understood himself better than the others."

After he had made himself master of the stronghold known as the Ennery—a position in which he could command all the plain of Gonaives—Toussaint L'Ouverture, faithful to his plan, which consisted, as we have said, in the purpose to form a line of works from west to east, strengthened by fortifications, around which were great trenches, desired very much to be in possession of the Tannerie—a place already taken and retaken some twenty times. He presented himself before this fort in a manner calculated to display the great strength of his military forces; but as he had an aversion to the

*These are the principal ones whose writings exercise a baneful influence in perpetuating prejudices between the two colors, into which the people of Hayti are divided.

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effusion of blood, he called upon Brammant Lazary, a black man, who commanded the fort, to surrender at his discretion. Brave, and knowing only his duty, Brammant not only refused to surrender, but he had the audacity to go so far as to make the general who menaced him a tableau seductive of the benefits for which the men of his color were indebted to the Republic.* Toussaint L'Ouverture admired the courage of Brammant Lazary, but he did not think as Lazary thought. For Toussaint L'Ouverture, the word and promises of the commissioners were by no means the gospel.

Lazary, surprised in his camp, on the 10th of September, had jnst time enough to make his escape with a few of his soldiers; the rest were incorporated in the army of the conqueror. In the meantime Captain Villate dispatched a force from the Cape, rècaptured the Tannerie, but was not able to maintain himself in possession of it. Toussaint L'Ouverture now judged it prudent to demolish a place which was the object so much desired by both sides.

He afterwards repaired to Marmelade, as much to rest, after the fatigue of a laborious campaign—during which he received several slight wounds—as to complete his arrangements in view of a future campaign, in which he hoped to subjugate Gonaives. His family was en surete at Saint Raphael.

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*The commissioners first gave liberty to the blacks who served as auxiliaries; afterwards they made a general proclamation, not authorized by the convention.

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CHAPTER VI.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE ENTERS GONAIVES. INVASION BY THE ENGLISH.

The commissioners, Polverel and Sonthonax, to whom the committee on public safety had made some complaints, July 14th, 1793, were not able to maintain in the colony more than a shadow of authority.

On the 10th of November, the inhabitants of Verrettes, of Petite Riviere and of Saint Marc, issued a manifesto under the caption, "Resistance to Oppression." In it they protested against the act of general emancipation, declaring it to be productive of no good, originating with, and coming from, the two dictators of San Domingo.

Toussaint L'Ouverture, who had hoisted the flag of liberty, was not disposed to participate in the views of these malcontents. He resolved, on the contrary, to profit by the division which so clearly manifested itself among them. Not more than a fourth part of the people of Gonaives were loyal.

Bleck, a soldier devoted to the interests of the Republic, had his headquarters at Gonaives, but unfortunately for him he was commanding troops who were demoralized and wanting in almost every particular, even discipline. Surrounded by these circumstances, he formed the resolution to repair to Saint Marc. Here, in the very place where he hoped to obtain aid and receive *conseil de paix et d'union*—in the midst of those he considered his companions in arms—he found nothing but a prison.

Toussaint L'Ouverture now thought the moment had arrived and that circumstances were favorable for him to enter Gonaives. He set out, followed by an imposing force, and arriving at Gros-Morne, he was so situated as to be able to make observations. Masseron, Cazes, and Paul Lafrance thought for a moment of defending Gonaives. In the meantime the two last mentioned, realizing that the means of de-

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fense at their disposition were so entirely insufficient that they could not entertain any hope, decided therefore to make terms with Toussaint L'Ouverture. Masseron, standing alone in his opinion, resolved to give battle, but at the approach of 950 men, composing the army of Toussaint L'Ouverture, who had gained, by a forced march, Gros-Morne, he made his way to Pont-de-l'Ester—from which place, if necessary, he might gain without difficulty, Mirebalais. "The council of war was scarcely over," says M. Saint Remy, "when they heard at Gonaives the report of twenty-one cannons, which followed in peals of quick succession—the echo being heard like thunder in the camps of Coupe-a-Pintade and of Couleuvre."

"The English are about to embark," was heard here and there, as a menance; but the last echo of the artillery announced the triumphant entrance of Toussaint, and the additional conquest of Gonaives, December 6th, 1793 The people of Gonaives saw in this great general a liberator, and offered magnificent civic honors to him. Cazes and Paul Lafrance were continued in their positions. Another officer, who afterwards achieved renown in the army of Toussaint, was received and placed as captain on his staff. This soldier was Clerveaux.

Masseron, not having time to carry his sick out with him, on the entrance of Toussaint, left them behind. Their sad condition was in itself a successful appeal to the heart of Toussaint L'Ouverture, who sent them to Masseron under the protection of a strong guard. The conqueror received at Gonaives the representatives of Blanc-Cazenave, the commander of Ester, by whom they were authorized to make the announcement that he, their commander, recognized Toussaint L'Ouverture as his chief, and that all the men under his command were animated by the same disposition. Thus Toussaint L'Ouverture saw rallying under his standard, not only the refugees from bondage, but whole battalions of *anciens libres*,

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deserting the flag of the Republic. This happy turn of fortune placed the victorious general in the ascendancy.

The accomplishment of the task of establishing a line of works extending from west to east was not yet realized, inasmuch as Plaisance remained in the hands of General Laveaux. A. Chanlatte, colonel in the Legion de l' Egalite, was in command at this place. The commander of the army of the north, having no disposition to make any allowance whatever in favor of this officer, this place shared the fate others had, which was really desirable, on the part of Toussaint L'Ouverture. From this time and occurrence, Chanlatte conceived for the man who was an honor to the African race,* an enmity which was never extinguished.

The Republic had nothing more left under her jurisdiction in the north, except Fort Dauphin, where Candy was entrenched; Port-de-Paix, at which place Laveaux had established his general quarters, and which if once abandoned could not be re-occupied; and Cape Francais, commanded by Villate, who was still in possession of the bourgade of Petite-Anse and that of Haut-du-Cap. These localities, as well as many ports of the south, were menaced by the combined squadrons of Spain and Great Britain.

Authority which loses its prestige is often forsaken by its ablest and most enthusiastic supporters. Buquet, commander of Petite-Riviere; Morin, commander of Verrettes; Savary, commander of Saint Marc, and the commander of L'Arcahaye, followed the example of Cazes, of Paul Lafrance, and of Blanc-Cazenave. In reality, according to M. Saint-Remy,† all was

*M. Saint Remy remarked: "Toussaint made the opening for my race to all social distinction." According to this confession Toussaint was such a saviour as Moses was, and by a sigular aberration—not by jealousy, spite or foolish pride—you throw from the pedestal the idol, in order to place thereon a fetich.

†Of the three historians whose names have already been mentioned, Saint Remy, a man of color, who lived at Cayes, was the most impartial in his expressed views touching Toussaint L'Ouverture. His work, one has

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in subjection in the presence of the glory which covered Toussaint L'Ouverture.

The spectacle which Saint Domingo presented at this time was most pitiable. On one side she was afflicted by all the horrors which follow in the wake of civil war; and on the other, by what was still more terrible, the scourge of foreign invasion.

On the 19th of September, 1793, two frigates, with 500 men on board, detached from the garrison at Jamaica, appeared before Jeremie, and were welcomed by the shout of "Vive le Roi Georges! Vivent les Anglais!" Andre Rigaud and a few officers of the south repelled the attacked of Colonel Whitelock, off Tiburon, October 4th. There was no place whatever in the south, at this time, that could be regarded as the principal aim or object of the English; their desire caused them, first of all, to wish possessions in the north.

There on a point projecting out from the sea coast, which stands as a sentinel, is a formidable rock known by the name of Mole Saint Nicholas. Some one has called it the "Gibraltar of the Antilles."

Count d'Estaing built this fortification May, 1749, when he took possession of Saint Domingo in the name of France, with a view of commanding both the ocean and the Gulf of Mexico. Dubeux, who was commanding it when the English appeared, and who was already pushed to extremity by Sonthonax— whose vile character rendered him incapable of exercising moderation—and by the excesses of the mulatto, Lapoint, whose name remains odious in the history of Saint Domingo, surrendered the fort and village to a ship carrying fifty guns—l'Europa. From that hour the English held the keys of the island, or perhaps it is better to say, the French

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assured us, during his stay at Paris, where he went for the purpose of securing an editor, did undergo important modifications. This writer while in France, kept up a correspondence with the son of Toussaint L'Ouverture, who was residing at Bordeaux.

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part of it. The Spanish surrounded the eastern part by land and by sea. Arcahaye, Saint Marc, Leogane, and Grand Goave received the English as friends—perhaps we might say, as protectors.

About this time Sonthonax did not seem to exercise his better judgment; he required Laveaux to expose himself to flame and iron, after the manner of those he called brigands. Polverel was in favor of another method of discipline, possibly more in harmony with legal provisions. He established the guillotine at Port au Prince. The aspect of the first execution was so horrible to the blacks, who witnessed it, that they pulled it down, and this awful instrument of death has not since been rebuilt among them.

In the interval Sonthonax bravely refused to deliver up Port au Prince into the hands of Commodore Ford; but Tiburon fell to the enemy, February 2d, 1794, after making, however, a heroic defence. An unsuccessful attempt to seduce General Laveaux, by Colonel Whitelock, ended in the offer of a cartel, which was not accepted. Laveaux drove his ships from Port de Paix.

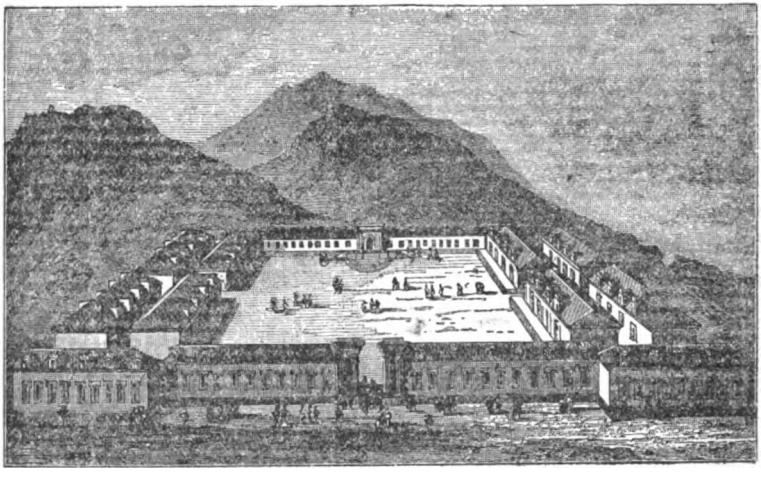
The condition of things at Fort Dauphin became more and more intolerable. Candy, chief of the colored soldiers, and Knappe, captain of the white troops, signed with the Spanish articles of agreement, which were the conditions of capitulations. These two traitors suffered the punishment of their crime in the same place. Candy, at the place called Liberty, was put in irons, and the bleus were massacred there without mercy.

Toussaint L'Ouverture, having learned in his camp—which was situated quite far from Fort Dauphin—that the conditions upon which the capitulation had been made were violated, and that there had been a terrible massacre of the French, made haste to present himself before the Spanish chiefs. He said to them: "Desist from killing these men. If you do not, I will cause my troops to take arms and compel

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you to respect the oath, under which you bound yourselves in the articles of capitulation." This energetic representation, coming from a soldier whose character and merit were not unknown to them, resulted in the conservation of what remained of the garrison, who proclaimed Toussaint to be their savior, by acclamation.

The English and French occupied the principal places on the sea coast of Saint Domingo, during the month of May, 1794, with the exception of Cape Francais—which was not very desirable, being a heap of ruins—Port Republican, on the west, and Cayes on the south.



BARRACKS AT CAPE HAYTI.

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CHAPTER VII.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE, HAVING CONQUERED ALL HIS ENEMIES, PLACED HIMSELF, WITH 4000 MEN, WITHIN THE PALE OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

After an absence of seven months, Toussaint yielded to the desire to see his family, which he had located at Saint Raphael, in the Spanish territory, safe from the accidents of war. The Marquis d'Hermonas, commander of the section of country where his family temporarily resided, celebrated his arrival by public demonstrations, and presented him, in the name of the King of Spain—to the success of whose arms he had contributed largely—the brevet of General (the functions of which he exercised nominally, while at Saint Raphael) a sword of honor, and the decorations of Charles IV.*

Toussaint L'Ouverture left Saint Raphael for Marmelade, at which place he had established his head-quarters, about the middle of the month of March, 1794. By the way, he stopped at Saint Michael. Don Cabrera, who was the governor, gave some public demonstrations in his honor which were in no particular inferior to those tendered him at Saint Raphael.

We will substitute some facts, mentioned by L'Ouverture in an address which he delivered the 20th of March, 1794, to Don Garcia, Governor General of the Spanish Colony, in his residence at Santo Domingo, for the doubtful stories published by the historians covering this period of the life of Toussaint L'Ouverture. He declared in a document, that, from the beginning of the war, he was satisfied by his own persuasion to be close by Don Cabrera, as he was already no longer dependent upon Jean Francois or Biasson; and that he was left to conceive and accomplish the various expedions—the results of which were so favorable to the Spanish cause—according

*At this time he wore a medal upon which was engraved these words, "El Merito."

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to his will and pleasure. "I informed and rendered account of my operations," said he, "to General Biasson ; not that I considered myself his subordinate or inferior, but for the good of the cause, knowing his impetuous, intermeddling and thoughtless character, which rendered him capable of doing more evil than good, as was demonstrated on all occasions."

In the meanwhile, designing persons arrived for the purpose of prejudicing the commanding general, Don Garcia, against Toussaint L'Ouverture. An order was issued for the arrest of Brigadier Moyes, his nephew, who was at Saint Raphael, under medical treatment, made necessary by a wound he had received. The same order required the commander not to allow the family of Toussaint to go out of his sight. The purpose was to strike Toussaint where he would feel it the most ; also to furnish him a pretext which would be sufficient excuse for his making an attempt to realize the project he had had under consideration for some time : viz., to place himself with his soldiers under the flag of the Republic. The monarchy, in the service of which he intended to enter when he threw himself into the movement, disappeared with Louis XVI. General Laveaux, informed of the disposition which animated Toussaint L'Ouverature after his quarrel with Biasson and Don Cabrera, thought the time had come to attempt through the man holding in his hands the principal forces of the country, some indirect measures, but of such nature as to confirm him in his real intentions—those he had entertained from the beginning of the movement. Chevalier, an officer of Toussaint L'Ouverture, was charged with this mission. A letter which will appear further on, will acquaint us with the results that followed the conference, afterwards convoked to discuss the measures.

Toussaint L'Ouverture was not the man to re-enter the French army as a fugitive and deserter. Besides, he had to avenge himself on Biasson and Cabrera, who had become in a manner the gaolers of his family, on Cabrera, who had jutt refused to

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render him simple justice. Toussaint L'Ouverture reasoned thus, touching the propositions which had been made to him : Would not General Laveaux, who was already favorably disposed towards him, esteem him more, if he should present himself covered with the laurels of victory ? Of a double victory won over the enemies of the French Republic, of which he (Laveaux) was the most devoted of soldiers, if not the happiest ? Having decided in his mind to carry out the following plan, he gave the command of Marmelade and Plaisance to Colonel Gabart and Jean Baptiste Paparel. At the same time, he ordered Brigadier Moyse, who commanded Dondon, to hold the Spaniards in check on the frontier, as well as General Jean Francois, whose headquarters were on the Grande Riviere. Under all conceivable circumstances the orders which Moyse had received, required him to defend himself to the very last.

As for Toussaint, he placed himself at the head of 250 men, formerly of the ancient regiment of Bearn, and five battalions of black troops, commanded by Colonels Vernet and Dessalines and Lieutenant-Colonel Clerveaux. Besides these he had with him his *aides-de-camp*, Birette, Dubuisson, Charles Belair, and some officers of merit who had just left Biasson. Toussaint L'Ouverture, figuratively speaking, fell with the rapidity of lightning upon the section of the country known as the Ennery, and drove General Biasson from the habitation Lariviere, demolished the camp, and drove him back to Saint Michael, situated on Spanish territory. Generous after victory, he returned to General Biasson his gold watch, snuff box, enriched by diamonds, and his carriage horses,—Biasson in his hasty flight having left behind all his valuables. From the Ennery, Toussaint made haste to march on Gonaives, where he was wounded on the thigh by a grape shot. For this reason he was able to pursue the Spaniards only as far as the bridge of Ester. Leaving his enemies at this point he returned and entered Gonaives once more. This point was

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very highly regarded on account of its importance, and it afterwards became the theatre on which his army performed glorious exploits.

Thinking at Gonaives over the distressed condition of General Laveaux, and Villate, his second, he directed towards Port de Paix and the Cape—now freed from the blockade of the Spanish and Euglish—a large portion of the provisions which he found in the warehouses of the enemy.

The events which had followed in quick succession, both at the Ennery and at Gonaives, were sufficient proof to Don Garcia that the domination of Spain in the French part of Saint Domingo was about to be severely shaken. This was the prelude of graver misfortunes.

The officers in command at Acul, Gros-Morne, Haut Limbe, and those who occupied the plains of the north, came over to Toussaint L'Ouverture. In the presence of these manifestations and with a knowledge of these facts, Jean Francois did not believe it prudent to remain longer with the enemy. He evacuated the plains of Limonade and the section known as Morin, without daring to run the risk which might follow a contest with the weapons of war. The people were really happy to be delivered from a yoke, which they had supported —if not under protest, at least with repugnance—and saluted Toussaint L'Ouverture as the liberator. He was, in fact, the liberator of his race, for he proclaimed universal liberty in every section where he exercised authority.

We will soon see him conferring the same inestimable boon, not simply upon sections, but throughout the length and breadth of Saint Domingo.

On his return to Marmelade, after a glorious and successful expedition, he gave several proofs of the natural kindness of his heart. Toussaint L'Ouverture wrote to Laveaux on the 18th of May, declaring that he had placed his victorious armies at the disposition of France. This chief of the blacks has been too shamefully misrepresented by his enemies, for

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us not to use the explanation on this occasion, which he himself furnished in his correspondence with Laveaux:

"TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE, General of Brigade, to ETIENNE LAVEAUX, Governor-General, Etc.—

"The citizen, Chevalier, commander of Terre Neuve and Port a Pinent, has delivered your letter to me, bearing date 5th courant, and animated by the most ardent recollections, I appreciate as I ought, the truth it contains. It is very true, General, that I have been led into error by the enemies of the Republic. You ought to recall that the object desired and awaited by me, before the disasters which occured at the Cape, and as seen by the measures offered by me, now in your possession, was only to unite, in order to fight successfully the enemies of France, and so put an end to the war among the French of the colony. Unfortunately for all concerned, the methods of reconciliation proposed by me—the liberty of the blacks recognized, and a general amnesty declared—were rejected. This caused my heart to bleed, and I again took up arms against the unfortunate situation of my country, foreseeing the misfortunes which followed, and in this I was not mistaken, as a fatal experience has proven the realities of my predictions. In the meantime, the Spanish offered me their protection, and liberty to those who would fight for the cause of the kings. I accepted their offers, seeing myself entirely abandoned by my brethren, the French. It is, however, very certain, that the national flag now floats at Gonaives, as well as through all the subjugated territory, and I have driven the Spanish and emigrants from Gonaives; but my heart has been wounded by the sad results which have fallen upon some of the unfortunate whites, who were victims in the days of tribulation. I am not as some others, who can look upon the horrible events in cold blood. I have always had the disposition to interfere, and grieved when I found myself unable to pre-

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vent the evil.* There have been several insurrections among the laborers and working men, but I have now established order, and all are at work as heretofore.

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

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

Toussaint L'Ouverture, conscious of his superiority and of the service he was yet to render France, saw all and made

*M. General de Vincent, who knew Toussaint L'Ouverture well, wrote in 1820, as follows: "The chief of the blacks never showed himself cruel, and it is not just that he should be thus charged and made responsible for barbarous acts committed without his knowledge, by his lieutenants—notably Dessalines, Christophe and Moyse."

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provisions for the future. Unseen he walked about the camp of his enemies. He knew what was transpiring in the very interior of their strongholds. The very walls of their fortifications seemed to speak to him, and the echo repeated the orders of his adversaries. His penetration enabled him to read their thoughts. He saw their movements before they began to make them. A secret police, assisted by a few who were perfectly devoted, placed him beyond the danger of a surprise, pointed out to him a snare—the lurking place of the enemy—brought him information of a meeting, and made him acquainted with the culpable. Do they need munitions? He takes them from the enemy. Do they need provisions? They are procured for them. Is not the land of Saint Domingo productive in the extreme? The fig, banana, igname, potato, honey, the wine of the palm and the fermented juice of the cassada plant, are among the delicious productions. Upon such provisions they subsisted as best they could; sometimes upon very little, sometimes with great abundance. Such was the mode of existence among the African soldiers. Toussaint was the gravest of the grave, and never asked anything that he was able to secure himself.

The union he formed with Laveaux was followed by the happiest results, which were seen in the changes which took place in the affairs of the Republic on the island of Saint Domingo.

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CHAPTER VIII.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE DISTINGUISHES HIMSELF IN THE SERVICE OF FRANCE.

General Laveaux received the letter for which he had waited with patience, from his new "comarade,"with great joy. We find the proof of this in his account of the event, to the House of Representatives, April 5th–20th, 1797.

In a discourse delivered by this same general, on the 19th of the following September, in the presence of the Conseil des Anciens, of General L'Ouverture, it was said: "He fought against us until the 6th of April, 1794. He fought, however, for the liberty of the blacks. He had been told that this general liberty could only be obtained from a king. When at this epoch I proved to him that the French Republic would accord this liberty, he placed himself under the flag of France and made war on the Spanish in the borough of Gonaives—taking possession of it and bringing with him into our ranks more than 5000 armed blacks, who were fighting with him."

On the 24th of May, 1794, General Laveaux informed the civil commissioners, Polverel and Sonthonax, of the important addition that the army of the Republic had just received. The commissioners rejoiced over the news and were very anxious to send their felicitations to Toussaint L'Ouverture In the meantime the Spanish and the lieutenants of Jean Francois continued to occupy Fort Dauphin. camp Bertin, all the lower Limbe, Port Margot and Borgne. It was very necessary to drive them from these positions and rid the country of such destructive bands. Laveaux, who had been favored by fortune, charged Colonels Villate, Pierre Michael and Leveille, with this work. The Spanish and their auxilaries occupying these places, made a vigorous resistance. As the effort to subjugate them was prolonged, Toussaint L'Ouverture, moved with impatience, left Marmelade for

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Plaisance, from which place he fell upon Limbe, and by this fortunate diversion and happy combination, hastened the taking of Camp Bertin. This post was commanded by a brave officer, Charles Coco, who died with his arms in his hands. Jean Francois attempted to force Moyse to take refuge at Dondon. Toussaint suddenly appeared and took possession, and the bands of auxiliaries fled at his approach. The activity of Toussaint on this occasion was looked upon as something prodigious. Night and day he was on horseback.*

Toussaint L'Ouverture at this time allowed the English to beseige Goniaves. Their balls and shells carried death and destruction by fire in every direction. Colonel Vernet was no longer able to hold his own, when Toussaint, unlooked for, appeared, visited the different sections, and passed from one battery to the other—sometimes on foot and sometimes on horseback—in order to give his orders and to encourage the soldiers. The hail of grape shot did not prevent him from taking this precaution in order to strengthen his position. Suddenly the roar of the cannon ceased; once more Gonaives was saved. These facts show us the man.

Pinchinat, a mulatto, of extensive information and of great intelligence, to whom due deference was naturally accorded, answering at the French tribunal, discourses, pronounced before the legislative corps and the supreme executive council of France, by Borgne, Garigon, La Chapelle and Sonthonax, applied himself to impairing, if possible, the services rendered by the blacks, by attributing to the men of color exclusively, the glory and success merited by the colonial army. It is thus that he accorded to Villate,† commander of the Cape,

*The name of his horse was Bel-Argent. Monture and Cavalier signify one and the same thing—from which we have the name, *Centaure des Savanes*, given to Toussaint L'Ouverture. Centaure, in English Centaur, was a name given to a fabulous being and also to a constellation.

†Of whom the historians of color make a true phœnix, that in contrast with the black, L'Ouverture, he may appear to great advantage. This is understood and becomes in their writings a matter of ridicule.

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under General Laveaux, all the honor of the events which followed the return of L'Ouverture to the Republic. The injustice appeared so obvious to the black general—who ordinarily displayed more moderation in what he said than in what he did—that the very tone of his voice seemed to indicate the ebb of his feelings, when answering the misrepresentations, he said: "Who achieved successive victories before I arrived among you? Which one of your number drove the Spanish from the neighborhood of the Cape? Through whose influence was Port Margot brought under the laws of the Republic? Who recaptured Dondon, notwithstanding the efforts of Jean Francois?"

In the meantime Pinchinat had the audacity to do honor to General Villate, for the conservation of a portion of the north. Pinchinat, no more than M. Ardouin, has ever ignored the facts in the case; but both have united in disfiguring them by a crafty policy, which makes fewer dupes in proportion as the citizens of the young Republic advance in knowledge and experience.* Villate was as yet only colonel. He had been the unfortunate lieutenant of a general still more unfortunate. But what does this amount to? He was a mulatto, and as such ought to have been superior to Toussaint L'Ouverture; but he was not.

In the west the scene was much the same as in the north. Andre Rigaud† had tried in vain, on the 16th of April, to recapture Fort Tiburon from the English. Montbrun contended for Fort Bizoton, which was the key to Port au Prince, but without success. Beauvais fled as a fugitive from Croix des Bouquets. The English had no need to bombard Port au Prince. The commissioners, on the 4th of June, 1794, tacitly

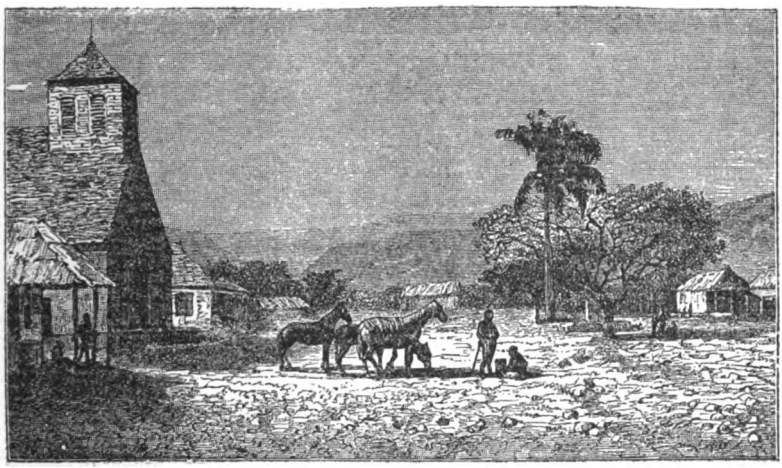
*It is the same policy which has dictated the famous seventh article of the Haytien constitution, which separates the Haytiens from other people.

†Mulatto of the village of Cayes. He learned the business of a watchmaker at Bordeaux. Rigaud and Beauvais belonged to the black militia of Saint Domingo, which went to the seige of Savannah under the command of Count d' Estaing, during the American war.

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consented to a capitulation, and withdrew—with the officers of color, mentioned above, and Pinchinat—to the village of Jacmel, where they awaited the sloop of war, the Esperance. Captain Chambou, the commander of the sloop, was intrusted with the mission of making known to Polverel and Sonthonax, the decree of July 16th, 1793,* which discontinued them in office and ordered their transportation to France. The captain of the Esperance was intrusted with another mission, viz.: To announce in Saint Domingo the decree proclaimed by the National Convention, the 16th Pluviose,† 1793, which declared the abolition of slavery in all the French colonies.

*Messidor, the tenth month of the calendar of the first French Republic.
†Pluviose, the fifth month of the calendar of the first French Republic.



CROIX DES BOUQUETS.

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CHAPTER IX.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE FIGHTS SEVERAL BATTLES WITH THE ENGLISH AND TAKES POSSESSION OF SEVERAL POSITIONS WHICH PROVE ADVANTAGEOUS.

The commander of the Esperance, by virtue of superior orders, gave over to General Laveaux the general management of the colony. Feeling certain that he would find henceforth in Toussaint L'Ouverture a powerful support, as he was in a position well situated for holding the Spanish in check on one side, and menancing the English on the other, the new governor was able to devote some of his time to the cultivation of the soil in the section of the country around Port-de-Paix, where his headquarters were established. Villate was now at Cape Francais in a condition so favorable that he was able to follow the example of the governor-general; so that in the midst of war one was able to see and taste to some extent the sweets and fruits of peace. In reality, this relative abundance was not long in replacing the misery of the evil days, by an amelioration long desired. Ships and vessels of of commerce no longer hesitated to unload their cargoes in some of the ports of the North. Provisions augmented in proportion to the transportation of the products of the soil. Alas! What a reduction! What has become of the riches of the ancient Tyre of the Antilles? The queen of this archipelago was now no more than a poor plebeian; a mother, it is true, with large paps but barren.

Toussaint L'Ouverture wrote to General Laveaux that he would not allow any respite to the enemies of the Republic; that he would not break his word with a chief whose esteem he desired to keep. Moreover, activity in war constituted a large part of his military tactics.

In the early part of the month of July, he had forced Jean Francois back into the Montagne Noire (the Black Mount-

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ains). He learned at Camp Marchand that the conquered general, returning suddenly, had given Fort Dauphin to be pillaged by his bands, and that he presided with pleasure over a massacre in which all the population was sacrificed. Indignant at seeing a general shed blood when it was not necessary, and feeling that the injury was an appeal to himself, Toussaint L'Ouverture informed General Laveaux that he would undertake himself to avenge the act. "As for me, General," said he, "you may depend upon my humane sentiments. I have always abhorred those chiefs who love so much to shed blood. My religion forbids me to do so, and in harmony with its principles I live."*

Toussaint L'Ouverture, although suffering from wounds received at the outset, fought the Spanish at Savannah d' Alfort; captured some prisoners, who belonged to the regiment of Cantabre, and returned to the north with the intention of avenging the barbarous acts of which Jean Francois was culpable—made so by his conduct at Fort Dauphin.†

The Spanish had scarcely submitted to defeat which had awaited them, when some secret communication called Toussaint L'Ouverture to the banks of the Artibonite, where the English contemplated establishing themselves.

In the meantime, Laveaux, the commander-in-chief, was exhausting his strength by unprofitable efforts to maintain his position at Port-de-Paix; while his first lieutenant had to face the Spanish and English, united against the Republic. The most imminent danger for the moment was anticipated from the side of the English. Toussaint L'Ouverture attacked them and cut in pieces, in front of Camp Marchand, their legions, reinforced by the Spanish auxiliaries and the royal Gondrons (Africans). This was the name the people gave to the

*"Toussaint," says Saint Remy, in a passage of his book, "had a good heart." It is, therefore, wrong that the historians of color should impute to him barbarous acts.

†Letter of Laveaux,

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recruits. He took possession at once of the bridge of l' Ester, of Petite-Riviere, of Coup-a-Pentade, as well as all the positions occupied by the enemy on the right bank of the Artibonite. He was disposed to follow up his success, when he received from the general-in-chief the order to make an attempt to subjugate Saint Marc, the inhabitants of which, one had said, seemed quite ready to rally around the standard of the Republic.

Toussaint L'Ouverture made an attack on Saint Marc, during the first days of September, 1794. He was repulsed by a garrison of more than 2000 men. While abiding his time that he might return, as he had intended, under the walls of this place, he surrounded it and went in person and hoisted the flag of France, at Verrettes. At this point he fought three days, during which time he measured arms with Major Santa Coecilia and Brigadier Brisbane.* The 6th of October, Toussaint reappeared before Saint Marc. This time Fort Belair and Morne-Diamant fell into his hands, notwithstanding the constant fire from the ships of war in the harbor. Almost immediately, the enemy returning, moved on the positions they had lost, with the intention of driving him from the posts into which he had just established his forces. Toussaint L'Ouverture had had the five fingers of his right hand broken, in aiding his gunners to mount a battery at Morne-Diamant, in consequence of which he was carrying his arm in a sling. Nevertheless he sustained the shock of the attack and in turn charged them at the head of a company of grenadiers. However, the pain that he experienced constrained him to leave the direction of the operations of the siege to his lieutenants, Guy, Blanc Cazenave and Morin. But on account of the absence of the principal chief, as Toussaint wrote to Laveaux, matters did not go well.† For another reason it was neces-

*He avenged himself on this officer, who had driven from him two of his best captains, by treachery.

†Letters of Toussaint L'Ouverture to General Laveaux, October 4, 1794.

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sary to discontinue the siege; the army had used up all its ammunition.

"The ancient partisans of the Counseil de Paix et d'Union, who had themselves come over to Toussaint," says M. Saint Remy, "discouraged, abandoned him, in order to join again the masters they had fought. Toussaint himself came very near being a victim to their perfidy. He owed his life to Captain Antron, whom he named chief of batallion, in the presence of the whole army."* In his report to General Laveaux, Toussaint L'Ouverture spoke thus of this affair: "This check comes to us through the perfidy of the men of color who are members of this party.† There never was so much treachery prevalent. I declare to you that hereafter so far as they are concerned, I will conduct myself quite differently from what I have done heretofore. When I made prisoners of them, I treated them like a good father, and in return what do I receive? Have not these ingrates tried to deliver me, by a horrible course to our enemies?" M. Ardouin, who was moved by the reading of these words, said to the men of his color, "You see very well that Toussaint L'Ouverture detests the mulattoes." M. Saint Remy saw others when he wrote the following:—"It is sad to think that Toussaint L'Ouverture may have been able to find men sufficiently ignorant at any time during the Revolution of Saint Domingo, to say, 'I will not obey a white man; I will not obey a black man; I will not obey a mulatto.' Unfortunate and ignorant blockheads! Let us turn aside from this discussion of the epidermis which disappears before the immensity of the power of God." In another passage the same writer expressed himself thus: "Rigaud invited L'Ouverture‡ to reunite with him at Leogane.

*Note of M. Isaac L'Ouverture.

†Saint Marc remained the boulevard of the reaction. All the mulattoes who had adhered to the Counseil de Paix et d'Union or who had deserted the cause of the Republic, sought and found refuge there.

‡M. Saint Remy always writes Toussaint L'Ouverture as is written

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L'Ouverture had no prejudice of color although he turned it to the best account in his policy." The object in view, if one were not mistaken, was to induce the black general—who was heaven-sent—to reunite under the law of the Republic. The intentions of M. Ardouin are all the more blameworthy, as Toussaint L'Ouverture had not spoken in his report but of the treacherous men of Saint Marc.

Notwithstanding the failure of his enterprise against Saint Marc, Toussaint did not withdraw from the contest. He marched his army to the ferry d'Aquin, and leaving sufficient force to hold the enemy in check at Petite-Riviere on the Artibonite, at Verrettes and at Pont de l'Ester, he formed his advance posts and afterwards appeared wherever danger called him. The character of Toussaint L'Ouverture was clearly revealed during this memorable campaign, in an unpublished letter that he addressed, March 24th, 1798, to the secretary of the navy and of the colonies. He appears to us as a tableau, succinct, but picturesque.

"I was obliged," he wrote, "to direct more than two hundred engagements against the enemy, in order to drive them back as far as the banks of the Artibonite, and that without other munitions than we were able to take from them. Powder was so scarce that we regarded the five or six kegs, of ten pounds each, sent at long intervals by General Laveaux, as an inestimable blessing. Being without the necessary munitions with which to continue the war, we substituted force and artifice, courage and prudence. These followed and accompanied each other as the circumstances demanded."

Now that we know the facts, is it necessary to refute the following assertion, made by a French historian—the great apologist for the Consulat and the Empire? "He called himself Toussaint L'Ouverture, Military Mediocrist, knowing at

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Scipion L'Africanus. The Louvertures never place the apostrophe before their name.

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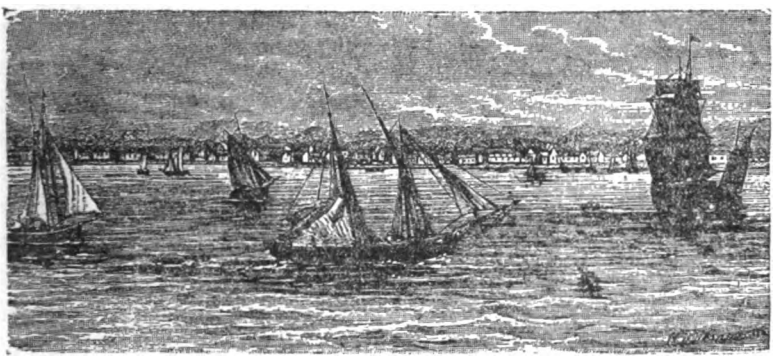


RUINS OF FORT CA IRA.

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most the arts of ambuscades, etc." Why not speak the truth, especially when one has in hand official reports.*

*A general of the Republic, reviewing the regiments after the battle of Trianon, said to the captain who had contributed most to the victory: "Your battalion was very well conducted. You are Toussaint, the Brave!" Under the Consulate, the same soldier was nothing more than a colossus of impertinence, ambition, villiany and hypocrisy. The pamphleteer wrote in sight of the expedition that Bonaparte directed against Saint Domingo, six months before, however, the First Consul proclaimed Toussaint a great general and lavished encomiums on him.



AUX CAYES.

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CHAPTER X.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE TAKES FROM THE SPANISH SAINT MICHAEL AND SAINT RAPHAEL. RIGAUD RECAPTURES TIBURON AND LEOGANE FROM THE ENGLISH.

The letter by which Toussaint L'Ouverture informed General Laveaux of his operations before Saint Marc, was dated, as we have seen, from Marmelade—his general headquarters. He had entertained the idea that it would be well to commence at this point, on receiving the news of an eruption with which he was menaced by the Spaniards.

Getting the start of his enemies, Toussaint set out for the locality occupied by the Spanish, the 9th of October, with 4,800 men. The way was beset with peril and unseen dangers; he advanced, however, but slowly, exercising the utmost caution. On the night of October 20th, he carried the trench before Saint Raphael by assault. The refugees flying before his cavalry were massacred, and he fell upon Saint Michael, which offered a feeble, but useless, resistance. The darkness of the night enabled a few of the soldiers of the garrison to escape. The results of this hardy battle and intrepid victory were immense as prizes of war, to say nothing of the prisoners Toussaint returned to his adversaries after having treated them well. The conqueror found in several localities a number of pieces of artillery and a large quantity of munitions of war of which he had need. General Laveaux attests that Toussaint L'Ouverture favored all the French who fell into his hands.

The grandest advantages which were to spring from this twofold success, were without contradiction, to make it possible for the ingenious strategist to form a second line of works, which was known as le Cordon de l'Est. It was calculated to protect the North against the East and South. Toussaint L'Ouverture was not only a general, but above all, a man of principle, In regard to war and combat, he was a

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strategist. When he exercised himself in organizing for a conquest, he appeared to the very best and greatest advantage.

If Robespierre, Brissot, and others, preferred to lose the colony rather than sacrifice a principle, it was in the name of a principle that Toussaint undertook to save it. Toussaint had just covered himself with glory, by a victory in which Desfourneaux had been stranded. But it is just to say that this general had almost none of the resources which the chief of the blacks had at command. When the way of man is ordered by Providence, the rough becomes smooth before him, and it seems as if everything accords with his purpose.

The report of L'Ouverture to General Laveaux is dated September 31st, 1794. It merits the consideration of those who will write veraciously on Saint Domingo. The illustrious historian of the Consulat and Empire might have consulted it with advantage. Full of admiration for the man who seemed to hold in his hand the destiny of the colony, Laveaux might have wished to confer on him marks of distinction. He found, however, only a magnificent plume at his disposition, with which to do him honor. We see here the origin of the large red plume, elevated over the four white plumes forming the bunch of feathers with which Toussaint L'Ouverture decorated his hat, appertaining to the rank of general.* Rigaud, on the other hand, had just distinguished himself in the south, fighting against the English, and in retaking Leogane and the post of l'Acul. Petion, whose name remains illustrious among the Haytiens, distinguished himself at the siege of Fort Ca-Ira, while commanding the artillery.

The historians of Hayti—all men of color—wishing to find a rival equal to the black General, Toussaint L'Ouverture, whose mission they seemed never to have understood, gave

*This hat remains legendaire like that of the Little Corporal,

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to these few successes such prominence that a review of the facts is not without importance. Further on, Toussaint L'Ouverture himself, will place the weights in the balance.

Let us consider here what is written in an official report to this general. We ought to give General Rigaud the credit of the important service by which the department of the South was preserved from the invasion with which it was menaced But for this he had not gathered the laurels of victory with which his partisans desired very much to cover him. Tiburon was handed over to him by Tauleau, adjutant-general, and who, at the time, commanded the place for the English. Leogane, his finest victory, was delivered to him by the inhabitants of the place, who sent a deputation for the purpose of inviting him to advance with his troops on the village, assuring him of their fidelity. He left three representatives at Aux Cayes, *en otage*, and marched on Leogane, where it was only necessary for him to present himself.

Without doubt, Andre Rigaud was entitled to congratulation when he endeavored to give proofs of his patriotism in the cause of the Republic, which had placed him in a high and important position. But did he not deserve the most profound contempt, when occupying the same rank as Couthon and Collot d'Herbois, we see him renew in the south the frightful scenes of terror ; consenting himself to be a supernumerary, if we may so speak, in the cause of destruction and carnage, represented by the Jeannots, the Biassons, and Jean Francois.

M. Ardouin, the admirer of Rigaud, appears not to be able to forbear writing when it is possible to put Rigaud in contrast with L'Ouverture ; but when he hands over to destruction, he hesitates to find in him a competitor for Petion. It appears that the women of color of Leogane, fulfilling a duty inspired by the sentiments so common to their sex, entreated Rigaud in vain, to grant pardon to the condemned, and in the exercise of clemency to let them go, that the cause of France might be

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strengthened. The condemned parties, in whose interest the women appeared, belonged to the best families of Leogane. Rigaud remained unmoved in the face of these entreaties. The opinion which has almost universally obtained in France is that Toussaint L'Ouverture was the instigator of all the massacres and crimes committed by all the Africans, or descendants of Africans, in Saint Domingo. It is time to correct this erroneous idea and to place the responsibility where it belongs, in reviewing this long drama which is known as the Revolution of Saint Domingo. We regret that the conduct of the leaders of the exclusive party oblige us to review recollections so painful.

The first French Republic began September 22, 1792.

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CHAPTER XI.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERVURE TAKES VENGEANCE ON THE SPANISH FOR THE MASSACRE COMMITTED BY THEM AT FORT DAUPHIN. HIS FIRST INTERVIEW WITH GENERAL LAVEAUX.

Toussaint L'Ouverture did not know of a more pressing duty than to avenge upon the head of Jean Francois and the Spanish, the massacre at Fort Dauphin, and that at the earliest possible moment. Had he not made a promise to this effect to the general-in-chief? With him to promise and to keep his word were one and the same.

The blacks united at Fort Dauphin to cover themselves with infamy. This bloody outrage, according to the sentiments of humanity, called for exemplary reparation. It remained for the soldiers disciplined by Toussaint to wash this stain from their race.

Before entering into the details of this campaign, we will mention what has been written about the awful event at Fort Dauphin, by a distinguished man of African descent.* One will judge better then of the utility and importance of repressing the whole matter.

Jean Francois re-entered Fort Dauphin, the 7th of July—19 Messidor—with nearly eight hundred of the brigands that Toussaint afterwards came to fight. He had always appeared in this village with a small escort, and in fact it was on this condition that Fort Dauphin had surrendered to him. Don Gaspard de Cassasola, surprised at this invasion, ordered the arms and munitions of war to be taken to the Spanish garrison. All at once the bands of Jean Francois dispersed and took possession of the houses occupied by the colonists, and gave themselves up to murder and pillage. The cries and lamentations of the unfortunate victims filled the Spanish with horror,

*M. Saint Remy.

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who had sought refuge in the great fort, unable to longer manage their auxiliaries or to restrain their ferocity in this horrible massacre. Neither sex, infancy nor old age had any consideration. In this day of painful memory seven hundred and thirty-four persons perished. Don Gaspard de Cassasola, shut up in the fort, was afraid to reappear in the village. Jean Francois invited him there several times, on the 9th, but it was not until the 10th that he put in an appearance. He reprimanded Jean Francois terribly for his act of bad faith—so bad that nothing would justify it. He advised him to restore everything that had been stolen; and secured, with considerable trouble, the departure of these monsters from the village.

History ought to brand alike, Jean Francois, those Spanish who advised him to massacre the French at Fort Dauphin, and the garrison—which with arms in hand did not attempt to prevent the bloody work. When we know how distasteful to Toussaint L'Ouverture was human blood, whether shed according to the rules governing war, or by the mere instinct of retaliation,* we have no difficuuty whatever to understand the outburst of indignation which prompted him to seek redress, on the proclamation of an event, which was compared to that of *Saint Barthelemy*, but which had a closer resemblance to *Vepres-Siciliennes*. The difference however, is this, the massacre at Fort Dauphin discovered its motive in savage instincts, while these we have mentioned were the outcome of patriotism marked by fanaticism. Already Toussaint, fully determined to seek redress, had left the banks of the Artibonite; visited his encampments, and completed the organization of his troops for the campaign. He made a forced march to the East, where he hoped to encounter the Spanish and Jean

*Toussaint L'Ouverture has been charged with reprisals in relation with his enemies. What is vulgarly called reprisal, was to him but the application of the law of retaliation, the principle of which, he found admitted and sanctioned by certain modern philosophers. We have the proof of this fact in the private papers of the family of L'Ouverture.

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Francois's anxiliaries. Hench, carried by assault, suffered the fate inflicted but lately on Saint Michael and Saint Raphael. Toussaint, following up his victory, constrained the enemy to assume an attitude of resistance at the foot of Mount Gibao.* This was but the commencement of the revenge he sought. Toussaint L'Ouverture finding no more enemies before him in the East, returned to the North, where he awaited the general-in-chief.

General Laveaux left Port de Paix the 29th of October, in company with Pageot, commander of the northern province, Henry Perroud, Intendent General of Finance, and de Richebourg, Paymaster-General, and repaired to Cape Francais in order to attend to some matters which appertained to the general administration. On the 4th of November General Laveaux arrived at Marmelade. The inhabitants at this place did not fail to speak in the highest terms of the virtues of Toussaint L'Ouverture, every moment of whose existence was marked by benefits and services rendered to all by whom he was surrounded, without regard to their opinions or color, and who, on all occasions, required the observation of the law of propriety, without which there could have been neither order nor society.

From Marmelade, General Laveaux and Intendent-General Perroud went to visit Saint Michael and Saint Raphael, just conquered in the name of France by Toussaint. Taking their departure from these places they repaired to Dondon, where Toussaint L'Ouverture awaited them. This was the first time that the two men in whose hands rested the destiny of the colony, and whose esteem for each other was mutual, had met. Laveaux congratulated the commander of the line of works, known as the western cord, not forgetting to mention his numerous victories and triumphs and his devotion to the Republic.

*Gibao is the name of the highest mountain in Hayti, on the summit of which is yet to be seen the well from which the Spanish dug more gold than there is now in circulation in Europe.

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After which Toussaint L'Ouverture presented to the governor-general his principal officers—Moyse, commander of Dondon; Dessalines, commander of Saint Michael; Dumenil, commander of Plaisance; Christophe Mornay, Desrouleaux, Clerveaux, Maurepas, Bonaventure, etc.—all of whom had won distinction in the many battles fought under the generalship of Toussaint L'Ouverture.

Laveaux was not satisfied to make a declaration of the joy he had experienced on seeing Toussaint L'Ouverture. He wrote to Andre Rigaud, December 21st, 1794: "I cannot say too much in praise of Toussaint L'Ouverture. I found him very interesting—a great friend of the Republic, and a friend of order and peace. I am very happy to know that you have written to him, and it was with unmeasured joy he read your letter in my house at the Cape, where he came for the express purpose of having me read it also."

Laveaux acted like a statesman when he sought to inspire reciprocal esteem between these two generals—not forgetting to justly discriminate touching their merit. Who could tell the future prosperity that might attend the affairs of the Republic, if caste prejudice were overcome?

On coming back to the Cape, Laveaux realized that he was exposed to certain mischievous influences to which Villate* was not a stranger. On this subject let us hear what M. Saint Remy, a man that no one could doubt when the question involved seemed to him to be that of his own color, has to say: "The presence of Laveaux at the Cape created the ill will of all classes against him. The conclusion of some administrative measures resulted in alienating the minds of the people from him." The following is the reason, or rather the pretext: "He had resided so long at Port-de-Paix that those who were accustomed to the authority of Villate, were not inclined to recognize him—finding it unjust that he should

*He commanded the city.

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appear in their midst for the purpose of giving orders. Others were afraid of losing their positions with a change of administration." It would be better to say, with the cessation of arbitrary rule and general confusion.

We may very properly make a two-fold classification of the dissatisfied followers of Villate. The first were conspicuous on account of their imbecility; the second, on account of their ingratitude. They were more than ungrateful; they were peculators. They were appropriating the property of the state. In view of this condition of things, Laveaux instituted an *ordonnateur* at the Cape, for the purpose of organizing a more perfect system of finance. Having been informed of what was passing at the Cape, Toussaint L'Ouverture wrote to Pierrot and Flaville—two officers of superior rank and men of his own color—to interfere for the purpose of bringing to a finish the vexatious condition of things, the object of which was to undermine the authority of the first magistrate, the governor-general. In this way the spirit of revolt was quieted in the City of the Cape.

Without accusing Villate of obeying a sentiment unworthy of the noble character he had manifested in the direction of affairs committed to his charge, we must say, in the opinion of many, he was too much inclined to give attention to the insinuations whispered in his ear by the agitators, both of the west and south. M. Madiou avows, without hesitation, that Villate turned to his own account the disturbed condition of things, which was general, and organized a popular movement against Laveaux, with the intention of overthrowing him, and at the same time withdrawing himself from under the authority of Toussaint L'Ouverture, who was becoming greater every day. M. B. Ardouin invents some excuses for the purpose, if possible, of lifting the reproach from his color. When one becomes acquainted with the causes it is very clear that unworthy motives were at the bottom of the difficulty.

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CHAPTER XII.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE, DEFEATS THE ENGLISH IN SEVERAL ENGAGEMENTS. RECAPTURES THE VERRETTES. TOUSSAINT LEAVES A TESTIMONY OF HIS HUMANITY AT PETITE RIVIERE. EXPEDITION AGAINST JEAN FRANCOIS. COMPOSITION OF THE WESTERN LINE OF WORKS. DEATH OF BLANC CAZENAVE.

The English, counting on reinforcements which they expected from Europe, reopened the campaign during the first days of September 1794. Their aim was to take possession of the Artibonite and Gonaives.

At the very commencement of the hostilities, Major Brisbane recaptured the town of Verrettes, commanded by Colonel Valeureux, forcing the troops of Toussaint to fall back to Petite Riviere and Pont de l'Ester. Already the Artibonite had been abandoned, one camp only remaining—that of Labadie. Toussaint put in motion his army, in camp at Bac d'Aquin, where he had his general-headquarters, starting out himself, during the night at the head of a company of cavalry, consisting of 330 men. He crossed at Petite Riviere and came with a bound into Camp Labadie, where his troops enjoyed a short season of repose. On the day following he attacked Verrettes, which he captured under the discharge of musketry and artillery. We have the details of this memorable battle in one of the MSS. found among the papers of the family of L'Ouverture. "Colonel Valeureux," says this document, "commanded the borough and country about Verrettes which had fallen into the hands of General Toussaint L'Ouverture, during the engagement in which he fought with the English and General Santa Coecilia. Some time after this, the English with considerable force, recaptured the borough of Verrettes. As soon as he was informed of this sad event, General Toussaint L'Ouverture took command of the 4th regiment, quartered at Petite Reviere de l'Artibonite; and

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without waiting the arrival of Christophe Mornay, Colonel of the 8th or for the 6th regiment, commanded by Clerveaux, he made the necessary arrangements in order to attack the borough of Verrettes from the East and South-east on a line oblique to the Artibonite, upon which the right flank of his army rested, in such a manner as to have their faces turned towards the acute angle that this line formed with the banks of the river. He displayed 1500 men along this line and assigned them the following positions: To the first rank, a portion of the battalion of the 8th regiment that Colonel Valeureux had under his direction; to the 2nd and 3rd ranks, the mlitia formerly stationed in the neighborhood of Verrettes—having the soldiers of the 8th regiment on their right and left flanks. Parallel to this line he placed six echelons from the 4th regiment in advance; the first battalion at the right and the second at the left; then wheeling about three steps by left, he attacked vigorously the semi-circle of the borough of Verrettes. The English, who were in position before the borough, were driven out at the point of the bayonet. The second battalion entered the borough of Verrettes and fought with deperation." A great many of the soldiers belonging to the English regiments and to the African legions engaged in the service of Great Britain had taken possession of houses and turned them into forts, from which they kept up a constant and terrible firing on their assailants; but they were not able to hold out against the impetuosity and determination of the 2nd battalion of the 4th regiment, dircted by a general as distinguished for his intelligence as for his intrepidity. The doors of the houses in which they had taken refuge and from which they had kept up a terrific fire were opened by heavy blows with the but ends of muskets, and the axe, and finally removed by sheer force. The English soldiers and those that made up the African legions in the service of Great Britain were killed and wounded and forced to lay down their arms.

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The few survivors of the 3,500 English troops who had occupied the borough of Verrettes, took to flight and entered the camp, which consisted of 6,000 men, of whom the 3,500 were the advance guard. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon the 6th Regiment, commanded by Colonel Clerveaux, and a battalion of the 8th arrived at the borough of Verrettes. L'Ouverture prepared to attack the enemy the following morning, and gave the command of the advance post to Dessalines. That evening Captain Biarche, instructor of the 2nd battalion of the 4th regiment, an officer who was as brave as he was ingenious, said, in the presence of the general and officers of all ranks, by whom he was surrounded: "We owe our laurels to our general"—referring to the 600 militia *echelounes* on the flanks of the 8th regiment. By this disposition of the 600 troops Toussaint caused his enemies to believe that his soldiers were in great strength just at that point. Toussaint L'Ouverture, wishing at the same time to fight the bulk of the English who were before him, and to avenge himself on Major Brisbane, who had enticed two of his officers from him in a treacherous manner, attacks his adversaries at a point beyond Verrettes. A terrible struggle ensued between the two armies. The English charged with force upon Toussaint L'Ouverture's center, occupied by the 4th regiment, which General L'Ouverture had formed into a square, giving orders to Dessalines and the chiefs of battalions, Birette and Charles Belair, not to allow their ranks to be broken. Never were the orders of a general more strictly executed. The English regiments which charged the 4th were repulsed. At the same time Toussaint L'Ouverture, at the head of the 6th regiment, commanded by Clerveaux, attacked the right wing of the English army, and taking them in the flank, threw them into perfect disorder. Christophe Mornay and Dessalines fought the engagement to a finish by cutting them in pieces.

The line of works known as the Cord of the West was saved. The enemies left in the hand of the conqueror a great

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number of prisoners, several flags, munitions of all sorts, and a portion of artillery. During this day of battle, all the colonels and nearly every officer of the black army had their coats riddled with bullets. Toussaint L'Ouverture received several contusions and was struck on the plate of his shoulder strap.

The next day the English troops who had escaped the fury of their adversary, were again attacked and defeated near Saint Marc, by Toussaint L'Ouverture, at the head of his guides and cavalry. Toussaint L'Ouverture learned that Colonel Brisbane, who was mortally wounded near Vieux Banc during the general engagement, had repaired to Saint Marc to die.

M. Saint Remy relates that before returning to Gonaives, Toussaint L'Ouverture was pleased to leave at Petite Riviere an evidence of his humanity. In this little village he found children of all colors, and women, among whom were mulattoes and whites. Two of the white women were Sisters of Charity who had quit the quarters formerly occupied by the English. All these women were in need of the necessaries of life. L'Ouverture gave orders to have them supplied every day with bread, and made a distribution of money and clothing among the more unfortunate. Such was the act of benevolence with which he crowned his great victory.

The inhabitants of Gonaives, grateful to Toussaint L'Ouverture, who came to deliver them from the presence of strangers —at whose hands they had suffered much—reserved for him the honors of victory. The poupulation of the city turned out to meet the conquerors and astonished them by singing their war songs. This man, whose reputation had commenced to assume extraordinary proportions, had scarcely arrived for the purpose of driving the English from the plains of Artibonite, when he conceived the idea of going in person to clear out Grande Riviere and the heights about it, then in possession of Jean Francois's bands. In a very short time he had

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organized the army at Marmelade which was destined for this new expedition. The signal for departure was given on the 31st of December. In four days the army had taken and demolished twenty-eight camps. With the exception of a false movement on the part of Arthaud, who did not obey the order which had been given to intercept the road leading to Valliere, the success of the campaign had been complete. This blunder made it possible for Jean Francois to operate a movement both retrogade and offensive, and with the superior force by which he surrounded Toussaint L'Ouverture he compelled him to make his escape by cutting his way through the army of white soldiers. The principal feat in this campaign, which lasted almost seven days, took place at Camp Bamby, situated upon a frightful elevation and defended by three pieces of cannon. It was taken without firing a single shot.

The expulsion of Jean Francois was accomplished only in part on this occasion. The line of works known as the Cord of the West had been extended. It commenced at the Grande Riviere, taking in Dondon, Saint Raphael, Saint Michael, Gonaives, and the Artibonite, and ended at the Grande Saline—that is to say, at the sea. In the above we have not mentioned Ennery and Marmelade, places of the first importance by reason of their central position and the resources they afforded.

"Toussaint L'Ouverture knew," says a historian, "with men poorly armed and poorly disciplined, and but little accustomed to military manoeuvers, how to compel, during a protracted period, the English and Spanish, with their auxiliaries, to respect this extended line of works, which was more than thirty leagues in extension."

M. Saint Remy says, Toussaint manifested a prodigious activity, which was always necessary, as he found himself menaced when at his best. Meanwhile he found time to conduct his voluminous correspondence, which he attended to himself, and where it was possible, to turn the minds of the people from the campaign to the cultivation of the soil.

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We now embrace the occasion to mention the lugubrious fact, which historians of color have used for the purpose of blackening the character of Toussaint L'Ouverture, and furnishing a motive which would justify them in comparing him with others, who did not possess his love of justice and discipline. He would not even allow his officers to molest a man, to say nothing of inflicting the punishment of death, whatever might be his color, politics, or party.

But it is true, that Blanc Cazenave, his first lieutenant, massacred without mercy, at the Artibonite, a number of whites, who, trusting to the humanity of Toussaint L'Ouverture, had come for protection. Blanc Cazenave had manifested the same cruelty towards forty blacks, at times when he was excessively angry. He was arrested on the 30th of January, 1795, by the orders of the general-in-chief. He died a few days after in a prison at Gonaives. "The death of Cazenave," wrote Toussaint to Laveaux, February 6th, 1795, "was attributed to me; but reckoned as his crimes, there was neither principal nor accomplice."

Does it seem that Toussaint was wrong to add at the end of his report, "Requiescat in pace?" For this reason the Haytien historians, attaching too much importance to the order of words, attempted to justify a man of color who had not, it is true, in all his crimes imitated the mulatto Lapointe, but who was, nevertheless, like him, an assassin. The Haytien historians invented the crime of which they accused Toussaint L'Ouverture.

Toussaint said in his report to Laveaux that Blanc Cazenave died from *colere bilieuse*. This saying gave rise to a creole ballad, the refrain of which is all that the author of this work can at present recall:

"La mort Cazenave, ho!
La mort Cazenave."

Rigaud and Beauvais put forth the most praiseworthy efforts, both in the South and West to drive the English from the

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places they occupied, and redeem, if possible, Port au Prince. While Rigaud was occupied at the siege of Fort Bizoton, Laveaux, at the request of the commander of the South, wrote to Toussaint L'Ouverture to attempt a movement in favor of the beseigers. The end now to be achieved was to demolish Saint Marc by seige, if possible. Three consecutive assaults were made without results, notwithstanding the admirable enthusiasm of his troops and the stratagems suggested by a fertile military genius. The place was regularly fortified. Toussaint needed other resources than those at his command in order to take possession of Saint Marc, hence he withdrew his troops. Rigaud abandoned the siege of Port au Prince. From this time on the fighting along the Artibonite was nothing more than a series of skirmishes.

We are not surprised to find in Toussaint an extraordinary man, considering the circumstances in which he lived and for which God brought him into existence, nor that he sustained to the bitter end a gigantic struggle against two powerful enemies. He had at his disposition most of the time but the debris of an army, knowing no other discipline than the fear of displeasing a chief, by whom they were electrified or terrified, as the occasion required. A simple anecdote will furnish the proof of the ascendancy that Toussaint exercised over men when the occasion required it. The mountains of Port de Paix were occupied by insurgents, who were opposed to Laveaux, and were conducted by a white man and a black man—the name of the former was Magnot, the latter Etienne. Toussaint L'Ouverture arrived unexpectedly for the purpose of reducing them to obedience. In doing this he had to adopt one of two methods: To attack them and follow them across mountains covered with stones and a sort of thorny convolvulus, without being sure after all of subjugating them; or expose his life and surprise them by his presence. He acted upon the latter plan. He went up to their camp followed by two aides de camp and four guides. Magnot and the other

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chiefs of the insurrection were seated in his presence. Without hesitating he drew his sabre from the scabbard and ordered them to descend under the escort of his guides. The insurgents, seized with astonishment, promised him that they would remain from that time on subject to authority. He recompensed them for this act of obedience. He acted with the same courage and presence of mind towards the insurgents of Moustique. At the head of these was white a man named Levasseur. We know by a letter, dated l'Artibonite, July, 1795,—an epoch which corresponds with that in which Toussaint L'Ouverture fought against the English, in order to conserve his line of defence—that this chief occupied himself in reorganizing his army. He brought four regiments into the field, representing an effective force of eight thousand men. This army was made up of men of his own selection, and operated on a given line apart from all others. These regiments constituted the line of defence known as le Cordon de l'Ouest. The infantry was sustained by a good cavalry and artillery, composed of siege guns and field pieces. The dragoons of L'Ouverture, from whom he formed his company of guides, always enjoyed a very high reputation for bravery. His staff officers were intelligent and brave, and without exception of color or nationality, had no superiors. In this organization nothing was wanting, not even proficient military instructors, whom Toussaint recruited from the ancient regiments of Bearn, Dillon, etc. Thus the army which made up the line of defence, known as l'Cordon de l'Ouest, was well officered and thoroughly disciplined—organized according to French military tactics—having had long experience already in war. Further on this army will appear in line of battle, fighting against the English and Spanish, and obtaining victories over them, which finally resulted in their entire expulsion from the colony. Further on we shall see Toussaint L'Ouverture receiving congratulations from the generals of the Old and New Worlds—saluting him under the title of the "Hero of Saint Domingo."

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CHAPTER XIII.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE TAKES MIREBALAIS. HIS MAGNANIMOUS CONDUCT AFTER THE VICTORY. HE RECEIVES A DEPUTATION OF DOCKO INDEPENDENT BLACKS.

While Toussaint L'Ouverture was holding the English in check before le Cordon de l'Ouest, Colonel Beauvais was obliged to evacuate Mirebalais, which was situated on a central point of the Artibonite River. The Marquis d'Espinville, an emigrant of noble birth, took possession of it in the name of Spain. Moreau de Saint Mery says in his topographical description of the French part of Saint Domingo, that Mirebalais is named after a section of Poitou to which it has a striking resemblance. It is surrounded by high mountains and divided by a number of small rivers, which render it very difficult of access by an army. The principal borough of this section is washed by the main body of the Artibonite, which overflows at times and inundates the plains. There are roads which connect Mirebalais with the Cape, Gonaives, Saint Marc and Port au Prince, and these overland routes are more or less accessible according to the seasons and the atmospheric perturbations. Each gorge, each narrow defile, is a veritable Thermopylæ. This is why one has said that the man of military genius would make this place a camp of glory. Toussaint L'Ouverture knew all the advantages of a position which would permit an intelligent general to transport the very terror of his army from north to east and from west to south. The difficulty was, to take possession of it. The conquest by arms appearing impossible to him with the resources at his command, he had recourse alone to the artifice of war. From his posts at Petite Montagne, he managed to have communication with the inhabitants of Mirebalais, without the knowledge of the Spanish. The result was an insurrection against the Spanish, who fled in haste and took

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refuge at Las Cahobas* situated on the frontier, about six leagues from Mirebalais. Christophe Mornay and Valleray, each commanding one of the new regiments of the black army, took possession of the city with 600 men, the 28th of July, 1795, in the name of the Republic.

There remained in the meanwhile a final victory to be won, and it was for Toussaint L'Ouverture to hasten the moment. After having set everything in order and placed the proper person in command of the city just taken, he started out himself, to meet the Spanish, and engaged with them in a murderous affair. The enemy, being overthrown at every point. made a hasty retreat by which a few saved their lives. Toussaint pursued Don Palomar—whose flight was as the swiftness of his horse—and returned with two prisoners. After the battle, there remained one hundred and forty Spaniards in the hands of the conqueror, who conducted them to Gonaives and committed them to prison. When Rigaud learned through Toussaint L'Ouverture the success of this expedition, he wrote from Leogane to Laveaux, on August 24th, 1795: "I have learned with pleasure from comrade Toussaint, that Mirebalais is under the authority of the Republic. I have also learned of the conquest of Las Cahobas. I admire the zeal and conduct of this brave republican. He gives us an example of how all the French ought to act, and the enemy would not find it play." Will Rigaud always show so just appreciation for the superior merits of this good and brave comrade?

The newspapers furnished the following details of two episodes of the affair just related. They seem to us to have some interest for the reader.

"At the battle of Mirebalais, the officer, Don Palomar and the Marquis d'Espinville, who commanded the Spanish troops, were defeated by Toussaint L'Ouverture. The former fled

*Las Cahobas repond au mot Francais, "Lieux plantes d'acajou." Las Cahobas answers to the French word "Places or grounds" planted with cashew nut trees, the wood of which is called mahagany by us.

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from the field ; the latter, with 800 men, took refuge in the fort at Mirebalais, where he was surrounded. Toussaint L'Ouverture demanded his surrender. The Marquis, who was a French general and who had a number of his countrymen among his soldiers, had against him the law of France, which he had violated in taking up arms against her. He obtained a conference with Toussaint L'Ouverture, at which time he said, 'if I surrender, I will lose my life and my soldiers will lose theirs, because they have not recognized the new French flag.' 'No, Commander,' replied Toussaint, 'you will not only *not* lose your life, but no harm will be done to you if you surrender.' He added, 'I vow it upon my sword.' Assured by this response, the Marquis returned to the fort and showed his troops the danger that would follow longer resistance. The garrison was allowed to leave the fort with honors of war. A committee known by the title, La Commission de Salut Public, established at Port de Paix, wished to have all the French prisoners tried by a council of war, the opinion of Laveaux to the contrary, but they respected the word of Toussaint L'Ouverture. Officers and soldiers were anxious to enter the French army of Saint Domingo, while the Marquis d' Espinville, forced by the law of the metropolis, peaceably embarked for Havana."

Are not these facts of sufficient importance to be mentioned? Their veracity rests upon the authority of M. de Montfayon, an engineer of the king, who found himself among the prisoners. Toussaint L'Ouverture attached him to his administration in such a manner as to improve the colony.

On the same occasion, according to the journal to which reference has already been made, twenty colonists, with their women, children and slaves, were taken by the way with two hundred mules, burdened with gold, silver, and other valuables, and brought into the presence of Toussaint L'Ouverture, who disposed of them in the following manner: First of all, he asked them if the soldiers had taken anything from them. On receiving their negative response, Toussaint informed them

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that they might continue their journey. This unexpected consideration gave them joy and filled them with admiration, which found expression in thanks and benedictions pronounced upon their benefactor. As for the slaves, it was their privilege, and they did not lose the opportunity, to go from servitude to the enjoyment of the freedom they found in the camp of Toussaint.

We have also another fact, without which this narrative would not be complete. The habitation which Toussaint L'Ouverture occupied until he had made ample provisions for his administration, became a rendezvous of a select society. The law which required the embarkation of the Marquis d'Espinville had not yet been published, and he continued to receive great attention from the ladies. Creoles of rare beauty often disputed with each other the right to the Marquis of the ancient regiment. Toussaint *l'ex-cocher*, of Breda, was no more out of place in the fashionable circle of a saloon than on the field of battle. Everyone admired his witticism and commended his politeness and humanity. The delicacy of his high consideration for the fair sex was the occasion of insinuations on the part of serious historians. This is the place to consider them.

It has been said that Toussaint L'Ouverture took pleasure in the company of ladies and that he would frequently present a rose—the flower of his preference—to one of the beautiful women who composed so largely the select society at Mirebalais. General Pamphile de Lacroix, historiographer of Leclerc's expedition, pretends in his memoirs that General Brunet and himself had in hand a box, which Aide-de-Camp Pesquidon seized when he sacked Toussaint's habitation, and that among the contents were letters from women.

There is nothing so astonishing in this circumstance, when one considers the feebleness of the fair sex and the slackness of manners in the tropics. What is there surprising in the fact that a man who captivated every one by the agreeableness

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of his character, should have received gay letters now and then, and some even dubious ones? To draw an argument from such an occurrence, unfavorable even to one charged with crime, is out of the question. It is necessary at least to prove the provocation. A celebrated historian has charged Toussaint L'Ouverture with being intimate with women who were members of the oldest and wealthiest families, to whom he gave protection; but this assertion loses much of it force when we know that the character of Toussaint L'Ouverture was *per se*, a sufficient guarantee of protection to the friendless and helpless. Toussaint L'Ouverture was not culpable in the eyes of those who charged him with such crimes because he played the role of Louis XV., but because he was black. O, prejudice of color! How strong has been its influence over men!

The reader will pardon this digression which will not be considered as having any relation to the narrative we are writing, for the reason that what we have related, and other circumstances we may cite, do not seem to us to be pencil strokes which detract from the portrait of our subject."* Another reason equally as good is, it is often by the minute details of the private life of a great man that we are capable of properly estimating his character.

Toussaint L'Ouverture always knew how to adapt himself to a situation. Among the common people, his manner was very simple; among the elite, none surpassed him in modesty, while he bore his honors with becoming grace. He was respectful to General Laveaux, not because the general could point with pride to his coat of arms, but because he was chief of the army. Toussaint L'Ouverture was an accomplished gentleman, but there was in the very spirit of the times so much calumny, so much undervaluing of this "extraordinary individuality," that it is not too early for history to restore to

*These are the words of a very serious writer.

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him his merits—in the least degree contestable. The pamphlet of Dubroca, published in 1802, covered him with blackness; other pamphlets were published at the same time at Paris, by the house of Pillot Brothers, "*Le Factum Passionne*," de M. de Senneville; "*Les Etudes Historiques*," de M. Ardouin, etc.

The time has now come for us to hear the eloquence, not of prejudice, but of facts. Let us return to Mirebalais, where we left Toussaint L'Ouverture applying himself entirely to the work of organizing.

The report of his astonishing success had scarcely been circulated when Toussaint was visited by a deputation of black Docko independents. The chief who accompanied them, whose name was Mamzelle, declared to him, "that in consideration of his renown, all the tribes had submitted themselves to him and from that time on would assist him in fighting his enemies." Toussaint L'Ouverture welcomed these people with consideration, and that they might not be able to doubt his good intentions, he distributed among them clothing —of which they had great need at the time—arms and munitions of war. He added to these gifts some presents for their principal chief, whose name was Madame. As there were among these people some Africans of the nation of the Aradas, Toussaint L'Ouverture spoke to them in the language of their country. His conversation with them in their native tongue brought tears to their eyes, as they remembered their African home, and they applauded the grand chief they had come to assist, by helping him fight his enemies. Some time after Toussaint attacked a village at the foot of their formidable bulwark and organized out of these men, but lately ungovernable, the 12th regiment of Saint Domingo, under the command of Mamzelle.

"Often," said one of the papers, "he sent presents to la Fortune, their principal chief, with communications bearing this inscription: A. S. E. le General la Fortune, our friend commanding the Dockos" These independent Dockos of the

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mountains of Bahorneo, conducted under the government of Toussaint, a useful commerce with all the cities on the Bay of Neyba, as well as at Aux Cayes, Jacmel, and the dependencies of Port au Prince. M. Moreau de Saint Mery says that for eighty-five years, this tribe formed of negro maroons, lived only by highway robbing. The policy of Toussaint L'Ouverture made useful men out of them, and destroyed not only the dependencies but the very source of Maroonage, Toussaint L'Ouverture addressed to General Laveaux his official report, on the 15th of August, in which he mentions the taking of Mirebalais and the events and results which followed. He speaks to him at the same time, of the manner in which he organized for his new conquest and how he organized in the mountains of Grands Bois.

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CHAPTER XIV.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE OBTAINS A BRILLIANT VICTORY OVER THE SPANISH. THE ENGLISH AGAIN TAKE POSSESSION OF MIREBALAIS.

The Spanish waged war at Saint Domingo for an idea. The English people, being of a more positive character, never bombarded a place, never made an assault without having in view, the opening of a market for their commerce. They understood from the beginning, that Mirbalais commanded the interior of the island, as Mole Saint Nicholas commanded the sea, and therefore never ceased to hanker after and put forth efforts to obtain it. The Spanish, on the other hand, prompted by a spirit of jealousy and revenge, tried to force their way through the line of defense—*le Cordon de l'Ouest*—and avenge their defeats. Thus it was, Mirebalais was scarcely taken by Toussaint L'Ouverture when he was called upon to renew the campaign. Leaving Fort Dauphin with 4000 men, Jean Francois* and Biasson carried by assault the village of Dondon, that was commanded by Moyse, on the 14th of October, 1795. They took possession, and following up their success, drove the enemy back as far as Marmelade. The echo of the enemy's cannon was heard by Toussaint L'Ouverture at his general headquarters. "This centaur," speaking of Toussaint L'Ouverture—says Saint Remy, "followed by fifty dragoons, set out with the rapidity of lightning. He met Moyse who was using stones for balls in his retreat.† Toussaint rallied his forces, then in confusion, and charged Jean Francois in person, forcing him to abandon the fort which

*Jean Francois obtained favor and repaired to Spain, where he enjoyed the rank and treatment of lieutenant-general. "Biasson" says one, "went to St. Augustine, Florida, where he died."

†The men were not in need of arms. The ammunition alone had given out, and the condition of the sea was such, they could make no calculations upon receiving succor from the metropolis.

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protected the village, and pursued him as far as Pitous des Roches, where by a very narrow chance he escaped. This was the last important attempt of the Spanish and their black auxiliaries against the French part of Saint Domingo.

The instrument containing the conditions of peace between Spain and France was signed at Bale, July 22nd, 1795. The 9th article of the treaty concludes thus: "In exchange for the restitution of the strongholds taken by the French, in Europe, specified by Article IV., the King of Spain cedes and and abandons at all points, proprietorship to the French Republic, all the Spanish part of Saint Domingo.

"Wherever the chief is *not*," said L'Ouverture, "things do not turn out well." It was thus in regard to Mirebalais where Guiot, his chief officer, after whom came Paul L'Ouverture, the general's brother, had not sufficient ability to defend the place in question against the English. Major Williamson established himself at Mirebalais, September 30th, 1795. A few days after, Major Forbes, his successor, again took possession of Las Cahobas and Banica. Toussaint finding it impossible to do better, maintained his camp at Verrettes,* the point from which he could observe the movements of his enemies.

*Letter of Toussaint L'Ouverture to General Laveaux, Marmelade, September, 1796.

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CHAPTER XV.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE RECEIVES THE BREVET GENERAL OF BRIGADE. HIS INDIGNATION ON LEARNING OF THE TROUBLES AT THE CAPE. GENERALS LAVEAUX AND DESAGNEAUX VISIT THE PLACES WHERE L'OUVERTURE WAS IN COMMAND AND WHERE HE EXERCISED AUTHORITY. PINCHINANT PRINCIPAL INSTIGATOR OF THE MOVEMENT AT THE CAPE. EFFORTS OF TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE IN FAVOR OF THE REPUBLIC.

While the events which we have recorded were transpiring, the National Convention was considering the serious condition of affairs in Saint Domingo. The dispatches of Laveaux fully informed the convention of all the particulars of the war going on in the colony, and which was directed against the enemies within, as well as without.

The report of the *Comite de Salut Public* gave a detailed account of all the military chiefs, who without assistance from the metropolis and without knowledge of the condition obtaining there, remained faithful to their country and continued to fight in defence of her cause. The *Comite de Salut Public*, in pointing out the honorable acts of which these officers were the authors, made each of them conspicuous and an object of public consideration. None of whom the report gave account appeared more worthy than Toussaint L'Ouverture, of whom the *Comite de Salut Public* said: "He is a soldier, intrepid and at the same time respectful to authority. He is an enterprising officer. He knows how to bring about harmony between the blacks, whites and men of color. He respects the rights and possessions of others, and requires those subject to his authority to do the same. Nothing is more commendable in him than his efforts to destroy the prejudice which exists against the men of color." In this report Villate was tacitly accused of insubordination.

This report, bearing date July 13th, resulted in the decree

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of the National Convention, the 28th of the same month, which was also an answer to the conclusions of the last dispatch sent by General Laveaux. The decree of the convention declared, among other things, that the men in Saint Domingo who had taken up arms for the purpose of defending the Repuhlic, "deserved consideration at the hands of France."

Laveaux was elevated to the rank of general of division, with the additional title of governor provisoire (provisional, temporary). Toussaint L'Ouverture, who, up to this time, was known simply as the chief of the army of the Cordon de l'Ouest, and Colonels Villate, Rigaud and Beauvais received the brevet general of division. On the arrival of Captain Desagneaux, commander of the advice boat, la Venus, which had come to bring the decree of the convention—the contents of which we have already spoken—General Laveaux finally quit Port de Paix* and sailed for Cape Francais.† Before he set out for the Cape he sent Toussaint his commission, which declared him general of division, and sent him at the same time, the commissions which declared the promotion of the other officers, ordering Toussaint to expedite to Rigaud and Beauvais the documents destined for them. This preference for Toussaint L'Ouverture is the evidence that Laveaux recognized the general of the Cordon de l'Ouest.

An official report informs us that at the very moment when General Laveaux made his appearance at the Cape, in company with the director, Perroud, the officers of the first regiment of the northern army, including Commander Villate, created opposition of a hidden, but positive, character against

*Toussaint ccnfided the command of Port de Paix to an estimable man of color, named Pageot, who rendered a succession of grand services from time to time. Bordeaux has had for a long time an officer of the same name or commissioner of marine. He proved to have had large consideration for les Epoux Isaac Louverture, as his first lieutenant, up to the day of his departure from Bordeaux.

†October, 1795.

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him. He informed L'Ouverture, who had been for a long time the one who removed the difficulties to which the general-in-chief had been subjected by those whose purpose it was to forestall his administration, of his troubles.

Toussaint answered General Laveaux's communication on November 21st, as follows: "The revelations of the abominable conduct of the citizens of the Cape towards you, fill me with indignation, and I do not hide from you the fact that I am very much displeased with them. What! they have had the audacity to menace you in words and to take up arms against you? What do they intend? Have they the extravagant idea to believe they ought to be left to manage their own affairs? I will lose a thousand lives for one, or they will reenter upon the path of duty. I send to them to-day four deputies, with a communication with respect to Pierrot and Flaville. Give yourself no anxiety."

The movement against Laveaux at the time seemed to have no other supporters. Favored by the inexhaustible fertility of the soil, and the regular order established in the cultivation of it, in all the districts where Toussaint L'Ouverture exercised authority, the colony no longer presented the distressing condition which obtained at the commencement of the insurrection. Laveaux left the Cape, accompanied by Perroud and Captain Desagneaux, in order to visit the cantons under the jurisdiction of Toussaint L'Ouverture. At Plaisance, near Ennery, he found the proprietors again established on their habitations—the blacks working in the fields and shops, and every person appearing happy and satisfied. From Plaisance the governor and his company set out for Gonaives, where they had the pleasure of meeting Toussaint. Here, as at the former place, praise of Toussaint L'Ouverture was in the mouth of everyone. He made a journey with his distinguished visitors the whole length of the Artibonite, and everywhere there was abundant evidence that the people enjoyed liberty and peace. The inhabitants, without regard to color or

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condition, seemed never to become weary of invoking benedictions on the administration of Toussaint L'Ouverture.

When General Laveaux returned to the Cape, after his tour of inspection, he found this city in agony, by reason of a faction which did not take the trouble to conceal conspiracy. The principals of the movement were well known, Laveaux being already at variance with Villate, since the latter part of 1793, and Villate being jealous of Toussaint L'Ouverture on account of the preference accorded him by the Governor. "It was scarcely possible," says M. Ardouin, "for the citizens of the Cape to enjoy union among themselves, and that tranquility which is ordinarily the result of it." There was also another more powerful motive, which accounts for the difference between Laveaux and Villate. We find it mentioned by M. Saint Remy: "Villate had become accustomed to independence in command. This condition of things was necessarily fatal to all discipline and to the general prosperity of the colony. The mulatto firebrand, Pinchinat, agent of the exclusives of the south, made the most of the situation.

Laveaux, who had so much to fear from this intriguer, wrote one day the following letter: "The famous Pinchinat quit the Cape after having organized all his machinations. During the two months he resided there, the city was all agitation. He was playing all the while a fearful game. Reunion after reunion was the order of the times, and he manifested on every occasion the spirit of sedition." He added: "The ambition of Pinchinat was to become dictator of the colony. This inordinate thirst for power and his deportment, expressed in words and acts, and written in letters, procured for him a prison, where he died." Toussaint L'Ouverture and Rigaud both had one ambition, viz.: to signalize themselves in the service of the Republic. Rigaud recaptured Tiburon, December 9, 1795, making it impossible by this happy victory, for the English to again entertain the hope of penetrating Aux Cayes.

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Toussaint L'Ouverture, in the interior, made the terror of his arms felt in that section of the country. Already master of Verrettes, he made himself master of Fonds Baptiste and Matheux—elevated mountains, from the summits of which he could view Port Republican (now Port au Prince), and measure the conquest. Toussaint had scarcely quit the village Verrettes when Dessoúrces, commander of a legion of blacks known as the Chasseurs de Dessources, appeared, rifled the village, set fire to it and devastated the surrounding country. Toussaint reappeared with a battalion of the 4th regiment and took possession of Verrettes, on January 2nd, 1796. At this time he made the observation, says Saint Remy, that the borough—overlooked from all sides by surrounding hills—was too much exposed to the frequent and successful attacks of the enemy. He therefore decided to abandon it and to occupy an open plain. In consequence of which he left a military post on the site of the ancient borough, and ordered the women and children to descend and occupy for the future the *nouveaux foyers*, marked off by his own hand. By order of Toussaint L'Ouverture trenches were dug around the new borough, and afterwards filled with a supply of water. He now turned his attention to the erection of a stronghold. "This fortification afforded protection to the inhabitants from the insults of the English and their partisans." The above is almost literally the language Tonssaint used in explaining the situation to the government, in a letter dated Verrettes, January 11th, 1796. A historian speaks of the trenches dug by order of Toussaint, and informs us they were filled with a supply of fish for the use of inhabitants. We will now record a fact which has been ignored up to the present time—a fact confirmed by the MS. we have in hand. The fortification erected for the defence of the new borough, was a veritable stronghold, and Toussaint gave it the name of Laveaux, in honor of the general-in-chief of the army of Saint Domingo. The engineer Toussaint employed in the construction of this fortification was M. Brothier,

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PROVIDENCE AND CALVARY.

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the architect of la Providence* of the Cape, and for whom Toussaint obtained the grade of colonel from the government. Toussaint employed him also in the capacity of a geographical engineer up to the time that he judged his presence would be more useful to the *Counceil des Anciens*. M. Brothier was also employed in the construction of the forts at la Crete a Pierrot, where Toussaint L'Ouverture covered himself with glory.

It is wrong and without foundation in fact for any one to give the English the honor of drawing the plans and constructing these fortifications. Toussaint L'Ouverture more than once made efforts in behalf of Etienne Batty, commander of a fort at Moustique, also in the interest of Pompee of Dieudonne, who died bound in chains, in the prison of *Saint Louis* des Cayes, and also in the interest of the unworthy Lapoint. His united efforts in the interests of these men were to the end that he might restore these officers to General Laveaux.

*In Saint Domingo this name was given to houses where they cared for the needy and sick. Vagrancy was unknown in the island.

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CHAPTER XVI.

CONDUCT OF TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE DURING THE EVENTS OF THE 20TH OF MARCH. HE IS NAMED ASSOCIATE GOVERNOR OF THE COLONY. REFLECTION ON THE CRISIS AT THE CAPE.

Deplorable dissatisfaction continued to exist at Cape Francais, between the general-in-chief and Villate. The latter was not able to pardon Laveaux, who had assumed the entire control, and had already commenced the active work of his administration, leaving to Villate nothing but the vain glory which belongs to military parade. Nothing was neglected on the part of the faction of which Villate was the recognised leader, to defeat the Governor and the Ordonnateur, Perroud, who was right hand officer in the civil administration. For the accomplishment of this purpose the spirit of dissatisfaction was encouraged among the inhabitants, over whom the white governor had already little or no control. The condition of things had become so serious and this spirit had assumed such grave proportions about the end of February, 1796, that General Levaux felt it his duty to talk the situation over with Toussaint L'Ouverture in a confidential way, withholding none of the facts in the conference. His confidence was not misplaced, and the result was quite satisfactory. On March 1st, the General du Cordon de l'Ouest answered the communication as follows: "*The anxiety and chagrin* about which you speak, are very natural for a good father like yourself, who has so much love for his children. Be satisfied that I sympathize with you, suspecting as I do, the cause of your difficulty. But, my general, let God's will be done! Patience conquers force; doucement alle loin."

March 20—a day auspicious in the annals of colonial history of Saint Domingo, an imposing and solemn review took place at the Cape, on the Champ de Mars. This military parade had no other end, say our papers, than to make amends for the

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outrage done to the general-in-chief, by a certain soldier, and to call the attention of all the army to dutes required and imposed by military discipline.

Villate still pretending not to be actuated by unworthy and culpable sentiments—which, as a matter of fact, he did entertain against his chief—presented his principal officers to him and assured him that the most perfect tranquility prevailed throughout the city.

Six o'clock in the morning, while General Laveaux was conversing in his bureau with Colonel Galley,* the engineer of the colony, the government was invaded. Laveaux in the attitude of resistance was struck with a stick, overpowered and conducted to prison.

"Villate," says M. Saint Remy, who was not always a blind admirer of the Exclusives,† "committed more than a crime on this occasion. He ought to have gone at once to the assistance of the governor, and delivered him if possible. Instead of doing his duty, he allowed the effort, which showed too plainly a heart of ill-will, to be consummated and authority usurped. Besides this he accepted the invitation of the Commune, who called him to the direction of affairs in general and made him responsible for the public safety."

The same author, speaking of the sad event, remarks: "The outrageous enterprise which occurred on the 20th of March, 1796, might have been from beginning to end nothing less than a rebellion elsewhere, severely condemned by the most indulgent laws, *qui se laisse aller;* but in Saint Domingo, a country consecrated, if we may be permitted to use the word in this connection, to the most monstrous and ridiculous prejudice, viz., that of color, this revolt assumed the ugly proportions of a war of caste."

The details of this war of caste are furnished through official reports, a fact which, however, did not prevent M. Ardouin

*Letter from Laveaux to Toussaint L'Ouverture, March 24, 1796.

†This word Exclusives refers to the leaders of a faction.

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from destroying the picture. We have the privilege, through L'Ouverture, of looking at it from a distance, under the light of all the facts gathered from authentic documents and furnished by MSS. These show the exact relation of facts and events which mark the miserable day of March 20th, 1796.

On the above date, according to official documents, factions of the 1st regiment* and of the national guard, followed the misguided multitude who had been told that General Laveaux was a traitor; made their way to the government palace, forced an entrance, and appeared in the apartment of the general-in-chief. Laveaux, the good and brave man, who had defended the Africans both with his pen and sword, was outraged. Some took him by the collar; others by the hair of his head. Some insulted him; others went so far as to strike him. They pulled him out of the palace and dragged him through the streets to prison. All the officers of his staff and the new functionaries connected with the civil administration at the Cape, with the exception of two black officers of high rank, who belonged to the 3rd regiment, viz., Colonel Jean Pierre Leveille and Chief of Battalion Noel, his brother, were placed in the same prison.

While these events were transpiring, the black colonel, Pierre Michael, occupied the Heights of the Cape (Haut du Cap) with the 2nd regiment that he commanded. Although he had not declared himself openly for General Laveaux, he was, nevertheless, faithful to him. While he sent to the Cape one of his captains, Henry Christophe,† to find out from Villate the true character of the insurrection, he arrested one of

*These factions belonged to the army of the north, which must not be confounded with the army of Toussaint L'Ouverture, called the army of the Cordon de l'Ouest.

†Henry Christophe had been a slave, the proprietor of a hotel, the commander of a privateer, the captain of the national guard. He became general and finally king of Hayti, under the name of Henry I. The magnificence of his court is spoken of until this day. Sometimes men have a singular destiny.

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his emissaries on the Heights at the same time. They found on him a list containing the names of six persons belonging to the following places: Marmelade, Gros-Morne and Gonaives. Colonel Michael believed these six persons were engaged in a conspiracy. He immediately informed the commander of the Cordon de l'Ouest of what was transpiring at the Cape, and at the same time sent to him the list and papers in his possession. Toussaint L'Ouverture understood at once the nature and gravity of the situation at the Cape, after reading the communication he had received from Colonel Michael. He arrested Colonel Vernet in command at Gonaives, the chief of battalion, on the field; Dentu, in command at Gros Morne, a man of color, and Claude Martin,* a black man and member of the municipality of Marmelade. He gave the command of Gonaives to Colonel Clerveaux and the oversight of the line of the Artibonite to Colonel Desrouleaux. He sent orders to Colonel Dessalines, who was at Saint Michael with the 1st battalion of the 4th regiment, and to Colonel Moyse, who remained at Dondon with the 5th regiment, to make a forced march with their troops to Haut du Cap. He directed Charles Belair with the 2nd battalion of the 4th regiment, which he was commanding, to march in the same direction. After having put in motion and given direction to his forces, Toussaint L'Ouverture set out for Haut du Cap, accompanied by his guides. As soon as he rejoined the several detachments at the point of destination, he sent word to Villate, saying that if in two hours General-in-Chief Laveaux and the military and civil functionaries arrested with him were not released from prison, he would deliver them himself by force of arms.

Villate did what he was commanded to do by Toussaint L'Ouverture, and then crossed the mouth of the river at Haut du Cap, on the ferryboat of the Petite Anse, and retreated to

*Toussaint L'Ouverture gave to Claude Martin, after some distinguished services, the hand of his sister, Marie Jeanne, in marriage.

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Terre Rouge on the habitation Lamartillere, where he established himself in an entrenched and fortified camp. Thus the rebellion was put down without the effusion of blood and Laveaux solemnly re-established in authority. Toussaint L'Ouverture on his departure left with General-in-Chief Laveaux, the 2nd battalion of the 1st regiment, which belonged to the Cordon de l' Ouest, commanded by his trusted Lieutenant Charles Belair. He now took leave of his soldiers, who bade him adieu with the salutation, "Vive le General en Chef! Vive le General Toussaint L'Ouverture!" This refrain was re-echoed in the acclamations of the people and all the soldiers present bearing arms.

From the information contained in other MSS., we learn that Toussaint L'Ouverture having pacified the Cape by his presence, returned without delay to Gonaives, which he converted into a beautiful village, following in its construction the plans of M. de Montfayon, former engineer of the king, who was made prisoner at the first battle of Verrettes. Under Toussaint he exercised the functions of minister of public works to some extent.

General Toussaint L'Ouverture, always zealous in the discharge of his duty, was altogether deserving at the hands of the Republic. Through his influence, authority was restored to the representative of the government, General Laveaux, whose person had been unjustly outraged.

After the restitution of order, Laveaux, who had left all authority in the hands of Toussaint for the period of twenty-four hours, named "the brave and faithful L'Ouverture adjunct to the governor-general." Laveaux went so far in his enthusiasm as to call Toussaint L'Ouverture the "new Spartacus," and saw in him the man called forth by l'Abbe Raynal to avenge the outrages perpetrated on the black race.

Laveaux informing the convention of the promotion of Toussaint L'Ouverture, said: "This choice displeases the friends and accomplices of Villate." Pierre Michael, Leveille

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and Pierrot, at the suggestion of Toussaint L'Ouverture, were named generals of brigade. Toussaint L'Ouverture, entering upon the duties of the higher position to which he had been called by Laveaux, issued the following proclamation: "My brothers, my friends," said he to his soldiers, "left to yourselves you are incapable of these atrocious acts. I know it. Monsters covered with crimes and who dare not show themselves in public, seek to drag you after them over the precipice,* to the end that you may be their companions in misfortune. . . . . Consider well, my brothers, that *there are more blacks in the colony than whites and men of color taken together*,† and when disturbances and insurrections obtain, the Republic will place the blame on us blacks, because we are more formidable by virtue of our numbers. As chief I am responsible for whatever takes place." M. Thiers, commenting on the words italicised, explains them thus, in L'Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire: "On one occasion, wishing to inspire the blacks with confidence in themselves, he filled a glass with grains of black corn, into which he dropped a few grains of white corn, then shaking the glass, he remarked to them how the white grains promptly disappeared. Thus, he added, are the whites who live in your midst."

M. de Lamartine, finding the idea poetical, gives a rendition of it in his drama, entitled, "Toussaint L'Ouverture." The thought is presented in the following stanza:

Apportez moi ces grains de mais, blanc et noir,
Vous ne voyez que blanc quand votre front s' y penche?
A vos yeux effrayes, toute la coupe est blanche.
Or, pourquoi les grains blancs sont ils seul apercus?
Hesitation des nois.
Peuple pauvre d' esprit! eh! c' est qu' ils sout dessus!
Mais attendez un pen.

*Pierre Michael received several letters in which he was invited and persuaded to take part in the rebellion.

†In 1789, the population of Saint Domingo was 500,000 blacks, 40,000 whites, 300,000 men of color.

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Il agite le vase.
Tenez, le noir se venge.
En remnant les gains, voyez comme tout change !
On ne yoyait que blanc, on ne voit plus que noir.
Le nombre couvre tout."

Now in our turn we propose to relate the same idea in all its simplicity. In the year 1796, General-in-Chief Toussaint L'Ouverture learned at Gonaives that all the cultivators along the Grande Riviere had revolted, saying they would not be subservient to a man of color, nor to a white man. This information caused Toussaint to leave Gonaives with the officers of his staff, which was composed of whites, blacks and men of color. He arrived unexpectedly in the midst of this angry multitude, which was armed with sticks, matraques, picks and guns. Requesting some one to bring him a little wine and water, he mingled both in the same glass, and lifting up his hand, presented it in such manner that all could see it. Then addressing them, he asked the question: "Which one among you is able to separate the water from the wine? Not one? Eh, bien! God wills that we should not be separated but that we should love one another." Struck by the correctness and justness of his argument the blacks renounced their project and returned to their work. How strange it is, that out of this sublime act, and from this idea rendered with the power of Christian eloquence, the spirit of the age should produce something ridiculous and malicious.

Let us turn our attention again to the man from whom Europe, according to M. Saint Remy, "never received an idea." After having established order at the Cape, he left Laveaux, "son bon papa," as he called him, under the protection of the arsenal guard and returned to the district where he made himself personally responsible for the government and its administration, April 9th, 1796.

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CHAPTER XVII.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE RECEIVES FROM THE NEW CIVIL COMMISSIONERS THE TITLE, GENERAL OF DIVISION. TROUBLES IN THE SOUTH. ELECTION OF THE COLONIAL DEPUTATION. TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE RECOMPENSED BY THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF FRANCE. TOUSSAINT ORGANIZES HIS REGIMENTS. HE EVADES THE PROFFERS OF RIGAUD. HE SENDS HIS SONS TO THE COLONIAL PRYTANEUM AT PARIS.

On May 24th, 1796, the National Convention appointed a new commission composed of five members, the mission of which was to go to Saint Domingo and look after its welfare, "au salut interieur et exterieur de la colonie," and secure it if possible, against its enemies both foreign and domestic. The fact was, Saint Domingo was constantly assailed from without, by the English, and disturbed from within by factions and dissentions—less apparent in the south and west than in the north; but even in these sections they were too frequent and sufficiently redoubtable. Two members of the commission have already been introduced to the reader: Sonthonax and Roume. The former had been acquitted of the capital crime with which he had been charged; the latter was a member of the delegation known as Mirbeck and Saint Leger. The other members of the commission were Julien Raymond—a mulatto of Saint Domingo—a man of marked capacity, and two members of the national convention, Giraud and Leblanc. These commissioners were accompanied by an armed force, under the command of Donatien Rochambeau. This general governed the colony provisionally after the departure of General d' Esparbes. Of the five agents we have named, only the three first remained a short time after they landed. Leblanc died, and Giraud went away of his own accord. Roume resided at Saint Domingo, where he remained until the execution of the treaty of Bale. He was at this time fully informed of the

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events of the 20th of March, and received the names of those condemned by public sentiment as being the authors of it. Roume, the prominent trait of whose character was moderation, essayed to extinguish the fire of civil discord by bringing about a reconciliation, which was, after all, more feigned than sincere. Sonthonax, *au contraire*, seeing in the rebellion at the Cape but a detestable attempt to overthrow authority, pronounced the penalty of banishment to France, as a just punishment merited by the conduct of Villate and Pinchinat.

The commissioners examined the conduct and services rendered by Toussaint L'Ouverture, thoroughly; services, the estimate of which was enhanced after they had instituted an inquiry into the events which occurred March 20th, at the Cape; and they concluded to elevate him, who was already adjunct to the governor-general, to the grade of general of division. Circumstances which seemed favorably to the advancement of his highest interest, if not in accord with his wishes, furnished Toussaint L'Ouverture an opportunity to prove to Sonthonax and Laveaux that he was worthy of the promotion. He baffled the projects of their personal enemies and, at the same time, the dark conspiracies of Datty and others, who had raised the blacks of Port de Paix against the men of color.

The nomination and promotion of Toussaint L'Ouverture did not have the approbation of every one. The historian of Cayes says in this design, Sonthonax did not carry out in the colonies that moderation which is more than necessary in these countries. Not satisfied to have outraged Rigaud by his proclamations, he resolved to elevate the newly emancipated on the ruins of the *anciens affranchis.* He named Toussaint L'Ouverture general of division. C'etait un coup de poignard porte a Rigaud. "This was thrusting a dagger at Rigaud."

M. Saint Remy pretends to ignore the fact that Sonthonax was never characterized by the spirit of moderation, and

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another fact, viz.: he was not permitted to tolerate the manœuvers of Rigaud and Pinchinat to take possession of the regular constituted authority and direct the central government, while he was perfectly satisfied with the conduct of Toussaint L'Ouverture on the 20th of March.

Serious troubles were now manifested at Aux Cayes. Blood had been shed and the excited condition of the people justified thoughtful persons in expecting more terrible misfortune.

The delegation ordered Rigaud to appear at once on the theatre of sedition, giving him all the necessary power for the establishment of order. The following is a report of what took place and shows how Rigaud kept faith with the delegation from whom he received his authority. Emissaries distributing themselves among the inhabitants of the plain, raised the spirit of rebellion among the *Ateliers*. Three days of the most dreadful suspense had passed without the shedding of blood. The fourth day Andre Rigaud appeared. He repaired to the fort l'Ilet, and he, it would seem, adjusted matters altogether according to the wishes of the rebels. The next day the gates of the city were thrown open for Rigaud to enter, and he came in at the head of his troops, surrounded by a multitude of brigands. The work of destruction commenced, the city was plundered and the inhabitants put to death. During fifteen days executions were continued in *Aux Cayes*, de Saint Louis and in several other villages. According to estimation, the number of victims was more than two hundred. Andre Rigaud and his brother Augustin did not then think the day would come when they would seek bread and security in the homes of the very whites whose families* they slaughtered in cold blood.

We bring up these sad recollections only because the dis-

*Augustin Rigaud, exiled to France, located himself and family—sufficiently numerous—at Bordeaux. Andre Rigaud lived at Montpelier, then at Poitiers, and then at Tours until his return to Hayti. He never had occasion to complain of the liberality of the whites.

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turbances and events of which they form a part have been unfaithfully reported, and unintentionally misrepresented by the historians of Hayti. It is strange indeed to hear M. Saint Remy, the most impartial of them all, say: "Rigaud, outrage a l'exces, resolved to go to France to give an account of his conduct." He adds that, "Toussaint L'Ouverture, being his friend, ought to have espoused his cause, instead of ranging himself on the side of Sonthonax." Toussaint L'Ouverture was, above all, devoted to his duty, and never ceased to regret the massacre in the south, and the participation of Rigaud and his brother in this dreadful affair.

August 6th, 1796, Sonthonax, who was active and energetic, caused the constitution of 1794 to be published.

The proclamation of the commissioners brought together a unique electorial assembly, in which there were representatives from all the departments. It was important to the colony that the men chosen by the electoral assembly should not only be well-instructed and intelligent men, but that they should also be capable of exerting some influence over the chambers of deputies in France. There were two persons who appeared to meet these conditions in all particulars. These two citizens were General-in-Chief Laveaux and the Commissary-Civil Sonthonax. The former had been a victim in the insurrection of March 20th; the latter had made it his business to look into the causes which brought on the war in the south, and the abominable and cruel acts which followed it. Both were friends of the black race and had settled convictions and fixed opinions of the people and things of Saint Domingo. Toussaint L'Ouverture was more than anxious that Laveaux should be chosen by the electoral assembly to represent the colony before the house of deputies in France. In order to secure this result, he left his lieutenants to continue the war against the English, who from time to time pitched battle against the line of works known as the Cordon de l'Ouest—the only obstacle in their way—and repaired to

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the habitation Descahaux.* These sugar works were situated in the plains of Gonaives, and from here he wrote to Laveaux proposing him for a candidate, and urging him to accept the nomination.

Toussaint's first letter to Laveaux, on this subject, bearing date August 11th, 1796, merits consideration, as the following copy will show:

"*Mon general, mon pere, mon bon ami:*—

"Comme je prevois avec chagrin quil vous arrivera dans ce mal heureux pays pour lequel vous et ceux quil habitent, vous avez sacrifie votre vie, votre femme et vos enfants, des desagrements dont je ne voudrais pas avoir la douleur d'etre spectateur. Je desirerais que vous fussiez nomme depute pour que vous puissiez avoir la satisfaction de revoir votre veritable patrie et ce que vous avez de plus cher, votre femme et vos enfants, et d'etre a l'abri des factions qui s'enfantent a Saint Domingue; et je serai assure, et pour tous mes freres d'avoir pour la cause que nous defendons le plus zele defenseur: Oui, General, mon pere, mon bienfaiteur la France possede bien des hommes; mais quel est celuiqui sera a jamais le vrai ami des noirs comme vous? Il n'y en aura jamais. . . . . Ou il serait essentiel que nous voyions et que nous causions ensemble. Que de choses J'ai a vous dire! Je n'ai pas besoin, par des expressions de vous temoigner l'amitie et la reconnaisance que je vous ai. Je suis assez connu. Je vous embrasse mille fois et soyez assure qui si mon desir et mes souhaits sont accomplis, vous pourrez dire que vous avez a Saint Domingue, l'ami le plus sincere que jamais il y a en."

The following is a translation of the above letter:

"*My General, my father, my good friend:*—

"As I foresee with chigrin, the difficulties and unpleasant-

*The historians have taken Descahaux coffee plantation for Descahaux sugar plantation, and a great historian has confounded this name with Descahos Mountains,

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ness which will happen you, and those who inhabit this unfortunate country—for which you have sacrificed your life, your wife and your children—difficulties, the manifestations of which I have no desire to see. It is, therefore, my desire to have you elected deputy, in order that you may have once more the pleasure of seeing your native country, and those who are more dear, your wife and children; and in order that you may be once more free from the factions with which Saint Domingo teems. And I am satisfied—as also are all my brethren—that the cause we are defending will have in you a most zealous advocate. The men of France are numerous, but who among them will prove to be the true friend of the blacks that you are? Not one. It will be essential that we see each other and talk together. Que de choses J'ai a vous dire! It is not necessary by any expressions to manifest to you my friendship and gratitude. I am well enough known to you. I embrace you a thousand times and assure you that if my desire and wishes are accomplished, you will be able to say that you have in Saint Domingo the most sincere friend that ever lived."

A passage in this letter discloses the fact that it was not only the interest of Laveaux about which L'Ouverture was solicitous, but also the emancipation of the blacks, for which they were both the most zealous advocates. The result of the convention was as Toussaint L'Ouverture desired.

On the 24th of September, 1796, the Electoral Assembly named six deputies to represent the colony. Sonthonax and Laveaux were among this number.

As the intentions of L'Ouverture were always regarded as criminal by the historians of Hayti, M. Saint Remy exclaims, with the voice of exasperation, "L'Ouverture eclipsed Laveaux and opened for himself the road to sovereign dominion, from which moment the rich and powerful Queen of the Antilles was lost to France." O, logician! She was, therefore, won *for the blacks by the Black!* How many times have you said to

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the contrary? The most violent traducer of all was not M. Saint Remy, but a man who flattered the whites at Paris, and who said to Petion, in Hayti: "President, do not confide in the whites, they are too rascally."

We will now introduce you to the catechism, at once patriotic and philanthropic, of this statesman par excellence.*

M. Ardouin, Minister of Public Instruction, inspects the primary schools; he wishes to satisfy himself as to the success of the teacher in fixing in the hearts of the pupils the leaven of hatred contained in his writings, and which would bring about in the future the desired results. He interrogates thus: Q. Quel sont ceux que vous devez aimer? (Who ought you to love?) A. Les noirs. (The blacks.) Q. Qui devez vous hair? (Who ought you to hate?) A. Les blancs. (The whites).

The general-in-chief laid aside his authority and quit the Cape in time to arrive in France, October 19th, 1796. Sonthonax being identified with important interests did not find it so easy to drop the reins of government. The conduct of Toussaint L'Ouverture during all the difficulties to which the unfortunate colony had been subject; his success against the Spaniards with whom he fought frequent battles along the borders of the Artibonite; the flourishing condition of all the localities where he exercised authority; and finally his unceasing devotion to the public good; were the salient points submitted by the grateful commissioners for the consideration of the Directoire Executif, in order to fix attention upon the author of so many good offices. During the latter part of November, 1796, a French corvette, coming on a mission to Saint Domingo, arrived at Cape Francais. The officers who commanded the corvette, remitted to Toussaint the brevet, which was a confirmation of his grade as general of division; also a sabre and a pair of pistols—a gift which seemed to

*Si les murs ont des oreilles, les mers ont des echos.

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foreshadow a happy future—sent to him by the Directoire Executif. We have a right to believe that the dagger of which M. Saint Remy speaks, penetrated deeper into the hearts of those who were openly his enemies, when they learned of this high and exclusive distinction conferred on Toussaint L'Ouverture by the chief executive chamber of France. Toussaint L'Ouverture now thought the moment had come to give definate organization to the armies of the north and center, which were to be under his personal command from this time on. The object he had in view, viz.: to reopen and prosecute with more determination than ever, hostilities against the English, rendered such an organization indispensible. The three regiments of the Cape, with their officers, Rodrigues (white), Edouard Bellemain (black), Noel Leveille (black), were maintained. He named the following colonels for the remaining regiments: Dessalines (black), 4th; Moyse (black), 5th; Clerveaux (mulatto), 6th; Desrouleaux (black), 7th; Christophe Mornay (mulatto), 8th; Maurepas (black), 9th; Paul L'Ouverture (black), 10th. Toussaint L'Ouverture said to his brother when he gave him his command: "My brother, your regiment is in the rear of all those which have been organized up to the present; but it is expected to carry the same number as did the bravest and most devoted of all the Roman regiments." He formed besides these, two regiments of cavalry. The 1st regiment had for colonel, Dessalines (man of color)* and the 2nd regiment, Gabart (mulatto).

Toussaint attached to his special service a company of 90 cavalrymen, commanded by a man of color, the intrepid Morisset. The men who composed this company were selected from among those who were most distinguished for their military and soldierly bearing. They were equipped and armed

*It is not necessary to confound this Dessalines, just mentioned, who was regarded as the handsomest man in San Domingo, and for whom L'Ouverture had the affection of a brother, with the other who was a black man.

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at their own expense. They wore helmets ornamented with purple feathers tipped with silver, and on a plate neatly attached to the helmet was written this device, "*Qui pourra en venir a bout.*"

We are not disposed to deny the fact that Rigaud and Beauvais, two of the most important generals of the west and south, endured with agony, the thought that the black race in some degree had its personification in Toussaint L'Ouverture. The historians of Hayti cannot be charged with making this thought prominent, as they appeared to wish, or not to wish, to make the man who elevated himself by virtue of his merits, an ordinary personality—or at most, a fortunate soldier.

Rigaud, who has always been in question when comparisons were drawn between individuals (in the interim Petion appears on the scene), had some eminent qualities necessary for a soldier, and which made it possible for him to become a good general of division in the days of the circumscription of the south. Toussaint L'Ouverture excelled him, as he did others, in grandeur of character, in military talents, in courage —which were sufficiently tested,—in executive ability, and finally in the elevation of that genius which distinguishes those who found nationalities. An occurence which it is in place to mention here, gives us another opportunity to draw a comparison between these two men.

After the proclamation of January 15th, 1797, in which it was said, that Rigaud, although accused of taking part in the "unfortunate events" which happened at Aux Cayes and other communities of the south, he did not abandon his post. The author of the Etudes Historiques said, "Rigaud conceived the idea that they did not know too much to praise," He charged an honorable French military commander of Miragoane, to carry and submit propositions to revolt against Sonthonax, the representative of metropolitan authority, to L'Ouverture, who was then giving his personal attention to the reconstruction of Gonaives. Pelletier was to play with Toussaint L'Ouv-

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erture the role that Pinchinat played with Villate. L'Ouverture perceived the trap set in his path. He did not go further than to dismiss the emissary of Rigaud, although he had received an order to arrest him, from Sonthonax.

At this time Julien Raymond, who was of a less ardent nature than his colleague Sonthonax, left to him all the duties which appertained to the executive office, and assumed the control of the department of public instruction. This position was more to his taste and more in keeping with his disposition. "Ignorance," said he to his compatriots, "is as dangerous as idleness, and it is our duty to remedy both." He organized new schools in connection with the work-shops, after the system L'Ouverture, and gave a salutary impulse to general instruction. Yielding to this enthusiasm, which had been kindled in favor of education, several families sent their children to France, where they might receive instruction superior to that given in the colony. Toussaint L'Ouverture, who knew how to appreciate the worth of intelligence, was one of the first to set an example. He sent Isaac, his oldest son, and Placide Seraphin, his step-son, to France in charge of Colonels Cazes and Meharon, his aids-de-camp. The government opened l'Ecole Militaire de Liancourt, at Paris, to receive these new recruits for scholastic honors. These young gentlemen afterwards matriculated at the College de la Marche, where Isaac and his companions found in M. Coisnon, president of the establishment, a guide as estimable as he was erudite. Isaac had been initiated in the rudiments of education by excellent teachers in Saint Domingo, and after entering the College de la Marche, remained the first and ablest scholar until the day he left. No one has said that L'Ouverture sent his sons to Paris to answer as a pledge of his fidelity; it is simply what some historians have written,

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CHAPTER XVIII.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE CHASES THE ENGLISH FROM MIREBALAIS. RESULTS OF THIS EXPEDITION.

Toussaint L'Ouverture for a long time solicited authority to drive the English from Las Cahobas and Banica, from which points they never ceased to harass L'Ouverture's soldiers, whose business it was to hold them in check. Laveaux was not favorable to the movement and continued to oppose it. His refusals to entertain Toussaint's propositions had for support the following fact, viz.: France had not as yet taken definite possession of the territory ceded by Spain.

Sonthonax, who was less scrupulous, or who hoped to justify his administration in the eyes of the metropolis, received favorably a campaign plan, which combined the genius of Vincent and Toussaint L'Ouverture. The capacity and bravery of Toussaint, so often put to the severest test, were a sufficient guarantee of success. From the plan decided upon, General of Division Desfourneaux, commanding the army of the north, was to surround Valliere and afterwards advance on Banica. In the meantime Toussaint L'Ouverture was to operate with all his force against Mirebalais, which the English had covered with fortifications. This first plan, however, was not carried into execution. Toussaint L'Ouverture, generally fertile in resources, commenced by intercepting the principal road which leads from Mirebalais to Croix des Bouquets and to Port au Prince, through which reinforcements passed to the English.

Christophe Mornay, beginning his operations on the 24th of March, 1797, established himself in the fortification of Gros Figuier. Soon after taking possession at this point he had occasion to drive back the Baron of Montalembert, who was coming to the rescue of Mirebalais with 700 men and two pieces of artillery.

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From his side Toussaint L'Ouverture pressed to the central point, with all of his customary ardor, taking possession in rapid succession of all the military posts he encountered. On the 6th of April—not the 9th, as has been said—he ordered a general attack. Toussaint soon saw, from a point where he took observations, the four corners of the borough of Mirebalais enveloped in flames. From Mirebalais, now nothing more than a heap of ruins, General L'Ouverture attacked Grande Bois and Trou d' Eau, which he carried by force, demolishing every camp. The garrisons of Las Cahobas, Banica, Las Mătas, Saint Jean and Neyba sought refuge in the plains of Cul de Sac. All these places, the barriers to the entrance of which he was prepared to remove by force of arms, capitulating, retreated before his advancing columns.

This important success was the result of a campaign extending through fifteen days. The proces-verbal of the expedition* established undeniably, that eleven pieces of cannon and two hundred prisoners remained in the hands of the conqueror after the engagements.

The following quotation from M. Saint Remy shows that the enemies of Toussaint L'Ouverture, were capable of good impulses, which they expressed now and then: "L'Ouverture took possession of this place, which was reduced to ashes, and had the goodness to set at liberty two hundred prisoners of all colors, who had been brought before the bar† of execution, and whose death was considered certain by everyone, for upon them had been fixed the charge of incendiarism which assumed fearful proportions.

*It is dated April 9th, 1797.

†This horrible punishment is inflicted by a sort of machine fastened upon the legs. M. Saint Remy deplores that it may be still in use in Hayti.

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CHAPTER XIX.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE IS PROCLAIMED GENERAL-IN-CHIEF OF THE COLONIAL ARMY. HIS INSTALLATION AT THE CAPE. COMMENTS ON THE DISCOURSE OF L'OUVERTURE. HE CORRESPONDS WITH LAVEAUX. PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY OF THE NORTH. NEW CONQUEST OF VERRETTES AND MIREBALAIS. TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE'S EFFORTS PROVE ABORTIVE BEFORE SAINT MARC.

After the campaign described in the last chapter, Toussaint L'Ouverture, who was thought by many to be en route for the Cape, modestly re-entered Gonaives, amidst the acclamations of the whole population. A similar ovation awaited him in the capital of the north, where he was invited to come by Sonthonax. He arrived at the Cape on the 1st of May, 1797.

The departure of Laveaux left the army of Saint Domingo without a general-in-chief, which brought about an undesirable condition of things, just at the time when the English were multiplying their forces and renewing their efforts, in order to take possession of the colony. Sonthonax called Toussaint L'Ouverture to the position of general-in-chief, the functions of which he had been exercising, as a matter of fact, since the day when General Laveaux called him to the position of associate governor. L'Ouverture was installed by the commission, at the Cape, General-in-Chief of the Army of Saint Domingo, in the presence of the garrison, the population of the city and a multitude from the surrounding country.

The Providence which was pleased to endow this black man with so many eminent qualities, gave to him the talent of expression, by which he inspired men with heart and courage. An illustration of which is the discourse he delivered at the Cape:

"Citoyens, Commissaires:—I accept the exalted position to which you have called me, only in the hope of being more certain of bringing about the extirpation of all the enemies of

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Saint Domingo, and of re-establishing and assuring the happiness of those who inhabit the colony.

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

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

Toussaint L'Ouverture employed Creole† when he addressed his soldiers and in conversation. This *patois* in his mouth was sometimes nothing less than the expression of eloquence; sometimes the expression of grace, or the ease and sweetness of familiarity. Indeed, he often dictated orders, correspondence and discources in this language, which he talked with rare facility. His secretaries, well initiated in the Creole language, afterwards translated them into French.

Some characters, more malevolent than enlightened, ridiculed him on account of his peculiar "nasal voice." Ah! yes, without doubt, he talked with a nasal twange, but do you know why? During a campaign he had a part of of his jawbone carried off by a grape shot. Was there anything ridiculous about Marshall Rantzan, in his military costume, limping on account of his wounds? And who smiled with disdain, at the view of this invalid of the anciet guard, whose face was ornamented with an artificial chin?

The discourse of Toussaint L'Ouverture to which we have

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*The official bulletin of Saint Domingo.

†This language is a mixture of Creole, French and Spanish.

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just referred was characterized by modesty and audacity; but this audacity was the outcome of courage and ardent patriotism.

Napoleon I. has said in his memoirs: "It is rare and difficult to find all the necessary qualities in a great general. That which is the most desirable is equilibrium between the mind and character." Eh bien! Was not Toussaint L'Ouverture the personification of this equilibrium? Conception and courage were in just proportion and qualities peculiarly his own. Toussaint L'Ouverture was about to make another step in the perilous path of great achievements; and perhaps he felt the necessity of an opportunity for reflection. The same day which witnessed his triumph at the Cape, the new general-in-chief repaired to Ennery, where he joined his family again on the habitation Sansay, of which he had taken possession. From this point he wrote to Laveaux, his friend and natural protector, who was near the government of the metropolis: "Inspired by love of the public good and the good fortune of our citizens, I am not dazzled by the magnificence of dignity. My wishes will be consummated and my gratitude perfect, if by the aid of God, I may be fortunate enough after having expelled the enemy from the colony, to say to France in the near future: "The standard of Liberty floats over all Saint Domingo." What is more noble than the ambition which inspires a pure patriotism! On the presentations of Toussaint L'Ouverture numerous promotions were made in the army of the north. It was thus in recompensing his worthy officers he succeeded in making great warriors out of them. An occasion to justify the promotions he had made soon presented itself. The commander, Dessources, whom we have already seen in line in the plains of the Artibonite, had again captured Verrettes and Mirebalais. Toussaint L'Ouverture setting out from the banks of the Artibonite with a large number of his best troops, surprised Dessources, obliged him to abandon Verrettes, pursued him,

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made an attack upon him, and overthrew him. Then falling upon Mirebalais, he drove out the invaders who never reappeared. L'Ouverture was not so fortunate a few days after, in a renewed effort before Saint Marc. It is a long road that has no turn. Sonthonax wrote him, saying: "When one has done all of which he is capable, to bring success, he has the approval of his conscience, and that of itself is consolation."



FORTIFICATION LAFERRIERE.

Erected at Cape Hayti by Henry I.

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CHAPTER XX.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE EXPELS SONTHONAX FROM THE COLONY. EXPLANATION AND DEFENSE OF HIS CONDUCT. MANNER IN WHICH HE PROTECTS HIS FORMER BENEFACTORS.

At this time the army was in extreme want, being forced into a condition which rendered it inactive in the presence of a daring enemy; and to the mumurings and complaints of the officers, Sonthonax answered: "There is nothing in the treasury." Defection in the rank and file of the army set in. Everyone blamed the administration for this sad condition of things.

Toussaint L'Ouverture was in perfect accord with two members of the agency, Pascal* and J. Raymond, who were the principal officers of the commonality, and who were also associated with the municipalities. Carrying out their wishes L'Ouverture required Sonthonax, who had been invested with the authority of deputy, to go and take his place in the representative assembly with his colleagues.

The historians of Hayti see in this injunction the counterpart of March 20th. The following bit of history is a sufficient answer to their insinuations: MM. de Vincent† and Malenfant‡ were sent to France by Toussaint L'Ouverture and Julien Raymond, in order to explain before the government the forced embarkation of Sonthonax. They submitted the following facts for consideration: Sonthonax interrogated Toussaint L'Ouverture, in November, about a project, the

*Pascal was secretary of the agency.

†He was secretary of the agency.

‡He was colonel of the corps of engineers, and in this quality he performed the duties of engineer of the fortifications. L'Ouverture sent him to France on several missions. He was a member of the last commission, and carried the title of Commissioner des biens sequestres. His writings are more serious than truthful.

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object of which was to declare the independence of Saint Domingo, and to rid it of the white population by fire and expatriation. Toussaint, at the time astonished and alarmed, inquired to know if the liberties of the blacks were also threatened. Sonthonax answered evasively and finally in the negative. More than once Sonthonax called attention to this charge, and especially during the months of April and August, 1796. It was then that Toussaint thought it was important and necessary for the good of all parties concerned and for their safety, to force Sonthonax to quit the colony without delay. Toussaint knew from good authority, that Sonthonax did not care to go to France, because he feared to render final account of his administration. Indeed all the friends who stood by him the day when he appeared before the bar of the Convention were no longer in power.

Vanblanc, Barbe de Marbois* and Admiral Villaret Joyeuse† had concluded their term of office, January 4th, 1796, the date when the revocation of Sonthonax took place. Vanblanc, Bourdon (de l'Oise) and Villaret Joyense awaited his return to France, to present a serious charge. He was regarded as one of the principal authors of disasters which had swept over Saint Domingo during the French revolution. The charges and specifications of Vanblanc did not contain less than a dozen articles. This explanation is sufficient to demonstrate that there was no comparison between August 20th and March 20th, and in fact, no comparison between August 20th and the affair at Aux Cayes.‡ The happenings on the former date included no attempts to outrage the governor-general, no fires, no massacres, and the prisons were not crowded with innocent victims. No orders had been given by Toussaint to drown unfortunate men in their own blood.

*A former intendant of Saint Domingo, afterwards representative and a member of the colonial commission.

†A member of same commission. He called Sonthonax the Robespierre of the Antilles. Leborgne, commissioner of war, was compared to Marat.

‡Events which took place at Cayes.

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We have also an explanation in what Sonthonax said in attempting to justify his administration after he arrived in France. "I left *librement* Saint Domingo, last August in order to take my place in the Corps Legislatif. My departure had been postponed for nine months on account of the troubles in the south and at Port de Paix." On this occasion, Sonthonax, speaking of Toussaint L'Ouverture, said: "He is not capable of speaking anything but the truth." Laveaux was not able to speak thus of Villate, the author of the events which transpired on March 20th.

Aside from consideration of public interest there were particular interests which caused Toussaint L'Ouverture to desire the departure of Sonthonax. When L'Ouverture was but a slave on the habitation of Breda, he received many favors from the two overseers of Count de Noe, MM. Bayon de Libertat and Salenave. Becoming rich and powerful, he was not satisfied to recall them from exile. He placed them under the aegis of his authority and made it possible for them to obtain comfortable existence on his own habitation, with the intention of restoring to them all of their former possessions, which had not been sequestered. Sonthonax did not venture to undertake anything against his dependents; but he wrote him on July 4th, a few days before his expulsion, "that he might have to purge Saint Domingo of the presence of these aristocrats, as the protection that he would accord them in the future would injure him in the opinion of the French government." Not unmindful of what might possibly befall him, and feeling himself protected from another side by the support that J. Raymond gave him under all circumstances, Toussaint L'Ouverture continued to protect both of his friends. He was the same to them under the administration of General Hedouville, notwithstanding advertisements and threats of every description. Toussaint's wish, with respect to his friends, appears to have had God's approval. The impartial author of "Etudes Historiques," M. B. Ardouin, has con-

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strued this trait of goodness into an *espece* of treason against the Republique. He forgets that at this epoch the emigrants found some protection in France, and that they had never ceased to have the right of asylum in Saint Domingo. Posterity ought to render to L'Ouverture the justice that his brethren of color have foolishly withheld.

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CHAPTER XXI.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE IS PROCLAIMED THE BENEFACTOR OF THE COLONY. REFUTATIONS OF SAINT REMY. TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE ASSUMES AN OFFENSIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE ENGLISH. HEDOUVILLE AT SAINT DOMINGO. THE GENERAL-IN-CHIEF NEGOTIATES WITH THE REPRESENTATIVE OF GREAT BRITAIN FOR THE EVACUATION OF PORT AU PRINCE AND SAINT MARC. HIS ENTRY INTO PORT AU PRINCE. HIS INTERVIEW AT THE CAPE WITH HEDOUVILLE. HEDOUVILLE GIVES AUDIENCE TO TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE AND RIGAUD. RESULTS OF THE INTERVIEW.

Toussaint L'Ouverture, finding in J. Raymond a zealous coworker, devoted himself to the consideration of the most necessary measures. The treasury was empty, commerce destroyed, and assistance from any source was not to be expected. When the state is without money there is dissatisfaction everywhere. In order to bring about a better financial condition, two things were indispensable—order and labor. Order came as the result of better judgment in the method of disposing the rural habitations, which soon brought large revenues under better management, and cultivation was followed by more satisfactory results under the new regulations. A wise moderation in augmentation and consumption of agricultural products led to the happiest changes. From this moment the army was better cared for and the soldiers more regularly paid. The sentiments of patriotism were strengthened by the feeling of satisfaction which had now become general.

Toussaint L'Ouverture, the instrument in the hands of God in bringing about all this prosperity, became more than ever the idol of the people, who realized directly the benefits of his practical wisdom. When the facts were presented in the report of General Laveaux, in the estimation of whom the general-in-chief assumed grander proportions every day, Tous-

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saint L'Ouverture was proclaimed the Benefactor of Saint Domingo.

Having applied himself with care, as general-in-chief, to the organization of the army in every quarter, Toussaint L'Ouverture reopened an offensive warfare against the English, whom he knew to be weak and discouraged. There remained in the hands of the English at this time only five cities, Port au Prince, Saint Marc, Jeremie, l'Arcahaye and Mole Saint Nicholas; but having possession of these places they were actually masters of the entire island. The English soldiers, however, were not able to accomplish anything by land under existing circumstances. A vigilant enemy watched their every movement and punished them severely in their most daring attempts. A new commander by the name of White had taken the place of Simcoe, who, according to reports, had decided to abandon positions which appeared to him to be no longer useful, as it would be necessary sooner or later to forsake them—after disasters, which, if delayed, were inevitable. The expedition inaugurated at the commencement of the French revolution was drawing to a close: but without results.

While the enemy were talking over the situation in their camp, Laplume, following the instructions of the general-in-chief, ordered Adjutant-Major Petion* to march on Port au Prince and cut off all communication between that and the various posts in the interior which were held by the English. Petion, going beyond his instructions in a measure, attacked Fort LaCoupe, and was successful in taking possession of it after a battle which lasted a half hour.

Toussaint L'Ouverture was marching at the same time toward the plain of Cul de Sac with an army of 15,000 men. The English, retreating from their advanced posts, concentrated all their strength about Port au Prince. The hour was about to dawn when Toussaint L'Ouverture would be severely tried;

*The commission, of which Toussaint L'Ouverture was a member, elevated Petion to the grade of adjutant-major, May 21st, 1797.

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but he knew how to take advantage of passing events, and those in which he was an eye witness and almost the victim, did not surprise him.

The supreme executive council of France, known as the Directoire Executif, looking for a man to place at the head of the agency, fixed attention upon General Hedouville, the pacificator de la Vendee. His reputation caused him to be very favorably regarded. He was named for the position July 4th, 1797, but the new commissioner did not receive his commission until the 29th of the following December. In it he was enjoined to respect, and cause to be respected, the constitution of 1795; to secure tranquility, and to place Rigaud abettor in "exces" of the south, *hors la loi*. His instructions were, as before, to render himself at Cape Francais, seat of the government and of the agency. He gained from Roume, who was residing at the time at Saint Domingo, much information concerning the unlooked for events which had come to pass on the isiand since the departure of Sonthonax.

Hedouville soon after set out for his destination. By the way, he had an interview with General Kerverseau, *adjoint* of the agency, who advised him as to what course it was best to pursue in his administration. "The strength you lack," said he to Hedouville, "you will find in an intimate union with General Toussaint L'Ouverture. He is a man of great sense, whose attachment and devotion to France cannot be doubted. His religion is a guarantee of his morality; his firmness equals his prudence and he enjoys the confidence of people of all colors. Over those of his own color, he has an influence that nothing can break. With him you can accomplish everything; without him you can accomplish nothing."

Kerverseau gives the reason for his very high opinion of Toussaint L'Ouverture in the following explanation. "I was very much impressed by the remarks of Sonthonax, who was well acquainted with men and things, and who had learned to appreciate L'Ouverture very highly." He said to me one

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day: "In the midst of general profligacy and wanton intemperance, Toussaint L'Ouverture has a true idea of glory, and is animated by an ambition which is supported by reason." The program suggested by Kerverseau was unique and the proper one for Hedouville to observe. In his advice to the new commissioner, he marked out the only line of conduct that would eventually lead to success. Would Hedouville conform thereto? was the question. On arriving at the Cape he had a misunderstanding with J. Raymond, his colleague. In such a commencement it was not difficult to discover the approaching storm, as in the low murmering of the sea we are warned of the rising tempest.

On the 23rd of April, 1798, two days after the arrival of the general commissioner at the Cape, Brigadier-General Thomas Maitland, Charge d'Affairs of Great Britain, submitted propositions of peace directly to Toussaint L'Ouverture. Toussaint referred them to the general commissioner, whom they concerned. The representative of France delayed no time, but considered them at once. The negotiations between the parties concerned were signed May 2nd, in the city of Port au Prince by Brigadier-General Maitland himself—who represented Great Britain— and Adjutant-General Huin, appointed by Toussaint L'Ouverture to represent France. In this transaction, which involved the destiny of the colony, Hedouville assisted by proxy. According to the stipulation expressed in the treaty, the English were not only to evacuate Port au Prince, but also l'Arcahaye and Saint Marc, maintaining relatively a reserve at Jeremie and Mole Saint Nicholas. Toussaint's proclamation of general amnesty followed. On May 15th, he marched into Port au Prince amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of all the inhabitants of the city which he had preserved from the horrors of a siege. M. Bernard Borgella, chief magistrate of the city, pronounced a discourse pre-eminently eulogistic on this occasion, to which Toussaint L'Ouverture responded. It is not true that L'Ouverture repaired

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to the church and received honors before the altar, such as it was the custom to bestow upon former governors of the colony.* He only accepted a medal which was offered him by the city. The motto inscribed around the field of the medal was: "Apres Dieu, c'Est Lui." The following day the people, electrified by the fetes of the former day, repaired to the parish church and celebrated Te Deum *d'Action de Grace*, with all pomp possible.

Toussaint L'Ouverture returned to Gonaives, May 31st, after having regulated everything appertaining to the administration at Port au Prince and Saint Marc. From the latter place he set out for the Cape where he found the general commissioner awaiting him. His first interview with Hedouville left a very unfavorable impression on the mind of the general-in-chief. Toussaint L'Ouverture wrote to Laveaux: "Hedouville surrounds himself with men who are very low in the estimation of the general public; men who are ambitious and mischievous; who caress and encourage all the factions which have torn this unfortunate country. A youth under no control whatever, without manners or principle, came with him and accompanies him."

Tormented in mind by ominous thoughts, Toussaint L'Ouverture took his departure from the Cape and situated himself at Marmelade.

On June 17th, General Hedouville called the attention of the representative of Great Britain to his instructions, which required him to negotiate for the evacuation of Mole Saint Nicholas and Jeremie. He invited the co-operation of Brigadier General Maitland, in view of the fact that his occupancy of Mole Saint Nicholas and Jeremie kept them unnecessarily in arms. At this time a very undesirable condition had obtained. Everywhere there were marks of general stagnation, and it was only too evident that the pacific views of Hedou-

*One has said he caused himself to be received into the Church with ceremony such as the Church was in the habit of according only to governors,

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ville had resulted in permanent injury to his administration. The answer given to the propositions on this occasion by Brigadier-General Maitland was not even courteous. Said he: "It is not in my power and you ought not to ask me to give any explanation on the subject of the reserve. It covers a speculation and what is more, it is not in keeping with English character to leave the substance for the shadow."

We see that the good intentions with which the administration was animated, did not always prove to be an advantage ; and it is proper for us to say that instead of following the good advice of Kerverseau, Hedouville devoted too much of his time to putting forth efforts to thwart the plans of the only man who exercised a general influence throughout the colony. This want of tact manifested itself in an audience that the general agent gave to Toussaint L'Ouverture and Rigaud at the Cape. Historians say that Hedouville gave more consideration to the general of the south than to the general-in-chief, during the interview, and they mention what they seem to consider sufficiently good reasons.* In our opinion, Hedouville was governed by circumstances and his consideration for Rigaud was a matter of policy, hoping thereby to lead the general of the south again in the line of battle. Toussaint appeared to complain the same day, of the weight of his responsibility before some officers connected with the staff of the general commissioner. The commander of the squadron said to him: "It will certainly be an honor for me —after having brought the commissioner-general to Saint Domingo—to return to France with the general-in-chief, Toussaint L'Ouverture, where he will find the recompense his services merit, and also that rest which he seems very much

*M. St. Remy a donne cette explication: "Rigaud plein de savoir et doue d'un heureux exterieur captiva plus que Toussaint les attentions de l Agent." M. Saint Remy gives the following explanation. "Rigaud, full of information, blessed with a happy exterior, attracted the attention of Hedouville more than Toussaint." It follows from what Saint Remy says, that Hedouville was seduced by appearance.

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to require." "Your vessel is too small for a man like me," replied Toussaint L'Ouverture to the distinguished and polite officer, in a tone peculiar to himself. As to resigning his command, no such thought ever was entertained for a moment by Toussaint L'Ouverture. He only wished to make Hedouville realize how very imprudent was his attitude towards the only man who was of importance to him in the management, as we shall see in the answer to the following question:

How came Brigadier-General Maitland to address himself to Toussaint L'Ouverture?

The government of Great Britain, not having recognized the Republic of France, Maitland, the representative of the English government, had no power and no right to treat with an agent of the unrecognised French Republic. But on the other hand, he had been instructed to negotiate with Toussaint L'Ouverture. An officer on the staff of the commissioner-general designedly spoke to him of the wonders of France, advising him, at the same time, to visit France—a country he ought to be anxious to know. "Yes," replied Toussaint L'Ouverture, "I will visit it when it will be possible to make a vessel to carry me." These gratuitous suggestions and kind invitations were straws which informed Toussaint L'Ouverture in what direction the wind was blowing* and at the same time left some bitter impressions, if they did not inflict deep wounds. From this moment the relations between the two chiefs became more and more strained and each conducted his administration according to his own fancy.

*The result of these inconsistent propositions was to create prejudice in the mind of L'Ouverture. He refused to go on the ship where the chief of division, Fabre, who was in command, had prepared a fete for him. It would have been well for him had he remained always thus prudent.

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CHAPTER XXII.

JEREMIE GIVEN UP AFTER TREATY STIPULATIONS BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH. L'OUVERTURE NEGOTIATES WITH BRIGADIER MAITLAND FOR MOLE SAINT NICHOLAS. MERRY MAKING AT THE MOLE. TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE REFUSES THE KINGSHIP OF SAINT DOMINGO. REFUTATION OF THE FRENCH HISTORIAN. REPORT OF THE EVACUATION OF THE MOLE. TOUSSAINT DISAPPROVES OF THE ORDER OF CULTIVATION CARRIED OUT BY HEDOUVILLE. DISSATISFACTION AMONG THE SOLDIERS.

The relations which were existing between the commissioner, Hedouville, and General-in-Chief Toussaint L'Ouverture were not materially affected by the events we are now about to relate. The unpleasant relations existing between them did not terminate in a colonial crisis.

Hedouville believed the moment was propitious to undertake to negotiate directly with the representative of Great Britain. He hoped thereby to come into possession of the two places occupied by the English—Jeremie and Mole Saint Nicholas. The stipulation with respect to Jeremie was signed August 13th. Immediately after c' est a dire, on the 16th of the same month, the two parties were forced, by reason of new interventions, to discontinue negotiations, the object of which was to put the French in possession of the Mole. The people were informed by proclamation of the sudden change. In the meanwhile, and as if he had not acted with forethought in concluding his former stipulation, Brigadier-General Maitland refused to ratify the treaty. He informed Toussaint L'Ouverture that he would surrender the Mole only to him, and at the same time invited him to hold another conference with him. This took place with the authorization of General Hedouville, at Camp Pointe Bourgeoise, August 31st, where Toussaint L'Ouverture appeared, well prepared to measure arms with the enemy, if necessary.

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"L'Ouverture," says M. Saint Remy, "already at the gates of Mole Saint Nicholas with a considerable army, entered on the 2nd of October. He was welcomed by Maitland with royal magnificence. The priest, escorted by his parishoners, received him under a canopy of velvet. L'Ouverture refused an ovation of like character when he entered Port au Prince."

Maitland had erected on *la Place d' Armes*, a spacious tent which he dressed and decorated with the flags of Great Britain, and in the center of which stood a table well supplied with dishes and choice liquors, with which English vessels are always provided, calculated to tempt the most fastidious epicure. These good things were served on very beautiful silver plate. After the repast the English admiral presented this plate to his guest, as a proof of his "*bonne amitie.*" The English troops, mounted on horseback, were in array on la Place d'Armes, where they were reviewed by the admiral in the presence and in honor of Toussaint L'Ouverture, who repaired with Brigadier Maitland and his staff to the government building, which was nothing less than a palace, constructed with elegance at the expense of those who occupied it. After arriving, Maitland paid homage to Toussaint L'Ouverture in the name of the king of England. This homage and distinguished consideration were quite enough in themselves to seduce most men, but L'Ouverture was moved by none of these things. He simply welcomed them with becoming satisfaction.*

"I did not anticipate," wrote Toussaint L'Ouverture to General Hedouville, "so much deference. I presume that this reception, made in honor of a general of the French Republic by a general in command of the enemy, will not displease you. I was prepared to hold my own and responded in the happiest possible manner, in view of such high considerations and flattering testimonials."

General Hedouville ought to have understood by the reading

*See also Pamphile de Lacroix, Ardouin, and official reports.

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of this letter, that the physique made not the least difference when L'Ouverture himself was equal to the exigencies of the situation.

We are well informed concerning the peculiar character of the conference mentioned above. We know by documents, traditions, and the veritable revelations made by Toussaint L'Ouverture himself, what were the stipulations of the conference held on August 31st. If the happy Toussaint appreciated the munificence heaped upon him by the English, his heart was so good and pure, his soul so grand, that he refused the crown that a powerful nation promised to place upon his head. Inviting him to proclaim independence they said to him: "France has but few vessels and in case of war they will certainly fall into our hands, and she will not be able to aid, much less protect you. You are already suspected. Our navy, on the other hand, is powerful,—mistress of the ocean. You are able to proclaim yourself, in all safety, 'King of Saint Domingo.'" Thus spake Great Britain to Toussaint L'Ouverture, through her accredited representative.

Toussaint L'Ouverture, who had already resisted the perfidious suggestions of Sonthonax, when he tried to induce him to proclaim independence, honorably refused to entertain these propositions which might have flattered the vanity and ambition of a man less virtuous than was this grand citizen. If L'Ouverture subscribed to concessions favorable to British interests; if he crossed the path of the Mistress of the Ocean with a bridge of cold, it was solely to animate the English with the hope of a commerce intended to serve, first of all, the interests of the colony, which was famishing for the commodities of the Old World.

There is no proof of the existence of an exclusive treaty of commerce circumscribed by a project known only to Toussaint L'Ouverture. The fact is, the colony continued to conduct a liberal commerce with neutral powers. What we have said on this subject is a sufficient refutation of the statements made

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by the detractors of General Toussaint L'Ouverture. His character never appeared to such advantage as it did on this occasion. Nevertheless a celebrated writer has written the following lines: "The ambition, mingled with vanity, to belong to the first military nation of the world, the secret pleasure of being general in the service of France, de la meme du premier consul, was to Toussaint, who wished to remain a French citizen, more than all the proffers of the English."

Yes, as they have said, he wished to remain a French citizen. Did Bernadotte, in putting on the crown of Sweden; Murat, in accepting the crown of Naples, appear as grand as this black man, who would not allow himself to be dazzled by the glory of a diadem? As to the secret pleasure of being a general in the service of France—whose promotion came from the hands of the First Consul—we would say the expression is calculated to mislead. The impression the writer intended to convey disappears when we consider that when Bonaparte was not yet general-in-chief of the army of Italy, Toussaint L'Ouverture had formed and was commanding in a very skillful manner his celebrated Cordon de l'Ouest; and finally that when L'Ouverture commenced to negotiate with Brigadier-General Maitland* for the deposition of English authority, Bonaparte was occupied in Egypt. Did Toussaint L'Ouverture have by accident, the native gift of Napoleon Bonaparte? He accompanied the proces verbeaux, which officially declared the possession of different places, evacuated by the enemy, and handed over to him in harmony with treaty stipulations, which were conducted and consummated between himself and the representative of the English nation, with a letter, the conclusion of which reads thus: "I have finally succeeded! I have accomplished the object I had in view,

*The same man who conducted, seventeen years afterwards, Napoleon I., then a prisoner in the hands of the English, to the rock of Saint Helena, where he expired, as did Toussaint L'Ouverture at Fort de Joux. The destinies of men are variable.

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viz., to drive the English from Saint Domingo—and substituted in place of the enemy's standard, the flag of liberty and the escutcheon of the Republic of France. The French flag floats from one end of Saint Domingo to the other. I have nothing more to desire. It only remains for the general commissioner to make a tour of the island to learn for himself the extent of territory reconquered by the army of Saint Domingo, in order to estimate the value of these precious victories and finally to be able to render to the army of Saint Domingo the justice it has merited." Continuing to address the general commissioner, he said: "I desire that my conduct in taking possession of Mole Saint Nicholas merit your approbation. I have sought to deserve your confidence and gain your esteem; and I will be very happy to know that such is the fact."

This satisfaction Toussaint L'Ouverture never had the opportunity to enjoy. He pressed the general-commissioner to accept his resignation, but he invariably replied: "Do not insist, general; your resignation will not be accepted, inasmuch as your services are considered indispensable."

Toussaint L'Ouverture, in the midst of events and circumstances distasteful and discouraging, and which continued to multiply, conceived a project worthy of his genius—an expedition through northern Africa, of which we will have occasion to speak in another chapter.

Who now has reason to doubt the sincerity of his word? Do we discover in this man who was so anxious to be honorably discharged, an inextinguishable thirst for power? Had money the same attraction for him that it had for many others? He had already received the highest military grade and was covered with glory: his fortune was immense. The day he entered the service of France, he advanced the French government $3,000,000.* Without doubt he was very rich,

*The French government never refunded this sum of money to Toussaint L'Ouverture, and the government of Napoleon I. believed that it was an honor to render some assistance to the son of the martyr of Fort de Joux!

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and expended much of his wealth on his habitations, which he cultivated with great skill and judgment. "Avaricious and endowed with great foresight," says a renowned historian, "he amassed large sums of money and great quantities of arms in the mountains of the interior—a place known as Les Mornes du Cahos, near a habitation which had become his ordinary resort." Toussaint L'Ouverture was endowed with foresight, and it was to this peculiar faculty the colony owed its safety in the evil days. Avaricious, do you say? He was very careful in disposing of the revenue of the state. We have already had occasion to commend his benevolence. We may speak of his munificence, on account of which Sennville, an implacable writer, reproaches him. His detractors do not all agree. He had no habitation in the mountains of Cahos, but he did have one in the Canton of Ennery, to which had been given the name of Canton L'Ouverture. It was the ancient habitation of Count Descahaux.

If Toussaint L'Ouverture had arrived at the apogee of his glory, General Hedouville had not yet attained such distinction. The civil administration needed reform and the demand for amelioration in civil affairs was so strong that postponement was out of the question.

General Toussaint L'Ouverture had done his part nobly and well. There remained a necessity which required the regulation of civil affairs and a change in long-established social evils. Hideous, frightful conditions had come to the front. Fanaticism and vagrancy were terrible sores which seemed to spread with great rapidity over the former slave territory. The cultivation of the soil, which requires the effort and labor of man, was neglected, and the natives who were invited to return to the field, answered: "Je ne suits pas esclave, Je ne veux pas travailler. Le noir n' en a pas besoin; Il mange des patates, des bananes; le blanc mange du pain, il

The interest on the capital lent, would have made the son of Toussaint independent.

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est oblige de travailler." (I am not a slave. I do not intend to work. The blacks have no need of it. They eat potatoes and bananas; the whites eat bread, and it is therefore necessary for them to work).

Sonthonax feared the results to which this condition of idleness would lead, and he said one day to the blacks: "Every person is free in France, and yet every person works in France." He might have added that "Labor is honorable and has always been considered a special duty in France." Henry IV. and Louis XIV. sent the idle nobles into the fields to plow.* A poet of the Renaissance wrote the two following verses, imitation d' Hesiode:

> Car les Dieux, courrouces contra la race humaine,
> Ont mis avec les biens la sueur et la peine.

The spirit of vagrancy and fanaticism, too much favored by the continuation of war, was so prevalent that Beauvais, at Jacmel, and Rigaud, in the south, saw the necessity of adopting very severe regulations, and of making labor compulsory.† This is not all. What, says one, of the *baton tricolore* with which Toussaint L'Ouverture armed the overseers in the fields and workshops, according to certain writers?

When the eye of M. Isaac L'Ouverture fell upon this passage, he made the following energetic reply: "Cite, produce, if you can, a resolution, a proclamation, an order, which authorises the use of the baton, or the knotty cat's tails, in the punishment of laborers. If you are not able to do so, if you find out yourself, that these instruments of torture were only employed by General Dessalines, in some sections within his jurisdiction, why attribute to the general-in-chief that which was

*Man is required to labor by God.

†The same regulations obtained under the governments of the two blacks —Dessalines and Christophe, or Henry I. Petion and Boyer inaugurated the system of "laisser aller general," allowing persons and things to take their own course. Hayti continues to gather what was sown under these administrations. We will return again to this question of political economy, which must enter into every administration, more or less.

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bad faith and abuse of authority on the part of General Dessalines? When the general-in-chief was informed of Dessalines' conduct, he reprimanded him severely and threatened to take away his command, if another complaint of the same nature should be made against him."

General Hedouville published, July 24th, *his police regulations and reciprocal obligations between the proprietors and the cultivators.* These regulations, it seems, were not in harmony with the needs of the colony and the temperament of the people, and they did not receive the approbation of the judicious Toussaint. Finding him firm in his intentions to carry out his regulations, Toussaint wrote to France sometime afterwards, "I have endeavored to make him feel that his purpose in the whole matter would be wrongly interpreted, and reproach would be cast upon his administration, and, as I said, his regulations created everywhere consternation and trouble."

Difficulties multiplied, notwithstanding Hedouville had always the best intentions. In the letter accompanying the report, which explains the manner in which he took possession of the Mole, the general-in-chief informed the administration of the dissatisfaction among the soldiers. He also informed it by letter of the condition of the municipality of Petit Goave and the one over which Colonel Faubert was placed. In all of his correspondence he speaks of the irritation and dissatisfaction among the troops. Toussaint L'Ouverture used all of his influence to check the spirit of mutiny and bring about a better feeling among the soldiers, some of whom were "as nude as a bossal."* "When," says Toussaint, "I would advise them to exercise patience, they would reply, 'A force de poison, le diable en creve.' (By force of poison the devil explodes)."

*This name was applied to a slave who had just arrived from Africa, and who had not as yet been favored even with a pair of pantaloons.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE GIVES PROTECTION TO THE IMMIGRANTS WHO HAD BECOME LANDED PROPRIETORS. HIS PROCLAMATION. HE APPEARS AT THE INSURRECTION OF FORT LIBERTE. DEPARTURE OF HEDOUVILLE. TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE SENDS DELEGATES TO FRANCE. MELANCHOLY PROCLAMATION OF HEDOUVILLE. THE GENERAL-IN-CHIEF, TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE, REPAIRS TO THE HABITATION DESCAHAUX, AND THERE RESIDES.

The views entertained by Toussaint L'Ouverture as to the methods best adapted to give prosperity to Saint Domingo, were essentially at variance with those of Governor-General Hedouville. Under the influence of humane sentiments, and inspired by a sympathy for the unfortunate victims of civil discord, which was stronger than all political considerations, Toussaint L'Ouverture opened to them an asylum around his own fireside and welcomed and gave protection to those who, by force of circumstances, had taken up their abode in out of the way places. This high consideration for the immigrants exercised by L'Ouverture, was in perfect accord with existing sentiments which animated the French government, by which they were no longer considered as highwaymen, criminals and traitors, guilty of high treason.* L'Ouverture distributed food among these unfortunates, restored to some their plantations, which exhibited only the ruins of their former grandeur, and extended to all aid and protection which would secure them against their enemies, domestic and foreign. It is not enough to say that this amnesty so freely accorded by him was the expression of a profound gratitude. To whatever source we may trace its origin, it was, to say the least, an ingenious policy, and those who had with reason taken a stand against the notorious edict of Nantes, which was anti-national

*Toussaint L'Ouverture had his secret police in France by whom he was kept well fnformed.

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and inhuman—forced by a fanaticism employed in the weak hand of a king—were not disposed to blame L'Ouverture for entertaining and demonstrating fraternal sentiments, which are the best proofs to which we can point, of a people enlightened by Christianity. "What do we not owe to God?" said L'Ouverture in his proclamation. "He has seen fit to direct us in our last campaign; permitted the evacuation of Ennery without spilling blood; protected in our midst several thousand men of all colors, who have been, heretofore, wanderers in the mountains; and has made it possible for more than twenty thousand persons to devote themselves to the cultivation of the soil."

Toussaint's ideas touching the situation were about as follows: He regarded labor as a prime factor in the solution of the problem, absolutely necessary for the restoration of Saint Domingo. Without it, there could be no success in the cultivation of the soil, and we may add in this connection, that such was the situation that the proclamation of general amnesty multiplied the labors in the field.

Toussaint L'Ouverture had often the good fortune to forecast projects which became afterwards accomplished facts in Hayti. The intuition of this political seer was nothing less than a practical sense of affairs, which was not obscured by politics or prejudice.

In the early part of October, 1798, Hedouville raised the cry of alarm. What then took place? Why, Moyse, under the pretext that the whites contemplated the re-establishment of slavery, fired the indignation of the 5th regiment. The black troops were beaten on this occasion, but the torch was applied; houses burned, and people massacred. Hedouville had grave solicitations at the time for his own personal safety. He had been informed that the insurgents would not even respect the government palace. In this extreme peril the governor-general addressed himself to L'Ouverture, and demanded succor and protection. The general-in-chief

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arrived; found the inhabitants of the plains, Haut du Cap, in arms. The insurgents, who were marching on the Cape, continued until they were brought face to face with the soldiers, commanded by L'Ouverture, whose imposing aspect inspired a salutary dread.

"Those who had come together with the intention of making an attack on the Cape," says L'Ouverture's military report, "surrounded me, and reproached me for having deceived them in declaring the good intentions of Hedouville. They also attributed to me the murdering of their brothers at Fort Liberte, and the arrest of those whose duty it was to furnish Moyse with supplies. I dispatched faithful emissaries to all parts to quiet, if possible, the people, who were greatly excited, to announce my arrival, and to charge them not to undertake anything without my orders. I made all possible haste, and having arrived, found it difficult to advance through the immense multitudes armed with a blind desire for vengeance, pressing on through all the roads that lead to the Cape, which city they threatened to destroy. Terrified by the uncertain and perilous condition which surrounded the Cape, I hastened to remove the general agent, Hedouville, from there, but learned in my march that he had availed himself of an opportunity to embark."*

It is worthy of remark that Hedouville, whose courage is not called in question, for it is not doubted, did not have at his disposition a sufficient force to hold in check an exasperated and armed multitude, and in his extremity, as a last resort, embarked for France on the same frigate, la Bravoure, in which he had come to Saint Domingo three months before, October, 1798.

On the day of his departure Hedouville issued a proclamation, the consequences of which were to prove fatal to the colony. Causes and events seemed now to unite and a crisis was

*We have presented the facts in the case and thus established the truth.

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imminent. Toussaint L'Ouverture at this time sent to France Cazes, his aide de camp, and Colonel Vincent. These two officers were intrusted with an official report, which included the recent events at Cape Francais (now known by the name of Cape Hayti). They were also instructed to give all the information that the Directoire Executif, the Minister of Marine and the colonies might desire, touching the general condition of the colony. L'Ouverture, through a personal communication, also informed the *Directoire Executif*, which immediately after the departure of the governor-general, sent an emissary to Saint Domingo, to the end that the agency might not remain vacant very long in the midst of circumstances so very critical. As to himself, L'Ouverture said his mission was accomplished, now that the foreign element had disappeared from the soil of Saint Domingo and satisfactory order obtained in the work of cultivation. Now the colony only required a wise administration, endowed with foresight and a liberal policy, to restore it to its former prosperous condition. L'Ouverture was at this time more anxious than ever that the *Directoire Executif* should accept his resignation. For this purpose Guybre, the secretary of the general-in-chief, went to France and made known in the presence of the proper cabinet officer, the intention and wish of Toussaint L'Ouverture in this respect, and sought to realize from the proper authority willing acceptance of the resignation of the general-in-chief. When his fixed determination became known, citizens composing the elite, white, black and men of color, implored him not to abandon them. Petitions to the same effect arrived from all parts of the country and from all classes of citizens. They all united in claiming him as a friend and father whose departure would certainly be followed by widespread calamity.

It is proper we should remark at this point that Toussaint L'Ouverture had no such intentions as were attributed to him by many who pretended to know, viz.: to withdraw from active service and find his happiness in the sweets of retired

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life. The fact is, such a life was not in keeping with his purpose, but was so thoroughly opposed to his inclinations that he could not have enjoyed it under the most favorable circumstances. After he had overthrown anarchy, which had sprung up on his native soil, and driven out the foreign invaders, this second Cœur de Lion, contemplated nothing less than a new crusade against barbarism. What is more, we do not exagerate when we say Toussaint L'Ouverture possessed those qualities which a distinguished writer recognizes as conspicuous in the renowned crusader, Simon de Montfort, who was ambitious, valiant and royal in his manners, and peculiarly under the influence of a wonderful Providence. This project, which we are first to make known to the English-reading community, Toussaint L'Ouverture had under consideration for some time, and often in the visions of the night would he go over the details. He entertained the idea that in this project he was actuated by motives both philanthropic and Christain. He had a very correct conception of the greatness of the scheme, but had faith to believe that he was equal to the demands and requirements it imposed. His intention was to place himself at the head of a number of brave and devoted soldiers, together with his most courageous officers, and commence a campaign on the continent of Africa, the object of which was to put himself in possession of Dahomey, in which was included the kingdom of Adra, where his ancestors had reigned. After accomplishing his first project, he thought to put in execution a second, and abolish the slave trade from the province of Dahomey. Everything had been prepared, even the details of the plan had been arranged for a long time. It now remained to make it an accomplished fact, and there seemed to be no doubt in the minds of the new crusaders, of their ability to do so. By the exercise of the strictest economy, he managed to secure for his enterprise 6,000,000 francs, for money was then, as now, the sinews of war. This immense sum of money passed through the hands

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of a wealthy merchant, named Gros Cazes, a brother of the an aid-de-camp of the general in chief, who conducted a flourishing business at the Cape; and from the hands of Gros Cazes it passed into the keeping of one William Stevens, an American, who carried on quite an extensive commerce with Saint Domingo.* It was understood he would become the financial agent of Toussaint L'Ouverture. The pressing and peculiar character of current events, and later on, the expedition of General Leclerc, made it impossible for the great negro soldier to carry out the project which occupied his thoughts, floated in his imagination, and gave a definnate complexion to his hopes. Two of the most important men of the colony, M. de Vincent and M. de Montfayon, regretted very much the failure of the enterprise. The former expressed his disapointment and regrets in correspondence. Both saw an enterprise prove abortive, with which their names would have remained associated—the accomplishment of which would have brought to humanity in general, and France in particular, the happiest consequences, for up to the present, the flag of France had floated over all the conquests made by Toussaint L'Ouverture.

From facts already mentioned, what must we think of perfidious souls who accused Toussaint L'Ouverture of inaugurating a movement in favor of independence? Where is the proof? And yet, strange as it may seem, without proof to establish even the intention, Hedouville attached some importance to the unfounded rumors, and some Haytien historians have gone so far as to give them the authority which can only be attributed to historical facts. Hedouville committed a great mistake—we might say a crime—before he left forever the country where he had experienced the sharpest de-

*William Stevens, whose veritable name was Edouard Girard, never returned the millions which were left in his hands, by the events which turned the attention of L'Ouverture to the cause of liberty. Philadelphia, Pa., inherited this large sum of money.

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ception. Going beyond his power, forgetting all considerations of prudence and justice, Hedouville took Rigaud, who was already too jealous of his possession, from the authority of the general-in-chief, and placed him over the south. This uncalled for act, simply prepared the way for a great civil war. Saint Domingo offered to the world, shortly afterwards, a spectacle which made it in reality, the New Thebaide.



HABITATION PLAISANCE, NEAR PORT AU PRINCE.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

TOUSSAINT L'OUTERTURE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN THE MEANTIME. HIS SOJOURN ON HABITATION DESCAHAUX. ANECDOTES. THOUGHTS ON PREJUDICE OF COLOR.

Governor-General Hedouville sailed out of Cape Francais for France, on October 23, 1798, but not without issuing a proclamation which produced the saddest results. On this day and occasion the Pacificator, *de la Vendee*, the man who had given proof of a rare moderation in the most difficult times and under the most trying circumstances, was the very instrument through which France afterwards lost Saint Domingo. We will explain this affirmation further on.

In the absence of all the representative agents of France—for M. J. Raymond was hardly to be considered in this matter—Toussaint L'Ouverture again assumed control of the general administration. Order was so well established* in all branches of the government after the departure of Hedouville; each appeared so well disposed towards the authorities appointed by Toussaint L'Ouverture, except in the south, where the spirit of rebellion commenced to show itself, that Toussaint, the happy pacificator of the north, believed that he could without danger, profit the season of peace to retire upon his habitation, Descahaux, for the purpose of enjoying much needed rest. This was situated, as our readers know, in the beautiful valley d' Ennery, in the Canton L'Ouverture.†

Descahaux—a name associated with many historical recollections—was once the home and resort of an excellent administrator of Saint Domingo, at the time when the colony was the most flourishing. This habitation was one of the most desirable and one of the most beautiful.

*M. Saint Remy has said: "Toussaint L'Ouverture could at will raise and calm the tempest." Le mot est vrai, mais malicieux.

†The atmosphere was always enjoyable and healthy.

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Toussaint L'Ouverture, in his turn, made it his home and the center of his military operations. It was under him the asylum of the unfortunate and the resort of the gay and happy. In his beautiful home he was the personification of politeness and dignity, without affectation. He won all hearts; the invalids of his regiments, who came to see him or secure from him some favors; generals and officers of all grades and colors, who belonged to the colonial army; the colonists who were refugees from the Artibonite, Verrettes and Mirebalais; officers of the French navy, and strangers who had come to consult with him, and finally the society both of Gonaives and Ennery. Even the heart of Joaillier Nathan* was with Toussaint L'Ouverture, for valuable jewelry was always in demand by him. All these persons representing different grades of society and various shades of opinion, found themselves perfectly at home under the hospitable roof of Toussaint L'Ouverture. We learn from private papers that L'Ouverture went to church every Sabbath—generally on horseback, very rarely in carriage—escorted by a detachment of his brilliant company of guards. The family and friends passed the evening in social pleasures, alternating between games and movements, gay and grave, which showed very thorough cultivation in the graces.

On a beautiful Sabbath day Rigaud was welcomed into this charming residence, and M. de Roume in his turn enjoyed its hospitality. General L'Ouverture did not lose anything in the estimation of the public in becoming the actual leader in social circles. Those who formulated recriminations against him forgot that at the same time the *incroyables* prided themselves on their prominence in social circles of France.

Let us say, while we are in the mood to gossip, that like most of the old generals he enjoyed himself very much at

*According to an ancient ordinance Jews were not allowed to reside in Hayti. Toussaint L'Ouverture made an exception in favor of a man of this nation named Nathan.

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soirees. He was not indifferent even to the games and sports of the soldiers, so long as they were conducted with propriety and in the spirit of brotherly kindness.

It is said that men of color sometimes manifested in his presence their animosity to European soldiers. He regarded such manifestations as very wrong—as errors which merited only rebuke. "We owe our color," he would say, "to the latitude in which we live. Climatic influences have one and the same effect on members of different races. Is not this one proof of the unity of the race? The color of a man is an accident of birth, a caprice of nature, and it follows that all war between men of the same country, on account of the complexion of the skin, is fratricide. This forgetfulness of both human and divine law is seen too plainly in the war now going on in our midst, which has received the name *Guerre du Sud.*"

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CHAPTER XXV.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE COMMENCES CORRESPONDENCE WITH RIGAUD. ARRIVAL OF ROUME AT PORT AU PRINCE. EMANCIPATION CELEBRATION. ROUME CHANGES THE GOVERNMENT FROM PORT AU PRINCE TO CAPE FRANCAIS. TROUBLES AT CORAIL. EXECUTION AT JEREMIE. L'OUVERTURE FORESEES THE GREATEST NEED OF THE COLONY. TREATY OF COMMERCE WITH THE UNITED STATES. L'OUVERTURE REFUSES TO RECEIVE THE ENGLISH ENVOY.

Toussaint made haste to announce to Rigaud the events which had occured at Fort Dauphin and the hasty departure of General Hedouville. In reply, Rigaud informed L'Ouverture that he had been called to extend his command as far as Leogane. We will say, in order to render plain the facts which follow, that the department of the south—according to an ordinance which became law, October 26th, 1795—commenced at Cape Tiburon and continued, including Petit Goave Grand Goave, and Leogane and the country as far as the road which passes through the borough of Azna. Aux Cayes was the principal city of the south. In the same letter, Rigaud declares himself to have been misled by Hedouville. One has said: "In the confession, he gave proof of perfidy and stupidity." In the meanwhile, M. Saint Remy perceives in the distance the cloud which thickens and darkens and will burst in the near future.

Roume arrived at Port au Prince, which had become the seat of government, about January 12th 1799—three months after the departure of Hedouville. On his arrival he appeared much concerned about Rigaud, whom he believed much disposed to lead the south in revolt against the government. He wrote a letter to Rigaud on the 17th of the same month and said: "I have already received a letter from the good L'Ouverture. I hope to see you unite with him again soon, that you may be able to consider together the necessary means

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to bring about the best results throughout the colony." Again he said: "The confidence I have in this great man no more permits me to suppose that we may not work in concert for the best interest of Saint Domingo." Roume, we see, came to Saint Domingo in the spirit to accomplish good, but the peace of the country had been already disturbed and the fires of discord kindled. On January 22nd, Roume wrote again to Rigaud and said to him: "I have seen the general-in-chief and it is impossible for me to be better satisfied with anyone than I am with this virtuous man. He and I have one and the same object in view and we are both convinced it is necessary in order to accomplish the best results, to have the most perfect union between the government and the most influential military authorities. For this very reason I have requested the general-in-chief to require you and Generals Beauvais and Laplume* to confer with us, to the end that we may discover, adopt, and carry out, necessary and wise measures." M. de Roume, some days afterward, suggested to Rigaud not to insist upon the title, commander-in-chief of the department of the south; that he (M. de Roume) was governor of the whole island, not a part. The language of the two letters addressed to Rigaud, disclosed the spirit of kindness and fraternity, only the word require had been pronounced.

In order to give the reader a clear idea of the sentiments entertained by M. de Roume in regard to Toussaint L'Ouverture, whose long and loyal service he had had ample opportunity to observe and appreciate, we will add that in one of his letters† to Kerverseau, who had taken his place at Santo Domingo, he called him "a philosopher, a legislator, a good general and a virtuous citizen."

On February 24th, there was a patriotic demonstration at Port Republicain (Port au Prince). It was the anniversary of the proclamation of general emancipation. In celebrating an

*Laplume detested Rigaud.

†January 25th, 1799. Kerverseau had already formed his opinion.

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occasion so memorable and so full of interest for all parties concerned, Roume hoped "to disperse all the clouds which obscured the political horizon." Rigaud, Beauvais and Laplume were present on this occasion and were conspicuous figures in the enthusiastic procession. Roume spoke and Toussaint L'Ouverture responded. On the next day questions which involved administration were discussed. Rigaud consented to renounce his pretensions to Grand Goave and Petit Goave. "But with just indignation," says Saint Remy, "he refused to abandon Miragoane." Roume speaking of approaching dangers, said Port au Prince did not offer to him the same security as the Cape, in consideration of which he moved the seat of government to the Cape, this having formerly been the capital of Saint Domingo. The date of this change was February 25, 1799. Toussaint L'Ouverture accompanied the governor-general on this occasion and conferred with him on subjects and measures of great importance to the administration.

Everything now seemed to go well, in spite of all opposition; but all at once an unfortunate affair rekindled the feelings of revenge and hatred which had been slumbering. Cadet Geffrard,* commander of the 4th *demi-brigade*, and a chief of battalion, Jean Louis Compas, submitted some grave wrongs on the part of their mutinous soldiers and a large number of native farmers, among whom there was a white colonist.

Deux coqs vivaient en paix une poule survint, et voita la guerre allumee.

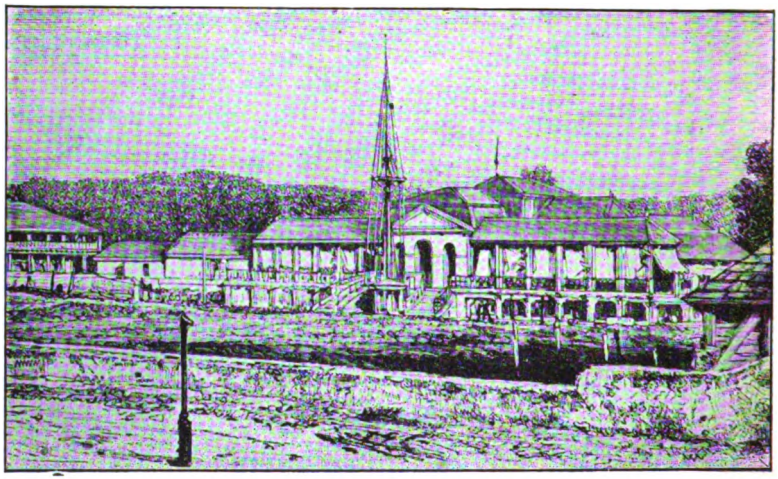
"Had it not been for this unfortunate colonist," says a grave historian, "the blacks would not have found themselves waging war against men of color."

Bref arrived as Colonel Dartigneuave, commanding officer at Jeremie, was landing troops against Corail, and delivered Geffrard and Compas from their prison. The revolutionists seemed now to have been brought to a better understanding,

*Geffrard was a saddler at Aux Cayes at the commencement of the insurrection.

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THE OLD NATIONAL PALACE, PORT AU PRINCE.
Replaced by a Magnificent Structure in the Year 1880.

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but thirty of the principal movers—the colonel and twenty-nine blacks—were apprehended and huddled into one of the dark dungeons of Jeremie, where they expired. Toussaint L'Ouverture, cut to the quick, remarked, "In all these movements the blacks are the victims." By way of explanation, it has been said that the huddling of all these men into such a narrow space vitiated the air to such a degree they died in the night of suffocation.

Rigaud, according to the author we have had occasion to refute so often, astonished every one by his moderation and devotion to the Republic, which was gaining favor in France. L'Ouverture, on the contrary, according to the same author, treated with impunity by the authorities, put forth no more efforts to conceal his intentions, but began to negotiate openly with the enemies of the Republic.

The above is one version,—not the only one; not the true one. We now propose by aid of documents in our possession to enable the reader to appreciate the merits and conduct of each, and in particular the conduct and merit of Toussaint L'Ouverture.

It was on General L'Ouverture that the responsibility of the colonial government principally rested. This fact is very apparent in the bill of indemnity incurred by the expulsion of Governor Hedouville and which was addressed to L'Ouverture. The *Directoire Executif* wrote the following to him, February 2nd: "It is by the results of your efforts to prevent all sorts of disorder; your promptness in executing the laws of the nation and carrying out the will of the government; your zeal in maintaining military discipline, giving thereby protection to property and perpetuating a condition favorable to the cultivation of the soil, that the opinion of the Directoire will be formed and the attention of the Republic will be fixed."

As a vigilant and intelligent administrator, Toussaint L'Ouverture found himself face to face with two deeply felt wants of his country. The people were without provisions and the gov-

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ernment was without money. The commerce with France, since the opening of hostilities between France and Great Britain, had been destroyed, and from that source, therefore, nothing was to be expected. The staple products of the country accumulated in the warehouses, from the simple fact that there was no outlet and little or no exchange with foreign countries.

The efforts of Toussaint L'Ouverture to improve agriculture and give a general impetus to industries, had been rewarded by a prosperity almost incredible. But this prosperity only led to greater embarrassment the moment they failed to find a market for the staples of the colony. It was suggested to Toussaint about this time that he might work the gold mine at Saint Raphael, which was part of his domain, with profit. He made the following reply: "A king who, after hearing the sage counsel of his ministers, came to the conclusion that gold was only necessary to enrich the kingdom, ordered his subjects to commence to work the mines at once. All other pursuits were abandoned, the fields remained uncultivated, commerce was entirely neglected, and little or no encouragement was given interests of primary importance. There was, however, gold in abundance. The queen had bread, fruit and viands made out of the precious metal, and on the return of the king from a long voyage this provision, so beautiful to look upon, was served in his presence. All was so beautiful that his first impulse was joy. Soon he felt the pangs of hunger and asked for something to eat. The queen answered, 'We have nothing but gold; our lands are in fallow and produce nothing. We have placed before you that which you love, and in fact all that is left us.' The king reflected; afterwards dismissed his ministers, whose erroneous advice he had followed; closed the mines, and turned the attention of his subjects to commerce and agriculture—which once more flourished and the people were again happy." "Our mines," added

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he, "are our habitations. If we cultivate them we are sure of the fruit of our labor."

Several measures to relieve the situation were presented for the consideration of the government, and that which seemed to promise the most decisive results in the shortest period of time was looked upon most favorably.

The terms of an ordinance were finally agreed upon, which disclosed the national bias, but more than all, the foresight of Toussaint L'Ouverture, who was at this time actually conducting the affairs of the colony. This ordinance required that all foreign cargoes should be received in exchange for colonial commodities. These provisions were disposed of in the public service. They sold for cash, only the merchandise which were classed under the head of luxuries. The good accomplished by the ordinance was two-fold. They were able to retain the money in circulation and at the same time to find an outlet for staple products.

At this time a treaty of commerce was signed in the interest of the most pressing want of the colony. The contracting parties were the President of the United States of America, John Adams, and General Toussaint L'Ouverture. Stevens, whose name and origin have already been mentioned, now established himself permanently at Cape Francais, in the quality of United States Consul, and he became the medium through which the colonial army received all its supplies. This treaty received the sanction of M. de Roume, April 25th, 1799. The historians of Hayti maintain that at first, Roume refused to ratify the treaty, and that he finally consented when "constrained and forced." But such could not have been the case, for the governor, M. de Roume, wrote to Rigaud on the 27th—two days after the treaty had received the signatures of the contracting parties—and in the letter he said, speaking of L'Ouverture: "L'homme sage par excellence le sauveur de la colony." The assertion, therefore, of the Haytien historians, amounts to no more than an illusion. A few days after the

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commercial treaty had been signed, of which we have just spoken, Brigadier Maitland, commanding an English frigate—aboard of which was Graunt, representative of Great Britain to Saint Domingo—appeared in the harbor of Cape Francais.

Toussaint L'Ouverture was not disposed to receive Colonel Graunt in the quality of consul, neither was he disposed to allow the English frigate to cast anchor in any of the ports of the colony except it should first lower the English Jack and hoist in its place either the Spanish or American flag. The explanation of this demand was found in the fact that the English and French were then at war. Nevertheless M. Saint Remy affirms that Toussaint L'Ouverture signed a secret treaty with Brigadier-General Maitland at l'Arcahaye. The answer to this accusation is found in the searching examination that Toussaint L'Ouverture underwent at Fort de Joux.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE UNABLE TO SECURE BY PEACEABLE MEANS THE SUBMISSION OF RIGAUD, CARRIED WAR INTO THE SOUTH.

After providing, by wise measures, to meet the most imperious and pressing wants of the colony, Toussaint L'Ouverture turned his attention to Rigaud, whom he now proposed to lead or drive into the path of duty and military discipline. The Directoire Executif had made General L'Ouverture's duty clear in this direction—even obligatory—declaring that it counted on his zeal to maintain military discipline. At this time Rigaud was in an attitude of open rebellion.

A proclamation which appeared on the official bulletin of Saint Domingo, expressed the situation in very strong terms. Rigaud disliked the sentiments it contained and complained of them to the governor-general. His letter concluded with these words: "Il faut que tout mon sang coule."

At the outset the war was personal in character and Rigaud was prompted, no doubt, by selfish motives; but later on, when they began to thirst for each other's blood, it took on the complexion of a war of caste. "Do you know the significance of la guerre de couleur, or war of caste?" demands M. Saint Remy, who is prompted by generous emotions when not controlled by an "esprit de systeme." "It is this: to have a black skin is sufficient reason for a mulatto to distrust you and doubt the sincerity of your sentiments, and to have a yellow skin is sufficient reason, on the other hand, for a black to distrust you and doubt the sincerity of your sentiments."

This distrust of which we have spoken, was in Saint Domingo, and is to-day, a very partial judge in Hayti. It kept up a civil war in Saint Domingo, and perpetuates it to-day in Hayti—actually making brothers enemies. Let us hope that this prejudice so destructive and so opposed to true progress will not find a place in the hearts of the rising generation. In

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this respect Hayti will do well to imitate France, whose people are no longer burdened with prejudice of caste—the color line having long since been effaced.

When Toussaint L'Ouverture learned that Rigaud had publicly declared himself invested with all the authority of the south and that he was prepared to sustain his pretensions by force of arms, he caused ten thousand troops to occupy Port au Prince. These were ready to march against the south at the first signal. Rigaud, on his part, had taken all necessary precautions, and fortified Miragoane, the last and strongest rampart under his command. Laplume was in command of Grand Goave and Petit Goave, while Dessalines occupied Leogane.

At the very beginning of the war, an act of treason was committed by Jean Pierre Delva, a black connected with an ancient family of the Affranchis and who was in fact an avowed enemy of L'Ouverture's political system. One recognizes in this act an exclusive. Delva gave the fort at Petit Goave into the hands of Rigaud's two lieutenants, Faubert and Renaud Desruisseau, 17th June.

Faubert, now in possession, gave the place up to be pillaged, and put all the whites to the sword, although they had taken no part in the action. This crime was in remembrance of the joy that the whites had expressed at the famous speech delivered by Toussaint L'Ouverture. This speech and the real pleasure it afforded the whites, are all that can be urged in extenuation of the crimes of which we have spoken, and will speak, which were committed in the south. In one respect Toussaint L'Ouverture was singularly unfortunate. In France, the colonists regarded him as being alone responsible for all the outrages perpetrated upon them ; in Saint Domingo, on the other hand, the men of color were not able to pardon him for his favorable consideration of the whites.

The possession of Petit Goave was followed by the downfall of Grand Goave. Rigaud was now master of two principal

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places of the south. Delva was not the only one who betrayed the general-in-chief, or rather, the cause he ought to have defended. Macon, the commander of a portion of the 8th brigade, and the chief of the brigade, Christophe Morney, were arrested and imprisoned. The first had actually assisted in taking Petit Goave, and the second was accused of inaction. Both suffered exemplary punishment. The general-in-chief, justly irritated on account of numerous defections, issued a proclamation, in which he denounced in the most violent terms, the chief of the revolt, and his partisans. Roume issued a proclamation the following day, in which he apologized for Toussaint L'Ovuerture. He ordered, and at the same time fixed the date for a gathering of the cultivators, before whom he promised to punish Rigaud for his attempt "against the nation."

The Generals Beauvais, A. Chanlatte, Moyse, Dessalines, Age, and Laplume were made responsible for the execution of the orders that the general-in-chief would give them.

While Rigaud was at Aux Cayes, intoxicated by the hallucinations of victory, Jean Rabel and the Mole—where Lubin Golard and Bellegarde were in command by a process analogous to that carried out at Petit Goave—fell into the hands of his lieutenant Renaud Desruisseau. These insurrections in the north were nothing less than happy diversions in favor of Rigaud. For a moment everything seemed to be in his favor. Men declared that the downfall of one place followed the other as by enchantment.

In the meantime Colonel Maurepas, who was devoted to Toussaint L'Ouverture, valiantly defended Port de Paix. Almost immediately the general-in-chief made an attack on Jean Rabel, and after a cannonade of thirty-six hours he entered it triumphant. It was his intention to take the traitor Golard by surprise at this place; but Golard, foreseeing what would befall him in case of defeat, took refuge in the woods, where he lived the life of a savage until the arrival of Leclerc's expedi-

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tion. Moyse and Clerveau again took possession of the Mole in the name of L'Ouverture, and here they awaited the general-in-chief, who was at a distance directing the punishment of insurgents, mulattoes and whites. The details of executions are terrible.

After having pacified the north and the Artibonite, along the line of which was manifested the terror of his arms,—a terror salutary in the face of rebellion, which for the moment assumed menacing proportions—Toussaint L'Ouverture contemplated a movement, the object of which was the subjugation of the south. He was descending from Gros Morne, at Jean Rabel, when a shell, hurled with great force, passed through the trees and burst all around him. His physician fell at his side and expired. It was Lubin Golard, savage of the Moustique, who set this trap for L'Ouverture, but he only lost part of the feathers which decorated his hat. A little further on, between l'Arcahaye and Sources Puantes, at Hatte Auboy, the general-in-chief found himself face to face with another enemy in ambush, who fired on his carriage and killed his coachman. The general, however, made his escape. And ought one to be astonished after all this that Toussaint L'Ouverture should have conceived and conserved vigorous sentiments of resentment against the principal authors of these murderous attacks.

Where is the man, though endowed with the spirit of kindness and gentleness, who would not think at such a time of avenging attacks on the life of the first military authority of the country? Several of the leaders of the rebellion were handed over to the military authorities, and, after judgment, submitted to the punishment pronounced against them. Saint Remy wrote: "After so many barbarous acts committed under the administration of L'Ouverture, I cannot recognize him any longer as being good, pious and humane." This writer, as well as Rigaud, was born under the southern sky of Aux Cayes, and belonged to the exclusives.

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The army of the north sustained considerable loss in these various engagements,—notably in the battle fought July 8th, on the habitation Faucher, where Rigaud was wounded; the engagement in which Dessalines figured, on the habitation Tanzin, and finally in the battle fought July 22nd.

Of all the generals who had made an open declaration of their purpose to stand by the general-in-chief, Beauvais was the only one whose conduct was not of a positive nature and therefore misleading. To judge him from his attitude, one was constrained to believe that he only desired to look on the struggle between L'Ouverture and Rigaud from a distance. Beauvais had no love for Rigaud, who had outraged him at Aux Cayes, at the time of the Desfourneaux difficulty, but on the other hand his fear of the almost universal influence of L'Ouverture was, if anything, greater than his dislike of Rigaud. Beauvais received orders to drive the soldiers from Aquin, who had followed their leader Rigaud into this locality. He refused, and in refusing to conform to orders, he made clear his intentions of declaring himself independent. It remained for Laplume to carry out the order of the general-in-chief. Beauvais notified the administration by dispatch, during the month of August, of the events passing in his district. His dispatch did not contain a single word concerning his want of deference for the orders of the general-in-chief.

Beauvais reaped just what he had sown. He soon realized that the administration was unable to sympathize with him. In answer to his dispatch, Roume, the administrative agent, wrote him a letter, the address of which is quite sufficient to indicate the contents:

"A Louis Jacques Beauvais, ci-devant General de Brigade au Service de la Republique Francais, et Commandant de l' Arrondissement de Jacmel, Actuellment Chef des Revoltes du Meme Arrondissement, Sous les Ordres du traitre, Rigaud."

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"To Louis Jacques Beauvais, heretofore General of Brigade in the Service of the French Republic and Commander of the Arrondissement of Jacmel, now Chief of the Rebellion in the same Arrondissement, under the Orders of the Traitor, Rigaud."

On receiving this communication Beauvais took his departure, not in hope, but in despair. He embarked in a clandestine manner for Curacoa, from which place he intended to go to France.* The command of the arrondissement then fell into the hands of Birot, who was the oldest colonel belonging to the legion of the west, and had under his command about 6,000 regular troops.

Toussaint L'Ouverture regarded Jacmel as the stronghold of the south and his military wisdom dictated the necessity of taking possession of this place, every part of which was a natural fortification. He first captured Camp Belair, then, after a cannonade of two days, Fort Bellevue, which was defended by Petion and Desriusseaux. All Rigaud's principal officers were defeated and out-generaled in the two engagements of Nov. 1799. From this moment on, Toussaint L'Ouverture occupied himself only with the siege of Jacmel. He left Dessalines to direct the action, but paid personal attention to the preparation for the attack. Dessalines' order for a general clearing went into execution on the nights of the 5th and 6th of January, 1800. To the awfulness of a desperate struggle on the part of the besieged there was soon added the horrors of a famine, of which there are few illustrations in history.

Petion,† who had taken the command of the place after the disgraceful flight of Birot and his Lieutenants Borno Deleart and Fontaine, gave an order for the evacuation of Jacmel on the nights of March 11th and 12th.

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*Beauvais was lost in a vessel that was wrecked. The tragic circumstances have been related by the Haytien historians.

†Petion had but recently taken the oath of fidelity to L'Ouverture. Formerly he had been among opposing factions.

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"The downfall of Jacmel," says M. Saint Remy, "spread consternation throughout the south."

During the siege of Jacmel, Rigaud remained in his fortified position at Aquin. Finally he abandoned this place so strongly fortified, but as on other occasions, he issued a proclamation which left the impression with the army that their chief was still at Aquin. It concluded with these words: "But I swear by you my fellow citizens, I swear by the indissoluble ties which ought always to unite us; by this energy, the effects of which Toussaint has heard related, if he had the good judgment to stop himself in this execrable project, well; otherwise his hordes shall not have two places in the department of the South where they will not find graves."

Toussaint L'Ouverture thought he could not make a better answer to this bravado than to offer pardon to Rigaud. "If Rigaud," he said in his proclamation, "although the author of these troubles, present himself in good faith, make no attempt at evasion, and acknowledge his fault, I will receive him again. But if Rigaud persist and refuse to profit this grand opportunity, then let the fathers and mothers of families come and I will receive them with open arms. The father of the prodigal child received his son with joy after he repented." Rigaud appears no longer to advantage as he did when he rendered such powerful aid to Toussaint L'Ouverture in driving the English from the colony. On leaving Aquin he went to Cayes, where his family resided and where he had considerable interest. His lieutenants continued the campaign without him. L'Ouverture, on the contrary, although he was not always seen, made his influence felt everywhere. He received a colonel at Leogane, who brought assurances of peace and union from Paris. In a correspondence, the MS. of which has been preserved and which was consulted by the author in the preparation of this chapter, this officer says "It was soon agreed that I should visit the South for the purpose of seeing Rigaud, and use my best efforts to put an end to the civil war.

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I was accompanied by two men, one black and the other brown. We embarked at Jacmel and entered Aux Cayes July."

It is proper to observe here, that from the moment Rigaud and his party were forced to abandon Jacmel, they continued to meet with defeats. All the well fortified posts occupied by his soldiers, particularly Miragoane, Grand Goave and Petit Goave fell into the hands of Gen. Toussaint L'Ouverture in quick succession. The numerous battles fought at Fonds des Negres and at Aquin did not leave Rigaud any reason to hope for success, and besides this, the army of Toussaint was all but knocking at the gates of Saint Louis.

Rigaud now conscious of his inability to defend Aux Cayes and the plains, only talked of the means necessary for the destruction of both. His wish was that his rival should find the very trees dragged up by the roots. But fortunately Aux Cayes did not undergo the fearful ordeal contemplated by Rigaud at this time, "and the very day," says the officer in question, "that made me his prisoner and witnessed a suspension of arms, was the very day on which the civil war terminated. There was not another gun fired in the South. The departure of General Rigaud and his principal agents was followed by the most perfect tranquility."

What a contrast there is between the language of truth and the furious misleading statements indulged in by some of the Haytien historians.

The general-in-chief, Toussaint L'Ouverture, did not wait to see what results would follow his proclamation of the 20th of April, but occupied himself with the organization of the army with which he intended to carry war into the South. This army was made up of 10,000 men, and General Dessalines, who was created general commander of the expedition, divided them into two columns and invaded the enemy's territory.

The army of the South was in camp at Grand Goave, Petion being in command. Boyer, who became his successor as

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president of Hayti, was at this time only an officer under Petion. Grand Goave was not able to hold out very long against the rude attacks of Dessalines. Petion ordered his troops to evacuate. Another defeat quickly followed on the habitation Auperier and Petion retreated to Miragoane, a formidable stronghold, where they intended to fight the last battle. After allowing his troops to rest for fifteen days, General Dessalines made a vigorous attack against Miragoane, at which place the enemy defied him. All necessary preparations had been made for the siege when the general-in-chief, Toussaint L'Ouverture, appeared. His presence did more good than the coming of an army. At the sight of the general-in-chief the soldiers sent up a war cry, the forerunner of victory. A large distribution of what was needed and desirable among the soldiers was quite sufficient, under the circumstances, to fill them with enthusiasm. The battle of the first day seemed to produce no results. Rigaud anticipating the approach of Dessalines, whom he had learned to fear, ordered certain methods of defence. "Then," says one of his admirers, "sad and silent, he cursed after a manner which made him appear melancholy to his soldiers." Captain Segrettier found him a victim to despair.

A severe battle was finally fought by the two opposing armies, but notwithstanding the heroic efforts of some of Rigaud's officers his army was thrown into great confusion. Petion and Geffrard escaped the fate that awaited them—for Dessalines was not disposed to extend clemency towards his enemies—only by seeking refuge with their soldiers in the woods, leaving a long train of fire behind them. It was indeed the desert of fire announced by Rigaud. His followers had a devouring thirst for war, but Rigaud himself was becoming more and more unpopular. The cries of families rent the air as they gazed upon their homes in flames. The lamentations of wives were heard, weeping for their husbands, sacrificed to satisfy the hatred of a single man. Homes were broken up

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and children were left unprotected. This calamity was widespread, and a united voice crying for a liberator was heard.

In the meantime this universal dissatisfaction and these fearful lamentations filled Rigaud with nervous irritation. His words were uttered with great vehemency,—"the last echo," says his admirer, Saint Remy, "of this vigorous and solemn voice." Rigaud said: "If the enemy will not listen to the propositions that I believe I ought to make, I will fight them, aided by my comrades, until they are exterminated." But, as a matter of fact, did Rigaud have this faith in his final success which he displays in his talk? The date of this proclamation was May 29th. On July 5th, Rigaud took part in, and directed, the battle fought at Aquin, and shortly afterwards in the engagement fought in the vicinity of Treine.

Alas! The older people recall the episodes of a war in which there was so much bitter feeling and prejudice of color, with fear and trembling. These sad facts are matters of history, and as the younger people read them it is to be hoped that the impressions made will be salutary.

Anxious to conclude the war in the South and to conform in this respect to the orders of the First Consul, General L'Ouverture sent a deputation to Aux Cayes in the interest of peace. On arriving they presented the olive branch and proclaimed general amnesty. Four persons only were excluded, against whom was brought the charge of treason, and the principles of honor as well as military discipline required that they should be punished. These four persons were Bellegarde, who was sent from the colony; Millet, Dupont and Petion, who were committed to prison for a few days. As the general-in-chief had learned through M. de Vincent, his representative and delegate, that Rigaud feared falling into the hands of Dessalines very much, he said in his proclamation: "Why does he wish to send his family from their country, home and possessions? He may leave them with safety in San Domingo. They will be secure from danger and have protection. Invite

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him to come with you to the Cape. If after he arrives he persists in going to France he will be able to accompany General Michael who proposes to go by way of the United States. If, on the other hand he prefers to see the general agent and render such satisfaction as the government may require at his hands,* it is his privilege and he may do so. After such submission, he will find me insisting with pleasure, on his return to the South, in the quality of general of brigade, commanding the army of said department under my orders."

This moderation and magnanimity which draws out our admiration, entitled General Toussaint L'Ouverture to no credit so far as the exclusives were concerned, but on the contrary, he remained the object of hatred and prejudice which have not yet disappeared. Let us hope that future generations more enlightened and independent than those they follow, will seek to find the truth, and finding it, will allow themselves to be guided by its light. Then, and not till then, will we see the triumph of patriotism.

In the meantime, Rigaud's lieutenants continued the campaign and Dessalines followed up his success. From l'Anse a Veau, which he had just entered, Dessalines took the road leading from Aux Cayes and occupied the habitation Allard at the very gates of Saint Louis, the only place which had not as yet fallen into the hands of the conquerer. The officer who commanded at this point abandoned his post and quit the place. Gauthier, on the other hand, one of the brave men of Jacmel, turned over to Dessalines what remained of the beautiful legion of the West. Nothing was now heard in the South but the universal cry—"Vive L'Ouverture."

We read in the correspondence of M. de Vincent that General Toussaint L'Ouverture put forth every effort until the very last moment, to induce Rigaud, if possible, to remain in the colony, but offers and inducements proved useless.

*It had been reported among other things, that Rigaud had taken and concealed large sums of money which belonged to the government.

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Rigaud embarked upon a Danish ship then in the harbor at Tiburon on the way to Saint Thomas. A day was sufficient to make the distance between the two places.* The principal officers of the South who had served under Rigaud thought it proper and honorable to imitate their chief and sought safety in refuge. Rigaud arrived in Paris during the month of April, after an eventful voyage and he found there the leaders of the southern faction, of which he was the chief, waiting an opportunity to importune the First Consul.

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*Nous lisons dans un de nos documents qu'avant son depart, Rigaud avait fait goudrouner les galeries des Cayes dans la pensee de fair sauter la poudriere. Mais que le capitaine Pelissier s'opposa a aon entree dans l'arsenal et empecha par cette male resolution la destruction de la ville. Le Colonel Solomon prit dans le meme but le commandement de la place, et y maintint a tranquillite jusqu a l'arrivee de L'Ouverture. Solomon occupa plus tard un employ eleve dans la magistrature de la colonie. Son nom lui venait de sa sagesse.

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CHAPTER XXVII.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE AT AUX CAYES. HE ORGANIZES BOTH THE CIVIL AND MILITARY SERVICE.

General-in-Chief Toussaint L'Ouverture entered Aux Cayes on August 1st, 1800. No official honor which was due to him was withheld. His proclamation breathed the spirit of charity. He recommended that the past, or so much of it as related to the wrong doings of his enemies whom he had conquered, should be forgotten.

If one were still disposed to doubt the nobleness of his sentiments and the disposition which sustained him under the gravest difficulties, the terms of his proclamation were quite sufficient to remove this doubt and show the principles by which he was actuated.

"Citizens, all the misfortunes which have come upon San Domingo, during the civil war occasioned by Rigaud, have been in magnitude and character such as to merit public attention. It is neither necessary nor desirable to recall them. The prosperity of the colony and the happiness of the people will be promoted by spreading the mantle of charity over them, and occupying ourselves as best we may in repairing the wrongs and evils which constitute a part of the results of this internal war, which grew out of the vanity and ambition of one man. A large number of the citizens of San Domingo have been deceived while confiding; have been misled through their credulity, and they have not distrusted enough the inducements held out to them in order to draw them into designs and plots, nothing less than criminal. Others again have followed the wicked impulses of their own hearts. Moved by the same principles which governed the chief of the revolt, they have thought it beneath their dignity to be governed and commanded by a black man. This error must be corrected; it matters not what it may cost to make that correction.

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Wishing very much the good of my country, I have published a proclamation in which I accord a general amnesty. Let us consider to-day only as brothers those who erring through credulity, have dared to turn their arms against the flag of the Republic and their legitimate general-in-chief."

M. Saint Remy avows that "the moderation of Toussaint L'Ouverture was astonishing after the victory he had just won." M. de Vincent has said also that "the inhabitants of the South, particularly those of Cayes, were perfectly satisfied."

Toussaint L'Ouverture, whose love for order predominated over every other sentiment, took no rest until he had thoroughly organized both the civil and military service. He found at Aux Cayes some members of his family, most of whom were unknown to him. A young lieutenant, man of color, asked to be introduced to General L'Ouverture. He was the son of his sister Catharine, daughter of Gaou Guinou, by his first wife. The lieutenant resembled Bernard Chancy* very much, by whose name he was called. The general-in-chief raised him to the grade of captain and made him one of his aides-de-camp. Genevieve, his niece, was living very happily in the midst of a large family, two daughters of which were the ornament and charm of the house. The elder, Elenore, a young girl of rare beauty, became the wife of an officer of superior rank, who belonged to the Northern army—Colonel Vernet. Elenore's uncle, the general-in-chief, not only favored but encouraged the marriage. Louise, the younger, endowed with a wealth of physical charms and a heart and mind enriched with a higher beauty, accompanied her uncle and made herself useful at his side. More than one time she shared with him the rations of the bivouac, and with him was exposed to

*Bernard Chancy was an exile in France. He traveled through Italy and the United States and afterwards returned to Hayti, only to be bayonetted to death clandestinely during the presidency of Petion.

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the musketry of the enemy. We will speak further on of her misfortunes and filial piety.

After having urged order, union, the dignity of labor, respect for life and property, in conversation, public discourses and proclamations, Toussaint L'Ouverture returned to Port au Prince, August 27th, 1800.

Just as Dessalines in the South and Moyse in the North, showed themselves cruel, the first towards the followers of Rigaud and the second towards the whites, so did L'Ouverture manifest a strong aversion to all excesses in severity, and all injustice and abuse of power. M. Ardouin says, just as Toussaint L'Ouverture left Leogane a company of his guards rejoined him, and addressing himself to the officer who commanded this company L'Ouverture remarked: "There has been no assassin here?" "No, general-in-chief." "And I am glad of it," said L'Ouverture, "for I hate the villains who, without provocation, commit outrages, and even when it is possible to avoid it, take life. You have, therefore, observed my proclamation of general amnesty?" "Yes, general-in-chief." "I am very well pleased with your conduct, young man, you have clearly comprehended your duty." An old woman who had received into her house a man of color, a soldier who had been wounded, but had survived his wounds, ventured to ask protection for him at the hands of the general-in-chief. "Let him appear before me," said Toussaint L'Ouverture. When he saw him in this condition, he ordered that he should have treatment and attention and as a matter of fact it was such as led to his restoration. This act of kindness—and it would not be difficult to relate a hundred such—gives us a very true conception of L'Ouverture's character. This benevolence does not, however, modify in any way the spirit of party which charges General L'Ouverture with the gravest of crimes, and many of the writers of the times, who, if not paid were devoted to the interersts of existing factions, repeated these falshoods.

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The following conversation is as interesting as it is remarkable. M. Madiou, the Haytien historian on his way to Bordeaux, had a conversation with M. and Mme. Isaac L'Ouverture, who resided at Aux Cayes. In answer to his request, M. Madiou was presented to Mme. Oge, a highly respectable woman and widow of a distinguished officer of the army of Saint Domingo, who was killed on the field of battle. "I have read your work," said Mme. Oge to M. Madiou. "It was very interesting to me, as is everything relating to the country about which I retain a touching and graphic recollection. I cannot, however, refrain from entering my strongest protest, since I have read with pain, the want of exactness, the reticence, and the exaggerations contained in your work, also your partiality—pardonnez moi ce mot—in regard to General Toussaint L'Ouverture, whose life and career were well known to me. The portrait you have drawn of Rigaud is very far from resembling the original. Whom are we to blame for this, the spirit of the times, and the attitude of political parties? Have you such a low estimate of Hayti as to believe she is not capable of hearing the truth? All people and nations have made their mistakes. Error is a part of the very essence of human nature. Why sacrifice everything to a hatred that is unreasonable? Why enterain with care, prejudices, which after all, will reflect upon your own race? Why crush by cruel disregard and slight, the men upon whom Heaven smiled, as God in other days favored Moses, to the end that by his hand he might redeem a race and lead them into the land of promise, which signifies the land of liberty? Why this partiality towards the black man who has become famous by deeds of true heroism? Finally, why do you insist upon misleading future generations? Falsehood—Je lui donne uniquement ici le caractere politique—falshood is of man, is for the moment. There will remain only the misrepresentation, the wrong perpetrated against him. Admire Petion, who came in his turn to better mark the epoch of fusion, dans

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les coleurs. Honor his tomb. Let your men of state value, if it please them to do so, his system* as the consummation of political philosophy. But remember, the day will come when the mass of your citizens will be enlightened by education, by virtue of which they will be in a position to weigh both men and things in the balance of equity. Do not fear, there will appear in some quarter of the globe, an avenger of Toussaint L'Ouverture, a voice which will recall the outrages you have perpetrated upon him, and the echo will be repeated by the four winds of the earth."

"Ah! Madam," responded M. Madiou,† "they, the exclusives, find that my pen has been too favorable to him."

If we judge him by these words, we ought not to confound the author of the History of Hayti, with the principals of a faction who undertook the task of creating public opinion against L'Ouverture, by imputing to him wrongs which in character were personal and by detracting in every way possible from his merits. Such was the treatment of a man who was superior to his calumniators, both in genius and virtues, and whose character throws the shadow of eternal reproach upon them. Tacitus has well said, "Ou ne pardonne point l'injure qu 'on a faite."‡

*A Haytien historian has designated Petion as the laisser-aller general.

†M. Madiou received from those he served with zeal, the title of editor-in-chief of the Moniteur Official of the Republic of Hayti.

‡"We cannot repair the injury we do."

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE DISPOSED TO TAKE POSSESSION OF THE SPANISH PART OF THE ISLAND. HE RECEIVES THE NEW FRENCH CONSTITUTION. SURRENDER OF SAINT DOMINGO. AFTER THE CONQUEST.

While Toussaint L'Ouverture was giving all his attention to his military operations in the South, the slave oligarchy, by virtue of more perfect organization, had become prosperous and aggressive. Caravans of natives who were captured in the North were conducted to Santo Domingo and sold to Porto Rico and Havana, where they lived and died in slavery. Toussaint L'Ouverture was not indifferent to the situation, bringing the matter from time to time to the attention of General Kerverseau, upon whom he urged the necessity of entering a severe protest before the President of the Public Court, in order that he might inaugurate an efficacious system for the suppression of the infamous commerce, which was an open violation of the most recent declarations of the Republic of France.*

A method more satisfactory to Toussaint L'Ouverture, and by which he believed the slave trade would be more quickly abolished, was to take possession of the Spanish part of the island. Roume, the governor-general, did not sign the decree, so impatiently waited for, until May, 1799. General Age was forthwith dispatched to Santo Domingo in the interest of peace. On arriving he remitted full information of the decree to Don Garcia, who continued to carry the title of captain-general. Don Garcia asked a delay of three months, as he would not be able, so he said, to sooner receive instructions from his government. If the execution of the intention (we may say threat), which Toussaint had been impatient to carry

*"Le commerce des esclaves n'aura plus lieu dans aucune des possessions Francaises d' outre mer."—Termes de l' arrete.

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out under the disguise of graciousness, did not appear as an accomplished fact, the obstacle may be found in the prolonged and bitter struggle directed against the revolutionist of the South by him. The times were propitious, yet the political horizon was not without clouds. The shadows were prophecies of future events; but then, as now, few were endowed with the faculty of interpretation. The French nation was a seething pot of dissatisfaction, and the French government was passing through a period of transition, which culminated when the government Consulaire was substituted for the Directoire Executif.

Among the first things to occupy the attention of the new government was the colonial interests, which had been for many months pushed aside, notwithstanding the importunities of those interested, and particularly the refugees of Saint Domingo. Colonel de Vincent at last concluded to persuade, and if possible to assure, the government that it was possible to deliver the colony from the war of extermination, which was in full blast between rival colors, if a commission clothed with the proper authority, should appear in the midst of the confusion with the "olive branch of peace." The colonial secretary, thinking well of the proposition, appointed the commission which consisted of M. de Vincent and two creoles, natives of the island, to whom the reader has already been introduced, viz.: Julien Raymond and General Michael. From their instructions they learned that in connection with the principal object of their mission, they were entrusted to carry to the blacks the new French constitution, with the particular congratulations and orders of the First Consul. M. de Vincent delivered to the General-in-Chief Toussaint L'Ouverture, the credentials, which accredited him with the other members of the commission as delegates from the metropolis to the general-in-chief of the army of Saint Domingo.

M. de Vincent also delivered the proclamation of the First Consul, who, in a special article, declared that the military

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authority should cause the following words to be inscribed in letters of gold on all the flags carried by the battalions composing the national guard: "Braves noirs souvenez vous que le peuple Francais seul reconnait votre liberte et l'egalite de vos droits."

The composition of the proclamation was bold, concise and energetic,—characteristic, indeed, of the author from whom it eminated.

One of the principal articles of the new constitution declared that the French colonies were to be regulated by special laws. This provision had its origin in the nature of things. "The inhabitants of the colonies of France situated in America, Asia, and Africa, require different laws for their government than those needed to regulate affairs in France. One of the first acts of the new legislature will be the passage of laws, the object of which will be to regulate the condition of the colony. The sacred principle of equality and liberty will not be interfered with and will not under any circumstances suffer modification or extinction."

Toussaint L'Ouverture heard, with intense complacency, the recital of the most recent events which had come to pass in France, through M. de Vincent. He thought it strange, however, that he had not received a special letter from the chief of state under the circumstances. Had he not a right to expect such a communication from the First Consul, after discharging, as it were, the debt of the general-in-chief of the army of Egypt? The First Consul would not find it beneath him to address the general-in-chief of the army of San Domingo, his senior in command, some words in which he would find, if not an expression of gratitude, at least an allusion to the manifest intention he had had to serve Napoleon's private interest, in clearing out the ruins, rebuilding and rendering valuable, at the expense of the public treasure, the habitation Beauharnais, the products of which he sent regularly to

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Paris, to Mme. Josephine Tascher de la Pagerie, who became the wife of Napoleon.

Toussaint L'Ouverture said one day, in speaking of the consideration he had had for Napoleon and his interest, "It is but an act of justice, since General Bonaparte is in Egypt looking after the interest of France."

In this connection we simply record the fact that L'Ouverture, the general-in-chief of the army of San Domingo, did not publish the proclamation which he had received from the commissioners of the consular government of France. M. de Vincent interrogated him to know why he had not made it public. Toussaint replied: "There are two reasons. First, the proclamation was not addressed to me officially; second, I feared it might be misconstrued and falsely interpreted by the enemies of the colony." And then he added as his last reason and final argument: "It is not a liberty of circumstances, it is not conditional freedom, conceded to us only, that we wish; but the absolute adoption of the principle that all men, red, black, or white, are born free, and cannot be the property of any other man. We are free to-day because we are the strongest, *in other words, by virtue of might.* The First Consul, even now, maintains slavery at Martinique and at Bourbon and when he has the power to accomplish it we may be again reduced to slavery." What was the effect of these significant remarks and especially after the perfidious insinuations of certain historians, notably M. Beaubrun Ardouin, who earnestly applied himself to inspiring those whom he calls the cultivators—ordinarily styled peasants, in France—with hatred for the name of Toussaint L'Ouverture. The first visible result was an argument against Toussaint L'Ouverture to whom the colony was indebted, not only for the peace and order it enjoyed, but also for the extensive cultivation of the soil. The following is a specimen of the argument: "L'Ouverture has made work obligatory, therefore L'Ouverture wishes to perpetuate slavery."

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Polverel and Sonthonax, who issued the general proclamation of liberty, ordered the emancipated blacks to return to the fields and work shops. May we not add St. Paul's declaration: II. Thessalonians, iii. 10? "For even when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat." Has any one said of Polverel and Sonthonax, they wished to establish and perpetuate slavery? Has any one ever given such an interpretation to the language of Paul? And the regulations which obtained under the administration of L'Ouverture in the interest of industry and agriculture were not made with the view of re-establishing that most odious of institutions. It is not necessary to prove that all the acts of Toussaint L'Ouverture were in favor of his race, their tendency being to bring about their emancipation. His cherished thoughts crystalized around three gigantic enterprises. First, the expedition of the South which he had inaugurated and was resolutely pushing to a glorious consummation. Second, the taking possession of the Spanish part of the island, which was no longer an undecided question in his mind, but simply a matter of time. Third, the drafting of a constitution, the provisions of which would be perfectly adapted to the wants of the colony—no foreign legislature being capable, in his opinion, of solving a problem of which all preceding governments had failed to find the solution. Moreover, if the new constitution should be the outcome of foreign legislation, he saw grounds for entertaining serious apprehensions. Following the tide of events, after the conquest of the South, we find Toussaint L'Ouverture at Port au Prince, where he was regarded by everyone as the hero of the battle-field. When he made known his purpose to M. de Vincent, viz.: to carry war into the East, he soon discovered that the chief member of the commission was not in sympathy with his project, but even disposed to offer certain resistance. Toussaint replied with his usual vivacity: "Who are those who have assasinated the white French at Fort Dauphin? Who

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ordered and presided over the massacre at this fort and in this vicinity? We answer Spaniards. Were it not they who rendered themselves culpable for this horrible murder? Yes, it is perfectly well known that a wicked Spanish priest incited the bands of Jean Francois and led them astray. What! we know it was Spaniards who massacred the French and we have not courage enough to avenge the death of our brothers?"

Toussaint L'Ouverture had taken a resolution and he was not the man to disappoint himself. He sent a last warning to Don Garcia on Dec. 20th, in which we find this remark: "In consequence of which I notify you in advance, I have charged General Moyse, commander-in-chief of the northern division with this important expedition. Be persuaded that if I insist on the reparation that I ask of your Excellence, it is simply that I have a disposition to make the name of France respected and to continue the friendly relations which exist between France and Spain."

The choice which had made Moyse general-in-chief of the expedition was significant. Two divisions crossed the Spanish frontier without delay and commenced to operate at different points, in order to divide the forces of the enemy.

L'Ouverture, after having assisted at the public celebration given in his honor at Cape Hayti, rejoined his troops, January 4th, at Saint Jean de la Maguana. He addressed Don Garcia from this place, and among other things said, in his letter, that he had placed himself at the head of his army in order to prevent the effusion of blood. He received an evasive answer from Don Garcia, who was encouraged and sustained by officers belonging at one time to the colonial army of France. L'Ouverture, continuing his march, pitched his tents on the border of the Azua, from which place he dispatched two deputies to confer with the first municipal magistrate of Santo Domingo, to assure him and the people of the capital that General Toussaint L'Ouverture was actuated by good intentions and quite willing to consider favorably any proposition

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they might submit. The only response made by Don Garcia was that belched forth from the mouth of the alarm gun and seen in stern preparation for resistance.

The enemy making a forced march soon found themselves in line along the left bank of the Nisao. Toussaint was already occupying the right. Both sides opened fire all along the line, but after the first charge the Spanish took flight and continued to retreat until they reached Porto Cabello. Toussaint's soldiers brought before him six prisoners who had fallen into their hands on the day of battle, Jan. 14th. The general-in-chief disposed of them, giving them protection, and repeated that it was not his intention to harm the inhabitants in any way. This was not the only generous act by which he honored himself and his army on this occasion. Commander Pierre, who had been ordered by L'Ouverture to guard the harbor of Santo Domingo, captured a *felouque*, but the conqueror was ordered to return the vessel to the owner, inasmuch as France was not then in war with Spain.

Don Garcia, judging finally that all resistance was useless, informed L'Ouverture, on January 15th, that he was disposed to surrender the Spanish part of the island and agree with him on the terms of rendition, and execute the treaty of Bale.

On January 26th, General L'Ouverture entered Santo Domingo city amidst the ringing of bells and sound of trumpets. The moderation with which he conducted himself during the review gave him a place in the hearts of the people at once. He would not allow Don Garcia to remove $320,000, as he desired, knowing that the French Republic was greatly in need; and for the same reason, L'Ouverture took possession of all the arms and munitions of war, as well as all other effects, clothing, accoutrements, vases and ornaments of the churches—and indeed the archives—all valuable things, which he said may become the booty of the English, who never cease to skim the sea in these latitudes.

Toussaint L'Ouverture learned the day he entered Santo

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Domingo city that more than 3,000 blacks had been carried off on his approach, and confined in other sections of the Spanish territory. He gave the president to understand that his firm resolution was to bring all such abuses to an end. "I entreat you, Mr. President," he wrote, "to give precise orders, and at once, to the end that this commerce in human beings may not be continued longer. I am creditably informed that at this moment there is anchored in the harbor, on the point of departure, a three-mast vessel, on board of which there is a large number of blacks. They were forcibly embarked and cannot possibly be of any profit to those who have sought to deprive them of their liberty, but may become the booty of the English. They will then be lost to France, for in the commerce which is conducted between the nations on the high sea, slaves are not included. Also, it is forbidden in the French part of the island, to embark with or for one's self, domestics or cultivators, to the end that we may conserve for the cultivation of the soil those who are best fitted for the work."

Don Garcia, relieved by a legal process, left Santo Domingo on February 22nd, after a residence of twenty-five years. Toussaint L'Ouverture remembered on this occasion the time when he was General Biasson's lieutenant, and recalled the events in which he saw plainly that he owed his life to this brave man. He visited Biasson's widow, to whom he had already granted a pension for life, and left her a new proof of his munificence. He invited her to pass the remainder of her days under his own roof, where she would be free from responsibility and inquietude. Since his elevation to the grade of general-in-chief he had also caused 6,000 francs to be appropriated for the use of the widow of Chavannes, who perished with Oge at the beginning of the insurrection. This widow also received the quantity of provisions which was accorded, under the regulations, to a general of division.

The limits to which we are confined, make it impossible to

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mention in detail all the acts of the administration, the object of which was an organization through which the results of victory might be developed. We will not pause to speak of the rules and regulations made in the interest of agriculture and commerce, the two principal sources of the prosperity of Saint Domingo. The administration of L'Ouverture may be epitomized in few words. It gave security and afforded protection for all; established new communication between the two parts of the island, and repaired those already in existance; opened up the water courses; rendered more commodious several ports; encouraged agriculture and industry; instituted primary schools, and, in a word accomplished all that which is naturally expected of an enlightened and benevolent administration.

In one of his voyages to Santo Domingo, he caused a quantity of money to be coined in the mint of that city, in pieces of different value. On one side was inscribed "Republique Francaise," and on the other an effigy representing the goddess of liberty. This was sufficient to draw damaging and uncalled-for remarks from M. Ardouin, a historian that the students of Hayti will do well not to accept as a guide in all directions.

Toussaint L'Ouverture availed himself of the opportunity to speak to the people, very shortly after the victory. His words reflected correct and exalted views. "It is to the best interest of the inhabitants to discountenance the spirit of indolence throughout the length and breadth of the country, the influence of which is altogether too general. The land only requires labor to yield its treasures and recompense by large returns, those who give themselves up to its cultivation, leaving to poverty and misery however, those who cultivate exclusively, bananas, potatoes, and products almost without value in the colony.* These words so full of wisdom have

*La partie Espagnole beaucoup plus etendue que la portion de occupee par les Francais fut de tout temps tres negligee; aussi l'esclavage y etail il plus tolerable qu ailleurs.

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been fully justified. Agriculture was opposed by another consuming evil—the stupid practice known as voudouism, planted in America with the institution of slavery. Voudoux signifies a supernatural being, intelligent and above all omnipotent, who manifests himself according to the views of the worshipers, under the form of a serpent which is confined by the devotees in a box, or more correctly speaking, in a canary. The mysteries of this religion, like those of Isis, are unknown and unknowable to the profane. M. Moreau de Saint Mery has preserved the first stanza of a Voudoux song, in his work on Saint Domingo.

Eh! eh! Bomba, hen! hen!
Canga bafio te
Canga moune de le
Canga do ki la
Canga li

Toussaint L'Ouverture, an enemy to everything which savored of superstition, seeing in all the heathen rites which the Africans practiced, nothing more than an insult to the true God, a faithful source of indolence, and a return to barbarism, published for the second time a severe ordinance in which he prohibited the practice of the voudoux.

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CHAPTER XXIX.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE CAUSES THE COLONIAL CONSTITUTION TO BE WRITTEN OUT.

L'Ouverture did not wait any longer to fulfill the program he had marked out and provide the colony with such laws as in his opinion were adapted to the people, and which would have been otherwise if left to a legislature unacquainted with the temperament and necessities of a young nation and the exceptional conditions peculiar to the latitudes within which is found its geographical limits. He issued a proclamation to the municipal administrations and citizens in which he reminds them of his solicitation for the welfare of his country and the liberty of his brethren. At the same time he invited them to name those in whose hands they were willing to commit the work of framing the constitution,

Said he to them: "My conscience bears me witness that I have done good and prevented evil to the full extent of my power. . . . It now remains for you citizens and magistrates to give the colony assurance of future tranquility, and lay the foundation of her prosperity, by creating and subscribing to such laws as are consonant with our manners, usages and climate, adapted to our industries, and the tendency of which will be to foster them, and attach us more firmly to them and the principles of the French Republic. In consequence of these considerations, it is for you to select men who are wise, honest and intelligent; in whom the ruling passion is love for the French Republic, humanity and liberty; who are capable of entertaining good ideas, and who can conceive and present projects in which is the promise of restoration, which if carried out will bear the colony rapidly forward to a prosperity never before enjoyed. Yes, it is for you to select citizens who cannot be influenced by prejudice; who are equally recommended by their talents, and by their virtues;

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who are endowed with a large experience, but are ready to receive information from their fellow citizens and render the same in such form as may be most likely to conserve the public weal. Men who will remain inaccessible to intrigue and corruption, resolved to empty themselves, at least during the period of their honorable mission, of all petty passions which contract the spirit and degrade the man. The work committed to their hands, although peaceable in its nature, will nevertheless be glorious, and if those whom you may select have the courage to give themselves up entirely to their duty, with that devotion which it demands, they will write their names among the benefactors of Saint Domingo, and from that moment they may count upon the gratitude of their fellow citizens, which they shall have so well merited."

Is not this document a veritable monument of wisdom? One would naturally expect that Toussaint L'Ouverture would have the sympathy of the highest authorities under the circumstances. The rights of suffrage could only be guaranteed by the force of public opinion. The result of the deliberation of the conference, conducted in the spirit of sincerity and loyalty, was a grand project which they hoped afterwards would have obtained the approbation of all, and finally become law by the sanction of the government of the French Republic. Here we see in the colony an application of the principle of universal suffrage, to which there was but little thought given, even in France.

The good intentions of L'Ouverture, his controlling passion for a country he had saved from anarchy and the hands of strangers, naturally solicit our sympathy and demand our admiration. He was proud? Yes; but proud of the good he had under contemplation for his country, his brethren, and for France. Toussaint, reflecting upon what had passed in France, saw nothing but faults and mistakes in the decisions of its representatives. What would be the work of the new legislature, was the question which naturally presented itself

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to his mind. France was still without administration, without law. The vessel of state had, without doubt, a pilot on board, but this pilot had as yet only proved himself on the field of battle. What was to be hoped from him as a legislator for the colony, devoted to all the caprice and speculations of theorists who knew little or nothing of its situation and wants? Such were Toussaint L'Ouverture's reflections after the conquest of Saint Domingo. Factions! Never did such a thought enter his mind. His constitution was indefinitely to receive the sanction of the government of the Republic. He contemplated a "standard legislative work," and desired that it should be the offspring of his own genius. He had the ambition to offer it to the new consular regime as the first fruit of a brighter future. Perhaps he was solicitous for the cause of liberty. Slavery was still existing in Martinique and Burbon. While awaiting public expression on his proposition to chose representatives for the purpose of framing a constitution, he returned to Port au Prince, where he enjoyed the honors heaped upon him in recognition of his last victory. Never before had the capital of the West witnessed a parallel demonstration. L'Abbe Lecun, the apostolic prefect of Saint Domingo, conducted the general-in-chief to a seat which the former governors of the colony used to occupy. The canopy over it was rich silk, on which was written in letters of gold these words: "Dieu nous l' a donne, Dieu nous le conservera."*

The central assembly convoked by the decree of February 5th, 1801, was held at Port au Prince, March 22nd. The enactment of organic laws and the framing of the constitution was the principal work before the convention, which was composed of nine members, representing five departments† previously formed, and the following are their names: Bernard Borgella, mayor of Port au Prince and formerly a barrister in the parlia-

*"God gave him to us; God will keep him for us."

†Known by the name of the West, North, South, d'Eugano and de Savana.

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ment of Bordeaux; Etienne Viart and Julien Raymond, men of color; Juan Mancebo, Francisco Morillas, Collet and Gaston Nogeree, Carlos Roxas, Andres Munos. M. Borgella occupied the chair, and Viart held the pen as secretary.

Toussaint L'Ouverture, in the meantime, turned to his administrative work and submitted new regulations for both commerce and agriculture. He had never studied political economy, but his common sense and enlightened patriotism conducted him in the path which leads to national prosperity. In reality such were the results which followed the adoption of his wise regulations, that Saint Domingo, ruined and demoralized, began to show signs of improvement which marked a departure, as if by enchantment, from the pitiable condition into which she had fallen through revolution. In the midst of a busy life, which required the services of three secretaries, Toussaint L'Ouverture restored the strongholds, examined the arsenals, reconstructed the military magazines, kept his regiments in practice by manifold exercises, excited by competition the zeal of inspectors of agriculture, restored, embellished and where it was demanded, laid out new cities, opened new roads, and repaired those which had been long in use, paid attention to public worship, visited the schools in cities and in the country districts. If education were not compulsory it occupied an important place in the program proposed by his administration. He often distributed prizes among the pupils, encouraging those whom he considered most laborious and worthy. He did not neglect the soldiers' quarters and the hospitals. His officers often became messengers of his beneficence and goodness, for his charities were many and well-directed. All the branches of the administration felt the effects of this wonderful activity. Among other grand qualities, that which stood out in bold relief, was L'Ouverture's acquaintance with men and his ability to properly estimate them.

The first of May, 1801, was the date fixed for the presenta-

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tion of the legislative work. The constitution contained not less than seventy-seven articles.

A French writer, M. J. B. Salgues, notwithstanding he was essentially prejudiced against Toussaint L'Ouverture, as were almost all who wrote under impressions created by the disasters which swept over the colony, has said with reason: "Men not very far removed from slavery, without education and unacquainted with all those philosophical theories of which the whites boast so much, gave to Europe a grand lesson, and to their country laws more religious and solid than all those that the Republic had promulgated up to the present. But these laws, so just and equitable, interfered too much with the prerogatives of the metropolis and the vanity of Napoleon Bonaparte, to receive the sanction of the highest authority."

M. Ardouin, himself actually beguiled by evidence, was obliged to confess that "from a comparative point of view, if the interior regime, established by the constitution in question was considered, and that established by previous regulations in the interest of agriculture, Toussaint L'Ouverture had accomplished in favor of the colony what no one else had ever attempted." "France," adds he, "by an after experience and abundance of regrets has detected the mistakes and proved the error into which the man of genius tumbled, who governed her at the time. If he had better judged the situation, he might have left Toussaint L'Ouverture to govern Saint Domingo, which at the time was more attached to France than ever before."

It was precisely this thought that Napoleon expressed when he was a prisoner confined on the island of St. Helena. "I am to blame," said he in his memoirs, "for an effort against the colony. It was a grave error. I ought to have been satisfied to govern the colony by the hand of Toussaint L'Ouverture."

On July 8th, the constitution was read from Place d'Arms at the Cape. M. Bernard Borgella, as president of the Cen-

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tral Assembly, whose duty it was to prepare the laws, gave from the national platform—the altar of the country—an address to the people of Saint Domingo, in which he undertook to explain the economy of the constitution he was submitting at the time, for the consideration and approval of the people of the whole island, and the imperative necessity of bringing to an end the uncertain condition of things inevitably fatal to the interest of the colony. Speaking of L'Ouverture, he said: "This extraordinary man whose beautiful actions deserve your admiration and recognition, sprang up like the Phœnix from the ashes, and has since devoted himself to the defense of your country, your lives and your property." In this address the First Consul received his share of consideration without measure.

The general-in-chief did not fail to express himself on this occasion. He praised the constitution, which he found in keeping with all that was good in manners and usages of the people of the colony, in harmony with the nature of the climate and the principles of religion.

"You are at liberty," said he to the people, "to adopt it, and the constitution which is placed again in my hands to-day ought to perpetuate your liberty. It reminds all classes of citizens of their duty, and is for each a rule of action, and when the law speaks every citizen ought to hear and obey."

Afterwards, addressing himself to the representatives of the army, he said, "Brave soldiers, observe discipline and subordination; exercise yourselves in the cultivation of the soil; and defend and sustain the constitution against domestic and foreign enemies, who may seek an opportunity to attack it."

Had he at the time a presentment of future contest?

In accepting the constitution and declaring it executory before it had been sanctioned by the authority in France, Toussaint L'Ouverture committed a grave error. His prudence and respect for law, his zeal for the French Republic, together with his better understanding, would seem to have forsaken

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him, at least for the moment. This gave his adversaries a good opportvnity to accuse him of contemplating personal independence and placing himself in open revolt against the mother country.

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CHAPTER XXX.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE SENDS THE CONSTITUTION TO FRANCE. CHARACTER OF M. DE VINCENT. WORK OF CODIFICATION. INSUBORDINATION OF GENERAL MOYSE.

Toussaint L'Ouverture confided to M. de Vincent, who was now making his twelfth voyage to France as colonial delegate, the delicate mission of presenting the new constitution to the First Consul. The choice was not a happy one, nevertheless we believe Toussaint L'Ouverture had very good reasons for committing this important duty into the hands of M. de Vincent. The fact is, M. de Vincent must be mentioned after Roume, when we take into consideration his efforts to defeat the plans of the general-in-chief. He had given his opinion in the council against the war L'Ouverture was conducting in the South, and also his expedition to the East. M. de Vincent declares in a retrospective memorandum, that he had not been able to obtain an ordinance for money from the general-in-chief, the whole sum of which was to be lifted out of the colonial treasury.

"*Quant a l'indemnite dont vous ne cessez de me parler colonel lui repondit Toussaint L'Ouverture vous savez que l'argent est un esprit malin; des qu'on y touche tout s'en va; il faut donc beaucoup precaution pour ouvrir les coffres; cela demande reflexiou.*"

"As for the indemnity, for which you continue to ask, Colonel," said Toussaint L'Ouverture, "you know that money is like an evil spirit, the moment you touch it, it disappears. It is necessary, therefore, to take great precaution in opening the treasury; it requires great consideration."

It is a mistake to think had Toussaint L'Ouverture been better acquainted with M. de Vincent he would not have entrusted to him the important mission of presenting to the First Consul the new constitution as prepared by the Central Assembly. Toussaint knew his man so well that he said to

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M. de Vincent one day in a very pleasant tone of voice: "My dear Colonel, you are the serpent of the terrestrial paradise." In this remark we find an allusion to the habit of M. de Vincent in going everywhere and causing a condition of unrest.

The foregoing will help us to understand the attitude that the emissary of Toussaint L'Ouverture was likely to take before the First Consul, and the destiny in store for the interest which was dear to the general-in-chief.

"La prosperite donne de la hardiesse."* This was true of the governor of Saint Domingo, who was now satisfied to attempt the accomplishment of his purposes without regard to troubles, impediments, and conspiracies which men might create and direct against him. Alas! the beautiful star no longer went before him.

In every great man's life there are two epochs, the period of elevation, in which the hero arrives at the zenith of his glory, and that in which he descends until he finally appears in his original weakness.

We will leave M. de Vincent in the United States, waiting a favorable wind to set sail for Europe, and turn our attention to what was passing at the same time in Europe.

The 34th article of the constitution permitted the governor to absent himself during the creation of organic laws. The Central Assembly by virtue of this disposition entered upon the performance of its duty and occupied the place of authority, on the 13th of July, 1801. The territory of Saint Domingo was divided into six departments, which took the following names: Departments of the South, of the West, of L'Ouverture, of the North, of the Cibao, of the Ozama. Each of these departments was divided into several parishes, including also several military arrondissements (districts).

On or about the 11th of the following August, the organic laws were voted for and put in condition to be promulgated.

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*Prosperity produces boldness.

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Ce Corpus Juris answered as the constitution itself—all the wants growing out of the actual condition of the colony. The laws in Hayti have often changed ;* the code L'Ouverture will remain nevertheless an excellent work, a sure guide, and an inimitable monument to the end.

One may remark that the codification of the French laws dates from 1803, while the new black code was promulgated in 1801. The last mentioned is, therefore, in no way an imitation of the French code, which came into existence two years later. We make this remark in view of the fact that a certain French historian aims to diminish the reputation and destroy the character of Toussaint L'Ouverture, in order to magnify his favorite heroe. It pleases him to write that the black Toussaint "in everything imitated the First Consul." In the quotation there are two grave errors. The first being one in regard to fact, and the second in regard to anachronism. Chateaubriand says, in his *Memoires d'Outre Tombe*, in speaking of L'Ouverture: "The black Napoleon imitated and murdered by the white Napoleon." He was already known as the black Bonaparte of the Antilles. This qualification simply irritated the man, who did not wish a competitor, much less an equal.

Some time had passed since Toussaint L'Ouverture had made important changes in the calendar of the French Republic. The division of the month into periods of ten days, according to the calendar before it was modified, did not harmonize with the agricultural regime under which the people were expected to work, and what was most objectionable, it did not require the people to rest on the seventh day. Roman Catholicism, of which Toussaint L'Ouverture was a zealous devotee, did not sanction these new departures. For this reason, more than any other, he had decided to make the change in the calendar.

At this time there were two men, Moyse† and Dessalines,

*On y a adopte le code Napoleon modifie.

†Moyse was not, as M. B. Ardouin intimates in his "Etudes Historiques,"

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who seemed to influence fatally the destinies of the governor of Saint Domingo, to whom they were both indebted for the grade of general in the colonial army,—and of which they were both proud and jealous. Both had much to regret under the stern and necessary discipline of the general-in-chief. Both bitter enemies of the whites, found too much consideration for them in the regime of Toussaint L'Ouverture. They no longer looked upon him as the benefactor of the colony, but as the future king of Saint Domingo. One day Moyse said to Colonel de Vincent: "He believes himself already king of Saint Domingo. We will see." Through the spirit of malevolence these damaging sentiments were circulated among the cultivators the day after the general-in-chief had solemnly proclaimed general and absolute liberty throughout the colony. At this time all the decisions of the Central Assembly had but one tendency, viz.: to consecrate and conserve universal suffrage. But what avails reason and evidence on the coarse and prejudiced spirit of Moyse? Everything he saw was an additional reason why he should hold himself on the qui vive.

"It is just this that Moyse did not understand," says M. Ardouin. "Charged as he was with an important command, general of division, general inspector of agriculture in the North, no doubt some illusions sprang out of the relation of consanguinity which he sustained to the governor. His youth, his imprudent character, the personal service he had rendered to his uncle—all, however, were used against him. . . . He entertained the idea that he could raise the cultivators with impunity, place himself without difficulty at the head of the excited and the turbulent, throw himself upon persons who were both peaceable and innocent, carry terror and desolation

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the nephew of Toussaint L'Ouverture. L'Ouverture secretly taught him to read and write while they were together on the habitation of Count de Noe. Under these circumstances Moyse formed the habit of calling his protector uncle.

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through the colony, and renew again carnage and massacre with intensified horror."

Moyse was taken by his chief, arms in hand. On the one side, we see the law disregarded; military discipline shamefully violated; blood everywhere; victims palpitating in gore, till the voice of humanity cried out vengeance. On the other side, we see an officer, elevated in rank, a companion in arms, a brave soldier marked all over his body with honorable scars, taken on the battlefield, where he was opposing the authority he ought to have supported. What line of conduct does a sense of duty suggest under the circumstances? Moyse was handed over to a council of war, by which he was tried and condemned to death.

Who will say that Toussaint L'Ouverture was responsible for the awful punishment which finally overtook General Moyse? Was the friendship he entertained for him to eliminate all sentiment of justice and destroy in him the sense of duty?

Speaking in regard to the matter, Toussaint L'Ouverture said: "I have always recommended subordination, discipline and obedience to the military, without which the army could not exist. Such were the sentiments expressed by me to General Moyse during the past ten years, and I have repeated them a thousand times in the presence of his comrades and the generals, and have reiterated them time and time again in my correspondence with him. . . . . Whenever an occasion would present itself, I have sought to explain to him the holy maxims of our religion and to prove to him that man is nothing independent of the power and will of God; that the duties of a Christian were never to be neglected, and that indifference to this instruction would bring him finally where, though a brave man, he might well expect a terrible end. What I have not done to lead General Moyse back to virtue, to equity, to goodness, in order to change his vicious inclina-

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tions and prevent him from falling headlong into perdition, God only knows.

"Instead of hearing the advice of a father and obeying the orders of a chief devoted to the welfare of the colony, he has allowed himself to be guided by his passions and follow his fatal propensities. The result is what you see. He has perished miserably."

The mind naturally reverts to the words, "Ci va voir," in which Moyse referred to Toussaint L'Ouverture, when we see General Moyse perish a victim of prejudice and disobedience.

Every man, whatever may be his color, ought to see in General Moyse nothing but a culprit. We take occasion to say here that although many whites have been killed from time to time by the Haytiens, the assassins, as such, are offensive to them and repugnant to Haytien character. If there are exceptions, the influences which account for them may be traced to civil war, caste, ignorance, inordinate thirst for vengeance and the spirit of retaliation. The people of the colonies, in particular, have their faults and we are frank to confess them. The French and Haytiens of color can never forget that they have the same gallic blood coursing in their veins, and as the sons of common origin, in spite of the colored mother and difference of latitude, are united and must maintain the union formed by nature.

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CHAPTER XXXI.

THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT RECEIVES THE COLONIAL CONSTITUTION FROM SAINT DOMINGO. PREPARATION FOR AND MOTIVES OF AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE COLONY.

All those who had had some experience in approaching the *existing power*, or who had observed the tendencies of it, anticipated that which the readers of the papers transmitted to the French government through M. de Vincent, conceived to be a motive which would produce a terrible crash. There was nothing of the kind. Le Moniteur of October 14th, 1801, announced the new arrivals from the French Antilles in a very pleasant tone. Of M. de Vincent it said: "The citizen de Vincent, chief of brigade, director of the corps of engineers at Saint Domingo, has arrived in Paris. He is the bearer of several letters from Toussaint L'Ouverture and has been officially entrusted with the constitution, which he will present for the approbation *de la* Metropole."

We see this general, Toussaint, regarded by many as being so adventurous, so ambitious, so criminal, receive nothing but kind words—almost eulogiums—from the governmental authority, instead of the blame which it was thought his bold step would direct towards himself.

"Toussaint L'Ouverture, in the absence of communication with the government and not being able to know its purpose and intention, has sometimes committed error, but he has constantly rendered great service. The civil war has finally come to an end; the colony is tranquil, and the French people can never forget that they are indebted, in part at least, to Toussaint L'Ouverture for the conservation of this important and beautiful colony."

Le Moniteur adds, speaking of the constitution: "It will be required to undergo some changes possibly, but they will

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be of little importance, and one may see in advance, will simply be made in the interest of commerce and agriculture."

But while the able administration, under the sole direction of the clever Toussaint L'Ouverture, was producing the very best results for all parties concerned throughout Saint Domingo, why these secret cabals at Paris; why intrigues and discussions by men of state and men anxious for war and desirous of projecting an expedition against a people who were already submissive, and against a man who was far from even entertaining the wish to overstep the line of authority; was only solicitous to have closer relations established—according to his last official letters—and communications with the government at Paris; who had openly declared his purpose to employ all that he had of authority, power and zeal to secure and perpetuate the prosperity of the country he governed? Why did the great chief, Napoleon, make use of explosive language at certain times, which rolled forth like muttering and threatening thunder? A thousand conjectures have been made in respect to this matter. We will pause a moment to consider only the principal reasons assigned.

We are assured by an author who lived at the time, that Bonaparte's intimate friends formed the cabal and were most anxious to put in operation the intrigues which they proposed to direct against Toussaint L'Ouverture; and in order to accomplish their purpose never ceased to call the attention of Napolean, who supported with difficulty even the idea of superiority in any one else, whatever they conceived to be unfavorable to both the character and administration of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the first of the blacks. One of the members of the cabal reported to Napoleon that L'Ouverture, believing himself threatened by war, had said: "Bonaparte is a queer fellow. France is for him, Saint Domingo is for me. I do not invade his territory, why does he come into mine? He has business with a goat, and not with a sheep."

Words so indiscreet never escaped the mouth of Toussaint

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L'Ouverture. The sentiments of the colloquy, gratuitously supplied, might very well be found in his thoughts, but the expression and words here attributed to him are in direct opposition to the prudent reserve which marked his whole life, and which are obvious in his letters and words, and most clearly manifest when the circumstances were critical by which he found himself surrounded. The writers who were the most interested in perpetuating the prejudice of color, explained everything by saying it was the intention of France to re-establish slavery. Did the interest of France require any such barbarous act?

"Inform the people of Saint Domingo," said the First Consul, in a letter written to Toussaint L'Ouverture, October, 18, 1801, "that the solicitude which France has always felt for the well being of the colony, has often been but feebly manifested, on account of unfavorable conditions brought about by continuous war. The factions which came from the continent to agitate and foster dissension, were the product of factions through which was done much to divide and destroy the best interest of the country. But now the peace and strength of the government are a guarantee both of prosperity and liberty. If liberty is to you the greatest good, it can only be enjoyed under French citizenship, and every act contrary to the interest of France will be construed as a crime."

Perhaps it will be remarked that this letter bears date October 18th, while one more recently discovered is dated the 8th of the same month and addressed to the minister of war, instructing him to put everything in order for a transatlantic expedition.

If the conclusions some pretend to draw from the conduct of the First Consul in respect to this matter are logical deductions, it is also logical to conclude that those who took part with a full knowledge of the object of the expedition, and who asked and solicited as a favor, to be allowed to cooperate with the movement, and more particularly those who

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provoked the expedition by the representations which they made before the minister of the colonies, and the First Consul: yes, we may say, it is logical to conclude that all who took part in the expedition under the circumstances, went to Saint Domingo for the purpose of re-establishing slavery—the fetters of which France had broken and Toussaint L'Ouverture annihilated. Who were these men so impatient for the subjugation of their neighbors? Who were these men so anxious to re-establish slavery in Saint Domingo? Were these sentiments entertained only by Rochambeau, Hedouville, Kerverseau, Desfourneaux, and Villaret Joyeuse? Do we not see Rigaud,* Petion, Boyer, A. Chanlatte, Villate, Leville, Birot, Quayer, Larriviere and several others who had deserted Saint Domingo, among those who appeared to be the most anxious to take part in the expedition? Do you say they were ignorant of the purpose entertained by the First Consul? No, it was impossible for them to be ignorant of that which passed in the secret councils of the promoters of the expedition to which they belonged, and in which they took part.

Fouche remarked that the expedition was a speculation on the part of Bonaparte, who saw in the unwholesomeness of the climate an opportunity to get rid of his old soldiers. M. Thiers found no difficulty in refuting this imputation. M. Lepelletier de Saint Remy† positively attributes the expedition to the influence of Josephine, who wished to see the French and English nobles occupy their ancient habitations after the war. If it was true, and we do not doubt it since it is an aphorism that "interest is the measure of action," the widow of M. de Beauharnais did not mingle her voice with those of whom this author speaks. In fact, her habitation

*M. Ardouin says Rigaud addressed a letter to the secretary of the navy, in which he solicited a position in the French Army and an opportunity to offer his homage to the chief of the French government.

†French historian, author of a work the title of which is Saint Domingue. One will hardly confound him with Saint Remy, the historian of Aux Cayes, to whom we have often referred in this work.

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cultivated at the expense of the colonial treasury, under the direct inspection of Toussaint L'Ouverture, had reached the apogee of prosperity and was a large source of revenue to the owner. All of which she would have forfeited in the case of change. Thus falls of its own weight, an insinuation of which, perhaps, Malenfaut* was the father.

We have only to interrogate history to establish the fact that the nobles, too anxious to re-enter Saint Domingo, had no need to address themselves to the First Consul. Toussaint L'Ouverture welcomed all who desired to re-establish themselves upon their sugar estates and coffee plantations. The law against emigrants did not apply to Saint Domingo.

In this respect let not Sonthonax, Hedouville, Roume and de Vincent reproach him. After those mentioned follow the names of the implacable Rigaud, Moyse and Dessalines. What blasphemy have they not heaped upon him ?

Therefore, it follows without saying, that the nobility of France, though they may or may not have been numerous, had no need to invoke the assistance of an expedition which was finally to be the means of alienating the blacks of Hayti from them.

If the reader has not been able to discover, as yet, the real object of the expedition, perhaps a little explanation will render it more obvious and more easily understood. The first promoters of the expedition were the malcontents, and they were of all classes and colors. Of these, however, the most distinguished were the former agents of the Republic, who had abandoned the fine soil of Saint Domingo, and above all, their rich harvests, with bitterness and prejudice in their hearts. Another and second class, but not less impatient and more covetous, we find in the refugees of the South,—that is to say, the faction of which Rigaud was chief. In another and third class, we find the former colonists, rich and poor whites, who

*Author of a work published at Paris, 1814.

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were interested more or less in the titles they held to certain possessions, and to this class we may add the soldiers, who were without occupation and of an adventurous turn of mind—ambitious for promotion and grades. And finally, the First Consul himself, who was very prejudiced against Toussaint L'Ouverture, through the reports of courtiers and the members of his cabinet. Add to this the secret pleasure, the wish to occupy his generals, and the much stronger desire, to elevate to a post of honor, remote from the capital, the husband of a sister too beautiful to remain at the metropolis, and you will find the considerations which actuated the promoters of the expedition against Saint Domingo.

It is not difficult to fix the precise moment when this enterprise was taken into serious consideration for the first time. Bonaparte had it in view after the treaty of Luneville, but it was not until after the peace of Amiens, October 1, 1801, that he came to a definite conclusion with regard to it.

Peace was finally restored on the continent; the United States had regulated her differences with France, and as a result the sea was no longer obstructed by enemies. The moment seemed opportune for the plan agreed upon by the First Consul and his ministers.

On October 8th, General Leclerc was ordered by a special messenger to take command of a transatlantic expedition. This was the first bomb hurled against Saint Domingo, and to prevent the conflagration which might follow, it was thought necessary, if possible, to obtain the favor, rather than provoke the opposition of Toussaint L'Ouverture.

Governor-General L'Ouverture noted with deference the contents of the letter sent to him by the First Consul. To his eyes it was precise in nothing, with the exception of the assurance of an armed force commanded by a captain-general*

*Ce titre, porte concurrement avec celui de President par don Garcia, equivalait a celui de Gouverneur, or il ne pouvait y avoir deux Gouverneurs a Saint Domingue.

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whose purpose it was to supplant him. Why was he accompanied by so many vessels of war? Was it the cause of liberty? Liberty had been solemnly proclaimed. Was it in the interest of slavery? Toussaint pauses to reflect, also to organize to resist.

The letter to which we have referred merits the consideration of the reader for two reasons: First, it has never before been made public; second, it shows the dark and doubtful political methods of the First Consul. The following is the letter:

"General:—Peace has been brought about with England and all the powers of Europe, in such a manner as to give the Republic of France the rank which is only accorded to powers first in strength and glory, and at the same time brings the government where it may occupy itself with the affairs of Saint Domingo.

"We have ordered citizen Leclerc, our brother-in-law, to the colony, in the quality of captain-general, to occupy the position of first magistrate of the colony. He is accompanied by a force quite sufficient to create respect for the sovereignty of the French people. It is now, that we hope you will prove to us and the French nation, the sincerity of the sentiments you have expressed in the different letters you have written from time to time.

"We have entertained for you the very highest esteem, and it pleases us to recognize and make known the importance of the service you have rendered the people of France. If the flag of the Republic floats over Saint Domingo, it is to you and the brave blacks we are indebted. Called by your talents and the force of circumstances to occupy the highest position in the army, you have already brought the civil war to a close; placed a check on persecutions; re-established religion and the public worship of God, to whom we are all indebted.

"The constitution which you have made, in setting forth much that is good contains that which is contrary to the dig-

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nity and sovereignity of the French people, of which the people of Saint Domingo form but a portion. The circumstances in which you found yourself—surrounded on all sides by enemies, and France unable to render you any assistance—justified the articles contained in this constitution, which condition, however, no longer exists. But now that the circumstances are changed for the better, you will be the first to render homage to the sovereignity of the nation, which considers you, by virtue of the service you have rendered and the talents and force of character with which nature has endowed you, among the number of her most illustrious citizens. We have already communicated to your children and their preceptor* the sentiments which animate us. We return them to you. Assist by your counsel, influence and talents, the captain-general.

"What do you desire? The liberty of the blacks? You know that in all countries where we have been, we have accorded it to the people who desired it. After the services you have rendered, and that you are still able to render, with the particular consideration we have for you, you ought not to be uncertain with regard to the distinction, fortune and honor which await you."

We have not said anything through the course of this work, more commendable of the character and conduct of L'Ouverture than the sentiments expressed in the letter of the First Consul. Were these sentiments, so flattering to the illustrious general, sincere? The following will enable us to know just what he thought of them.

Toussaint L'Ouverture had too much perspicuity to allow himself to be captured by beautiful language and vague promises. He understood by the letter but one thing—that the place he occupied in Saint Domingo was to be occupied by another. Uncertainty was now followed by unrest in San

*M. Coisnon, president of the College of La Marche.

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Domingo. Toussaint saw no reason why he should be alarmed for himself, in the condition of things which was growing more and more exciting. The only question was, how would strangers fare under the circumstances, in the hands of men who only knew obedience to his orders.

On December 18th, L'Ouverture issued a proclamation in which he said "that it was necessary to receive the orders and messengers from the metropolis with pious and filial respect." He added: "I am a soldier, I do not fear men; I fear God only. If it is necessary to die, I will die like a brave soldier who has nothing with which to reproach himself." He kept his word. We read in an unpublished correspondence that M. de Vincent had with M. Isaac L'Ouverture, as he assisted in the preliminary arrangements made by the ex-governor of Saint Domingo: "No one has ever been able to reproach Toussaint L'Ouverture, a truly extraordinary man, whom I have always recognized as a sincere friend of France, inasmuch as it was his duty to be; but he loved liberty and the liberty of his race more, and with reason. I think therefore, you will not be able to serve the cause of truth in seeking to prove, if such is your intention, that he did not think of the agency he might employ in defending the country he governed, after he had been credibly informed that a large army had been sent to Saint Domingo, the object of which was unknown but would probably prove a menace to liberty. Do not do him the wrong to believe that from the moment he received information, he did not make every sacrifice and continue to do so in the interest of the sublime cause which he alone had been able to establish."

The entire expedition included thirty thousand men. General Leclerc, chief of the expedition, commanded the land forces. The squadron was under the orders of the rear admirals, Gautheaume, Latouche, Treville, Linois, Villaret Joyeuse and Admiral Gravina. The army upon which General Toussaint L'Ouverture depended to oppose General Leclerc,

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in case of open hostilities, was made up of not more than 15,000 men. The officers of superior rank which belonged to his army, were: Christophe, whose military station was at the North; Dessalines, who was stationed at the South, and General of Brigade Clerveaux, who was to defend Cibao, and General Paul L'Ouverture, at Santo Domingo—the eastern end of the island. His army was distributed to the best advantage, while the general-in-chief remained the directing chief of the war, prudently holding himself and his forces for the moment, on the defensive. On January 29th, 1802, the vessels composing the squadron sailed out of the ports of Brest, Lorient and Rochefort with the understanding that they would reunite at Cape Samana. The ships which carried Rochambeau's division was detained to operate against Fort Liberty—known in other days as Fort Dauphin.

In the North, Hardy with his division, had as an objective point, the Cape; Boudet, Port au Prince. General Kerverseau and his Brigade took passage on a frigate which sailed on January 30th for Saint Domingo. Captain-General Leclerc took passage on a vessel named L'Ocean. On the same day, the rest of the squadron went out to sea. A ship was despatched from the fleet when it was off the eastern coast, near Cape Lagrange, from which point it brought aboard the Admiral's vessel several pilots of Montechrist, who informed General Leclerc that Toussaint L'Ouverture was at Santo Domingo—the Spanish part of the island.

A great deal has been written and published on the *Leclerc Expedition.* We will thus denominate it, inasmuch as no one since the event has wished to assume the responsibility of what turned out to be an imprudent enterprise. Should the reader desire to know all about this expedition and the facts of the war which followed assuming such gigantic proportions we take pleasure in directing him to several works: "Memoires de Boisson Tonnerre," "Memoires de Pamphile de La-

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croix,"—historiographer of this campaign and "Etudes Historiques" de M. Beaubrun Ardouin.

We find it difficult and in fact repugnant to our taste to describe the very sad events in the after experience of the celebrated Black, whose exploits we have recorded. We prefer to leave the task to the son of Toussaint L'Ouverture, for it appertaineth to him more than to any one else, when the hero of Saint Domingo, First of the Blacks, presents himself as a subject, to proclaim the glory of the brave soldier. If the narration requires explanation to be understood, on account of the distance we are removed from the actual occurrence of events, it has no lack of authority which in its nature simply defies the critic, and it is just that we should remark here, before introducing you to the MS. of M. Isaac L'Ouverture, that if the writers of Hayti have undertaken to tarnish the glory of the father, they have never ceased to render homage to the profound erudition and exaltation of soul which appertained to the son of the distinguished general and governor of Saint Domingo.

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CHAPTER XXXII.

MANUSCRIPT OF M. ISAAC L'OUVERTURE. THREE MONTHS WAR.

After France and England had signed the preliminaries of the treaty of Amiens, at the commencement of this century, the fire of war was extinguished in Europe only to be rekindled in an island of the American archipeligo.

At Flessingue, Brest, Lorient, Rochefort and Toulon the French government was making preparation for a formidable expedition against San Domingo. At this time Isaac L'Ouverture was at Paris attending the college de la Marche, of which M. Coisnon was the president. Placide, his half brother, who was known for a long time by the name of L'Ouverture and for this reason was considered by many to be the oldest son of the commander-in-chief, embarked at Brest, on the vessel of Admiral Gautheaum, as aid-de-camp of General Sahuguet, in the firm belief that he was going to Saint Domingo, while in reality the expedition was intended to carry reinforcements to the army in Egypt. He returned shortly, however to Paris, the French squadron having been forced to re-enter the port at Toulon. From this time on, Placide resided with Isaac L'Ouverture, his half-brother, at the college de la Marche. Both Isaac and Placide were not without solicitude as they thought of the extensive preparations being made to send an expedition against their country. But they were for a moment reassured by a step taken on the part of the government. M. Coisnon was ordered before the Secretary of the Navy, who invited him to accompany the sons of Toussaint L'Ouverture to Saint Domingo. M. Coisnon, either from love for his pupils or from other considerations, accompanied them to their beautiful island home. He hastened back to the college, announced the news to his young scholars, and embraced them, saying with tears in his eyes that the French government was actuated only by pacific con-

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siderations. A few days later he received a letter from the Secretary of the Navy from whom he learned that the First Consul desired to see Placide and Isaac L'Ouverture and talk with them before they sailed for Saint Domingo. When they arrived at the home of the Secretary of the Navy, he confirmed that which they had before heard from the lips of their teacher, relative to the affairs of Saint Domingo, in the presence of M. Coisnon, after which they occupied the carriage placed at their service by the Secretary of the Navy and were conducted by him to the Tuileries. General Bonaparte was in his cabinet with General Leclerc, his brother-in-law, awaiting their arrival. The aid-de-camp of service announced and introduced them, the Secretary of the Navy afterwards presented them to Bonaparte, who received them very pleasantly. He asked M. Coisnon which of the two was the son of Toussaint L'Ouverture. "This one," responded M. Coisnon, "whose name is Isaac; the other is the son of Mme. L'Ouverture by her first husband."

"Your father," said Bonaparte, addressing himself to Isaac L'Ouverture, "is a great man. He has rendered eminent service to France. You will say to him that as the first magistrate of the French people, I promise him protection, glory and honor. Do not believe that it is the intention of France to carry war into Saint Domingo. The army sent by France is not destined to combat the troops of the country, but to augment their force. Here is General Leclerc, my brother-in-law, whom I have named captain-general, and who will command this army. Orders have been given that you may be fifteen days in advance at San Domingo, to the end that you may announce the coming of the expedition to your father." Bonaparte asked Isaac some questions in mathematics and was well pleased with the answers he received. The day after this reception, the Secretary of the Navy gave a repast—a gala affair—at which were present General Leclerc, the Vice-Admiral Bougainville, M. Benezech, counselor of state; with the adjutant commander Davoust; his son-in-law, M. de Vin-

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cent, General of Brigade; and several other superior officers. Before the departure of Placide and Isaac L'Ouverture, the Secretary of the Navy presented each of them a beautiful armor which had been manufactured at Versailles and a rich and brilliant officer's costume, in the name of the government of France. When they arrived at Brest, they no longer believed all they had heard at Paris. The frigate, the Sirene, aboard of which they were, put out to sea with only that portion of the navy commanded by Admiral Villaret Joyeuse.* After thirty days navigation, the admiral invited M. Coisnon and the sons of L'Ouverture, in a letter that he wrote them, to pass with their effects on board of another vessel called Jean Jacques. The frigate, la Sirene was to carry the orders of the French government to Gaudaloupe. The portion of the navy which sailed out of Brest, arrived in the Bay of Samana which had been fixed upon as the place of rendezvous, where it united with the divisions of Lorient and Rochefort. The first was under the orders of Rear-Admiral Delmothe; the second under Rear-Admiral Latouche Treville; and the Spanish division was commanded by Admiral Gravina, who sailed out of the harbor of Brest the same day as did Admiral Villaret, but reached Samona Bay before him, although he found it necessary to run into a Spanish port to repair his vessels. A resident ship being approached off the eastern coast of San Domingo, by orders of Admiral Villaret in order to obtain information, several pilots were conducted aboard the vessel Ocean, from whom General Leclerc learned that Toussaint L'Ouverture was at Saint Domingo, the Spanish part of the island. A council was held on board the admiral's ship in the deliberations of which the generals of the army and navy took part. At its close the force was distributed as follows: The Rear-Admiral Latouche with the division Boudet, the Chief-of-Division Magon with the division Rocham-

*The fleet went to sea Jan. 29th, 1802, from which time it experienced stormy weather by which the vessels were dispersed and retarded.

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beau. The captain of the vessel, with the brigade Kerverseau, were ordered in the following directions: The first to Port au Prince, the second to Fort Dauphin, and the third to Santo Domingo. This disposition of the force seemed to indicate nothing but hostilities. Isaac and Placide L'Ouverture together with M. Coisnon, made certain representations to General Leclerc by writing about the situation as it appeared to them, but he gave no attention whatever to what they thought and wrote. The largest portion of the force was aboard the vessel Jean Jacques, which presented itself before the Cape. General Leclerc sent a summons to General Christophe in which he ordered him to surrender the city into his hands. To whom Christophe replied that in the first place it was necessary for him to receive an order from his chief,* to whom he had sent several dispatches, not knowing at the moment where General Toussaint L'Ouverture might be. The next day General Leclerc sent the same summons and received from General Christophe the same answer. Three days passed in this way. On the fourth, all preparations having been made to disembark, the force was landed in the environs of Limbe. While Leclerc was actively engaged at the Cape, the news came of the taking of Fort Dauphin, which was defended by the 1st battalion of a regiment of Saint Domingo. Admiral Villaret ordered the vessel called the Patriot to bombard Fort Betty, in order to make it possible for Rear-Admiral Delmothe to force a passage to the Cape, which city Christophe burned.†

The illumination was seen by Toussaint L'Ouverture about the same time it was observed by the French fleet. When General L'Ouverture arrived on the heights of Grand Boucan he was sorry he had not perished on the plains of the Artibo-

*Toussaint L'Ouverture being interrogated with regard to this matter while a prisoner at Fort de Joux, answered, "Chrisiophe simply obeyed an ancient ordinance of the civil commission which forbade even officers of high rank to allow any considerable force to enter the ports."

†Bignon says in his Histoire de France that Christophe is the Rostopchin of Saint Domingo. Rostopchin set fire to Moscow in 1802.

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nite when he fought for France and his country, such was the sadness of his heart. He had the sympathy of the multitude, the old and the young, men, women and children who were seen by hundreds in the roads, and crossing the mountains. The situation was such as was calculated to embarass him.* The Cape and Fort Dauphin had received the treatment that only an enemy deserved. He ordered General Christophe whom he met and talked with on the Cape heights, to take his position at the Grande Riviere, while he himself, followed by Marc Coupe, his aid-de-camp, Morisset, chief of the horse squadron, and six cavalrymen occupied the plain of the North with their forces. There they found themselves face to face with the advance guard of General Leclerc's forces. They opened a heavy fire, through which L'Ouverture passed, his clothes being riddled with bullets, and his horse badly wounded. He arrived at Mornets and remained there two days. During this short delay, he received a letter from General Rochambeau, in which he expressed great sorrow for what had occurred at Fort Dauphin. "I did not believe," said he, "that my soldiers after arriving here, would steep their bayonets in the blood of their friends and brothers."

Toussaint L'Ouverture left Mornets for Gonaives, passing by Ennery, where his wife and part of his family resided. Leclerc went right to the Cape, which place had already been taken possession of by Humbert's brigade, the soldiers of which were disembarking. All the fleet was *en rade* with the exception of the frigate, on board of which were Generals Villate, Rigaud, Leville; the Adjutant-Generals Petion, Bellay; Colonel Dupont; Chiefs of Battalion Ledue and Quayer Lar-

*From this time Toussaint L'Ouverture devoted himself to the work of organization in order to resist and destroy the French army, which he could not hope to conquer by force of arms. He carried death and destruction into the ranks of the French—death by sword, by fire, by famine, by explosions, and furious attacks from ambuscades; death everywhere and in everything, rapid, frightful, virulent. The French soldiers did not recoil at their terrible fate, and the negro troops did not flinch from death.

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riviere, etc., etc.—who were natives of Saint Domingo. They were not certain after entering the harbor what their orders would be—to land at the Cape, or to transport themselves to Madagascar.*

The bulk of the army which was commanded by Leclerc was occupying the environs of the Cape. The advanced posts extended as far as Mornets, the district of which bordered on the plains of the North. All the country situated between the Cape and Limbe was now in possession of Leclerc's army, but he had not as yet, information concerning the troops operating in the West, South and the Eastern parts of the island. He was ignorant of what was passing in these remote sections, and what is more, he had to do with a man who was not afraid to face danger, and who was able to maintain his position by force of activity and courage.

General Leclerc seemed for the moment more than willing to return the sword to the scabbard, which he had drawn without cause. He sent two officers of his staff on board of the Jean Jacques the 7th of February, to seek Placide and Isaac L'Ouverture and their preceptor. As soon as he saw them he began to speak of present misfortunes, reconciliation, and the letters of Bonaparte which he had brought to Toussaint L'Ouverture. "I hope," he added, "to have an understanding with your father, who is absent at present. It is necessary that you carry the letters of the First Consul that he may know my intentions, and the high opinion I have of him."†

*From the pen of M. Ardouin we also learn that Petion said to his companions before arriving at Saint Domingo: "If Governor Toussaint L'Ouverture makes no resistance, we will go to Madagascar." The same writer speaking of Laplume, about the time when he had received an order to burn Aux Cayes, says: "President Boyer declared to me on one occasion when Laplume entrusted him with a mission to Toussaint L'Ouverture, that the general-in-chief retained him to dinner, and that he was struck with the magnificence of the palace, the grandeur of the service, the dignity and nobility of manner which characterized L'Ouverture, and for which he was justly distinguished.

†Leclerc seemed to regret at this time, notwithstanding the success of the

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Desiring above all things to see their parents and fulfill the mission on which they had been sent, Placide and Isaac L'Ouverture started on their journey at eleven o'clock in the evening, in spite of the rain, which fell in torrents, accompanied by M. Coisnon. It was not long before they arrived at the advance post, commanded by General Desfourneaux, who offered them supper. Adjutant-Commander Dampierre, who was the chief of staff and who knew them, gave them the most respectful consideration. Here, Placide, Isaac and their preceptor passed the night *au bivouac*, exposed to the elements. At the break of day they were mounted and on their way to Mornets. There had been a change in the atmosphere and the sky was clear. As they journeyed they did not cease admiring the variety of productions which covered mountains and plains. All was richness and prosperty, and this view contrasted widely with that of destruction and devastation which they had left behind them. They met many of the inhabitants on the road, but not a single soldier. As soon as they were recognized the news spread and they were surrounded, pressed, embraced and questioned. Placide and Isaac disclosed the object of their mission. They were welcomed; everyone was glad to see the children of Toussaint L'Ouverture,* and indignant at General Leclerc, whose proclamation of peace was fired from the mouth of the cannon.

Along the whole route, until they reached Ennery, the same eagerness characterized the people, by whom they were received with expressions of sincere joy. At Ennery they were awaited with impatience by their mother and relatives, to whom they had written duly announcing their coming. It was about nine o'clock in the evening, two days after their

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French arms, the quantity of blood which had been unnecessarily shed, for he noticed that General Boudet had not met with any resistance in the West and South.

*"Li yo ce vie papa a nous," said the blacks with pride, in speaking of L'Ouverture.

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departure from the Cape, that they reached the gate of their own sweet home, where they were met by their mother and their father's two nieces, Mme. Vernet and her sister, who came to receive them with lighted torches. Placide and Isaac were accompanied by their uncles, who had joined them on the road. Under the paternal roof they were surrounded by an immense crowd, assembled in honor of their presence.

It is more easy to conceive than relate how the whole family was affected by this reunion. Mother, children and instructor —for whom all entertained sentiments of gratitude—were constantly manifesting their tenderness and love for each other. All the family seemed to forget for a moment, by reason of this unexpected reunion, the unfortunate condition of the country, and gave themselves up to the emotions and joy created by the happy meeting.

At eleven o'clock in the evening of the following day, the sound of a trumpet, the clanking of horses' hoofs, and the rolling of carriage wheels announced the arrival of Toussaint L'Ouverture, whose coming was so intensely desired and who had been awaited with so much impatience. Placide and Isaac fell upon the neck of their fatheir and for a long time he held them tightly in his embrace, while parental affection manifested itself in the tears which rolled down his cheeks.

M. Coisnon, who was at this moment in his apartments, was informed, brought forward and introduced. Toussaint L'Ouverture embraced and thanked him very kindly for the care he had taken of his children, and added that he knew it was good will on his part to accompany them home; he regretted that it was in the midst of a war, the cause of which was unknown to him and all of which was quite a surprise to him. M. Coisnon, who had been seated during this conversation, arose and presented to him the letter of Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul of France, to which was attached the state seal by means of a silk cord, and both were enclosed in a box of vermilion.

Toussaint L'Ouverture took the letter and looked it over

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rapidly, after which his children and M. Coisnon spoke to him of the welcome they received at the hands of the First Consul and the magnificent promises which he made them in speaking of their father. Also, of the assurances he gave that the army commanded by General Leclerc was not sent to Saint Domingo to create hostilities, and that his brother-in-law, General Leclerc, desired to cultivate friendly relations with General Toussaint L'Ouverture.

"You, M. Coisnon," replied General L'Ouverture, "you, in whom I see the instructor of my children and the envoy of France, must acknowledge that the words of the First Consul's letter and the conduct of General Leclerc, are diametrically opposed to each other. The former announces peace and the latter makes war.*

"General Leclerc, in falling upon San Domingo like a thunderbolt, has made it very clear that his mission was to take Fort Dauphin, land soldiers on the borders of Limbe, and set fire to the capital, for which there was no necessity. I have just been informed that General Maurepas was attacked by a division of French soldiers which he repelled, and that the commander at St. Marc has forced two French vessels to seek sea room, which have been bombarding that city. In the midst of so much distress, destruction and violence I do not forget that I carry a sword. But for what reason have they declared a war so impolitic and unjust against me? Is it because I have delivered my country from the scourge of a foreign war, worked with all my power for its prosperity and glory, and established order and justice everywhere? Since what I have done in this direction is regarded as a crime, why, under the circumstances, send my children to me to participate in the crime? If what yon say to me is true—if General Leclerc actually desires peace—let him stop the march of his troops.

*M. Pamphile de Lacroix II., p. 103: "The government gave to General Leclerc, in detail, the orders by which he was to be governed in embarking."

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In so doing, he will preserve Saint Domingo from a total subversion and calm the inhabitants, already excited by his system of aggression and invasion. I wish M. Coisnon to write General Leclerc a letter and express these sentiments to him, which letter, you, my sons, and M. Granville, the teacher of my youngest son, will be charged to give him."

It was thus Toussaint L'Ouverture expressed himsef, in the presence of his wife, two nieces, his brother-in-law,* and a number of superior officers, who were present and witnessed the hearty welcome extended to M. Coisnon. The next morning after having had an hour's conversation with his children and their teacher, he returned to Gonaives. Adjutant-General Fountaine accompanied by M. Granville carried the letter written by Toussaint L'Ouverture to General Leclerc, who was informed of the evacuation of Port au Prince,† and possessed by the spirit of presumption—in view of the reinforcements which had just arrived from Toulon, commanded by the Rear-Admiral Gautheaume—gave no consideration whatever to the contents of the letter written and sent him by Toussaint L'Ouverture.

General Leclerc gave General L'Ouverture two days in which to make an unconditional surrender‡ and said in a let-

*In this reunion there was none more distinguished and more interested in what was going on than Pierre Baptiste, the god-father of Toussaint L'Ouverture, who was at the time one hundred and five years old. Having been compelled to escape from Haut du Cap, he retired to Ennery, on a habitation which belogned to Toussaint L'Ouverture, whom he continued to serve by his counsel and experience.

†General Boudet after a feeble resistance, found himself in possession of this place. He treated the conquered with great consideration. Dessalines, on the other hand seemed to find in this defeat, a new motive for massacres, which only the presence of Toussaint L'Ouverture seemed to have the power to arrest. A historian says: "In Dessaline's methods there were no changes. He would fly, disappear, return, slaughter and burn everything."

‡General Leclerc did not know his man. Toussaint L'Ouverture was not to be turned aside from his purpose by menacing.

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ter, which he dictated to his secretary in the presence of L'Ouverture's envoys, that by virtue of his orders, the Mole would be blockaded and Port de Paix attacked, and that General Boudet would continue his march to the banks of the Artibonite. Placide and Isaac L'Ouverture who were members of the deputation entrusted to deliver General L'Ouverture's commission, returned the same night to Gonaives, bringing General Leclerc's letter with them. MM. Coisnon and Granville, who were also members of the deputation were not able to return. Toussaint L'Ouverture read General Leclerc's letter without surprise, though it was a strange reply to what he had written. The fact is, the more L'Ouverture's resources were limited and his circumstances menaced, the more his genius and courage displayed themselves. At this terrible moment he wished that the officers and soldiers of his guard—a battalion of grenadiers and two squadrons of horse dragoons—knew the contents of General Leclerc's letter. The day soon arrived however, when he reviewed his soldiers, the grenadiers and dragoons, at which time he said to them that the demands of General Leclerc made it necessary for him to defend himself. "General," they replied," we will die with you."

This review was no sooner over than there arrived in rapid succession at Gonaives, two couriers bringing the reports of Generals Clerveaux and Paul L'Ouverture to General L'Ouverture. Paul L'Ouverture, the last mentioned, commanded Saint Yago, and the first, Santo Domingo. These generals, through their communications, informed their general-in-chief that a French fleet had appeared off the east coast of Santo Domingo, and that the officers had threatened to disembark their soldiers if they did not at once surrender to the French the cities of Saint Yago and Santo Domingo with their dependencies.

General Toussaint L'Ouverture in answer to the information he had just received from the couriers from the two eastern

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cities, ordered Generals Clerveaux and Paul L'Ouverture to withdraw with their armies from the sections then occupied. In doing so, to avoid if possible, coming to action, to reunite their forces in the country around Saint Raphael, and he further ordered Clerveaux to take command of the united army. These dispatches were intercepted and did not reach the point of destination.

The people of Gonaives, informed of General Leclerc's conclusions, started a movement among themselves, the object of which was to bring him to his senses and restrain his impetuosity. Touissaint L'Ouverture granted them permission to send a deputation to the Cape. This commission was no more successful than the one which interviewed General Leclerc on a previous occasion. In answer to the solicitations of the delegation from Gonaives, Leclerc said that as the brother-in-law of the First Consul, he depended upon his bayonets, and that he would not pull off his boots until he had taken Toussaint L'Ouverture. Impatient to cover himself with the glory of a great conquest, in the persuasion that he was certain to achieve victory, he addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of Saint Domingo, informing them of his intention to commence hostilities, as if he had not already commenced marching several columns of his soldiers on Gonaives.

Let us now see how many soldiers were at Gonaives, which we may consider as the headquarters of the colonial army. Let us see what was the effective force Toussaint L'Ouverture had at his command: a battalion of grenadiers and two squadrons of horse dragoons, which composed his guard; a battalion of the 7th regiment and the battalion of Gonaives. General Vernet commanded these, subject to L'Ouverture, and Adjutant-General Fontaine exercised the functions of general-in-chief of the staff, in the absence of Age, who remained at Port au Prince. At Saint Marc and in its environs there were two battalions of the 4th regiment, a battalion of the 3rd and

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one of the 8th, under the command of General Dessalines. In the mountains of l' Arcahaye there was a battalion of the 7th regiment, having General Charles Belair* at its head. On the banks of the Grande Riviere, where General Christophe was in command, there was a battalion of the 1st regiment, the 2nd regiment and two battalions of the 5th regiment. In the mountains of Limbe, there was a battalion of the 1st regiment, commanded by Colonel Rene. General Toussaint L'Ouverture, who had been cut off from communication with Generals Clerveaux, Paul L'Ouverture and Maurepas, who had informed him of the defeat of Generals Debelle and Hubert, had three battalions and two squadrons as the sum total of his resources. These, with his courage and firm resolution, were all he had to depend upon in disputing the entrance into Gonaives of General Leclerc, who was marching upon the city with twenty-five thousand men. Informed that General Christophe had been forced from the Grande Riviere by the division Rochambeau had ralied, L'Ouverture ordered this general to occupy the adjacent rock works,† in order to cover the right of the position which he had taken before Gonaives and along the roads of Ennery and Plaisance. To General Dessalines he gave the order to observe the division Rochambeau, which was operating from the Saint Michael side, and which was able—being a little distance from the junction of the roads leading to Gonaives and the Artibonite—to bring its strength on one or the other of these sections.

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*This officer remained devoted to Toussaint L'Ouverture, and after the general-in-chief was captured and embarked, he continued to fight for his cause and the cause of liberty. He was eventually shot by the order of General Dessalines.

†At this critical moment Toussaint L'Ouverture thought to place the treasury of the colony in safety. He buried a part of it, but a large sum fell into the hands of General Leclerc. Christophe unexpectedly came into possession of a large sum. The existence of the treasures buried by Toussaint L'Ouverture is known and certain. There are documents which indicate the very place where these riches are concealed.

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In the early part of the night it was known at headquarters that while Toussaint L'Ouverture was visiting the posts which he had formed at the ferry of Ester, General Leclerc arrived at Ennery, and General Rochambeau had almost reached Lacroix, situated between Ester and Gonaives, threatening to intercept the road which connected Gonaives, the Artibonite and Saint Marc.

General Rochambeau hoped to accomplish great things by his movement in this direction. He was able, in his opinion, not only to render himself master of the person of Mme. L'Ouverture, her sister and nieces, who had arrived during the day at Lacroix, but to cut the communication between Gonaives, General Dessalines and Charles Belair.

Dessalines was at Saint Marc and Charles Belair in the mountains of l' Arcahaye.*

Lacroix was now the point at which centered the greatest interest to all parties concerned.

It was necessary that Toussaint L'Ouverture, on returning to headquarters, anticipate General Rochambeau, and march to the field at once with his army, if he did not wish to be attacked in the morning by the whole of General Leclerc's army, which was formed in a half circle, the side of which faced the ships of war and was the diameter of the half circle. The general-in-chief, Toussaint L'Ouverture, left General Vernet in command of the troops at Gonaives, which consisted of two battalions of infantry, a squadron of dragoons and a few hundred militia; and at the head of a squadron and battalion of grenadiers, he arrived at his habitation Lacroix. Not finding his wife and family on the habitation, he inquired of the people there where they were, and at what distance General Rochambeau was. They were not able to give him any information, except the news of the enemy's approach under command of General Rochambeau and the withdrawal into

*The parish situated in a quarter of Port au Prince. It was the ancient Cahaya of the Indian kingdom of Aaragua.

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the woods of his wife, her sister, two nieces and the lieutenant and five dragoons, who were with them. Toussaint L'Ouverture, having advanced some distance, judged that it was prudent for him to halt and remain during the night on the border of a little stream at the entrance of the defile where General Rochambeau was to pass.

Accompanied by his aides-de-camp and two persons who belonged on the habitation, he commenced reconnoitering, in order to find out the force and situation occupied by the enemy, in the silence of the night. He gained little or no information, and one of his guides, being much of an adventurer, went too far and was captured by a post belonging to the enemy.* He was slaughtered at once, not having time to even give the alarm. This gave Toussaint L'Ouverture an idea of what was passing and what to expect. He rejoined his troops and at daybreak his advance guard, in crossing the stream, encountered that of General Rochambeau, which was also on the march, and an action was at once inaugurated.

Some of Toussaint L'Ouverture's grenadiers wavered a little before the impetuous French. A young officer encouraged them by these words, "Quoi! vous abandonnez votre General!" This officer, followed by a platoon of grenadiers, took possession of an elevation which commanded the right flank of Rochambeau's division, which was harrassed by a terrific and constant fire from the grenadiers.

An officer of the dragoons announced to Toussaint L'Ouverture, who was in the thickest of the fight, at this moment, that his wife and family were not far from the scene of action, being separated from it by the nearest mountain. "Let them retrace their steps on the Ester road," said L'Ouverture. "It is necessary that I remain here and do my duty."

In order to prevent the troops of General Rochambeau, estimated at five thousand men, from forcing a passage through

*He had learned in his youth, after the manner of the Caribees, to detect the sound of human foot-steps.

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the defile and displaying themselves in the plains, where the squadron of dragoons were in battle array, General L'Ouverture engaged two companies of grenadiers, who occupied the wood on their left flank, in sharp shooting. From four o'clock in the morning until eleven o'clock, both sides fought valiantly, now losing and then gaining the vantage ground, without decisive success; but from the moment that General L'Ouverture, followed by Colonel Magny, placed himself at the head of his grenadiers, General Rochambeau was driven back to the river, where the battle was pitched in the early morning.

After this last effort in the day's fight, Toussaint L'Ouverture ceased to pursue Rochambeau; returned and took a position in what was known as the breach of this same river, leaving to General Vernet,* who had maintained himself against the brunt of Leclerc's army, which Mme. L'Ouverture had encountered in taking the road to Gonaives, in time to effect his retreat to Ester, where they made their junction.

Toussaint L'Ouverture lost very few men in the battle at Lacroix, but the loss sustained by Rochambeau, on the other hand, was very considerable.

Having caused the manœuvre of General Leclerc to miscarry, by his intrepidity and that of his grenadiers, which manœuvre, if it had been successfully carried out, would have terminated the war, Toussaint L'Ouverture, the conqueror of Rochambeau, pitched his camp on the border of Ester, his policy at the time being to fatigue the enemy and gain time.† Surrounded by his soldiers and family he passed part of the night resting upon a plank covered with a mantle. He occu-

*After the manner of Christophe, he set fire to and burned Gonaives, as the troops of the French were approaching it.

†The rainy season is the source of pestilence in Saint Domingo, and Toussaint L'Ouverture knew what disastrous results it would produce among the Europeans. The climate itself in this respect was equal to an army.

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pied much of the time in sending orders, written by his own hand, and in examining his posts.

The next day he sent his family to Grand Cahos Mountain in the section of the Artibonite. He ordered General Vernet to evacuate the posts at Ester, and conduct three battalions of infintry, comprised of the grenadiers, his guards and a squadron to the borough of Petite Reviere of Artibonite. General Toussaint L,Ouverture himself, at the head of a squadron of dragoons, reconnoitered until he reached the environs of Lacroix. Then he forded the Ester an eighth of a league above the position occupied by General Vernet and establish his headquarters on the habitation Curiote, situated in the plain of Artibonite. At this place Toussaint L'Ouverture was attacked with a very severe fever. He had at his side General Dessalines, who had just evacuated Saint Marc.* The aid-de-camp of the service announced General Christophe, Adjutant-General Baradat, and Colonel Jasmin. General Christophe, notwithstanding a terrific charge, was able to prevent Hardy's division from gaining the hights of the rocks, Bayonnet. Toussaint L'Ouverture ordered this general to repair to the burg of Petite Reviere, ofArtibonite, and wait as he might have a new destination for him.

L'Ouverture, sick as he was, visited part of his line, Mirebalais, which embraced the mountains of Artibonite, called the Grand and Petite Cahos, also the fort of Crete a Pierrot, situated on the right bank of the Artibonite, and which commanded the borough of Petite Riviere. This fort was already abandoned. Dessalines was about to demolish it when the general-in-chief arrived and prevented the destruction.†

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*Not without burning the city. P. de Lacroix says after he withdrew to Petite Riviere he massacred two hundred whites including women and children, and a number of men of color.

†This formidable position had been constructed by Toussaint L'Ouverture at an immense cost. It was called Fort L'Ouverture, but Dessalines respected nothing in his rage. He was every bit a savage.

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RAVINE OF THE SOUTH.

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After having provided for his defence in the section of Artibonite, where he was, and having ordered General Charles Belair to occupy the mountains of Verrette, General L'Ouverture formed and carried to successful issue, a project full of danger. He attacked General Leclerc's forces in the rear in order to operate a diversion in favor of his line along the Artibonite, reanimate the courage of the people of the North, and open up communication with General Maurepas, of whose movements he was ignorant. Before he carried this project into effect he said to Generals Dessalines and Vernet, Colonel Magny, the chiefs of battalion Lamartiniere and Larose, and the chiefs of squadron Morisset and Monpoint assembled around him, that he confided the defense of Crete a Pierrot and the lines of work of which this fort was the advance post to their valor. They said: "General, you may take your departure without solicitude. Dead or alive, we will be worthy of your confidence and esteem." Morisset, the chief of squadron, added: "The only regret that your old companion in arms has is, that you are going to expose yourself to great danger without him." Toussaint L'Ouverture left a battalion of grenadiers and two squadron of his guards at Petite Riviere, and, at the head of a company of dragoons and seven companies of infantry, five of which were grenadiers commanded by Colonel Gabart, he passed the defiles and scaled the mountains which separated Artibonite from the canton of Saint Michael. General Leclerc who was moving with his army at the time, to attack Crete a Pierrot and the line of the Artibonite, detached General Hardy and ordered him to pursue Toussaint L'Ouverture, but the undertaking was without results. He did not so much as overtake him.

Toussaint L'Ouverture appeared at Ennery, and the French garrison which Leclerc left there, fled on his approach. Toussaint L'Ouverture could have taken this place without any difficulty, if it had been his intention to do so. He satisfied himself with giving the garrison a fright, the soldiers of which

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were all ready to embark. Having successfully carried out his project, General Toussaint L'Ouverture returned to Ennery, where he organized battalions of militia which were employed for the defence of the place. After the organization of these battalions he repaired to Marmelade, from which place he sent an order to General Christophe who was at Petite Reviere of Artibonite, to return at once to the North a considerable quantity of arms, munitions and artillery which had been stored away without the knowledge of the French, in the woods of the Grand Reviere; rejoin the three battalions of the 2nd and 5th regiments commanded by Roanais, and place himself in communication with the militia of Grand Boucan, Valliere, Saint Suzanne, San Soucy and Port Francais. During the short sojourn that he made at Marmelade, Toussaint L'Ouverture learned that the division of Rochambeau had forced the principal passage to Grand Cahos, occupied by General Dessalines, who withdrew into the environs of Calvaire and Plat Sac, very near Crete a Pierrot; and that several divisions of the army of Leclerc having attacked Fort Crete a Pierrot, had been driven back and pursued in their retreat. He knew also that Colonel Rene and the chief-of-battalion, Sylla, both of whom were assisted by armies of volunteers, maintained themselves—the first, in the mountains of Limbe; the second, in the mountains of Plaisance. Toussaint L'Ouverture made considerable delay, hoping to learn something of the movements of General Maurepas. Still indulging this hope, he set out for Plaisance, from which place he went to reconnoiter in the direction of a fort which was situated on an elevation in the habitation Bidourete. A few hours later, two companies of grenadiers, having Toussaint L'Ouverture at their head, accompanied by Colonel Gabart, made themselves masters of the situation. Adjutant-General Fontaine came to their assistance with two companies. Reinforcements sent with great haste from Plaisance to assist the garrison, at the forts, were repelled.

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The next day Toussaint L'Ouverture divided his troops into two bodies, and taking command of the right, marched to meet General Desfourneaux* who was coming to attack him.

L'Ouverture sustained the impetuosity of the French which opposed and outnumbered his army, and indeed he put them to flight. While the battle was in progress he sent an aid-de-camp to find out what was passing on the left, who returned and reported to the general-in-chief that he had not seen the troops which had been directed from that side and were possibly misled, but that he had seen those of General Desfourneaux, who seemed to be manœuvering to turn by the left. It was true.

Toussaint L'Ouverture left Gabart in command of the right division of his troops, and taking with him a company of dragoons and one of fusileers—not deeming it prudent to draw a large number of soldiers from the right—marched at once to the point where danger was the most imminent. He recognized among the European troops the uniform of the 9th regiment of Saint Domingo. On seeing this regiment he was fully persuaded that General Maurepas, as he afterwards learned, had been obliged to surrender, notwithstanding a courageous effort to maintain himself. General-in-Chief L'Ouverture advanced within five or six yards of this regiment, the soldiers of which recognized him without difficulty, in his uniform with the plume which decorated the hat of a grenadier and ordinarilly† worn by him since the time he had received, in considiration of his bravery, a plume like it from

*These two generals whose thoughts were of themselves and who placed a very high estimate upon their military prowess, had labored to advance the same cause until very recently.

†The first *panache* which adorned the hat of L'Ouverture had been destroyed by a grape shot, at which time he was wounded in the head, and for which he afterwards wore a Madras handkerchief under his hat. Leclerc, Rochambeau and nearly all the French generals found by experience, that the head-dress worn by L'Ouverture after he had been wounded in the head, had hygienic value.

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General-in-Chief Laveaux, at the close of a campaign in which he had taken Saint Raphael, Saint Michael, Hinche, Banica, etc., from the Spanish, and on which occasion he charged the rear guard of the Spanish forces at the head of a squadron commanded by the father of Colonel Gabart. Toussaint L'Ouverture addressed the soldiers of the 9th regiment in these terms: "Soldiers of the 9th regiment, dare you fire on your general, your father and your brother?"

These words seemed to affect those to whom they were addressed like a clap of thunder. They fell upon their knees, and if the European troops, moving at once to the front, had not fired, the 9th regiment would have gone with General Toussaint L'Ouverture. The company of fusileers, who followed him, and a number of dragoons on foot, covered his retreat and protected him against the troops of General Desfourneaux. The captain of the company of dragoons was severely wounded at the side of Toussaint L'Ouverture, who sustained him on his horse until Adjutant-General Fontaine took charge of him. A young officer who appeared at the same time, entrusted with a communication from General Dessalines to General-in-Chief Toussaint L'Ouverture, was mortally wounded and shortly afterwards expired. Toussaint L'Ouverture buried this young officer, after General Desfourneaux ceased to pursue him, with honors of war.

General Dessalines informed him by letter that the forts of Crete a Pierrot—for since the two preceding attacks another fortification had been constructed on the same table-land, on a level and in line with the principal one—were entirely blocked by very considerable forces, and that he had tried, without success, to deliver the garrisons of these forts. On receiving this information, Toussaint L'Ouverture took command of Colonel Gabart's detachment, to which had been added the misdirected regiment that had taken no part in the battle fought at Plaisance. On the evening of his arrival he made the necessary disposition of his forces, in order to vigorously

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attack the enemy the next day, and as the beseigers were launching projectiles against the forts, General L'Ouverture's forces opened fire on them from the side of the river which wended its way at the foot of Crete a Pierrot. When the firing ceased the general-in-chief said to Dessalines, and other officers who stood around him, that the forts had been evacuated by the garrisons and that it was only necessary to rally them. The most important fort at Crete a Pierrot, called le Grand, was commanded by Laurent, and the other, known as le Petite, was commanded by the chief of battalion, Lamartiniere. These two officers executed concerted manœuvres, full of audacity and possible danger, through which they made it convenient to evacuate Crete a Pierrot.

At the time of the two attacks, which were not successful, there existed at Crete a Pierrot only the Grand fort. It was commanded and defended the first time by General Vernet, who had Colonel Magny and his grenadiers with him; the second time, by General Dessalines.*

After the evacuation of Crete a Pierrot, Toussaint L'Ouverture conducted all his troops to the mountains of Grand Cahos, in order that his soldiers, fatigued by so much marching and the active part they had taken in successive engagements, might enjoy much needed rest.

There was at Cahos one of General Boudet's aides-de-camp, Adjutant-Commander Sabes, who being sent by him to demand the surrender of Port au Prince, had been arrested by order of General Age, also Lieutenant Gimont and four dragoons by whom he was accompanied. They were first conducted to la Petite Riviere de l' Artibonite, and afterwards to

*Brave General Boudet conducted the attack at Crete a Pierrot in person. He was seriously wounded in this action by a coup de mitraille. He was esteemed by his enemies on account of his moderation, and in this particular there was a wide difference between his conduct and that of other chiefs, notably Dessalines.

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Grand Cahos, by order of General Dessalines.* Isaac L'Ouverture saved the life of Adjutant-General Sabes and his companions at Grand Cahos. They were in the midst of a large number of the followers of Toussaint L'Ouverture, many of whom had become furious, having been reduced to abject poverty by the destruction of all they possessed. They were filled with indignation against Leclerc and not disposed to show any quarters to any one related with the expedition in any way. It was at this critical moment, when the excited followers of L'Ouverture were ready to put their feelings of revenge into execution, that Isaac L'Ouverture saved the life of General Sabes and his companions by interposing in their behalf.

Toussaint L'Ouverture, who had been entirely occupied from the commencement of the war in repelling and attacking the army of General Leclerc, which was an imposing mass in comparison with his own force, had had neither time to see nor think of them. General Sabes,† Lieutenant Gimont and his four dragoons, were presented by Adjutant-General Fountaine to the general-in-chief, Toussaint L'Ouverture, by whom they were received with much kindness, and afterwards allowed to return to the camp of General Boudet, to whom L'Ouverture wrote and said: "*Le droit des gens*, in speaking of General Sabes and his companions, throws over them the broad shield of protection and renders their persons inviolable, not even allowing me to consider them as prisoners. I desire that you should have the same consideration for my nephew, Chief of Battalion Chancy, who is at Port au Prince." He also added that he profitted the occasion to send an expose of the

*Grand Cahos was the place where Dessalines sacrtficed the whites *en holocauste*, to satisfy his prejudice and the spirit of revenge, from which he was never free. He actually turned Saint Marc and the plains of the Artibonite into a slaughter house.

†When M. Isaac L'Ouverture fixed his residence at Bordeaux, in 1816, he occupied the house which had been formerly occupied by General Sabes, who was born in the environs of Bordeaux.

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causes of the war in which he was engaged, addressed to the French government and that he very much desired him to send it to France, if he could obtain permission from his chief,* to do so. After the departure of Adjutant-General Sabes and his companions for Port au Prince, a messenger arrived and announced to Toussaint L'Ouverture that Hardy's division, which took part in the siege at Crete a Pierrot, had traversed Petit Fonds, the country adjacent to Petit Cahos, where Toussaint found himself at the time, was marching on the Cape, via. Saint Michael. Without hesitation General L'Ouverture placed himself at the head of a detachment made up of three companies of dragoons, commanded by Morisset—one of which made the forced march on foot—and went in pursuit of the division, the movement of which had been brought to his attention. In the environs of Saint Michael, he learned from some soldiers, who belonged to the militia of the canton, that Hardy's division was carrying a large quantity of baggage and a great number of prisoners, including many women, who had fallen into their hands. "I was myself," added the commander of the militia, "surprised in the woods; was for seven hours the prisoner of General Hardy. His soldiers do not resemble the other Europeans I have seen. They are altogether extraordinary men. None of us are able to traverse the woods, scale the mountains and rocks with more dispatch than they. I have seen them catch wild horses, and while two would hold the horse by the ears the third would mount him and subdue the animal without a

*Toussaint L'Ouverture appears to great advantage when we look at him from every side, notwithstanding the historians of Hayti, judging the great events in which he played so conspicuous a part, have written,—M. Ardouin, for example,—"All agreed in the desire that he might be conquered." The same historian, speaking in favor of Petion, of whom he was the admirer, said: "Those who contributed to bringing about these political results, for example Petion, wrought in the interest of a future," etc.—Etudes Historiques, I. v., p. 107. M. Madiou dit a son tour: "Petion desirait la prise de la Crete a Pierrot, qui devait porter le dernier coup a la puisance de Toussaint L'Ouverture." Hist. d' Haiti, v. II., p. 222.

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bridle." The officers and soldiers, hearing them relate such things, could not refrain from laughing at the surprise and astonishment which had taken possession of those who had seen such wonderful sights.

Toussaint L'Ouverture replied to what they had said, heartily joining in the laugh with the others. "You ought not to be surprised and astonished at what you have seen. They have accomplished wonders in the wars through which they have passed in Europe, and their intention is to impress and give you an exalted idea of their strength and agility. But do not allow yourselves to be confused. In this burning climate you have this advantage over them, you can endure fatigue and hardship much longer."

After what he had heard, he judged that the march of Hardy's division, which he was pursuing was necessarily slow, and he sent by a route opposite to that which General Hardy had taken, an order to General Christophe, who was at Grande Riviere, which required him to make a forced march, in order to oppose and prevent the onward march of Hardy's division. On the morning of the next day, Toussaint L'Ouverture quickened his march, in order to reach and harrass the rear guard of Hardy's division, by the aid of the militia of Dondon, upon which he counted. Arriving at Saint Raphael, he knew at once that Hardy's division had come to a halt and that it was in position around the little town of Dondon. L'Ouverture availed himself of a neighboring elevation from which point of view he was able to learn more of Hardy's position, after which he established his posts and waited the moment when the enemy would be in motion, to attack them. Two hours passed and Hardy's division commenced to march, only to find itself attacked in the rear by Toussaint L'Ouverture, while the advance guard was face to face in deadly conflict with the forces of General Christophe, who, from the reports which had come to him from the people of the country, had

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FORTIFICATION CRETE A PIERROT.

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marched against Hardy with the militia of Grande Riviere des Mornets, etc.

The order sent to Christophe by Toussaint L'Ouverture had not reached him at the time the engagement took place. Hardy's division pressed in one direction and then another, finally threw themselves against the bayonets of the militia of General Christophe, who were forced to let them pass, after which Christophe's forces joined those of the general-in-chief, Toussaint L'Ouverture, under whose eye they fought like well-disciplined troops. L'Ouverture himself participated in the perils of the battle. He pursued Hardy to the junction of the road, one branch of which extended to the Cape, the other to Grande Riviere, where General Christophe was fortunate enough not to be taken when passing through a number of goyaviers, in order to fall on the left flank of the division commanded by brave Captain Hardy. Generals Toussaint L'Ouverture and Christophe separated from each other at nightfall, the former returning to his head-quarters at Saint Raphael. The day following, Colonel Sans Soucy conducted one hundred French prisoners to Saint Raphael and gave an account to Toussaint L'Ouverture of the victory won by the militia of the canton and Fort Saint Suzanne, where he commanded, a victory over general-of-brigade, Boyer, who had come to attack him. These prisoners, interrogated by Toussaint L'Ouverture, said they were part of the French division which embarked at Flessingue in Holland, and that five days after their arrival at the Cape, they were placed under the command of General Boyer, in order to take possession of Saint Suzanne; that they had with them in the beginning, two battalions of the tenth regiment of Saint Domingo, who were to act as their guides, but instead of being thus helped, as soon as hostilities were commenced, they found themselves alone and in advance. The soldiers of the tenth, Saint Domingo, had abandoned them and "courant comme des lievres," was the expression they used to describe

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the manner in which they were forsaken by the soldiers of the Saint Domingo regiment upon whom they had relied for direction and assistance. And they added that, having no knowledge of their surroundings and the country in general, they had been unfortunate, had lost many men, and finally been made prisoners. They also complained bitterly of the First Consul, whom they accused of being the cause of their defeat and the loss of their comrades. They added: "It will be the same here as in Egypt. Saint Domingo is destined to be the tomb of our army."*

What the prisoners said concerning the action of the 10th regiment was sufficient proof that General Paul L'Ouverture had given up, and also General Clerveaux, who was without munitions of war and whose force was estimated at more than 600 men.

The position of the soldiers of the two battalions of the 10th regiment, at Saint Suzanne, was very embarrassing. To turn their arms against Toussaint L'Ouverture, their general, was a crime in their eyes, and to pass into his ranks was to compromise General Paul L'Ouverture, their former colonel, and Jean Philippe Dos, who succeeded him as colonel, and the other battalions of the same regiment. They therefore decided to do the next best thing, and evaded the difficulty by flight. Their action in this respect accounts for the eulogies pronounced upon them by their friends, who fought under Toussaint L'Ouverture, and on the other hand for the reproaches hurled against them by the French prisoners. These prisoners were, however, perfectly delighted with the manner in which General L'Ouverture received and talked with them.

*These words were prophetic. Leclerc, after unheard of toils, died, the victim of dreadful affliction. He repented on his death bed, that he had advised and undertaken the expedition against Saint Domingo. Rochambeau, who was Leclerc's successor in the command, signed the conditions of evacuation, which put an end to French control on the island. General Boudet continued to distinguish himself on other fields of battle. His name is written on the Arc de Triomhe de l'Eloile.

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"The brave," said he to them, "live on just the same, even when they have the misfortune to be made prisoners."

Toussaint L'Ouverture ordered an ox to be slaughtered and properly cooked, and distributed provisions and tafia among them. He gave shoes to those who needed them, and was careful not to send them to Cahos, where General Dessalines commanded. He preferred to look after them at Marmelade, where there were already many French prisoners, and a depot with all necessary arrangements.

After their departure Toussaint L'Ouverture received word that a strong French detachment, in attempting to traverse Marmelade, had been driven back by the militia of the country, and that among the number of prisoners which had been taken, was an officer of the staff of General Desfourneaux by the name of Duchene.

An aid-de-camp of General Charles Belair was the bearer of a letter, in which this general informed him of his arrival at Grand Cahos. Toussaint L'Ouverture now confided to General Belair the command of Cahos, and sent an order at the same time to General Dessalines, who was at Petite Cahos, to descend into the plain of the Artibonite and occupy a position on the habitation Marchand, which had been the pivot of his operations in this plain before, in the war with the English. With this position he completed his line of defense, and rendered himself master of the branches of the Artibonite from this side.

General L'Ouverture took his departure from Saint Raphael and appeared at Marmelade. On arriving, he passed considerable time with the prisoners, who were there, especially the staff officer, Duchene, with whom he was much pleased, on account of his frank expressions and courage, for he defended himself against four men, notwithstanding he had been wounded. He also visited Paparel at this time, where he examined into the condition of things, and interviewed other French prisoners, among whom were many wounded.

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The amount of interest, however, which he was manifesting in the French who had fallen into his hands, did not cause him to lose sight of the war in which he was engaged. At this time he conceived the idea of cutting General Leclerc's communications, and thus making it impossible for him to know what was going on among his troops in the West and South. This he purposed doing by forcing him to abandon the right bank of the Artibonite, Gonaives, the major part of Plaisance, and of Limbe, which he occupied. Toussaint L'Ouverture, therefore, decided that General Dessalines should remove camp Castera, in the plains of the Artibonite, and resume position at Crete a Pierrot, which had cost Leclerc many lives without success, and which, on account of the position, Marchand, and that occupied by General Belair in advance of Grand Cahos, in the environs of Calvaire and Plat Sac, was not able to resist a vigorous attack; that General Vernet would take possession of Gonaives, and that he himself would attack Plaisance and Limbe.

General Toussaint L'Ouverture relied for success in this enterprise, on his perfect knowledge of the country; the ardor and courage of his soldiers and militia; and the feebleness of the European army, which had already commenced to succumb to the maladies of the climate, and the heat of the torrid zone.

It was at this time, that General Rochambeau, who was at St. Marc, wrote to General Charles Belair in very flattering terms, inviting him to join the Leclerc expedition; but General Belair, devoted to Toussaint L'Ouverture, having been an officer of his staff from the age of eighteen, replied to General Rochambeau, that he knew the nature of the duty which attached him to his general, and that he would be honorable when fortune frowned, as well as when she smiled; that he would remain always the friend and companion in arms of the man to whom he owed his elevation in the camp.

General Charles Belair made haste to inform Toussaint

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L'Ouverture of what had occured. He sent him the letter which he had received from General Rochambeau, with a copy of the answer, and he disposed of letters afterwards received, in the same way, only he did not answer them. General Dessalines, under whom Charles Belair was serving, made the fact that he (Belair) had received letters of the character described an occasion to misrepresent him, and that, in the presence of Toussaint L'Ouverture,* for the purpose of turning the the general-in-chief against him. In his letters, he denounced Charles Belair not only as disobedient, but as guilty of treason and stated that contrary to his orders he had continued to receive letters from General Rochambeau. He also said that he was secretly informed of the intention and plans of General Belair, who was influenced by his wife, and only waited the favorable moment to pass over to General Rochambeau, to whose support and cause he hoped also to take the troops which he commanded. Charles Belair, on the other hand, complained bitterly of the manner in which he had been misrepresented and outraged by Dessalines, and asked to be changed. Toussaint L'Ouverture, who knew the mind and character of the man, had no faith whatever in the denunciations made by Dessalines, inasmuch as Charles Belair had sent him the letter he had received from Rochambeau, as well as the last letters received from the same source, without even opening them. Nevertheless, in order to change for the better a condition so undesirable, he granted the request of Charles Belair and replaced him by Colonel Montaubau, ordering, at the same time, the former with the battalion of the

*M. Ardouin gives the following explanation of the enmity which Desalines had for Charles Belair. "Charles Belair was a man who had received instruction and whose manners were polished. After the end of Moyse, it was generally thought that Toussaint L'Ouverture preferred and had fixed upon Charles Belair as his successor, and this is why Dessalines became so jealous of him." I. v. p. 136. The fact is, however, Toussaint L'Ouverture had designed for his successor, General Michael, who was well known to the French government.

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7th regiment which Belair commanded, to repair to Ennery. In the expedition against Plaisance, General Charles Belair was the first lieutenant to the general-in-chief, Toussaint L'Ouverture.

While General L'Ouverture was making all necessary preparations to carry into execution the plan he had conceived, the object of which was to sever the communication between General Leclerc and his troops in the West and South, Chief-of-Battalion Chancy brought him a letter from Port au Prince, from General Boudet, who assured General L'Ouverture on his honor as a soldier, that General Leclerc had sent to the French government the expose of the situation, to which we have already referred, and that he now seriously desired to enter into negotiations with him to bring an end to a war which was the result of a misunderstanding. Toussaint L'Ouverture, on the receipt of Boudet's letter, wrote a communication in which he thanked him very kindly. Chief-of-Battalion Chancy was the bearer. Five or six days after the departure of this officer, Toussaint L'Ouvertuae received a letter from the Cape, bearing the signature of General Leclerc, in which he appealed to him in the name of patriotism to take into consideration, the horrors of war of which Saint Domingo was the theatre. General Fressinet, who had been under General-in-Chief Laveaux, a staff officer in the army of Saint Domingo, and who had just arrived from Flessingue, expressed himself in about the same manner. He declared if he had the least doubt of the good intentions of General Leclerc, he would be quite satisfied to fulfill his military duties, and would not advise his former companion in arms to conclude a treaty which would in the end result in his ruin.

Toussaint L'Ouverture, in reply to General Leclerc, said he had nothing to reproach himself for, in regard to the war, which might have been avoided, but although his position was quite different from what it had been, it gave him the hope of conquering, or dying with glory. He would not hesitate,

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however, to accept for the good of his country, any propositions which he might make him, providing they were honorable in their character, and based on exquity. To General Fressinet, Toussaint L'Ouverture remarked that he was touched by the sympathy which he manifested towards him, and that he would see him again, with pleasure, after matters had been arranged, in which they were both interested.

Almost without exception, every distinguished French general has conferred an honorable tribute on General Toussaint L'Ouverture, rendering justice to his merits and character. Bonaparte indeed esteemed him, and only made war against him for political purposes. From the commencement of this negotiation, General Christophe, through Wilton, chief of battalion, his intimate friend, a former commander of Petite Anse, and who on the arrival of the expedition joined the invading army, had an interview with General Leclerc on the heights of the Cape, the result of which was his admission into the French army.*

After this interview General Christophe repaired to his camp, on Grand Riviere, and afterwards to the general headquarters at Marmelade. Toussaint L'Ouverture was absent at the time, occupied in reviewing the militia in the canton of Ennery. Informed that General Christophe was in waiting for him, at headquarters, he returned at once. Christophe informed him, on his arrival, that General Leclerc had extended an invitation to him, which he accepted, meeting him at Haut du Cap. Without mentioning the conversation which had taken place there, he added that General Leclerc appeared to regret having engaged in a war through the overpersuasion of others that he would finally triumph; but fully persuaded of

*A traitor is always a traitor. After betraying Toussaint L'Ouverture, Christophe betrayed Leclerc as soon as the opportunity presented itself, and finally, under the influence of a treacherous spirit, took his own life. He was a good soldier, but vicious to excess. He became king of Hayti, and after a reign of twelve years, died miserably, as we have said. There was a death equally dishonorable in reserve for Dessalines.

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his error, he was only anxious to see peace established, and that he had requested him to speak in regard to the matter to the general-in-chief, Toussaint L'Ouverture.

After having listened attentively, Toussaint L'Ouverture disapproved of a message which had been carried out without his knowledge, and hence contrary to military discipline. What Christophe did was without his authority, and he then and there expressly forbade him to allow anything of the kind to occur in the future. General Christophe, having received permission from the general-in-chief to return to his post, presented him a letter from General Leclerc. This letter written to General Christophe after the interview which took place at Haut du Cap, would have informed Toussaint L'Ouverture of what had passed between the two generals. But instead of opening and reading it, as was his custom, he laid it on a table among other papers and communications, to listen to one of the funny stories Christophe related, after which he took his departure. On the evening of the next day the attention of Toussaint L'Ouverture was directed to the contents of the letter. He perused it, and his feelings changed from astonishment to indignation. He called Adjutant-General Fontaine, son chef d'etat major, to whom he made known the contents of the letter, and commanded him to go at once and order General Christophe to appear at headquarters at Marmelade, in order to explain his conduct and the letter which he had received from General Leclerc. When General Fontaine arrived and made known the object of his mission, Christophe answered it would be different if he were not controlled by circumstances. After his return from Marmelade, the largest portion of the inhabitants of the Cape, to whom he had said that peace had been declared, were disposed to return to the city. The part of Limbe which had not yet been given up by Toussaint, had been delivered to the troops of Leclerc, by Christophe's orders, in the name of Toussaint L'Ouverture; also Fort Francais. Quite a number of superior officers, who

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belonged to the camp at Grand Riviere, having been informed of the object of the mission upon which General Fontaine had come, declared that they had been misdirected and that they were ready to put into execution the orders of Toussaint L'Ouverture.

General Fontaine informed Toussaint L'Ouverture of Christophe's answer, when he made known the orders of the general-in-chief, and also communicated to him the outspoken sentiments of the superior officers, so favorable to him, when they learned the object of his mission. He took good care to remind the general-in-chief of the manner in which General Christophe had turned over Fort Francais and that part of Limbe which was under his control, into the hands of General Leclerc.

Toussaint L'Ouverture, on receiving the information referred to above, gave his undivided attention to the situation, and having assembled his principal generals announced to them the extraordinary happenings. The conduct of Christophe appeared not only a surprise, but incomprehensible to these officers, especially when they considered that this general, attacked without reason by Leclerc, had in his rage and desperation set fire to and burned the capital of Saint Domingo, which had been rebuilt at an enormous expense; that he had distinguished himself on the Dondon road, along the Grand Riviere, in attacking the left flank of General Hardy's division; that he had placed under the eyes of Toussaint, long before the overtures which had been made to him by General Leclerc, the letters of Wilton, encouraging him to join the French forces, and also the letters of Leclerc, which not only proposed to him to pass over into the ranks of his army, but to make an attempt on the life of the general-in-chief, Toussaint L'Ouverture.* The conduct and attitude which Christophe

*The following is a quotation from Leclerc's letter, dated April 19: "I will keep the promises which have been made to you. Think what a grand service you may now render to the Republic, by furnishing the means by which we may assure ourselves of the person of Gen. Toussaint.

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seemed to desire to take, was circulated among the people and soldiers. They cried out against and heaped reproaches upon him, and of their own free will and accord assembled before the house in which Toussaint L'Ouverture lived at the time, in order to assure him of their devotion, courage and fidelity.

While these demonstrations were the order of the day, the commanding officer from Mornets arrived, whom Christophe had ordered to receive General Leclerc's troops. This officer, suspecting that there was something wrong about the order, had left his post and appeared at head-quarters, in order to give an account of his conduct. The officer also commanding at Dondon, wrote to Toussaint L'Ouverture and said that he had taken upon himself not to obey the orders of General Christophe until he was certain that he was working in harmony with his superior, the general-in-chief, and executing his purposes. Toussaint L'Ouverture answered him, and said that he could not possibly praise him too much for his prudence and discernment, and that he was of the opinion an officer of his character would persevere in his duty. Under the circumstances, the hope of approaching peace had disappeared. Everybody seemed recharged with the war spirit. Toussaint L'Ouverture was prepared to move in the direction of the Grand Riviere, where he had established a depot of arms and munitions of war.* The result of the developments had disturbed General Leclerc very much, but he continued to use all his powers of peruasion in order to touch the heart of a man, who appeared grand and courageous, even in the hour of adversity, and who under all circumstances, loved his country more than glory. The negotiations which had been interrupted were renewed. The principal conditions of peace proposed

*Leclerc wrote in a letter bearing date May 8: "He (L'Ouverture) wrote to me that unfortunate circumstances had already produced much evil, and although it might tend to increase the French army, he would always have enough force and power to burn, revenge, and sell his life dearly, which had been useful to France."

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by Leclerc were: that Toussaint L'Ouverture should govern Saint Domingo as he had previously done; that all the officers of the country would be recognized according to their grade; and that he, General Leclerc, would remain on the island only as the representative of France. Then calling upon God to witness the inviolability and righteousness of his promises: "I swear," added he, "in the presence of the Supreme Being, to respect the liberty of the people of Saint Domingo." Toussaint L'Ouverture replied that he accepted everything that was favorable to the people and the army, but for himself, his only wish was to retire from active service and public life. An understanding having been reached between the two generals, L'Ouverture and Leclerc, they agreed to have a conference on a habitation situated at the foot of the mountains of Mornets, twenty-four or twenty-seven miles from the Cape. There were a number of persons living at the Cape who were of the opinion thatToussaint L'Ouverture would not come there, if it were the place settled upon for the conference, for the simple reason that he had not sufficient confidence in Leclerc. Informed that the place selected had given rise to some curious speculations, Toussaint L'Ouverture soon gave proof that he was without fear. He started for the appointed place sufficiently early to arrive a day before the time, at the Cape. He was accompanied on this journey by his son Isaac, Colonel Gabart, Chief-of-Squadron Morisset, his aids-de-camp, his staff officers, and a squadron of dragoons. Just as Toussaint L'Ouverture departed from Marmelade, he met an officer face to face, who was the bearer of a letter to him from General Leclerc, and in which it was announced that peace had been definitely concluded between France and England.

Continuing his journey, he arrived at the advanced post commanded by General Fressinet, and which was on the very habitation where the conference between the two generals was to be held. He was received with military

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honors. General Fressinet embraced him, and expressed the great joy he experienced in seeing him again. He invited him to breakfast. Toussaint L'Ouverture accepted. The officers and soldiers of the 10th regiment of Saint Domingo who were present, gave him sufficient and expressive proof of their love and veneration for him. The officers of these two corps in particular, conversed with him, and in the course of conversation, said that it was by virtue of an order eminating from him that General Paul L'Ouverture, who commanded at Saint Domingo,* had surrendered that place to Kerverseau.

It was true, and from the following we have some idea how it was brought about. Toussaint L'Ouverture, placed in a situation where he had to defend himself, wrote a letter to his brother, as we have already said, in which he ordered him to evacuate Saint Domingo and join General Clerveaux, in the environs of Saint Raphael. He also gave him another order, and suggested that he should make it generally known, viz.: that under the pretext of preparing to receive General Kerverseau, Paul L'Ouverture should avail himself of the opportunity to shoot all his troops and at the same time make good his own retreat. The officer who was entrusted with this communication addressed to Paul L'Ouverture, and in which was the order by which this general was expected to govern himself, having been arrested and put to death by the troops Kerverseau had landed some distance from Santo Domingo City, the letter was despatched to General Kerverseau, who was on board of a vessel which appertained to the French division stationed at that place. Kerverseau came ashore in person, and presented the communication in question to General Paul L'Ouverture, who considered it very strange that General Kerverseau should have been chosen to transmit such a document to him. "Your observations would be perfectly correct," replied Kerverseau, "if we were ene-

*Spanish part of the island.

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mies. And for another reason, you are the master, general; interpret this order as you may think best. I am going to return to the vessel, but recollect General Moyse." By the reference to General Moyse, he simple meant to say to General Paul L'Ouverture that if he obeyed the order he would be regarded as an insubordinate.

After General Kerverseau returned to his vessel, Paul L'Ouverture convoked the principal officers of the garrison and had them compare the signature on the communication addressed to him with others, and they were all of one opinion, viz., that the signature was that of Toussaint L'Ouverture. Under the circumstances they thought it well to postpone action, and not to carry out the instructions of the order.

This explains how General Kerverseau landed on the shores of the Ozama and entered the gates of Santo Domingo City without resistance.

Let us resume the narrative at the point from which we digressed. Toussaint L'Ouverture remained four hours with General Fressinet, and when he departed was accompanied by this general. He had not gone very far before he noticed a cavalryman approaching from the right, remarkable on account of his youth, grace and beauty. It was Colonel Robillard. He addressed Toussaint L'Ouverature with the most profound respect and said to him, almost in a whisper, that he had been sent by General Christophe to ascertain what his orders were. "Colonel," replied Toussaint L'Ouverture, "I see you with pleasure, but I have no answer to make to your demands." The youthful colonel continued his conversation, walking by the side of Toussaint L'Ouverture a certain distance, and then bade him adieu. Toussaint L'Ouverture continued his march to Haut du Cap, and was saluted there by General Clerveaux, at the head of the 6th regiment of Saint Domingo, and welcomed by the prolonged acclamations of the people.

To the great astonishment of all, and especially General Le-

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clerc, who did not expect him, and who dined aboard that day with Rear-Admiral Magnon, Toussaint arrived at the Cape and was received by Generals Hardy and Debelle, at the house of General Leclerc. This was situated on the street known as *Bord de la Mer*. They conducted him into a parlor, on the wall of which hung one of his portraits. While occupied in conversation with Generals Hardy and Debelle, he was saluted by the artillery from the surrounding forts and by the vessels riding at anchor in the harbor. By this time the whole population of the city was on the tip-toe of excitement, and passed in crowds, saluting the general-in-chief and the house of General Leclerc, every part of which was occupied by officers of all grades.

General Leclerc came ashore, dressed in uniform, his head covered with a madras handkerchief, and passing through the crowd, entered his house and found his way at once to the room occupied by General Toussaint L'Ouverture, who was quite at his ease, still conversing with Generals Hardy and Debelle. General Leclerc embraced Toussaint L'Ouverture with demonstrations of real joy. He took him by the hand and walked with him into his private cabinet, where he seated himself by his side and addressed him in these words:

"General, one cannot but praise and admire you when he knows you have supported the burden of the government of Saint Domingo. Your presence in this city is a proof of your magnanimity and good faith. Our reconciliation will cause prosperity to return to this island, of which you are the restorer, and will strengthen the new institutions of the country, which are the fundamental basis of universal liberty and happiness."

To these remarks Toussaint L'Ouverture replied: "The people of Saint Domingo, having triumphed over her enemies and the enemies of France, never thought that they would be called upon to resist their natural protector. If an advice boat had announced your coming, the cannon would have

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been fired only as a salute to welcome the ambassador of a great power, and you would have been received with demonstrations of joy. You learned at Saint Domingo that I was expected. General Christophe requested you to accord him a sufficient delay, in order to acquaint me of the arrival of the French fleet, when you were before the Cape. You might have acceded to this demand very reasonably, instead of creating a panic among the people by your threats, and exposing your army to the dangers of an unfriendly climate."

Leclerc said himself that the pilots, who were taken aboard in the Bay of Samana, had assured him that Toussaint L'Ouverture was at Santo Domingo. "But not forgetting that I was the brother-in-law of the First Consul, entrusted with the chief command of a French army, and therefore General Christophe's superior in rank and grade, I could not bring myself to believe that it comported with my dignity to halt before a general of brigade, and patiently give attention to his allegations."

"Nevertheless, general," replied Toussaint L'Ouverture, "you did wait four days, and you will agree with me that a few days more would not have detracted from your honor, and especially since the words and letter of your brother-in-law show that your mission was pacific. It seems to me had you done so, you would have served yourself, France, and also Saint Domingo."

"It is true," answered General Leclerc, "but I have not been master of myself. Je n'ai pas ete maitre de moi meme. Let us forget the past. Everything will be made good. Let us rejoice in the fact that we have met. It is desirable and necessary that your son, the officers who have accampanied you, as well as the generals and officers of my army, who are here, may witness our union."

The door of the room which had been occupied exclusively, up to this time, by the two generals, Leclerc and L'Ouverture, was now thrown open, and on the invitation of the for-

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mer, all the persons who were in the adjacent parlor entered and took their places in the cabinet. Leclerc repeated in their presence, what he had said in private to Toussaint L'Ouverture. He promised to employ Generals C. Belair, and Vernet, but not General Dessalines, His objection to him raised a difficulty which was soon cleared up by an observation which Toussaint L'Ouverture made, viz.: that the exception would be a veritable infraction of the treaty.

It was on this occasion that a beautiful child of twelve years, possessed of rare intelligence, accompanied by an aged person, appeared in the midst of this assembly. It was the youngest child of Toussaint L'Ouverture, with Mme. Granville, his preceptress. The child, with an air of joy and self-possession, precipitated himself into the arms of his father, who pressed him to his bosom affectionately. The child was embraced in turn by Isaac L'Ouverture, his brother, and General Leclerc. At the time when General Vernet fought before Gonaives, against General Leclerc, this child was on a habitation some distance from the field of battle, with Mme. Granville. But after Vernet, his ally, who had searched in vain for him, had withdrawn to Ester, the French troops who passed the locality where the child was, brought him to General Leclerc, who sent him by sea to the Cape ; also Mme. Granville, his preceptress. This child was not the only one of Toussaint L'Ouverture's family who was in the power of General Leclerc during the war. Paul L'Ouverture, his brother, the colonel of a regiment of dragoons ; Jean Pierre L'Ouverture, who served under General Maurepas, and Chief of Battalion Chancy, his cousin, were also in the same predicament. And his mother, a woman truly beneficent, came very near being taken by General Rochambeau when she arrived at La Croix.

In the presence of a father and son, who were expressing their joy at meeting each other in the most affectionate manner, General Hardy seated himself and related how in marching to attack the position of Bayonnet, situated on an eleva-

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tion of Ennery, he learned that Mme. Toussaint L'Ouverture was on the adjacent habitation. Not wishing to cause her the least fright, he had believed it was his duty to respect the place in which a woman so very respectable had taken refuge.

Toussaint L'Ouverture, in reply to these remarks, said: "General, this conviction of duty which you have just expressed, would lead me to confide her to your loyalty and sense of honor, if by some unlooked for circumstance, she should not be able at any time to find a place in my camp."

General Leclerc, in conversing with Toussaint L'Ouverture on this occasion, said: "Suppose the war had continued longer, who would have furnished you with arms and munitions of war?" "You," responded he; "because I would have taken what I needed from your advanced posts."

Toussaint L'Ouverture consented to the proposition of General Leclerc, by which M. Perroud, commissary-in-chief of the French army, continued to occupy the hotel which stood on a street by the name of *Rue Vandreuil*, and was a part of Toussaint L'Ouverture's estate. This was a very beautiful building, constructed entirely out of white marble.* He not only consented to the proposition, but refused to accept the full amount of rent, permitting the commissary to use it for a very moderate consideration indeed.

It appears that all the events appertaining to the conference were of great importance, and so far as they pointed to or originated with Toussaint L'Ouverture, they made him appear as a unique character, possessed of the heart of a father, husband and warrior,—the defender of both the interest of his country and that of his companions in arms.

At the conclusion of this conference, Toussaint L'Ouverture returned and on the same evening passed the night in quiet and refreshing sleep at the advance post, commanded by General Fressinet.

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*The earthquake of 1843 destroyed it.

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On the morning of the next day, General Fressinet, the officers of Port Francais and the plains of the North, accompanied General Toussaint L'Ouverture as far as the habitation Nogues, which was the last post occupied by General Leclerc's army. General Toussaint L'Ouverture went from post to post amidst the acclamations of the soldiers, the militia and the people, who were out in crowds all along the way. His entrance to Marmelade, where he was received by the commanding officer at the head of his troops, was signalized by repeated salutes from the artillery. The day following the grenadiers and dragoons of his guards were addressed by the general-in-chief. Toussaint spoke to them on the subject of peace. He praised their courage; thanked them for the love and devotion which they had manifested for him, and added that the recollection of their actions would remain an agreeable fixture in his memory. In order to give them a visible demonstration of the profound satisfaction he had tried to express in words, and at the same time bid them adieu, he embraced all the officers, who were scarcely able to restrain their tears, after which the soldiers, very sad indeed, filed off before him.

In the course of five or six days after General L'Ouvertnre had delivered his farewell, Adjutant-Commander Fountaine, his chief staff officer, remitted the state and condition of the troops to Adjutant-Commander Perrin. Dessalines and C. Belair received orders to repair to Saint Marc with the battalions which they commanded; the battalion of the 3rd regiment, commanded by Lamartiniere, to Port au Prince; and the battalion of Gonaives to the city of the same name. The grenadiers of his guard were sent to Plaisance, where General Clausel was in command, who was afterwards promoted to the grade of General of Division. The two horse squadrons of the guard went to the Cape, where they might have entered the police service, but they preferred a course less honorable. Leclerc judged the moment favorable to visit and enjoy the

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salubrious air of the island of Tortue* May 17th. After the departure of the troops, General Toussaint L'Ouverture set out for Ennery, the place he had chosen for residence, on the Heights of Ennery, He was met by an immense throng of people, the largest portion of which was from Arcahaye. They said to him: "General, have you abandoned us?" "No, my children," he replied, "all your countrymen are under arms, and the officers of all grades are conserved."

After he took up his residence in the beautiful valley of Ennery, he occupied himself entirely in entertaining his friends, relieving the wants of those who were in needy circumstances, and also in cultivating, repairing and improving his habitation. The Europeans, the people of the country, the generals and officers of the French army, who came to visit him, were received with characteristic affability. Perfectly free from all fear and the responsibility which he had carried so long and supported so well, he lived in the bosom of his family with a sense of security that would not have been greater had he had around him 25,000 men. He was in the habit of riding out frequently on horse-back, and when he passed into the village the French garrison on duty there did not forget to salute him with military honors.

When Toussaint L'Ouverture withdrew to his habitation and gave himself up to the enjoyments of a charming retreat and a life of peace, there were those who felt called upon to contrive plots, the object of which was his destruction. As he made no attempt to vindicate himself, his enemies found it necessary and convenient to attribute the most absurd and unlikely intentions to him.

*Tortue is a little island which has received its name from the fact that it resembles a turtle shell. It is situated about eight leagues from the Cape, in the open sea, more to the north. It was the cradle of French colonization. The principal portion of it at that time belonged to M. Sabattut. At a later period, M. Collas de Magnet cultivated a portion of it. This point, or portion, was in repute on account of the salubrity of the air and the coolness of the atmosphere. It was after a sojourn upon this island that Leclerc recovered his health.

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General Leclerc returned to the Cape and complained to him of the chief of battalion, Sylla, who was at Haute Plaisance, and of whom Leclerc said: "He has not yet recognized my authority," adding that he would constrain him to do so by force of arms. Toussaint L'Ouverture replied, that although the chief of battalion, Sylla, had received orders to obey, as all the rest had, it would, in his opinion, be better to employ persuasion and gentler means, rather than force, to induce this officer to return to the path of duty. He offered to use his influence with this officer to bring about the desired result, and in consequence addressed himself to Sylla. The reply he received to his communication was sent by Placide to General Dugua, in the absence of General Leclerc, who was at the island of Tortue.

Instead of following the pacific suggestions of General L'Ouverture, the captain-general vigorously attacked Sylla, who defended himself with rare intrepidity, and it was not without considerable trouble that General Clausel finally came into possession of his camp, which was entrenched and fortified. To this imprudence Leclerc added that of ordering the Gonaives battalion, which was then in the city by that name, to join General Clausel at Plaisance and march against Sylla. This battalion positively refusing to fight against their former companions in arms, disbanded and dispersed in the woods near Plaisance. General Leclerc wrote General Toussaint L'Ouverture informing him of the dispersion of the battalion of Gonaivas. Toussaint L'Ouverture replied that he (General Leclerc) was certainly out of his mind to suppose that he wished to continue the war with the single battalion of Gonaives, at the head of which he was not. Isaac L'Ouverture was the bearer of this letter written by his father and sent to General Leclerc. In his interview with Isaac L'Ouverture he exonerated himself at the expense of General Dessalines, who was, after all, but the political instrument of Leclerc. Leclerc said to Isaac that it was Dessalines who had made Toussaint

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L'Ouverture* responsible for the attitude taken by Sylla, and the conduct of the battalion of Gonaives near Plaisance, in proof of which he gave Isaac L'Ouverture several letters to read which were signed by General Dessalines. These letters contained the imputations to which we have referred, and were without doubt fictitious. Dessalines was ordered to the Cape, where he appeared very shortly afterwards. Leclerc presented him with a pair of pistols, a sabre and other valuables. It was thus that General Leclerc, the chief of the army, forgetting the honor attached to the French name, recompensed the baseness of a traitor whom Toussaint L'Ouverture had constrained him to continue in the service. This was perhaps the least favor which Toussaint L'Ouverture had done for Dessalines. On the recommendation of Colonel Bonnaventure he gave him a position on his staff in 1794, and elevated him successively to all the military grades. Dessalines, who owed everything to Toussaint L'Ouverture, became his accuser and calumniator, without shame or remorse.

Leclerc never lost an opportunity to prejudice Toussaint L'Ouverture against Dessalines. Did he hope to make one the destroyer of the other?

The day after Leclerc's interview with General Dessalines, to whom he had given presents and who had been embraced and carressed by him, he requested Isaac L'Ouverture to inform his father of the conduct of Dessalines,† and to say to him, at the same time, that Christophe entertained sentiments quite different. At the conclusion of this interview he gave Isaac L'Ouverture a letter for his father.

On account of his perfect knowledge of the localities, Le-

*Leclerc always feared, and without cause mistrusted the influence which Toussaint L'Ouverture had over the black population to whom Leclerc remained repulsive from the time he arrived in San Domingo until the day of his death.

†But did he add that he had received of Dessalines, on a proposition submitted, a declaration favorable to the deportation of the ex-general-in-chief?

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clerc requested Toussaint L'Ouverture, in this communication, to instruct General Brunet, commander at Gonaives, in regard to cantonizing the troops of his division, with special reference to the interest of the people, and in such a manner as to prevent outrages.

Toussaint L'Ouverture had been informed, a few hours before this letter arrived, by several persons of Gonaives, that two French frigates had entered the port of that city, aboard of which were many troops who were coming ashore, and that it was commonly reported that they were to take part in his arrest. He was also informed by some French officers, who occupied the garrison at Ennery, that they had been positively assured by General Leclerc's aid-de-camp that he had been sent on a special mission, and had orders to arrest General Toussaint L'Ouverture. Generals Paul L'Ouverture and Vernet made every effort to impress General Toussaint with the not only possible, but probable, danger which surrounded him. Warnings of like character came to him from all directions, and under the circumstances were more than sufficient to open the eyes of a man so largely endowed with the powers of penetration as he was, and were also sufficiently timely to enable a man of his courage to make good his escape. To one who advised him in regard to the matter of personal safety, he replied that "to expose himself for his country, when she was in danger, was a sacred duty; but he did not think it worth while to trouble himself about his own life and safety." Some time before rumors of his arrest had multiplied, Toussaint L'Ouverture had made up his mind to go to Gonaives, and immediately after receiving General Leclerc's letter he set out for that city.

In passing through the borough of Ennery he perceived without difficulty that a change had taken place, which was not favorable to him. The French garrisons, contrary to former practice, maintained a mournful silence, and allowed him to pass without according him military honors. Before he reached

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the borough of Ennery he met General Brunet's courier, at Coupe-a-Pintade, who delivered a letter to him. The communication was from General Brunet, and it was an invitation to General Toussaint L'Ouverture and his family to come and assist at a merry-making which was to be in his honor at Gonaives. This letter and the assertions of the French officers attached to the garrison at Ennery, together with other information that had come to him, confirmed him in the opinion that the rumors of his arrest, which were only too prevalent, were well founded. He saw the danger without fear. He read the letter and continued his journey. The following is the letter:

"Quartier General de l' Habitation Georges, le 18 Prairial, 1802, de la Republique:

Brunet, General de Division an General de Division, Toussaint L'Ouverture. Voici le moment, citoyen General de faire connaitre d' une maniere incontestable au General en Chef que ceux qui peuvent le tromper sur votre bonne foi sont de malheureux calomniateurs . . . . Il faut me seconder . . . . Nous avons, mon cher General des arrangements a prendre ensemble, quil est impossible de traiter parlettre, mais qu' une conference d' une heure terminerait. Si je n' etais pas excede de travail, de tracas miniteux, J' aurais ete aujourd' hui le porteur de ma reponse; mais ne pouvaut sortier ces jours-ci faites le vous meme; si vous etes retabli de votre indisposition que ce soit demain; quaud il s' agit de faire le bien, on, ne doit jamais retarder. Vous ne trouverez pas dans mon habitation champetre tous les agrements que J'eusse desire renuir pour vous y recevoir; mais vous y trouverez la *Franchise* d' un galant homme qui ne fait d' autres, voeux que pour la prosperite de la colonie et votre bonheur personnel.

Si Mme. Toussaint dont je desire infiniment faire la connaissance, voulait etre du voyage, je serais content. Si elle a besoin de chevaux, je lui enverrai les miens. Je vous le repete, General, jamais vous ne trouverezd'ami plus sincere que moi!

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De la confiance dans le Capitaine-General, de l' amitie' pour tout ce qui lui est subordonne et vous jouirez de la tranquillite.

Je vous salue cordialement,

BRUNET.

P. S.—Votre domestique, qui va au Port au Prince, a passe ici ce matin: il est parti avec sa passe en rigle. Ce domestique se nommait Mars Plaiser, loin d'etre parti pour la destination indiquee, il avait ete arrete et place sous bonne garde.

The following is the translation:

"General Quarters of the Habitation Georges, June 7, 1802. Brunet, General of Division, to the General of Division, Toussaint L'Ouverture:

"The moment has arrived, citizen general, that the general-in-chief should be made to understand, in a manner which cannot be contested, that those who are able to deceive him in regard to your good faith, are unfortunate calumniators.

"To this end I would invite your attention and ask your assistance. We have, my dear General, some arrangements to make together, that it is impossible to explain by letter, which we may terminate in a conference of one hour. If I had not already gone beyond my strength in work and arrangement of business details, I would have been the bearer of my own message to-day; but not being able to go out at this time, I must ask you to do what I would have done,—if you have gotten rid of your indisposition. Let it be to-morrow. When the question is the accomplishment of good, we ought not to postpone. You will not find, in my rural habitation, all the amusements and comforts that I would wish in receiving you, but you will find the hearty welcome of a gallant man, whose strongest desire is the prosperity of the colony and your own personal happiness.

"If Mme. Toussaint, whose acquaintance I very much desire

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to make, wishes to accompany you, it will afford me great satisfaction. If she requires a horse, I will send her mine. Allow me to assure you, General, that you will never find a friend more sincere than myself. With the confidence of the captain-general, and the friendship of all who are subordinate to him, you will enjoy perfect tranquility.

"I cordially salute you,

"BRUNET.

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

The name of the servant in question was Mars Plaiser, who instead of being allowed to continue his journey, was actually arrested and put in charge of a strong guard.

Toussaint L'Ouverture read the above letter, and continued his journey. Reaching the habitation Beranger, he distributed all the money which he had in his possession among the cultivators, who had saved a part of his effects at the time of the invasion of Gonaives. He then repaired to the habitation Georges, where he found General Brunet. They conversed together for some time, after which General Brunet excused himself. A few moments later the parlor where Toussaint L'Ouverture remained waiting the return of Brunet, was entered by ten officers, carrying revolvers and swords in their hands. Toussaint L'Ouverture took them for assassins and sprang to his feet. He drew his sword, fully determined to sell his life dear. The colonel at the head of the officers, who had made their appearance so suddenly, seeing that he awaited the next move with intrepidity, advanced towards him with his weapons lowered, and said to him: "General, we are not here to make any attempt upon your life. We have simply orders to make you a prisoner." At the conclusion of these remarks Toussaint L'Ouverture returned his sword to its scabbard. Troops had been stationed all along

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the route from the habitation Georges to Gonaives. Now, in the hands of these officers, Toussaint L'Ouverture was conducted to Gonaives and embarked on the frigate Creole. The worthy officer who was in command of the Creole, was moved to tears when he saw Toussaint L'Ouverture, the victim of treason and perfidy, coming aboard.

The Creole sailed for Cape Hayti, and during the voyage, the good commander gave every attention to Toussaint L'Ouverture; so also to Nero, the chief of battalion, and the other officers who were arrested the same evening at Gonaives. He offered them linen and money. They accepted the linen but refused the money. Arriving in the harbor of the Cape, the captain steered alongside of the Heros, and informed Toussaint L'Ouverture that he had orders to place him aboard of that vessel. Toussaint L'Ouverture embraced the commander, bade him adieu, and remarked that he would never forget him and his kindness. He then descended into a canoe, in which he was carried to the Heros, where his son Saint Jean L'Ouverture, pupil of M. Granville, embarked at at the Cape, by order of Leclerc, came and fell on his father's knee, in tears. The Heros remained in the harbor of the Cape for some time, waiting there to take on board the other members of the family. Placide and an aid-de-camp by the name of Caesar, who accompanied Toussaint L'Ouverture to Gonaives but who did not attend the fete, were arrested the next morning at Coup a Pintade.

The wife of the colonel who commanded at Coup a Pintade, and a number of other French ladies, who witnessed the manner in which Placide L'Ouverture and the aid-de-camp, Caesar, were arrested, shed tears. These two prisoners were placed on board of the frigate Guerriere, the commander of which was Gimot, who had been for some time at Grand Cahos, with Adjutant-Commander Sabes. At this time Isaac L'Ouverture was at Ennery, on the plantation where his father passed much of his time ordinarily. One morning about 7 o'clock he was

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startled by a lively discharge of musketry, followed by ghastly cries. Naturally enough, he opened the door and went out, when to his astonishment he saw cultivators, servants, women and frightened children running in different directions and soldiers pursuing and shooting them down. With balls whistling around him, he returned to the house, where he was followed by a young man who earnestly advised him to seek safety in flight. But he said, no, he preferred to die, as he believed from the strange turn things had taken that his father was no more. Very shortly, the house was entered, and Isaac was made a prisoner, after which Pesquidon, chief-of-battalion, explained to him the situation, and presented him the order of General Brunet authorizing his arrest and that of the other members of his family. He also added by way of explanation, that the advance guard of his detachment fired upon the people of the hahitation, because they refused to open the way when he ordered them to do so. General Brunet's aid-de-camp did not forget to search the house, and he found quite an amount of money, jewelry* and papers, all of which he carried away with him. Arriving at the borough of Ennery, Isaac L'Ouverture met Monpoint, who had been put under arrest a few hours before. Pesquidon arrived a quarter hour later, at the plantation where Mme. L'Ouverture was stopping for the time being. This honorable woman, to whom a cultivator from another plantation related what had come to pass, did not wait long before the proof was brought under her own observation. She saw her son between two lines of soldiers. She ran to him, embraced him, and asked him where his father was. Pesquidon answered: "Madame, you need not be at all anxious about your husband. I have been au-

*Of all the objects most precious and dear to the L'Ouverture family, they only saved General L'Ouverture's watch, when their habitation was pillaged. On the key of this watch was engraven on a plaque of gold: "Sa vertu lui a ouvert tous les coeurs." Beneath was a monogram composed of the letters F. S. entwining an open heart as a charming allusion to the remark of a political enemy: "He never knew prejudice of color."

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thorized to furnish you an escort for the purpose of helping you to rejoin your husband." Mme. L'Ouverture, in whose heart the sentiments of conjugality and maternity were much stronger than those of fear, very soon informed Brunet's aid-de-camp that she, her son, and Louise Chancy—who was now entering upon the experience of a heroine, with all these misfortunes—were quite ready to go. It would require a heart of stone not to have been moved by the tears and lamentations of men, women and children, who were present and deplored the departure of Mme. L'Ouverture, when she left, for the last time, her country, relatives, and the home in which she was renowned for benevolence and hospitality. "Madame," the multitude said as with one voice, "you are going from us. They are carrying you away. We shall never see you again." Then addressing themselves to the officer in charge, they said: "Ah! Monsieur, do not shoot Madame L'Ouverture, do not shoot the children." They all believed that Toussaint L'Ouverture had been shot.

Mlle. LeNormand in the book of destinies, says in the memoirs of Josephine: "The unfortunate Toussaint L'Ouverture was pursuaded in advance, that destiny had reserved a cruel death for him. In his youth he had been told that if he should go to Europe, he would perish there. This accounts for the repugnance he manifested when he went aboard a vessel. He never desired to lose sight of Cape Francais. At the moment it was announced to him that the First Consul of France desired to see him, and that he would be maintained as the First Consul in America, he said: 'I am impressed that I will never again see my wife and my children. My prediction will come to pass.'"

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CHAPTER XXXIII.

DEPARTURE OF TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE AND HIS FAMILY. THE BLACKS TAKE UP ARMS AGAIN. ABOARD THE VESSEL HEROS. TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE'S VOYAGE TO FRANCE. ARRIVAL OF THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY AT BAYONNE.

Mme. L'Ouverture, the members of her family who were with her, and Monpoint, were embarked on the vessel Guerriere. Placide L'Ouverture, Morisset and Cæsar were already on board the same ship. The Guerriere weighed anchor after about five or six days, and joined the Heros, anchored before the Cape, and on board of which all the prisoners were transferred. The capture was complete, and all the members of the L'Ouverture family found themselves prisoners on the same ship.

For the moment let us turn aside from the Heros, sailing before a fair wind for the distant shores of France, and fix our attention upon the events which took place in rapid succession after the capture and departure of Toussaint L'Ouverture, whose efforts had brought peace and prosperity to the once ruined and prostrated colony.

From the time it was known that Toussaint L'Ouverture was forcibly carried off, the victim of a cruel conspiracy, one could hear nothing everywhere but the cry of revenge. The sound of the drum called the warriors to arms. C. Belair, whose forces occupied the mountains of St. Marc; Colonel Sans-Soucy, stationed at Valliere; the chief of horse squadron, Noel, who was at Dondon, were of one mind. They came forth to battle in a common cause, and stirred up the people throughout the sections where they were. Chief Noel marched as far as Ennery, overcoming every opposition which met his advance, and increased his army as he went along. The wild multitude which followed him made the hills ring with their cries of indignation, vengeance and despair. The burden of

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their cry was the return of their father—for to them Toussaint L'Ouverture was both general and father.

Colonel Sans-Soucy had no sooner drawn the sword than he was arrested with Adjutant-General Baradot, by General Christophe, who was, strange as it may appear, fighting on the side of France. Sans-Soucy and Baradot were sent to the Cape and from thence to France. General C. Belair was at this time in the mountains of St. Marc, at the head of a large force of militia, and a battalion of troops, commanded by Larose. General Dessalines, like Christophe, was in the service of France, and obeying the order of General Leclerc, he marched against General Belair, and when he reached his camp in the mountains of St. Marc, asked the privilege of entering on the pretext that he wished to confer with him. General Belair, who saw the tiger without fear, thought that perhaps General Dessalines had been overtaken by a sense of remorse; but he was mistaken. The conference proved to be a trap; he was made a prisoner and conducted to the Cape, with his wife, where they were both executed. He and his wife were conducted to the place of execution together* and shot at the same time. General C. Belair remained true to the cause of liberty and steadfast in his friendship for Toussaint L'Ouverture. His devotion to him forms a marked contrast when compared to the conduct of Dessalines. General Charles Belair possessed in a high degree true courage and talents, which naturally gave him distiction as a military officer. Added to these were other qualities; he was richly endowed with goodness of heart, and large consideration for his enemies and the unfortunate. He was not only a great general, but by

*Dessalines said on one occasion to Adjutant-General Bonnet, who called his attention to the fact that he had given his word to spare certain prisoners: "Hold your tongue, Bonnet; do you not know that since the revolution there is no such thing as word of honor?" M. Ardouin remark, I. v. p. 408: "Dessalines had in his theory of revolution two ideas, viz.: 'Coupe tetes; brule cazes,'" which was equivalent to saying in French, "Tuer et incendier—shoot and burn."

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reason of these milder virtues; he was a man truly amiable and humane. Toussaint L'Ouverture loved Charles Belair and addressing him one day, in his peculiar way—we know he had the art of saying agreeable things—he reminded Belair of his valiant conduct during an action in which victory was achieved after a severe struggle with the enemy: "Charles, you have served to-day like a brave soldier." "General," replied Belair, "I will be faithful to you till death." He was as good as his word.

Charles Belair's former companions in arms, Generals Dommage and Maurepas, were put to death in a different manner; but their death was none the less cruel. Dommage was bound to the stake, at which he perished. Maurepas was drowned in the sea, after the evacuation. Paul L'Ouverture, the brother of General L'Ouverture, a man distinguished for his courage, modesty and humanity, who had so proved himself from the very commencement of the war, was rewarded with a watery grave. Pierre Baptiste, the godfather of Toussaint L'Ouverture, who had reached the good old age of 105 years, was drowned. Of the relatives of L'Ouverture there remained in Saint Domingo but one, his sister, Mme. Claude Martin.

Let us turn from these scenes of horror, and the spirit of implacable hatred and revenge which characterized and followed in the wake of a war, prolonged through years, to pursue in thought, the Heros in its rapid voyage across the ocean. Generul Savary, of Saint Domingo, acted in the capacity of gaoler aboard the Heros, and it has been said that this officer seemed to forget the respect which was due to a general who had not given up his sword. He seemed to take wicked pleasure in speaking of the military and political affairs of Saint Domingo with a manner forbidden by courtesy and propriety in the presence of Toussaint L'Ouverture. He replied to the heartless officer: "En me renversant, on n'a abattu a Saint Domingo, que le trouc de l' arbe de la liberte des noirs; il repoussera, parce que les racines en sont

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profondes et nombreuses."* "In defeating me, you have only thrown down the trunk of the tree of liberty; it will yet repel you, because the roots are deep and numerous."

Toussaint L'Ouverture wrote two letters during the voyage. One was intended for the First Consul, and in it he complained of the conduct of General Leclerc. "After the word of honor," wrote he, "given by the captain-general, who represented the government of France, after the publication of a proclamation, in which he promised to forget the past, as you also wrote, I retired from public life to live quietly, in the midst of my family." The other was addressed to the secretary of the navy and colonies, and the following is the contents: "Citizen Minister, I have been arrested with all my family, by order of the captain-general, who in the mean-time had given me his word of honor, and who had promised me the protection of the French government. I dare therefore reclaim what has been promised: justice and benevolent consideration. If I have committed errors, I ought alone to be punished for them. I implore you, Citizen Minister, to see the First Consul, and interest yourself before him in behalf of my family."†

When Napoleon, in his turn, became a prisoner, did he reclaim the hospitality of the English with so much self possession and dignity?

The voyage was made with so much rapidity that after twenty-five days the coast of the English islands was in sight. The Heros anchored in the harbor of Brest, with the prisoners, August 13th, 1802. During the time the Heros remained at quarantine the Higle arrived from Saint Domingo, having Chief of Battalion Chancy, the nephew and aid-de-camp of Toussaint L'Ouverture, on board. His destination was Toulon.

*P. D. Lacroix.

†His family were not allowed to take anything with them, not even clothing. When they left Saint Domingo they were acturlly in a state of destitution.

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The brig, Nayade, remained in port until the qnarantine regulations had been complied with, in order to transport Placide Seraphin to Belle-Ile-en Mer, where he found Adjutant-General Belly, his fellow-countryman. Five days after the departure of the Nayade, an officer leading a squad of armed men came aboard the Heros* in search of Toussaint L'Ouverture.

It would be superfluous to attempt to describe the sorrow and tears of the L'Ouverture family, at the moment of their separation, which, according to the omen, was to be eternal. General Toussaint L'Ouverture was the first of the family to leave the ship. He was accompanied by the faithful Mars Plaisir, his body servant. The Chaloupe, on board of which these two prisoners went upon leaving the Heros, came to land near Landernau, from which point they were conducted in a carriage, under a good escort, to Morlaix.

The next day when Toussaint L'Ouverture passed through Guingamp, according to the statement made by Mars Plaisir, a number of French officers who had served under him in Saint Domingo, but who at the time belonged to the 82nd regiment of the garrison of Guingamp, having learned that the distinguished prisoner was General L'Ouverture, entreated the officer in charge to stop the carriage for a moment and allow them to see and speak to their former commander. Their request was granted; they rushed to the door of the coach and embraced General L'Ouverture in a manner which proved too clearly their great respect and profound pity. In every city through which he passed he received visits and distinguished

*"The First Consul," says a historian, "did not at the time anticipate that the day would come when he would be forcibly separated from his wife and child." It is worthy of remark that Napoleon I. followed, step by step, the very path through which the First of the Blacks had passed by his orders. The sensible and spiritual Josephine said to Napoleon, on one occasion: "Who knows but what the law of retaliation will be applied to you one day? You will know then, by an awful experience, the sad position in which a man finds himself who, in his turn, was great, and after that reduced, proscribed, condemned, and doomed to end his days in exile."

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consideration from the principal authorities. General L'Ouverture finally arrived at the *Chateau de Joux*. Here we will leave our unfortunate prisoner for a time, and occupy ourselves for a moment with the condition of his family, which in itself was sufficient to arouse the sympathy of any human heart.

The brig Nayade, returning from Belle Ile en Mer, took on board the wife of Toussaint L'Ouverture, his two sons, Isaac and Saint Jean; Louise Chancy, and their servants, and sailed with them to Bayonne, situated along the frontier of France, where they were disembarked. "M. de Reignas, principal commissary of this port," as stated by M. Isaac L'Ouverture, "came and took the family of Toussaint L'Ouverture from aboard the ship Nayade, and conducted them to the house of the bishop, where apartments had been prepared for them."* General Ducas, commander of the place and chief magistrate of the city of Bayonne, made it his business to visit the family, as did also Adjutant-General Dubuisson, a native of Bayonne and formerly one of Toussaint L'Ouverture's aides-de-camp, in the army of Saint Domingo. As much, also, can be said of General Bedos, an old warrior and a companion in arms of Toussaint L'Ouverture.

This consideration, which they did not seek, extended by the most worthy and respected citizens, was a source of consolation to the members of the unfortunate family, and especially when we remember that they were so situated that it was difficult to acquire new friends, while it was to be expected that the zeal of former friends would soon wax cold.

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*The people of Bayonne manifested no little degree of interest in the unfortunate family, which arrived on Sept. 1st. The most pressing wants of Mme. L'Ouverture and Mlle. Chancy were looked after by the ladies of Bayonne. M. Isaac L'Ouverture found a true friend in young Esther Berthier, a former school fellow. General of Brigade Ducas wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, in which was found this expression of heart-felt sympathy: "If I were more fortunate, I would come to their rescue." These facts give us some idea of the extreme condition of want to which the family of General Toussaint L'Ouverture had been reduced.

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Let us turn our attention for a moment to Toussaint L'Ouverture, as there remains unmentioned a remark or two which claims our consideration. M. Augustin Regis, a man of color, a staff officer in the army of Saint Domingo, and the author of a pamphlet, the title of which runs "Memoire Historique sur Toussaint L'Ouverture," says that on his arrival at Nantes, a prisoner, Toussaint L'Ouverture was placed in a prison of that city, and while there the prefect of the *arrondissement*, and other magistrates, asked him what he considered improper questions, to which he made but one answer: "*Vous avez ma tete, messieurs, mais croyez le bien, vous n' avez pas encore ma queue et vous vous repentirez de vos in consequences.*" If this statement is apocryphal, it was nevertheless perfectly justified by the situation.

Certain writers, according authority to a version which has already been exploded—for example, the historian Saint Remy—have declared that the First Consul, wishing to have the cruel and secret pleasure of seeing the celebrated black, called First of the Blacks and the Bonaparte of the Antiles, face to face, caused him to be shut up in a temple—in the same chateau, where perhaps to-day the shadows of Louis XVI. and Toussaint L'Ouverture wandering up and down together, demand of the times in which they lived, a justification of the wrongs which they were called upon to endure.

The inventors of this statement have confounded Toussaint L'Ouverture, who never saw Paris, with Pinchinat, a man of color, who was notorious for a short time at Saint Domingo, and whose notoriety followed him to Paris. In fact, he was imprisoned in the Temple in 1801, and died April 30th, 1802, —before the deportation of Toussaint L'Ouverture—in the Hospital de la Force, one of the prisons of Paris. He was considered as an abettor in the troubles which occurred in Saint Domingo, on the 30 Ventrose—March 20th—1796. The language he used from time to time was regarded by the government as extravagant and dangerous.

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The assassination* of Toussaint L'Ouverture was regarded by Josephine, in her memoirs, as the counterpart of the horrible death of the Duke of Enghien,—a fact sufficiently significant; so much so, that it is unnecessary to augment the tragic circumstances.

The following paragraph is from the pen of Mme. de Stael: "Toussaint L'Ouverture was conducted into one of the prisons of France, where he perished in a most miserable manner. Perhaps Bonaparte did not again remember this crime, as he was less reproached than others."

Fascinated and dazzled by the victories of the greatest general of modern times, the French occupied themselves but little, either with the victims of his personal ambition or those of his destructive politics.

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*There is sufficient proof to justify the assertion. Toussaint's death was premature. Both the climate of France and the damp and cold condition of the prison, were essentially contrary to his nature, as were also the privations which he was called upon to sustain by reason of a cruel system.

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CHAPTER XXXIV.

FORT DE JOUX. TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE INTERROGATED. THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF HIS DEATH. THE POST-MORTEM EXAMINATION. EVACUATION OF SAINT DOMINGO. THE AUTONOMY OF THE HAYTIENS RECOGNIZED. THE ISLAND IS AGAIN CALLED HAYTI, THE NAME BY WHICH IT WAS KNOWN WHEN DISCOVERED BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

Thibeaudeau,* who was a prolific writer before, during and after the revolution, informs us that on the day Toussaint L'Ouverture was arrested General Leclerc wrote to the Secretary of the Navy and Colonies, and among other things made use of the following significant words: "I send to France, with all his family, this man, so profoundly treacherous. The government will see what is best to do with him." The same writer dwelling upon the odious recommendation, makes the following observation, which has been ratified by posterity: "An unfortunate enemy, the Premier des Noirs, merited more consideration."

The fact is, whatever may have been the calumny heaped upon Toussaint L'Ouverture, by men who were only interested to make his grand personality appear in the wrong light—although to accomplish this it was necessary to have recourse to jealousies, vengeance and prejudice—Toussaint, in whom the *Negrophiles* saw, at a certain epoch, the *Spartacus*, called forth by the philosopher Raynal, the *forerunner* of Abbe Gregoire; Toussaint, compared by some, on account of his misfortures, to Montezuma, will remain under a more beautiful title than the defender of the Indies, a legendary figure wrapped up in humanity, an illustrious victim sacrificed to the infernal gods of an inhuman and unwise politic.

On July 6th, and six days before the landing of the general-

*Thibeaudeau was a member of the society known by the name of *Amis des Noirs*, the object of which we have already explained.

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in-chief, whom he had not been able to conquer by force of arms, Leclerc, who appeared to be haunted always by recollections of Toussaint L'Ouverture, expedited a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, in which he described more fully than in the first communication the disposition the government ought to make of the distinguished prisoner. Leclerc wrote: "You will understand the importance of keeping this man a great distance from the seacoast, and retaining him in a prison that is perfectly safe. He has so thoroughly impressed himself upon his countrymen that his presence at any moment will create an explosion. I have already inquired of the government to know what I must do with his possessions. In my opinion they ought to be confiscated, and for the time being they shall be sequestered."

The sequel will enable us to understand to what extent the recommendations of Captain-General Leclerc were executed.

At the entrance of a narrow defile in the mountains of *Jura Francais*, on a rock which shoots upward like an arrow in the clouds, may be seen the antique feudal residence of one of the most ancient families of the *Franche Comte*. This advanced post is on the Franco-Switzerland frontier and is still known by the name of Fort de Joux.*

The only persons who occupied this fortification in the month of July, 1802, were a few veterans, surprised to find themselves required to finish there a perfectly tranquil and unoccupied existence, after the tumult and activity of the camp. If you inquired of them concerning the past history of the gloomy retreat, they would show you the Caveau de la Chatelaine, the Puits des Espagnols, the prison where Mirabeau expiated the follies of his youth and commenced those sad and amorous intrigues with Sophie Ruffay, which were to end in suicide in the castle of Vincennes. They would say to you,

*This fort acquired new distinction in the unlucky war of 1870-71, in refusing to surrender, and in the destruction of the enemy which occupied the narrow defile, that was literally swept by the guns of this fort.

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also, but in a very low tone of voice, for the cruel system of which they were the victims had made them suspicious, that at the summit of this rock, where the vultures gathered to devour their prey, and in a narrow hole, two Africans, heaved up by the revolution in Saint Domingo, expired prematurely of cold and misery.

The presence of a negro among those whose destiny was a mystery, even to themselves, went to enrich the historical treasures from which the writers of legends would draw in after years. Toussaint L'Ouverture learned on entering Fort de Joux that two men of color had taken up their abode in the frightful dungeon prior to his arrival. One was General Rigaud,* the other, General Martial Besse, officers who were in rebellion and with whom he negotiated when he was conducting the war in the South. These two generals were allowed to communicate with each other. As for Toussaint L'Ouverture, no one was permitted to see or speak to him, except the commander of the fort, or his deputy,† and his servant, who was still with him.‡ Generals Rigaud and Martial Besse had recourse to the keeper of the fort, from whom they received information of their unfortunate companion. Toussaint L'Ouverture communicated sentiments to them through the same officer, which suggested the sad calamity they were called upon to share in common. At Saint Domingo, when an officer announced to Toussaint L'Ouverture, by order of General Leclerc, that General Rigaud had been embarked, he replied: "It is not against me that one has brought this general here, and it is not on my account that one has embarked him. I regret his departure."

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*Rigaud and his companion did not remain long confined in prison. Rigaud and his family resided for a long time near the center of France, and finally he and Martial Besse returned to Hayti.

†Letter of M. Jeannin, secretary of the commander of the fort.

‡Mars Plaisir, who sent to M. Isaac L'Ouverture an account of his sojourn at Fort de Joux.

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Toussaint L'Ouverture, the general-in-chief, was far from thinking at that time that the two captains (L'Ouverture and Rigaud) who had saved the colony from the foreign yoke, would be one day victims of the same cruel political system, and prisoners on a rock which marked the Franco-Switzerland frontier. To the horrors of a tomb decorated with the name of a prison, to privations the most severe, we must not forget to add the moral tortures,—tortures which had their sting, not only in the evil accomplished, but in imaginary crimes. This threat: "Toussaint, we will overtake you," was accomplished, to the satisfaction of those who had very recently thrown it in his face. From the commencement of autumn, the mountains of Jura were covered with a thick mantel of snow and the cold and frost permeated the atmosphere of the prison, penetrating the inmost dungeon occupied by Toussaint L'Ouverture, who was born in the tropics. In this dark, damp and miserably cold vault, the unfortunate Toussaint, who never had experienced a winter, hovered over an insufficient fire, chilled and shaking through every fiber of his body. He was soon seized with a violent cough, which wrecked his whole frame and added to the oppression of his soul that of a fearful disease. At times an involuntary complaint betrayed his courage, when, all at once, becoming self-possessed, he would read page after page of the open Bible on the table before him, and thus make his offering to God, from whom he received consolation, with a sublime resignation in the midst of humiliation and indescribable suffering. Mars Plaisir relates in his unpublished correspondence: "The dark thoughts of an awful death never seemed to leave him, notwithstanding I struggled with heart and will to dissipate them and cheer him. But when he saw that after my strongest efforts to surmount all difficulties, I was about to lose my courage, he would in his turn breathe into my soul a new life. Seeing the grandeur of his soul, I threw my arms around his neck and embraced him. His sympathy for me was very great, and he often tried to console me by conversations

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like the following: 'My wife, Isaac, Saint Jean, my Louise and Plaisir, these constitute my family, and in our captivity we will not cease to think and speak of them, and to shed tears because we shall never see them again.'"

Toussaint L'Ouverture had a sufficient amount of reserve force left to address letters to the First Consul and the Secretary. These communications were remarkable, if not in style, in energy of thought and elevation of sentiment.

"In the name of God and humanity," wrote he to the First Consul, "I pray you, look with favorable consideration on my protestation and the condition of my family. Allow your great genius to be employed in scrutinizing my conduct and the manner in which I have served my country; all the dangers through which I have passed in doing my duty. I have served my country with zeal and courage, shedding my blood and giving part of what I possessed in the service. But notwithstanding my efforts, all my work has been in vain. To-day I am shut up in a dungeon, without power to do anything; covered with chagrin and my health impaired. I ask of you my liberty. And I invoke you in the exercise of your power and genius to pass on my fate."

Toussaint L'Ouverture claimed justice, and until the hour of his death he did not cease to invoke it, but for him there was only Divine justice.

Mars Plaisir said to him one day, noticing that he was more reserved than usual: "Master, those who torture you in this manner, wish, without doubt, to know all. Write out your defense. In their rage they will follow you to the tomb." This remark, dropped by a devoted friend—for misfortunes establish between those who participate in them, a sort of equality—appeared a streak of light to L'Ouverture. He commenced at once the lengthy statement and great defense which remain to-day in the possession of the government and are to be found in the palace of Versailles, among the archives of Saint Domingo. This document contains a faithful exposi-

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tion of his conduct and a refutation of the accusations of which he was the object in an epoch much troubled by his military and political existence. He wrote with difficulty, and we are not surprised when we remember the character of his prison life. Nevertheless he wrote and dictated a number of notes and communications. M. Jeannin, Secretary of the Chateau de Joux, acted frequently as his secretary. In a letter to M. Isaac L'Ouverture, M. Jeannin remarks: "I have also written out after Toussaint L'Ouverture's dictation, the memoirs which he transmitted to the government during the days of his confinement."

The existence of the memoirs of Toussaint L'Ouverture is certain, and their authenticity, if called in question, may be established by a single fact. M. Jeannin writes in the same letter to which we have referred: "No persons but myself and the commander are allowed to speak to him."

When M. Ardouin asserts that Rigaud assisted him to write them, he simply misrepresents the plain facts in the case, and draws upon himself the condemnation of all those who seek for the truth in history.

Toussaint L'Ouverture entertained the hope that the letters which he addressed to the First Consul and the Secretary would bring about a change for the better, but the political system of which he was a victim had ordained otherwise. The bars of his prison were drawn in the future as in the past, only to admit the commander or his deputy, M. Jeannin, who came at regular hours with his very meagre allowance. The hope he entertained of a change for the better, he soon learned to regard as a mere illusion. Yet it was impossible for him to support the rigors of captivity without protestation against the injustice of which his conscience revolted. He wrote a letter to the First Consul, the vigorous reasoning of which in no way detracted from the dignity of his sentiments and the grandeur of his character as a man and a soldier who had been honored with the highest rank in the army. The following is

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an extract from the letter: "General Leclerc has used means in his relations with me which have not been employed in dealing with the greatest criminals. Without doubt I have received this treatment on account of my color, but my color has not prevented my serving my country with zeal and fidelity. My color in no way interferes with my courage and honor. General Leclerc ought to be frank. Did he fear me as a rival? I compare him to the Roman Senate which followed Hannibal to the end of his career."*

One morning Mars Plaisir said to Toussaint L'Ouverture, in an anxious tone, "Master, General Cafarelli desires to speak to you." General Cafarelli, aid-de-camp of the First Consul, accompanied by the commander of the fort and his secretary, penetrating the outer courts of the prison, came into the dungeon occupied by Toussaint L'Ouverture, who appeared for the moment to be free from physical infirmities. His countenance, which could be seen very plainly in the dim light of the fire Mars Plaisir had just revived on the hearth, had the appearance of ebony. General Cafarelli had not the ability to read that face. Was the peculiar expression it wore indicative of fear or impatience?

During this first interview Toussaint L'Ouverture complained bitterly of the outrages and calamities heaped upon him by his detractors and the injustice which he had suffered at the hands of the government. After answering the qnestions which had been propounded by General Cafarelli, Toussaint said: "Doubtless, General, you have been charged by the First Consul to announce to me that, granting my request, I am permitted to appear before a tribunal, lawfully constituted to hear and pass upon my case."

General Cafarelli made no answer whatever to the supposi-

*The same allusion was made at Saint Helene in 1816. "The Romans," says Las Cases in his memoires, "pursued Hannibal to the banks of the Bithynia." Had the writer the memoirs of Toussaint L'Ouverture before him? We are inclined to think so.

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tion, but having concluded his conversation, he took leave of the prisoner. The impression made upon the mind of Toussaint L'Ouverture by the interview was far from favorable. His physical condition became worse. Disappointment, darker in hue and more foreboding, seemed to take possession of him. We cannot reflect upon his painful condition without associating him in our thoughts with the distinguished prisoner of Saint Helene, who in his turn suffered in irons, a victim of the times in which he lived.* Was the Haytien prisoner of Fort de Joux more unfortunate in his damp and frosty dungeon, than the French prisoner sent into exile by the English, upon a rock exposed to all the changes of atmosphere? Sometimes, at least, Napoleon enjoyed the mild and sweet breeze of the evening, while L'Ouverture sustained the northern blast, which chilled him through every fiber. This was a sad moment in the experience of the prisoner of Fort de Joux, for while the other transports suffered in common the disadvantages peculiar to the existence of an exile, Toussaint L'Ouverture remained in the estimation of all just men the martyr of liberty—the liberty of the blacks.

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*Napoleon, speaking of the conditions by which he was surrounded on the island of Saint Helene, said: "From time to time there was a furious wind penetrated with a heavy damp atmosphere, face to face with which I found myself whenever I went out. When this was not the case, my head was scorched with the sun, for want of that which would afford shade. They continue to confine me to the most disagreeable part of the island. When I was at Biars, I had at least the advantage of a shady path in which to walk, and a mild climate, but here such is not the case. Each day the government seems to seek some new method by which to torment and insult me. It increases my suffering by increasing my privatations. It wishes to shorten my life by multiplying irritating circumstances all the time, and more than all, I am not allowed to speak to those I may meet. This liberty—the liberty to speak—is not refused to criminals who are condemned to die. It is admissible to bind a man in chains, confine him in a dungeon and feed him on bread and water, but not to refuse him the liberty to speak. I have been condemned without being heard or judged. Contrary to law, both human and divine, I am retained as a prisoner, separated from my wife and son."—Napoleon in Exile.

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General Cafarelli, on the morning following the first interview, made another visit to the dungeon in which L'Ouverture was a prisoner. Toussaint was so sick, on account of exposure, and so benumbed with cold, it was with great difficulty he spoke at all. Truly it was not a very favorable time to draw revelations from Toussaint L'Ouverture, who had been reserved from the beginning, which was the special object of the visit. General Cafarelli gives us to understand in his report that he was sent to ask him the following questions: What treaties had he made with the agents of Great Britain and the United States; what were his political views, and to find out what disposition he had made of his treasure, which was commonly reported to be a marvelous sum, and would serve a good purpose at the time when the Republic was so much in need of funds.

Toussaint L'Ouverture, finding the insinuations of his adversary but very thin disguises for perfidious attacks on his efforts and character, rose from his seat, strong in his sense of rectitude and the knowledge of service rendered, and responded with a vehemence which had not characterized any of his utterances up to this time. The report in which we have the result of this conference, and which bears the date of September 22, 1802, establishes the fact that General Cafarelli was not at all happy in the accomplishment of the mission with which he had been entrusted by the government of France. The only explanation of his failure was that he had not been able to arrive at anything, simply because, as Cafarelli put it, the man whom he interrogated was crafty and cautious, master of himself, polite and calculating, filling his discourses with the appearance of frankness. This man, General Cafarelli declared, knew what he intended to say before he said it, and only said that which he had fully made up his mind to say. Had General Cafarelli reason to complain of the disposition on the part of Toussaint L'Ouverture to be reserved?

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Were not the questions, under the circumstances, very improper and exasperating?

The representative of the government pointed out two instances in which he declared Toussaint L'Ouverture gave proof of a grandly constituted mind and a marked elevation of soul. The first was when they brought to him the linen which he had ordered. It was found in such position that, when the circumstances were taken into consideration, he might have used it to take his own life. The second was when they required him to give up his razor. He said on that occasion: Those who think I will take my life do me an injustice. They think I have not the courage to support my misfortunes. I have a family, and my religion forbids me for another reason, to make an attempt on my life." General Cafarelli said also that when he made his first visit, Toussaint L'Ouverture appeared to him patient and resigned. He still looked for consideration at the hands of the First Consul, for he was of the opinion that he merited it. When he received the news that General Fontaine had been handed over by Leclerc to a military commission, which passed judgment on him and condemned him to death, and that the brave Morisset after being treated like a villain, was forced to submit to an ignominious death—when these sad facts were communicated to Toussaint L'Ouverture, it is said he shed tears of blood. It was natural that the two generals, who were seeking to find out as much as possible from each other, and situated as they were, more especially Toussaint L'Ouverture, should at times throw into their retorts no little animation. Hence we are not surprised to find even a paroxysm now and then in the replies of the accused Toussaint L'Ouverture.

General Cafarelli realized that it was difficult, if not impossible to extract the information he so much desired from him, and at each visit he thought it not well to present the real object of his mission. He complained of him at head-quarters, and the instructions he received in answer thereto were to the ef-

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fect that he might have recourse to the most extreme measures in order to subdue his obstinate and wily prisoner. Toussaint L'Ouverture had no clothing in the prison at Fort de Joux, save what he had on when he was captured at Saint Domingo. This had the marks of his grade, and in consequence he believed himself accused but not condemned. On one occasion when General Cafarelli visited the dungeon in which he was confined, he was ordered to take off the uniform, which marked the rank of general. Toussaint at first refused, and apostrophized with violence, then, all at once, he withdrew his uniform and throwing it at the envoy, said to him, "take it to your master."

Speaking of Toussaint L'Ouverture, M. Dubois says: "This man who made use of positive, energetic and at times, passionate language, when addressing the special agents of Bonaparte, was most gracious in his disposition and mild in his language toward those who had charge of him and upon whom he depended for his nourishment. He had little or nothing to say, and passed the hours in a pensive mood with his head resting upon his hand, inclining against the iron cross of the grating covering the window, at which he sat the greater part of the day, glancing at those who passed within the range of his observation, and who were allowed the privilege of exercising in the open air during certain hours in the day. The poor man thought much of his country and his family in his reflections, and of the humiliating circumstances to which he was subjected. When he addressed himself to General Cafarelli his words glowed with the fire of indignation; but on the other hand, when he spoke to those who attended him he was as gentle as a lamb."* Toussaint L'Ouverture did not appreciate the change through which he was relieved of his old uniform and supplied with other articles of clothing. He understood exactly what the change meant and said: "It is not

*Letter of M. Dubois.

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necessary that they should add humiliation to my unfortunate condition."

Mars Plaisir said in a communication that at the expiration of four months of the bitter experiences through which he passed in captivity, the day came when it was announced to him that he must take his final leave of his master. The bearer simply said: "General, I have orders to withdraw from you your servant," and he had scarcely time to embrace him and hear the words he wished him to bear to Isaac and the other members of his family. The cruel separation was like the falling of a thunderbolt to them.

It is said the principal reason why the French government rendered the captivity of Toussaint L'Ouverture so intolerable, was the hope of making him divulge, by means of torture, if not otherwise, a secret, viz., the amount and location of treasure concealed by his order. This opinion is entitled to some consideration, when we recall the interrogatories of General Cafarelli in the interviews with Toussaint L'Ouverture, and the information furnished by the letters of Mars Plaisir.

After the separation, effected by order of the government, the authorities took charge of his servant and supplied his wants. They believed he knew of the existence of the treasure and was able to designate the exact spot where it was hid, and it was their purpose to have him return to Saint Domingo, under proper supervision, and make the discovery. But the evacuation of Saint Domingo by the French, prevented the execution of the plan upon which the government had set its heart. Finally, yielding to the incessant solicitations of General Cafarelli, Toussaint L'Ouverture declared to him that for four years he had not even touched the pay to which he was entitled as a soldier; that he had not appropriated the colonial treasury to himself; neither had he divided it among his relatives; that he did not need the colonial treasure; that he was rich in lands and cattle; that he had always been an honest man; that he challenged anyone to prove the contrary;

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that he guarded nothing so much as his integrity ; and finally he added, ringing the charge on his adversary, " I have lost something else besides treasures." He had lost his liberty.

Nothing was better calculated to arouse the indignation of honest Toussaint, and irritate his fine sensibility, than the vague suspicion of dishonesty with which the chiefs of the government wished to charge him.

Toussaint L'Ouverture said to himself in meditation : " Injury and calumny have been the chosen weapons of an enemy in all ages. Socrates, Cicero, Cæsar, and many other illustrious names of antiquity and modern times, were paid in this undesirable coin." But the thought that the memory of the First of the Blacks—that the glorious name which he was to bequeath to his sons, as perhaps their only heritage—would be tainted with the crime of peculation ; the idea was insupportable, and his whole nature revolted against it. Did he attempt to defend himself against this outrage ? The undertaking calmed the agitation which had taken possession of him, but did not bring about his restoration, which probably he did not even hope for at the time. We may repeat here what has already been mentioned, his private life was pure and his home magnificent, and yet there was no attempt to imitate the rich colonels of Saint Domingo. He was parsimonious in the extreme when the exigencies of the situation required it, and especially was this true in regard to the funds belonging to the government.

Conference followed conference, during the days of his imprisonment, but the revalations so impatiently awaited—provoked sometimes by insinuations, sometimes by promises and again by threats, followed by new methods of torture—were never made by Toussaint L'Ouverture. Doubtless at this time he remembered the twelve millions confided by Rigaud to Jean-Blanc Louis Minos,* afterwards taken away from Aux

*He was the god-son and confidant of General Rigaud.

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Cayes by Chervin* and for which Christophe, the friend of Leclerc, was alone able to render account. And perhaps he was satisfied that a declaration on his part would have satisfied the hopes of his tormentors. Leclerc was of the opinion that Toussaint L'Ouverture observed a prudent silence with regard to the much desired treasure. It is generally believed in France and Hayti that Toussaint L'Ouverture carried the secret of the hidden treasure with him to the grave. The belief in the existance of great treasures in Hayti is so strong that the slumbers of night are disturbed by dreams of colonial treasures at Cahos, in the mountains and hills at LaCroix, at Descahaux and at Ennery. Those devoted to the goddess of gold have examined, sounded and searched standing walls and deep foundations. They have turned up the earth, deep and wide. Believers have invoked the aid of Saint Antoine, and the superstitious have had recourse to the high priest of the Vaudoux craft in search of it, but until now the precious treasure remains undiscovered.† Toussaint L'Ouverture, in the course of his remarks in response to repeated questions about the treasures, said time and time again, that his only treasure was his conscience. He avowed that on one occasion when the French army was pursuing him, he tried to save the colonial treasure, in which there were 250,000 francs which belonged to himself. Official reports which record the events of those times, show that a portion of the sum mentioned was taken by Rochambeau, together with the public funds and trans-

*This treasure, it is believed, was sent to the United States. It was generally believed, however, that Christophe was the only one who could give an account of it.

†General de Vincent, to whom had been committed the task of discovering the treasures, wrote from Paris to M. Isaac L'Ouverture, 1828: "You need not for a moment interest yourself about the matter. Guard well your secret, for it is very evident that nobody but the government will be benefited. I am satisfied you will not be able to obtain any compensation. You may therefore see that the revelations you may make will only profit the Pres. . . and those who surround him."

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ported to remote points, and that several millions fell into the hands of General Leclerc, not counting that which General Christophe appropriated to his own use. Toussaint L'Ouverture estimated the sum that was in the *caisses publiques* of the following cities: Gonaives, Leogane, Jeremie, Jacmel, Aux Cayes. Port au Prince, Ans a Veau and Saint Domingo City, at eleven miliions, seven hundred thousand francs.

General Cafarelli, after holding seven consecutive conferences with Toussaint L'Ouverture, abandoned all hopes of learning from him anything further on the subject of hidden wealth. A wooden chair and truckle bed, in poor condition, were the principal articles of furniture in the dungeon where the successive important conferences were held. The last statement made by Toussaint L'Ouverture, in regard to the matter of treasure, in a tone scarcely audible, was: "Yes, Saint Domingo contains immense treasure—incalculable; but to obtain it three things are indispensable: liberty, peace and labor. It may be the French government will regret one day, perhaps to-morrow, that it was not contented to permit Saint Domingo to be governed by Toussaint L'Ouverture." The failure of the French expedition rendered these words prophetic.

From this moment he was considered and treated as a criminal, and each day, like the captive of Longwood,* who years afterwards experienced the bitterness of captivity, he watched the days of his earthly existence growing shorter.

Outrageous as it may appear, by order of the management to whom he was committed, Toussaint L'Ouverture was denied the use of coffee, the only drink which seemed to refresh him

*Josephine qui estimait Toussaint L'Ouverture lui avait predit qu 'il serait puni par la loi du talion c' est l' homme qui vous convient le mieux ajouta-t-elle, aussitot que vous chercherez a lui ravir son autorite, vous vous en ferez un ennenu qui peut affaiblir votre puissance. . . . . D' ailleurs, quels reproches avez vous a foires, a ce Chef des Noirs ? . . . Je crains que votre nombreuse famille ne dvienne un jour la source de tous vos malheurs.

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and impart a little energy to his impotent members. His only nourishment at the time of which we now speak was a little weak panade (bread soup), which he made himself. On the 5th of December, Gazagnaire, chief of battalion, who was in charge of the garrison at Fort de Joux, informed the Minister of War that Toussaint L'Ouverture was solicitous about himself, and was actually treating himself. These rumors, coming from others rather than the director of the prison, were sufficient to give birth to many suppositions, which under the pen of M. Metral, author of a work on the "Last Events of Saint Domingo," took the form of accusation. The manner in which M. Metral construed the matter was accredited in various quarters. The story about the use of poison played its role in this sad affair, as in that of Saint Helene.

The ex-governor of Saint Domingo, the extraordinary man, known to and conserved by posterity as the "First of the Blacks," died in his dungeon, on the night of the 17 Germinal an XI.—April, 1803.

The following terms explain the process verbal, in which we find the declaration of the death of Toussaint L'Ouverture, delivered by the juge de paix of the canton of Pontarlier. "Informed by the citizen Amiot, commandant d armes at Fort de Joux, that about half-past eleven o'clock this morning, going, as was his custom, into the *chambre* of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the prisoner detained by order of the government, in order to carry sustenance to him, he found him upon a chair near the fire, his head leaning against the chimney, the right arm hanging* down and giving no movement. He spoke to him and received no answer; approached and touched him but discovered no movement; surprised, the officer made haste to give us the news, inviting us to appear at said fort

*Sa relation d'un gardien du fort porte en outre: "Ayant les jambes etendues, a ses pieds etait une mauvaise assiette a son usage, et quil avait ecornee apparemment daus a mauve ment de convulsion; a la cremaillere pendait une petite marmite qui lui servait aussi a faire chauffer de l'eau et a preparer une sorte de panade qu'il etait oblige de faire lui meme."

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accompanied by a doctor and surgeon in order to bear testimony and confirm the condition in which he found the prisoner. Complying with the invitation, we arrived in about two hours, accompanied by citizen Travernier, *fils* M. D. and citizen Gresset, surgeon-mojor of said fort; citizen Pajot, assistant of the arondissement of the department of Doubois and the commander of the fort, who took with him the keys of the apartment of the prison in which Toussaint L'Ouverture was confined, on leaving his house. On arriving, we entered the dungeon and found the prisoner in the attitude before described. The examination was made in the presence of a number of witnesses. The report of the examination was not made in connection with the process verbal which we have given and to which was attached the signature of the Secretary of the Navy, Decres—but we read elsewhere, in a letter of the citizen Jeannin, Secretary de la place du Chateau de Joux, that the prisoner of state, Toussaint L'Ouverture, died of the disease known as *appoplexie puro-peripulmonie*, as was established by the process-verbal of the juge de Paix de Pontarlier and the examination conducted by the doctor and surgeon of the same town, who performed the operation. Another explanation which seems to leave no doubt in regard to the character of the disease with which Toussaint L'Ouverture died, may be found in the following paragraph: "They opened the head, which was full of puss exhaling a disagreeable odor, which, according to report, was caused by the keen sense of disgrace that had fallen upon him as the result of accusations unsupported by reason and sufficient testimony. Le bon homme disait que c'etait la chagrin qui lui avait porte la . . . et gate le cerveau." We read also that the story about poison was not believed. and that the doctors had satisfactorily proven that it had not been used.

Without attaching more importance than is necessary to the thousand and one suppositions, or comments, to which the friends and enemies of Toussaint L'Ouverture, and the pro-

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scribed of Saint Domingo, have given general circulation, it remains an undisputed fact that he expiated his glory in the cold, damp, dark dungeon on the rock, known to us by the name of Fort de Joux, as Napoleon afterwards rendered up his life and great name on the rock of Saint Helene.

If one may believe a writer of the times Toussaint L'Ouverture, during his last moments, as did Jacques de Molay, cited Napoleon Bonaparte to the presence of God, where they both would meet sooner or later, probably in the near future.

Does not history also speak of the King of Castile, to whom is attached the terrible surname of Ferdinand l'Ajourne, Ferdinand IV. ?

"These quotations," said a great writer—Chateaubriand, perhaps,—"are not without moral dignity. History abounds in tragedy, but we ought not to banish from sight the facts which give complexion to opinions, customs, manners, dispositions and tendencies, from which we may learn lessons of great value. Under all circumstances it will remain true that the prayer of the innocent and unfortunate is heard in heaven, and that the oppressor and oppressed will appear sooner or later before the same Judge."*

In the meantime it is not too much to believe that a day may dawn on earth, when men will be no longer under the domination of passion and interest, and when the voice of truth and justice will make itself heard.

Some time after the sad and tragic events, which occurred at Fort de Joux, a writer of Bordeaux, the city which still had compassion for Saint Domingo, wrote these words: "Recently there died on an obscure rock, situated along the Franco-Switzerland frontier, a man whose name has been spoken in our day around every fireside, and who, separated in the crucible of the times from the deterioating influences of contem-

*M. Isaac L'Ouverture caused the remains of his father to be disinterred, and his widow committed the same to the care of Gragnon Lacoste, until Hayti shall remember to call for the dust of her greatest hero.

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poraneous passions, will remain great." The noble and courageous Toussaint L'Ouverture saved the honor and dignity of France in the hour of great need.

It was reserved for another citizen of Bordeaux to review the almost forgotten, sainted character of Toussaint L'Ouverture, after a lapse of seventy-three years.

General Rochambeau, the successor of Leclerc, when he took command of the expedition, having to combat pestilential maladies and men disciplined under the French regime—but at the time fighting for liberty and independence—concluded to evacuate the island of Saint Domingo, in order to accomplish and carry into effect the results of mature deliberation. He negotiated with Dessalines, November 19th, 1803, at which time the evacuation took place.

July 1st, 1804, is the date which marks the rise of Haytien autonomy, after which Saint Domingo was called by its former name, Hayti, *terre montagneuse et boisee.* In fact the name by which it was known when Christopher Columbus made the discovery, December 6th, 1492. The Queen of the Antilles obtained her full and entire independence from Charles X., April 17th, 1825. We would say rather that Charles X. acknowledged fully the independence of Hayti.

When Toussaint L'Ouverture was extracted from Saint Domingo, the French government removed from the colony the only arm which was strong enough to perpetuate the authority of the Republic in the greatest and richest of her foreign possessions,

It was at Gonaives, on January 1, 1804, where General Dessalines convened the generals of the Haytien army with such following and in such a manner as the gravity of the situation and the importance of the issues involved would seem to demand and justify, and it was there and then that he caused to be read to them the Act of Independence which terminated with the words, " forever to renounce France, and to die rather

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than live under her dominion." By a declaration which was made immediately afterwards, and sanctioned by the multitude and signed by the principal generals of the army, General Dessalines was chosen Governor-General of Hayti for life, with power to name his successor, to make peace, and declare war. Thus clothed with arbitrary power, he began to exercise it. Not satisfied with existing regulations and without consulting with and advice from even his military chiefs, he published in 1805 a new constitution, which created dissatisfaction and was the cause of a conspiracy which was directed against the newly established emperor. It was in attempting to put down this movement that Gen. Dessalines fell into an ambuscade and was shot at Pont Rouge, about a half-mile from the city of Port au Prince.

The death of Governor-General Dessalines was followed by a civil war, at the conclusion of which the National Assembly met at Port au Prince. General Petion presented to this august body a constitution, which interfered very much with the prerogatives of the chief executive,—in fact it reduced to a minimum his power. This instrument was approved and adopted by the Assembly, which afterwards continued in session long enough to elect Henry Christophe president of the Republic. This chief, who was elected under a constitution which restrained his power, did not consider his elevation to the first place in the nation, under the circumstances, a compliment, and in this spirit leaving the North he marched to the West and against Port au Prince with 10,000 soldiers. His military operations were attended with indifferent success and failing to accomplish his aim he returned to Cape Hayti, where he created a constitution and organized a government more to his liking and in which he would be able to demonstate, without let or hindrance, his awful ferocity.

In 1806, the National Assembly again met to elect a president. The choice fell on General Petion, who was most emphatically in favor of constitutional government, and who was

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known to entertain truly democratic sentiments. He was not only intelligent and influential in comparison with others, but his position on the question of executive limitation was well known and appreciated. With such a record it was not at all strange that he should have been looked upon as the most deserving and the most representative citizen among those who were at the time to the front, by reason of their intelligence, experience, influence and deeds of valor.

Outside of war and rumors of war, there was no great national event which transpired, certainly none that fixed the attention of the Black Republic and that of other nations interested in her destiny, until the year 1810, at which period General Rigaud, who having escaped from France, returned to Hayti, where he was received with enthusiasm. President Petion, it appears, shared this popular feeling, and assigned Rigaud to an important command in the South. But General Rigaud could not support very long the painful thought of serving under a president who was formerly a subordinate in his service. Rigaud was responsible for the separation of the South from the West, becoming at the same time the dictator of the former section. President Petion did not follow the example of Toussaint L'Ouverture and carry war into the South. The conditions were, however, somewhat changed; but he accepted the situation and allowed Rigaud to continue his administration over the territory where he had usurped authority.

At this era Hayti presented an aspect which has not been repeated in the history of the nation. Christophe* governed

*Christophe was no doubt a very remarkable man, with indomitable energy, who saw the necessity of developing his country, but whose despotic nature cared not for the means, so that the end were obtained. In spite of many admitted atrocities, however, there is no doubt he acquired a marked ascendency over the minds of the people which even to this day is not completely lost. Discussions still continue as to the rival systems of Petion and Christophe, but if to secure the greatest happiness to the greatest number, be the object of government, the laisser-aller system of the former was per-

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with an iron hand in the North. Petion continued at Port au Prince, the much respected and popular president of the West, while Spanish authority obtained through the Eastern section of the island. Rigaud was the military dictator of the South, and then there was a petty African chief by the name of Goman in the extreme west of the Southern section who held absolute despotic sway.

"In 1814 the fall of Napoleon brought about peace in Europe, and the French government hastened to send agents to Hayti to claim submission to the mother country. Petion refused whilst offering an indemnity to the colonists, but Christophe, having secured the secret instructions of the French agent, did not hesitate to execute them. These proceedings of the French made the rival chiefs forget their own dissensions and prepare to receive another French expedition. Orders were given that on its appearance off the coast every town and village should be burned down and that the inhabitants should retire to the mountains. The old planters were urging their government to destroy all the inhabitants of Hayti and repeople it from Africa; but a discovery of their project produced so great an effect in England that public opinion forced the Congress of Vienna to declare that the slave trade was forever abolished."

Petion died in 1818, two years after he had appointed a commission to revise the constitution in such a manner as to require by law the election of the president for life, and to augment the legislative force by adding to the senate the house of deputies. General Boyer was the successor of Petion. He was elected president of Hayti by the Assembly, March, 1818 and occupied the position of chief executive for twenty

haps more suited to the Haytien nature than the severity of the latter. As far as material prosperity was concerned, there was no comparison between the two departments, though the productiveness of the North was founded on the liberal application of the stick.—"Hayti, or the Black Republic"—Sir Spenser St. John, K. C. M. G.

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years. He gave the country a vigorous and honest administration. His first efforts were in the direction of regulating the finances. Such was his regard for Petion that he was favorable to a movement, the aim of which was to honor him with a suitable monument, and such was his sympathy for the poor and disabled that he was favorable to the creation of institutions, the purpose of which was to ameliorate their unfortunate circumstances. President Boyer demonstrated his personal courage and the vigorous policy of his administration, when in order to subjugate General Goman, he prosecuted on quite an extensive plan, military operations in the extreme western section of the South and when by extensive preparations he had put everything in shape to attack Christophe in the North, with every assurance of success; but the impotency of Henry I., followed by suicide, made the prosecution of the campaign unnecessary.

Boyer's march to Cape Hayti was without interruption and triumphant, where he was received with enthusiasm and proclaimed by acclamation, the first President of United Hayti.

Year 1822 the Dominicans severed their relations with Spain and threw from their shoulders the Castilian yoke which brought to an end throughout Saint Domingo the authority and dominations of the Dons. It was immediately after this great event in their history that the Dominicans, of their own accord and by virtue of legal enactments, became an organic part of the Haytien Republic. When President Boyer, on the invitation of the citizens, visited Santo Domingo, he was welcomed to the metropolis of the East with demonstrations of the greatest joy. This apparantly very natural union continued during the administration of the president under whose government it was formed. At the expiration of President Boyer's term the Dominicans in the East and the Haytiens in the West separated from each other and in such conditions as appears in two independent republics, they have each been able down to the present to maintain and perpet-

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uate the autonomy of their respective governments. President Boyer was not always happy in the relations which he sustained to foreign governments, notably in the attitude he sustained to France, and if we are not very much mistaken, this was the rock upon which the Ship of State under his command foundered. Those who are conversant with the history of Hayti, know very well that from the year 1814 to 1825 the government and authorities of Hayti were constantly annoyed by the presentation of French claims—claims which had their origin in the loss and destruction of property sustained by the colonists during the war for independence, which covered a period of fourteen years. The French government, having reached the point where they were determined to force Hayti's recognition of these peculiar, if not questionable claims, especially when looked at from the standpoint of equity, sent to Hayti on a special mission for the purpose determined, Baron de Mackau. This honorable citizen was accompanied by a French fleet sufficiently strong to create a sentiment of respect, and enforce orders in every way perfectly compatible with the military glory of a nation which ranked as one of the first powers of the world.

The sum of £6,000,000 was demanded. This enormous amount of money was out of all proportion to the revenue of the government and the possible sources from which it might draw in the future. The demand was so obviously unjust, in the opinion of those who have had occasion to consider it and who are regarded as competent to judge, that they have not hesitated to declare that the claim would not have been admitted by any court of arbitration. The circumstances were such that there was nothing left for the president and his government to do other than accede to the demand of the French, and that at once. It is worthy of remark that the manner and method adopted by the French to enforce and collect their claim has perhaps, more than anything else, in the opinion of

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the Haytiens, justified them in retaining in every constitution (and they have made many), the famous Article VII.

Not to have admitted the claim would have been to invite the destruction of property and life. To afford an occasion that would not only have brought about a disturbance in the social and industrial relations of every community in the Republic, but which would have justified a general uprising, and which would have entailed on the government and people all the misfortunes and the dire calamity which are inseparable from a general blockade.

The indemnity at first claimed by France in the course of time was reduced to £3,600,000; but the debt has not yet been completely discharged. At a more recent, but quite a remote date, 1838, two treaties were negotiated between Hayti and France--one polictical, by which France acknowledged the complete independence of the Republic; the second, financial, by which the balance of the indemnity was reduced to £2,400,000, and thirty years were allowed for this payment, in annual installments of £80,000. President Boyer abdicated in March, 1843, after a brief show of resistance against the insurrection which was encouraged and conducted by Herard Riviere.

The National Assembly, having finished their new constitution, elected with enthusiasm, on December 30, 1843, General Herard Riviere, President of Hayti. The new president undertook, with an army of 30,000 troops, to subdue the Dominicans and bring the people of the whole island under the jurisdiction of one government. In this effort, to the loss of life, treasure, prestige, we must add all the sad consequences of a terrible failure and a humiliating defeat. After four short months of power Gen. Herard Riviere was deposed and sent into exile. General Gurrier was elected to fill the vacancy and to occupy the responsible position of Chief Magistrate. His administration, though short, was very satisfactory, notwithstanding his irregular habits. He died at the expiration

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of twelve months from the time of election. His successor in executive office was President Pierrot, whose government went down in less than twelve months.

Gen. Riche, who was the choice of the army, was formally inaugurated president of Hayti, on March 1, 1846. This president was not a very intelligent man, but he knew enough, in the formation of his cabinet, to appoint to office competent citizens whose patriotism would not be called in question. Unfortunately his administration did not last twelve months, as he died on the 27th of February, 1847, sincerely regretted by the nation which he tried to serve. On March 2nd, Gen. Soulouque, who was the choice of the cabinet of the late President Riche, was declared chief executive. His administration continued for twelve years. This illiterate chief, who in the opinion of a cabinet composed of very intelligent men, would not be very difficult to handle, but on the other hand would prove an easy and pliant tool, disappointed those who were the chief instruments in his elevation. He proved to be an officer of great force of character, for no weak man could have succeeded so entirely in setting aside both traditions and laws in such a manner as to make it possible to substitute for a republican form of government absolute monarchy. So much that was good and so much that was bad came together during this administration, that had we the inclination to do so, our limit would not allow the discussion. On April 18th, 1852, Soulouque was crowned Emperor of Hayti, under the title of Faustian I. The crown which was placed on his head cost $10,000, and the rest of the paraphernalia displayed on the occasion, required for the purchase $150,000.

Soulouque was followed by General Fabre Jeffrard, who restored the Republic and papal authority, which had been disavowed by the government for more than fifty years. President Jeffrard's administration covered a period of seven years, and in the following chapter is put in comparison with that of President Solomon, for the reason that these illustrious states-

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men are the ablest representatives of the two great political parties which have existed since the foundation of the government, not always, however, under the same names.



PRESIDENT SOLOMON.

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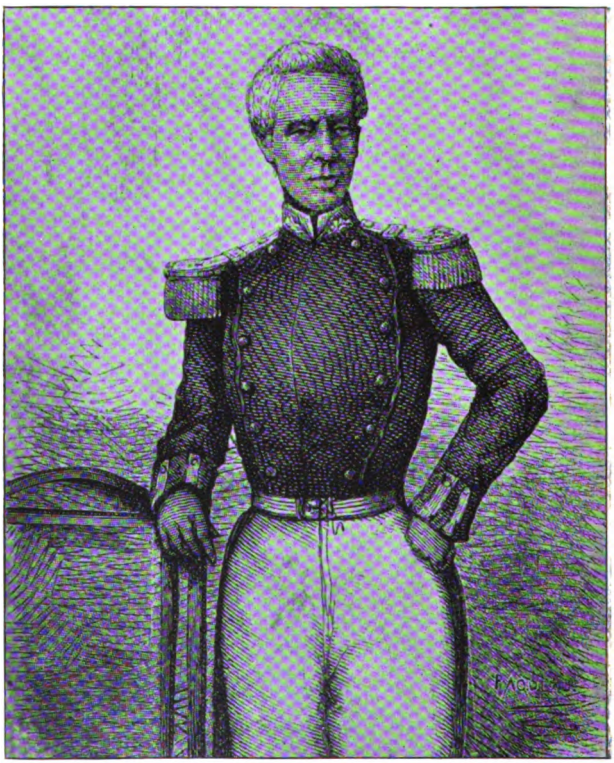
CHAPTER XXXV.

PRESIDENTS JEFFRARD AND SOLOMON CONTRASTED.

If Hayti has produced a great man, one of large and commanding talent, of varied and brilliant culture, one whose life has been distinguished as related as well to national as foreign and international affairs, that man is the late lamented ex-President Solomon. Born at Aux Cayes, educated for the bar, after the usual training in the schools of his country, of large aptitude for learning and culture, enjoying unusual opportunities of social contact in his own home, it is not surprising that even in his comparative youth Solomon became representative in his character and name. He was an apt scholar in history and law; and not confining himself in his studies of such subjects to his own country and its institutions and public affairs, he enlarged while he rendered more profound his understanding and knowledge in such regard. He was especially well read in the history and law of France and Europe, and as he grew older, appreciating the importance and necessity of exact and comprehensive knowledge of American history and law, he became an earnest and diligent student thereof. While, however, he was an accomplished scholar of the French language, he never so far mastered the English as to do more than read it with great difficulty. He was therefore compelled to depend on French sources for his understanding of American affairs, and these not always being trustworthy, he often found his knowledge with respect thereto at fault. He was wont to accept correction in such matters from trustworthy sources with cheerfulness and delight. He was often heard, in more advanced life, especially when great matters of State commanded his attention and decision, to regret that he had not been educated as thoroughly in the English as in the French language; and that he did not understand as thoroughly in the very language of their original definition

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PRESIDENT FABRE JEFFRARD.

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and description, those things which render illustrious American history and the distinguishing principles and doctrines of the law upon which rest, especially the free institutions of the great American Republic.

In his commanding but elegant personal appearance, one finds the type of his powerful and accomplished oratory. Using the best French, as the channel of his utterances of tongue and pen, France herself has produced few men who have employed with equal effect in public address the language of that country, and none who have cultivated therein a higher, a more majestic style of rhetorical utterance than Solomon.

His personal presence was of the greatest conceivable service to him. He was a large man, weighing when in ordinary bodily condition, three hundred and forty pounds. He was tall, well proportioned, admirably built; his shoulders broad; his chest deep; his limbs full, round and tapering; his hands and feet perfect in size and form; his head large and round; his face, his forehead, his eyes, his nose, his mouth, his lips, his chin, were models, though all were wrapped in complexion as black as ebony. When addressing the people, or the army, while his manner and utterance were those of a father, he was always instructive, learned and eloquent. He reached his loftiest heights of power, however, when he addressed the National Assembly on some special occasion, or when moved by some pressing emergency, he attempted the defense of the State against danger, by arousing the people to earnest patriotic action in its behalf. On many occasions in review of the army on the *Champs de Mars*, the famous parade ground of the nation and capital, mounted upon his beautiful Haytien steed, and appearing to the best possible advantage, he has been known to make his most stirring, effective addresses to the defenders of the country.

As a statesman Solomon was able and sagacious. He belonged to what was known in Hayti as the National party, and from the very beginning, by reason, as well on account of his

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personal ability and influence as his family and social relations, he occupied conspicuous and commanding place among the leaders even of such party. In 1847, when Soulouque was made president of the Republic, the first opportunity had come for this young promising scholar, lawyer and orator, to essay his earliest efforts, really, at statesmanship. He was called to the most important position in the cabinet, and in the capacity of Secretary of State of Finance, Commerce and Foreign Affairs, he gave ample earnest of those accomplishments in in statesmanship which distinguished his subsequent career. His chief was not an educated man. It is said that when he was made president he was scarcely able to write his own name. He was without general or special attainments, though a man of vigor, of intellect and decision of character. Solomon was quite equal to the task of playing tutor-in-general to the chief executive, while he controlled and directed in easy and effective manner the duties of his own special office. The only young man of his country at this time approaching him in name and influence was Jeffrard, who, belonging to the opposing political party of the country, known as the Liberal party, finally became its leader and succeeded, after Soulouque had declared himself emperor, with the title of Faustian I., in his overthrow and in the restoration of the Republic, of which he was made president.

Haytien history furnishes no characters illustrative of the after days of the Republic, which can be studied with greater profit by the domestic student or foreign scholar than those of Solomon and Jeffrard. Contrasting at every point, even in physical condition, complexion and endowment, each was a representative in position and influence. The one almost white, certainly entirely Creole in color; the other was wholly black. The one of small stature and light weight, the other was of large size and great weight. But they were no more contrasts in bodily peculiarities and appearance than they were in mental and moral conviction aud purpose.

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Holding the same religions—Roman Catholic faith—and belonging to the same church, they were opposites in political principles and belief; and while both at last reached the Presidency of the Republic, each pursued his own end in his own way, in association and membership of opposing and warring political parties, which through revolution and bloodshed brought these noted leaders to the highest, most coveted place of National power and honor. Each was made president, in turn; and each has, as the intelligent representative of his peculiar views and party, so recorded his doings in the history of his times as to render his name memorable, and his administration of national affairs of the greatest wisdom and benefit as adjudged and determined by their respective partizens and admirers. Each of these men, from his own peculiar standpoint cultivated the most diligent and thorough study of the lives and achievements of the famous worthies of the nation. To each, Toussaint, Dessalines, Boyer and Petion furnished material for the deepest thought and the most controlling influences. Accordingly, each, as influenced by the master spirit of the one or the other of these renowned chiefs of the early history of the State, accepted and thereafter was mainly controlled by the principles of political philosophy illustrated and taught in the life and utterances of his special examplar. However, both these men, largely endowed by nature with commanding mental and moral power, and possessing rare culture, were not wanting in original gifts of thought and imagination. It is true, however, that the master influence in Hayti, since its Declaration of National Independence, and its establishment of Sovereignty, has been that which has come down from the builders of her national institutions; and such is likely to be the case for centuries to come even to the last day of the Republic.

Jeffrard and Solomon were conspicuous and influential persons at the same time in their nation's history. At first the latter seemingly had the start of the former in the race for

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public honor and power. Jeffrard finally, however, reached the presidency of the country before his rival, and though in exile, lived to know that the Secretary of State of Foreign Affairs, whom, with his chief, Soulouque, he had driven out of his country, had been recalled, in 1879, upon the overthrow of the Canal administration, by the unanimous vote of the National Assembly of his country, and was elected to its presidency.

Jeffrard and Solomon both slumber now with the fathers and the founders of their government; and both must abide that adjudication of posterity which is severally justified by his life and record.

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CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1879.

Over three years of the administration of President Boisrond Canal had elapsed, when on the evening of the 30th of June, 1879, a revolutionary movement was announced in the quick and surprising report of guns, the hurried movements of the police and soldiers, the anxious and frightened utterances of the people rushing in confusion through the streets of Port au Prince.

This movement was designed, inaugurated and conducted by certain of the foremost, energetic and determined men of the Haytien Repubic, and though commenced at the closing of the last day of June, as stated, it was only to be pushed the following day, the first of July, with redoubled energy and purpose. The object of this movement was the deposition of the acting president of the government, Canal, and the election and elevation of Boyer Bazlais to his position. Three days of bloody and destructive struggle, between the insurgents and the government, were ended in the triumph of the latter. It really seemed that Canal would be permitted to remain in power to complete the term of four years, for which he had been elected. But the spirit of insurrection, started, had seized apparently the whole country. From the chief city of the North to the capital, revolutionary movements were set on foot, and within less than fifteen days Canal had resigned the presidency of the Republic, and very shortly thereafter the revolutionary army had reached Port au Prince; a provisional government had been established; Solomon, then in exile, had been invited to return to his native country to take a conspicuous place in connection with its government, and returning, as invited, his commanding ability, his patriotism and popularity marked him as the one of all the distinguished men of his country, fit to be called to the presidential

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office. The army and the people concurred in this feeling and judgment. And accordingly he was duly elected and inaugurated president of the Republic as early as October, 1879.

The chief and leading men of this movement against Canal were Bazlais, Paul and Price, all three residents of Port au Prince, and men of excellent ability and influence, specially among the Liberals of the Country. At this time, Boyer Bazlais was the acknowledged leader of the Liberal Party, the leading member of the House of Deputies, and, as stated, the aim of this movement was his promotion to the Presidency. In its purpose, therefore, so far as Bazlais' promotion was concerned, it was a failure. So far as Canal's deposition was concerned, it was a success. While so far as Solomon and the Nationals were concerned, it was an agreeable surprise, which many of them regarded as a special divine dispensation made in the interest of the nation. At once the constitution of the country was amended so as to fix the term for which the president might be elected at seven years, and Solomon was declared to have been elected for such term. At the expiration of his first term he was re-elected for a second term of like duration, and he continued in the Presidency till in 1889, when he was compelled to surrender such office and leave the country.

It is interesting to recall here the names of those who composed in the main, the "*personnel*" of the Provisional government of Hayti in 1879. It is doubtful whether a larger number of persons, or one composed of more distinguished names, ever assembled at the capitol of Hayti, under similar circumstances, for like purpose. General Etienne Lucius Solomon, with his superior power and recognized influence; General Heriston Herisse, the commander-in-chief of the Revolutionary army and who was at the head of such army as it formally entered the city of Port au Prince; Generals Sam Serres, Lamothe, Douglon; with these citizens of the Republic, so well known and now so prominent in name and influence

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among its foremost classes—Lubin, Audain, Fouchard, Laforestrie, Delorme, Denis, not to mention others of the same political party, who sought with earnest determination and effort to bring that party into power upon the overthrow of the Canal administration—were chief among those who constituted and directed the provisional government.

It is well known that more than one of these distinguished persons were aspirants to the Presidency, and any of them, it is believed, would have accepted willingly the resonsibility and honors of such position. It was regarded as very certain that Herisse, the leader of the Revolutionary Army, and the most influential person, among those composing the Central Committee of the provisional government, would be recognized at once and first of all, as entitled to such place. But from the hour that Solomon, the representative in fact of the very best type of Haytien institutions, a scholar, a lawyer, a diplomat, a statesman, a soldier, and above all, a politician of peculiarly exalted name and influence in his country, and a member of the National Party, appeared at the capitol, the eyes of all seemed turned to him, and by a unanimity of judgment remarkable under any circumstances, he was, even under these circumstances, among his distinguished associates, the warriors and statesmen, the scholars and patriots of his country, declared the choice of all concerned for the Presidency. Popular as he was, and selected as it seemed by the entire unanimity of the great leaders and the followers of his party, he could with propriety, insist, as he did, that his election should be conducted in exact accordance with the constitution, without interference by the army, upon the free and unmolested vote of the National Assembly. So, on the 23rd day of October, 1879, the former Secretary of State of Foreign Affairs in the cabinet of President Soulouque, and subsequently Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of his government near those of France, Germany, and England, as appointed by President Salnave, but a few weeks before his

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election an exile, absent from his native land for quite twenty years, was declared its president, upon the approval and applause seemingly of the entire population.

Few great chiefs of state have entered upon the discharge of the functions of exalted, responsible, official life under more favorable and promising circumstances, as connected with his promotion, than President Solomon. It is true, however, that the leaders of the revolution, through whose agency the resignation of Canal had been secured, Boyer Bazlais and his companions in insurrection had been expelled from the country and the provisional government had been made a necessity and practicable, were not so overthrown and utterly destroyed as to prevent the organization of their forces on foreign soil, and finally an attack of the government therewith, after they had been landed at Miragoane, the most strongly fortified place against assault, naturally, in Hayti.

Time, however, was required for such enterprise, and though vigilant, active and determined, Bazlais was not able to make his last and most desperate assault upon the administration of Solomon till the spring of 1883, nearly four years after his inauguration as president. It was on the 27th day of March, of the year named, that Bazlais landed his revolutionary forces at Miragoane and made that fortified town the seat of his warlike operations. The government was prompt in its movements to surround this stronghold of revolt, and, if possible, prevent the egress of the enemy therefrom and at last either to destroy them by utter starvation or effective and successful assault. Bazlais and his co-conspirators fought desperately and did not surrender till every resource had been exhausted and the last man had died. It is believed that Bazlais himself was, perhaps, the last of the insurgents to die, and that he surrendered only to starvation.

From the 27th day of March to the 20th day of September, 1883, quite six month, the insurgents, in spite of the most vigorous operations of the government, held Miragoane. Mean-

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time, such was the influence of this daring and stubborn movement against the government, that the whole country appeared to be more or less affected by the spirit of insurrection. The leading cities of the northern parts of the country and those of the southern gave evidence, not only of popular unrest, but of feelings of positive dissatisfaction, which, if not suppressed, must have broken out in open revolt against the government.

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CHAPTER XXXVII.

REVOLUTIONARY CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY.

It was on the return of the army from Miragoane, after the complete overthrow of Bazlais and his fellow conspirators, on the 22nd and 23rd days of September, 1883, that a revolutionary movement discovered itself in such manner and malignity at the capital, as to require prompt and vigorous action of the government, in the employment of such number of troops and such vigor of assault as to cost many lives, with immense destruction of property.

The city of Port au Prince was giving at this time evidence, in some measure, of its gradual recovery from the destruction of its most valuable property, caused in connection with the dislodgment and rout of the insurgents of the memorable movement there in 1879. It seemed a national calamity, indeed, that now, within so short a time, another destruction of property, so disastrous and terrific, should be added to that which had occurred in the same city, covering quite ten acres of the very best portions of it, in connection with the revolt, as led by Bazlais against Canal, in 1879. But the destruction came, and with it certain vexatious and difficult questions of reclamation occasioned by sundry matters of personal abuse and destruction and damage of property belonging to foreigners, who, as instructed by the representatives of their various governments, demanded damages and payment therefor. Of course such abuse of persons, destruction and damage of property, were the direct or indirect work of the government, its soldiers or agents, as claimed, and involved debate as to such fact, the amount and the mode and time of the payment.

In other parts of the Republic, as already stated, as at Jeremie, Jacmel and at smaller places, as Pestel and Corail, from the first of June to the date above mentioned, the spirit of sedition and rebellion constantly manifested itself, giving the

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government and its friends the greatest anxiety and trouble, as it necessitated hourly, the most watchful care against outbreak, and often energetic action to suppress incipient acts of insurrection. Thus on the 5th day of July, 1883, the government was compelled to declare the Port of Jeremie in a state of blockade, and on the 24th of the same month the port of Jacmel; and to ask the representatives of foreign governments residing in Hayti to take notice and act, with respect to these ports, as regarded their citizens, accordingly. But to enforce and maintain its orders in such behalf, considerable naval and land force was necessary, the government being compelled to furnish it, even in the midst of its trying and exhausting struggle against the organized, audacious and daring force which confronted it at Miragoane. The government, however, pushed by this concentrated insurrectionary force, which had taken its central position at Miragoane; by the unsettled rebellious condition of the people in many parts of the country, as indicated; and by those questions involved in the complications connected with the reclamations referred to in the exercise of due moderation, sagacity and courage, was able to meet with efficiency and success its obligations and duties, with regard to its own defense, the establishment of good order and peace temporarily, in the country, and the maintenance of good understanding with foreign powers.

From this time forward to the end of Solomon's first term of the presidency, the country enjoyed comparative immunity from insurrectionary disturbances, so that the government and the people were able to give their attention and efforts to the consideration, cultivation and support of those things which pertain to the peace and good order of the republic. It is not to be inferred from these words, however, that at any time during the nine years that Solomon was President of Hayti, such solid general peace, intelligent and assured popular feeling of freedom from attempt to wrest from him the presidency existed, even in the circles of the government as

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to afford real opportunity and purpose to those in power for wise and patriotic endeavor in behalf of the common welfare. It may be asserted, it is believed, that although Solomon was elected president of the republic, as already shown, for the first time, with every circumstance of profound enthusiastic general approval and applause, and as all seemed to feel and believe, to the advantage of the whole country; and although after his first term, he seemed to be re-elected upon a general popular feeling and judgment, developed and sustained by the wisdom and efficiency, all things considered of his past administration of the government, there was not one day, certainly not one single month of this whole period, that one could not hear in Hayti, predictions of prospective probable insurrectionary movement or assault upon the government. Indeed, revolution under Solomon continued to be the chronic disorder of the Haytien republic, and finally, as all know, through the machinations of high officials, some in the civil and others in military service, several of them trusted friends of Solomon, on the 10th day of August, 1888, with such words as "vive la revolution," "a bas Solomon," ringing in his ears, this great Haytien statesman was compelled to close, suddenly and abruptly, his presidential and official life. Upon the conduct of those who accomplished this result, comment here will not be made. It is only to be hoped that the negro republic, which has cost so much blood, millions of treasure, may sooner or later, learn that peace and patience, and moderation and forbearance sustained by intelligent, patriotic endeavor on the part of the government and the people, are to be chosen, rather than any wild schemes of revolution, the inevitable results of which shall ever be, in the future as in the past, hurtful, destructive of its best interests,

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CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE AIMS OF SOLOMON'S ADMINISTRATION.

In the recall and election of Solomon president of the republic, there was no mistake involved. The mistake in his case was found in the fact that after he had secured, in the amendment to the constitution, the enlargement of the presidential term from four to seven years, he did not, in the same amendment to the organic law, provide for a single term of such office, and he himself refuse re-election.

His second election proved to be his rock of offence and downfall. At the time of his election the country was greatly in need of a ruler of decision of character, vigor of purpose, positive principles, with clear and comprehensive knowledge of its wants. Solomon was such a man. He drew the chief men of the republic, especially of his own party, about him, and while he seemed to appreciate and value their opinions and counsel, dominated and controlled them in the exercise of his own superior, commanding judgment; and this without giving offence, in fact doing it in such manner as to make his ablest, most influential followers accept it as altogether proper and just. While it is true that the several cabinets of his administration were composed, as a rule, of the able men of his party, the three gentlemen who were his Secretaries of State of Foreign Affairs, being men of marked ability and national name, really no one among them all ever undertook to press an opinion which was opposed to that of his chief.

The members of his cabinet were the secretaries who recorded and executed simply his orders in connection with the several departments of the public service which they represented. This may not appear to be any otherwise than natural and proper, when it is stated that among all the men of his country no one could be found his equal in knowledge of government affairs, in experience as a statesman, in observa-

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tion of international as well as national enterprises, in thought and reading, as regards the wants of his countrymen, and in patriotic devotion to those institutions of his native land through whose influence its liberty, its sovereignty and its power have been preserved. His attempts at national improvement, however superficially considered, will go far toward confirming this opinion and justifying the personal and rigid administration of the government adopted by him.

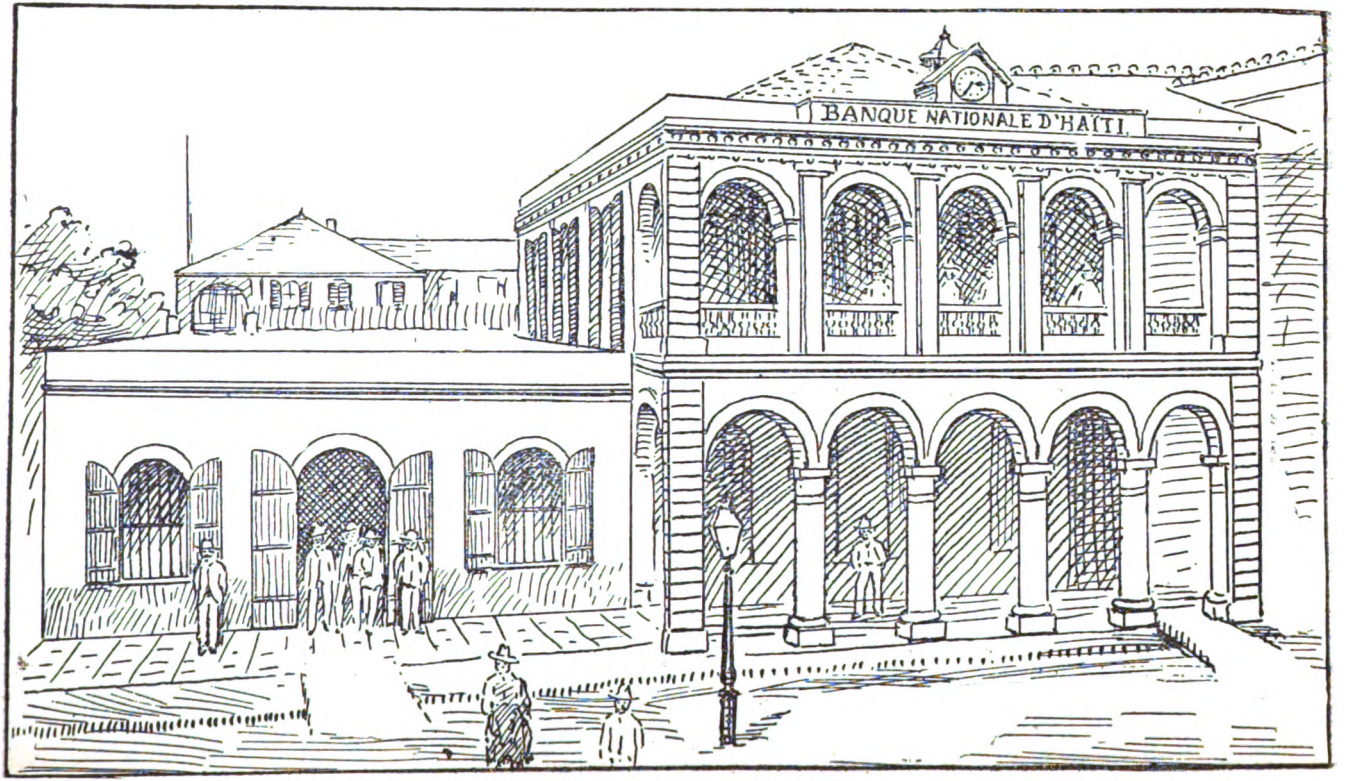
Occupying for at least twenty years a standpoint on foreign ground, from which he could observe and study philosophically and dispassionately the true condition and wants of his country,—her national, political, industrial, financial, military, educational and religious necessities; her decaying, declining condition, so far as her former wealth and greatness were concerned, and as compared with other nations less favored in climate, soil, natural products and capabilities, constantly on the retrograde,—it was inevitable that this scholar, statesman and patriot should inquire more diligently and wisely than any other of his countryman what was the cause of this untoward condition of affairs, and at once upon coming into power exert himself to the utmost to change and ameliorate it. Such appears to have been the case with Solomon, and when the measures of reform and improvement which he advanced and adopted are considered, his motives and character will become apparent.

In France, wherever he travelled abroad, he found that the general opinion of his country and its government was low, and that the national name and influence were sinking, How could this be changed, and the old power and glory be restored to the land and people, whose wealth was once fabulous, whose sons bore high and conspicuous rank in former times among the great men of the world and whose national name had been in the past the synonym of all that was brave, true and brilliant in manly, heroic achievement. The first duty of Solomon, then, was as it ought to have been, the exhaltation of

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the national name and influence of his countrymen, at home and abroad. To this object, the overshadowing one of his administration, and the one which animated and controlled his purposes, he gave his best thoughts and his constant efforts. Hence, he is found inaugurating movements to improve the public service in all its departments and branches; to institute and maintain wise and honest management of the public revenues; to correct and prevent all errors and fraud in the levy and collection of customs and navigation dues; to establish a national bank, with full powers to provide and furnish a national currency, metallic and paper, ample to meet the business requirements of the country, with authority to do ordinary general banking business and to aid in the collection and disbursement of government moneys, as necessity might require, in order to insure promptness and honesty in such behalf; to encourage and improve agriculture, especially the growth and cultivation of coffee, the chief and most valuable staple of the country's general industry and commerce; to secure the reorganization and improvement of the army and navy, as to members, uniform, equipment, discipline and general management, so as to gain their greatest efficiency; to increase and multiply facilities for popular education; and so far as seemed to be consistent with the fact that the national religion of Hayti is Roman Catholic, to encourage in every practicable way, freedom of ecclesiastic faith and action. Besides, Solomon was disposed to and did cultivate with great care and consistency, intelligent, friendly understanding and relations with the great foreign civilized powers of the earth. His wisdom and statesmanship in this regard were not without abundant recompense. The repesentatives of few foreign nations having had business or social intercourse with Solomon, would bear any other than cordial testimony to his great personal good sense and civility of manner and behavior. Actuated by such motives and purposes, Solomon's power and influence were soon seen and felt in the country. For exam-

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NATIONAL BANK OF HAYTI.

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ple, when he was eleted president, general disorder and dilapidation prevailed at the capital. The old national palace grounds, surrounded by the same towering walls which had only escaped the bombardment which years before had destroyed the beautiful palace building itself, still remained the scene of frightful ruins. But soon after Solomon's advent, these grounds, these walls, and this scene, witnessed the change which a new national palace, with corresponding general, modern improvements would present. In the audience chamber of this palatial structure, with the community of the national capital quiet and orderly, on many charming Sabbath mornings, during even the early years of Solomon's first term of office, large assemblies of the people were wont to convene to hear his eloquent addresses, explanatory of his purposes and measures calculated to accomplish the public good. It is well that this great negro statesman, so abundant in native resources and accomplishments, has made for his island home in the administration of its government, a record, in which all may find something to approve and applaud, and however falling short of the highest human ideal, remains as all may hope, a strong, effective moral influence, drawing the whole nation toward peace, good order, prosperity and happiness.

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CHAPTER XXXIX.

HAYTI AND THE UNITED STATES.

The Black Republic, founded in 1804, by Dessalines and his compatriots, has from the beginning sustained friendly relations with the United States. It was not, however, until slavery, as found in the great American Republic, had been abolished; the reconstruction of public sentiment therein upon such subject had taken place; the colored American had been declared a citizen of his native country, in the broadest sense of the term, and the people had concluded that, as a matter of fact and law, national sovereignty and individual freedom did not depend upon mere complexion, that the great republic of the North found itself willing to acknowledge the independence and nationality of the chief, though negro, people of the West Indies. Hayti, however, in the very language of her Declaration of Independence, the mode of its signature and proclamation discovers the influence exerted upon her great leaders, the founders of her sovereignty, by the utterances and acts of the American people. In the constitution, too, of the Haytien republic such influence is entirely apparent, for her organic law is in its leading provisions formulated upon the American as a model. This is so, notwithstanding the fact that Hayti adopted French law as she did the French language, French methods of education and French Roman Catholic ecclesiastic institutions.

All this being true it cannot be doubted that that was a glad day for Hayti which brought to her capital the first diplomatic representative of the United States. And from that time, as these nations have become more acquainted with each other, with their institutions so near akin, with their leading men so similarly influenced by the fundamental principles of freedom and equality, as enunciated and expounded by the philosophers, statesmen and heroes of the American revolutionary

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period, their kindly relations and generous appreciation of each other have greatly improved.

But it is probably true that no president of Hayti has understood so well American institutions and their influence upon national greatness as Solomon, and no one of the presidents of that country has felt so deeply the importance of following, so far as might be practicable, the methods adopted by the United States to fortify and sustain their institutions in the interest of popular freedom. It is perhaps true, too, that no one of the great chiefs of the Republic of Hayti had ever such contact and association with any of the representative men of America as Solomon had enjoyed, especially when he represented his country near several European governments. The influence of the late John A. Dix, when American Minister at Paris, upon Gen. Solomon was of the greatest importance, as tending to enlighten his mind and enlarge his understanding as to the government of the United States and its operations. Indeed, so impressed was Solomon by the kind and considerate treatment shown him by Gen. Dix, and the important and valuable information which he received from him, upon the subjects named, that he never tired of dwelling upon them in ardent and eloquent terms. It was this appreciation of the good service rendered him by Gen. Dix, that led him always to exhibit a cordial regard for American citizens who visited his country and honored him with special attentions. And no American citizen, whatever his position or character in life, who ever met and talked with Solomon, can be found, in all probability, who would not speak in enthusiastic commendation of him, because of his cordial utterances, his deep interest expressed in behalf of his country and her people and institutions. The officers-in-chief of the war vessels of the United States, so many of whom made special visits to President Solomon during his administration of the government, upon their sojourn in the harbor of his country, especially in that of Port au Prince, and who in many cases received visits from him, in

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response to their kind invitations aboard of their ships, are able to testify to the truthfulness of these statements. He who has been fortunate enough to witness a visit of this black, but splendid executive officer of the Haytien Republic, aboard one of the warships of the American government, with the shipping present in the harbor of the national capital, representing every nationality, and bedecked with the standards of every friendly power, and who has heard the salute of the great guns which announced his reception upon shipboard, as echoed and re-echoed from the lofty mountains which surrounded such harbor, can never forget the splendor and effect of such display. The reception of a great chief of state, under such circumstances, is an imposing, impressive ceremony, and on such occasions, when the American officers undertook such honor of the black chief of state, so entirely a chief of state in appearance, presence and behavior, no circumstance was spared to make the occasion grand and memorable. It was after such a visit as that described, aboard the United States war vessel *Tennessee*, and after President Solomon had entertained Rear-Admiral Cooper at a great state dinner at the national palace, that the rear-admiral, coming ashore to take leave of the diplomatic representatives of his country in Hayti and to pay his final respects to the president, not using himself the French language, and the president not being able to understand him, as he expressed himself in the English, requested the American minister,* who accompanied him in this visit to the palace, to say for him to the president, as expressive of his feelings of exalted consideration and respect for him, that "in the discharge of his duty it had been his privilege to meet the great chiefs of state of all civilized nations of every character—the king, the queen, the emperor, the empress, the president—every sort of chief officer; but in a visit to none had he been so thoroughly and favorably impressed as in his visit to the president of Hayti,—impressed, as he was then, in

*Hon. John M. Langston.

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his presence, as if he stood in the presence of his ideal of the perfect chief of state, Washington himself."

It is to be hoped that the relations of the United States and Hayti will ever remain friendly, and that, in these latter days, when other sons of the Black Republic attempt the control of her destiny, the good name of her great leaders, as the influence of her government itself may grow and improve in glory and power, as age and experience and wisdom shall be vouchsafed to them, and like the free institutions of the great American Republic of the North, those of Hayti, in the days of her brightest hope and truest happiness, may become strong and enduring.

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CHAPTER XL.

A QUESTION IN DIPLOMACY. HAS THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT JURISDICTION OVER THE ISLAND OF NAVASSA?

The island in question is at present claimed by two governments, viz.: Hayti and the United States. Any one may present arguments in support of the claims made by the respective governments, but the investigation of all the facts upon which these conflicting titles rest, fall properly within the sphere of the United States congress; for the assertion of the rights appertaining to citizens of the United States, under the law and the constitution, the responsibility rests with the State department and the chief executive; for the determination of the constitutionality of the law involved as well as its interpretation we are required to submit the case for the consideration of the Supreme Court of the United States. After all, the great republic may find it consistent with national dignity and honor as well as calculated to serve now and in the future the best interests of all parties concerned, inspiring confidence in very recent assertions of the American doctrine, to submit the question to a properly constituted court of arbitration for decision.

The writer became interested in the question proposed for discussion and with which this chapter opens, in the year 1889, when he was occupied with the duties of the pastorate to which he had been appointed in the city of Baltimore, Md. It was during the month of November, 1889, in the metropolis of Maryland, where the United States Circuit Court convened, that an extraordinary spectacle presented itself. A number of colored men were on trial for their lives; they were charged with murdering eight white men. But in spite of the gravity of the charge and the well known conservative sentiments of the community in whose midst the trial was being conducted, there was from the beginning a degree of sympathy manifes-

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ted for the prisoners which it was difficult to understand, especially in view of the fact that the testimony of every witness was against the indicted men, fastening tighter and tighter the awful charge of murder; then there was the destruction of property and the almost total ruin of a great industry. The evidence in this case, however, no more confirmed the crime with which the prisoners were charged, than it disclosed a prolonged and bitter struggle between capital and labor, the end of which was finally death for those who represented the corporation and life imprisonment for their slayers. The labor element and unions of the great city of Baltimore comprehended from the beginning, that an important principle was involved in the trial which would in all probability establish a precident for future citation and for them the trial of the men charged with committing murder on the island of Navassa, furnished much food for reflection. This tragedy occured on the island of Navassa, September 14, 1889. For this very reason, the lawyers who defended the prisoners called in question the jurisdiction of the court in so far forth as it concerned the men charged with committing murder on the 14th of September, 1889, on said island, and their arguments in support of the position taken against the jurisdiction of the court were very convincing, so far as we are able to judge now from notes taken on the spot; but it is proper to remark not sufficiently convincing to prevent the court from continuing the trial. If we have apparantly digressed, we will now return to the question: Has the United States government jurisdic- over the island of Navassa?

The island of Navassa is situated in the Caribbean Sea, West Indies, 18° 25′ north latitude and 75° 5′ longitude, west from Greenwich; 33 miles southwest of Hayti and 72 miles east of Jamaica and 1200 miles from the United States. It is an upraised coral island, filled with phosphate of lime, which is found deposited in the cavities of the coral rock. The digging and exporting of the phosphate of lime forming an

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industry of considerable proportion, at the time referred to, operated by the Navassa Phosphate Company, of Baltimore, Md., which owns the island, as it is claimed, under authority of the United States. Upon this island the Navassa Phosphate Company had some dozen or more white bosses who controlled some 140 colored laborers. Sept. 14th, 1889, a riot occurred upon the island and as many as eight of the white bosses were killed by the colored men, in consequence of which the United States government brought the murderers to the United States and tried them in the courts of this country. The question, therefore, becomes important. Has the United States government jurisdiction over the island of Navassa?

In a letter addressed to E. J. Waring, Esq., one of the attorneys who conducted the defense in the case cited, under date of November 10, 1889, Mr. Stephen Preston, late Haytien Minister, says: "In answer to your letter of yesterday, I have to say that the Haytien government claims that the island of Navassa is a part of its territory. It has never relinquished said claim which is pending between the two republics. Navassa was by discovery a Spanish possession. Spain ceded it to France with the western part of the island of San Domingo (Hayti), now the Haytien Republic. Hayti obtained it from France by conquest and treaties. You can obtain all details at the Department of State, where Hayti's case is on file." Thus at best the claim of the United States is a disputed claim and disputed upon such grounds as to make the claim to title and jurisdiction extremely doubtful, to say the least.

Let it be understood, as a matter of fact, that whatever claim or jurisdiction to Navassa is assumed by the United States, is exercised under the terms of what may be called the Guano Island law, passed in the year 1857. This act provides that any citizen of the United States may locate upon any island, rock, or key, containing deposits of guano, if said

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island is not in the jurisdiction of or occupied by the citizens of any other country, and after proving these facts to the satisfaction of the Department of State, such island shall be considered as appertaining to the United States, so long as any guano remains; and upon giving proper bond the said citizen of the United States is permitted to export guano from the island. Any crime committed upon such an island is to be deemed committed upon a vessel upon the high seas. Thus this act contemplates the discovery of the guano island unoccupied.

Now, as a matter of fact, when Captain Duncan, in 1857 or 8, claimed to have discovered Navassa, while possibly not physically occupied by the Haytien government, the island was still claimed by Hayti; therefore, the occupation of and claim to Navassa by citizens of the United States seems to be a mere act of usurpation. It is clear that the law is against any claim of the United States or any of its citizens. The United States must have based its claim to title to Navassa upon one of four things: 1. Right of Conquest. 2. Discovery. 3. Purchase. 4. Cession. It was manifestly not a title based upon conquest, purchase or cession, and as has been shown it was not by virtue of discovery, as the island was know to other nations for long years.

Again the United States must assert a perpetual, indefeasable title to territory before it can legislate for or over it. By the very terms of the act of congress quoted above, "the island of Navassa shall be considered as appertaining to the United States *only so long as any guano remained upon the island.*" No such title is established. This is only a temporary title; not an absolute title in fee. To punish the prisoners, referred to above, in a criminal prosecution, as was the fact, implies that the judiciary of the United States has been extended over Navassa. But then, again, the extending of the judicial power over a place by a government implies that the government has general or political jurisdiction over such place; and no gov-

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ernment exercises political jurisdiction over territory to which it or its citizens has no title, claim or right. This is obviously true—a government acquires by conquest, discovery, purchase or cession, a certain territory and it instantly acquires a title recognized by all the world and before the law of nations. It acquires and possesses a title to the territory, ground or soil, as you please, which gives it power, authority, control, dominion over such territory; in other words, the government has acquired political jurisdiction over such territory. But up to this point there is no judicial power, no judiciary; only the right and power to extend the judiciary and the judicial power of the government over such newly acquired territory.

Now, as to Navassa. If then the government of the United States has not and never did have any title to the island in discussion, based on conquest, discovery, purchase or cession, the government of the United States does not possess, and never did possess, the right to extend its judiciary or its judicial power over Navassa.

But assuming, merely for argument, that the United States did have the right to extend its judicial power over Navassa. If the government, through proper legislative enactment, attempt to extend its judicial power over a given territory, it must do so completely and fully, and any law that upon its face plainly gives only criminal jurisdiction, is void, for the reason that it omits to give civil as well as criminal jurisdiction. The guano island law, to which reference has been made above, only gives criminal jurisdiction; hence, we submit it is void and inoperative, and in our humble opinion the United States courts have no power to try the men who were charged with murder at Navassa. As to whether if our government had not the right and power, under the law, to punish them, then there was not, and is not, any competent power or authority, is not material.

It is an important question as to whether the United States government can afford to insist upon any claim of authority

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over the island of Navassa. Not only does any such claim by our government conflict with the Monroe Doctrine, but it seems an act of cowardly usurpation for our powerful government to take from the small government of Hayti this island. Avaricious greed and national aggrandizement are no excuse for the conduct of our government in this matter. The conclusion is hard to escape that the course of the United States has been solely inspired by a feeling of contempt for the little Republic of Hayti. If this be true, the conclusion is unworthy of the government and its lofty assumptions as to the place it occupies among the nations of the earth.

Incidently we referred to the Monroe Doctrine in concluding the argument brought forward in an attempt to answer question of jurisdiction. In this relation a few questions concerning the Monroe Doctrine, or as some have been pleased to call it the American Doctrine, naturally suggest themselves. What is the doctrine? What does it signify, as a rule of action, when applied not only to European nations, but also when submitted as a guide for the great American Republic in intercourse with all other governments which occupy the western hemisphere? This latter phase of the subject, if touched at all, has been very lightly touched. The following resolutions, passed by the Senate of the United States, present the text of the doctrine:

"Resolved, By the Senate, the House of Representatives concurring, that as President Monroe in his message to Congress, of December 2, Anno Domini 1823, deemed it proper to assert as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, were thenceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power."

"Whereas, President Monroe further declared in that message that the United States would consider any attempt by the allied powers of Europe to extend their system to any portion

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of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety; that with the existing colonies and dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and should not interfere, but that with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States; and further reiterated in that message, that it is impossible that allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; and

"Whereas, The doctrine and policy so proclaimed by President Monroe, have since been repeatedly asserted by the United States, by executive declaration and action, upon occasions and exigencies similar to the particular occasion and exigency which caused them to be first announced, and have been ever since their promulgation, and now are, the rightful policy of the United States; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the United States of America reaffirms and confirms the doctrine and principles promulgated by President Monroe, in his message of December 12th, 1823, and declares that it will assert and maintain that doctrine and those principles, and will regard any infringement thereof, and particularly any attempt by any European power, to take or acquire any new territory on the American continents, or any islands adjacent thereto, for any right of sovereignty or dominion in the same, in any case or instance as to which the United States shall deem such attempt to be dangerous to its peace or safety, by or through force, purchase, cession, occupation, pledge, colonization, protectorate, or by control of the easement in canal, or any other means of transit across the American isthmus, putes, or under other unfounded pre-

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tensions, as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States, and as an interposition which it would be impossible in any form for the United States to regard with indifference."

This is a declaration which will not be appreciated in all quarters of the world for several reasons; the doctrine is not understood too well, and among the nations by whom it is best comprehended it is considered as an assumption on the part of Americans, rather than the assertion of a great principle; an assumption simply intended to bar European nations from occupying sparsely settled and undeveloped territory in the New World. The reasonableness of this doctrine, we think, will appear on closer examination of its real intent and purpose. There is a sense in which it is in the interest of all nations, and therefore cannot be said to have been prompted by selfish motives or national prejudices. True it excludes European countries ftom extending their governmental control over any part of the American continents, or the adjacent islands; but it leaves the people who occupy the western hemisphere perfectly free to choose and adopt any form of government which they may be pleased to support, only it must be their own; it leaves them perfectly free to enter into any combination for the purpose of ameliorating conditions and strengthening their entirety; but the integration must take place between people and nations of the same hemisphere and not with people and nations of the Old World.

The very essence of the American doctrine is to secure perfect freedom for the evolution and the perfection of democratic institutions. To this end it is necessary to exclude those countries which have little or no sympathy with democratic ideas and whose aim it is to maintain the monarchial institutions of the Old World, and to establish and perpetuate similar institutions wherever their interests and colonial aspirations may lead them. That the American people should hold such a doctrine is not only reasonable but necessary, in order

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to insure the free choice of the younger nations which occupy the continents of North and South America, for is it not easy to conceive that with no protection such as the American doctrine offers and with a sufficiently valuable prize in view, some of the older and stronger nations of Europe, under a very slight pretext, might bring to bear sufficient force to coerce the people occupying the much coveted territory, or by other methods too well known to diplomacy, secure that which would not be accorded if the citizens of such country were left free to act. The success of such methods would not in reality be the development of any form of government, but it would be the treasonable transfer of political authority.

It is to be noticed that however widely the United States Congress has differed with President Cleveland on questions of importance, involving the interest of the country and the dignity of the nation, it has practically, without a dissenting voice, sustained the administration in asserting, if possible, with greater emphasis than heretofore the Monroe Doctrine. It is well that it should be understood, especially by European nations, in whose official journals we find every motive other than the proper one assigned to account for this patriotic deliverence, that the doctrine in question is with the American people a deep-seated conviction, collisions with which had better be avoided.

Let it be remembered at home and abroad, that the American doctrine so recently enunciated by Congress, is something more than "jingoism," something more than New England prejudice cultivated around Bunker Hill and nurtured on the record of the war of independence; something more than the effervescence which comes to the top in the well prepared, highly finished 4th of July orations; it is something more than the defense of the United States; it is the assertion of the American principle of protecting the opportunity of growing and perfecting republican institutions in this hemisphere. Those who comprehend the significence of the trust and the importance of

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the experiment will be most likely to concede that the United States has been made the custodian of a new idea in national economy, "government of the people, for the people and by the people," and that the doctrine and mission of its propagation are both alike unique. As we see it, the American continents constitute the only territory on the planet where the opportunity remains to grow and perfect popular government according to the pattern forecast in the constitution, the Magna Charter of American liberty. The Monroe doctrine in the estimation of an American has great significance for European nations. It seems proper that it should hardly have less force as a regulating principle between the nations which occupy the American continents. No one will doubt for a moment a man's right to protect his home against the destructive attack of strangers; but by what rule of logic, by what process of reasoning can we convince a sane jury that he has a right to inflict injuries and commit depredations even in his own home and territory, the like of which has been forbidden so far as others are concerned? As a nation we are committed to the defense of the principle of protecting the opportunity of developing and perfecting in the western hemisphere, republican institutions. No argument is required to show that we have no right to interfere with, interrupt, prevent, or destroy an opportunity for the defense of which we have pledged our national honor in the presence of all the world. We are already suspected in this respect of declaring against the prerogatives of European nations, that we may have a better opportunity to coerce the weaker countries of the continent and with more ease satisfy our national greed for the extension of territory. It is to be sincerely hoped that no act on the part of the government of the United States in its dealings and international concourse with Hayti or any other country which occupies a place on the American continent shall tend to strengthen such suspicion and to confirm such accusations, but on the other hand, may

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the far reaching influence of our great republic be felt everywhere for good, and may the conviction everywhere gain strength, that the American government is perfectly satisfied to practice the doctrine it has enunciated and to be governed by the very principle it has submitted as a rule of action to obtaian in regulating the conduct of European nations in their attitude towards the countries which occupy the American continents. The shame or glory which must follow the failure or success of the experiment in popular government now on trial in the western hemisphere will be shared most assuredly by all the countries which by reason of geographical position fall within the limit where such experiment finds itself in the process of demonstration. When we think that the place assigned the great republic by the comity of nations is unique and that it is justified by extent of territory, population, resources, victories in war and achievements in peace, and when we remember that the United States is responsible for the original promulgation of the Monroe doctrine and for its earlier and more recent definitions, we cannot escape the conclusion that the failure or success of Republican institutions for which it was intended to give protection, in the very nature of the case, would bring to the United States more than to any other country, deeper humility or brighter glory.

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GENERAL SOULOUQUE—FAUSTIN I.

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CHAPTER XLI.

HAYTIEN PROVERBS.

The Haytiens are not known in the marts of the world for the manufacture of any special article or line of goods. They are a primitive people who live principally upon the products of earth, air and water. This condition may not continue, for the reason that while the United States finds a market in Hayti for certain staples, it is known, if not generally, at least in some quarters that these goods which are in such large demand and supplied by the foreign trade, can be manufactured with large profit on the island.

There is, however, a product which is both unique and indigenous. It is found in the proverbs, so easy of access and so generally spoken by the natives. They are essentially Haytien, and as much the specialty of this island as the DeBrie cheese, or the Valenciennes lace, or the Jersey cows, or Florentine mosaics are the specialties of the places of which they bear the name. There are two authorities which may be consulted with profit on this subject, Mr. J. J. Audain, a native Haytien, and Mr. John Bigelow, an American. These two gentlemen have placed the writer under many obligations for the very valuable information found in the works of which they are the authors.

The proverbs of Hayti are characteristic of the people by whom they are spoken, and constitute the significant product of Haytien civilization inasmuch as they are both indigenous and original. They are frequently found in the mouth of the educated, but are more often used to ornament the speeches of the unlettered. Haytien proverbs constitute, in an important sense, the literature of the natives; cast in common molds the forms are popular, in which are, nevertheless, concentrated the wisdom of ages. These proverbs take the place of books, periodicals, journals and libraries, and are easy of access,

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They are the highest expressions of the intellectual activity of the Haytien people; they carry the clearest evidence and are *per se* the best proof of their capacity for self-government, and what we may not learn of Haytien character by consulting them is not perhaps a matter of knowledge.

Victor Hugo in one of his early compositions, "Bug Jargal," deals very successfully with this conspicuous feature of Haytien civilization, and the fact is all foreigners who have reflected on Hayti and her people and whose thoughts have found expression in writings, have had occasion to admire la nouveaute et l'originalete of their proverbs.

Pamphile de la Croix says that Toussaint L'Ouverture, like all men who have reflected much, but with whom education did not vary the provincial dialect, had favorite sentences which he often used. "I have frequently found in his correspondence," he says, "the original apologue, with which he used to excuse his refusal to spend money. 'Money,' he would often say, 'is an evil spirit; as soon as you touch it, it disappears. Many precautions are required in opening its coffers.'"

"When Toussaint burned Cape Hayti,* in order to prevent the city from being occupied by the army of Bonaparte, he stated his reason, which he regarded as sufficient, an ample justification of his course, in an old French proverb thus Haytienized: 'Pas capable faire omlet sans casser zeps.'" "One cannot make an omlet without breaking the eggs."

Toussaint said, after his arrest by General Leclerc: "They have only thrown down the tree of liberty in Saint Domingo; it will yet repel them with its roots, which are deep and numerous."

The late Emperor of Hayti, Faustian I., more commonly known by his family name, Soulouque, took the following method to caution a rogue, who in return for personal favors had received an office, in which he had proven somewhat

*There is no proof whatever that Toussaint L'Ouverture burned Cape Hayti.

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recreant to the high trust imposed: "Mon fils, deplumez l' oie sans faire crier." "My son, pluck the goose without making it scream."

The following will give us an idea how sometime passing events impress themselves on the minds and imaginations of the Haytien people: During the reign of President Boyer, nine years after he came in possession of St. Domingo, which made him *de facto* president of the whole island, which, of course, included Hayti as well as St. Domingo (1830), a Spanish frigate arrived in the harbor of Port au Prince to protest against the occupation by the Haytiens of the eastern, or Spanish part of the island. Some one told an old gardemagasin, or store porter, who had been a soldier in the war for Haytien independence, that the frigate came to conquer Hayti and reduce her people to their former condition. Seating himself upon a stick of logwood, he looked out upon the vessel with feelings of contempt and pity, and began to soliloquize in this wise: "Mais, oui mouche, ous pas trouve ca trop fort? Comment! Anglais vina pou pren pays la; nous le batie Anglais. Francais te vini tou; nous baie Francais nian caille yo pas le jamain blie. Avla pauvre Pagnol, qui vle faire ca Anglais et Francais 'pas le capable." "Why, yes sir; don't you find this too much? The English came to take our country; we beat the English. Then the French came; we gave them a skinning they will never forget; and now comes this miserable Spaniard, who has got it into his head that he can succeed where the English and the French have both failed."

"D'abord vous guette poux de bois mange canari calebasse pas capable prend pied." "When you see the wood-louse eat the earthen jar, the calabash cannot be expectet to resist." The saliva or spittle of the wood-louse is as a matter of fact, a powerful solvent; so much so, that it makes an indelible impression on iron. They are called wood-lice because they feed on soft wood. They destroy houses, work

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havoc among books. and ruin linen, The calabash is a vege- of the gourd species; it hardens with its growth and when mature is perfectly round; it is capable of being hollowed out, after which it is indispensible as a utensil in the Haytien kitchen. The calabash has no foolish pretensions in the presence of an enemy powerful enough to destroy an earthen vessel and leave indellible impressions even on iron. We may learn from this proverb, a valuable lesson, *c'est a dire*: when the educated, the rich, the influential and those who are well connected by reason of their social standing and business relations, succumb to vice, falter before what may be termed the accidents of life, and discover a want of purpose and a lack of courage and true manliness, we ought not to expect the uneducated, the poor, the dependent, and those who have lacked opportunity to be more firm in purpose, more efficient in efforts; more abundant in success and *more* reliable in character.

D'Abord vows guette poux de bois mange bouteille, croquez calebasse vous haut. "When you see the wood-louse eat the bottles, hang your calabash high." This proverb is a prayer in favor of the weak and those who fall into temptation. It does not mean indulgence; it places a premium on the wisdom seen in precaution and extols that propriety which places and keeps us beyond the influence of temptation. We are reminded here of the sage counsel of one, in speaking of the selection of books, in which we make the acquaintance of the Devil. The proverb brings before the mind of the Christian the old enemy, the roaring lion who goeth about seeking whom he may destroy and at the same time advises us to place a high estimate on that which is precious; whether it be lessons gathered from experience, or knowledge culled from the best authors, or convictions formed by the exercise of an enlightened judgment and confirmed by the wisdom of years, or a sense of God's presence: a belief in his word, faith in prayer, or the sufficiency of the atonement. Hang it high. That is, cultivate for it in ourselves as well as

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in others, the highest possible respect. Place it where our enemy cannot see it without looking up, and where he can not come in possession of it without ascending.

"The cockroach never wins its cause when the chicken is judge." The following expresses a similar idea: "Pitite moune pauvre pas Jammain gangnain raison devant pitite moune riche." "The poor are never in the right before the rich." Hens feed on cockroaches in the West Indies to such an extent as to make the yolks of their eggs pale, thin, and at times more or less bitter; just as our hens' eggs are affected in the "locust year" by a similar course of feeding. This proverb is the type slave proverb of the West Indies, because it expresses more strongly than any other the relation of weakness and dependence on one side and force and tyranny on the other, which existed between the slaves and their masters. It is the commonest negro proverb in Martinique. When in 1845, the Chamber of Deputies, in France, was discussing the question of slavery in the colonies, and made a proposition by which a slave could redeem himself, by an appeal to the colonial magistrates, Rovillat de Cussac, a lawyer of Martinique, told the deputies that in this case the slave would repeat to them, leur proverb le plus habituel—the most common of the proverbs: "Pravet pas teni raison devante poule." It has always been in use in Trinidad, which was both a French and Spanish island, before it was English. The negroes of Jamaica, and the other British West India islands, say: "Cockroach never in de right before fowl;" "Cockroach eber so drunk, him no walk past fowl-yard;" "When cockroach make dance, him no ax fowl." This proverb makes the same plea for the weak against the strong and aggressive, which the immortal Slave of Prygia so forcibly presented in his fables of "The Wolf and the Lamb" and "The Council of Animals to Stay the Pestilence."

"Ne que couteau connait quior a yamme." "It is only the knife that knows the heart of the yam." We have presented

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in this proverb the idea that appearances are often, if not always, misleading, and that in the exercise of discretion we are bound to look upon them with discredit. Trials and temptations, like a knife, penetrate to the heart, setting aside alike artifice and conventionalities and causing to stand out in bold relief qualities which perhaps would not otherwise have been known. In the same sense the Haytiens use another proverb, viz.: "Ce ther vent ca venter moune ca oner la pean poule." "It is when the wind is blowing that we see the skin of the fowl."

"Ce souliers tout seul savent si bas tini trous." "Shoes alone know if the stockings have holes." This proverb seems to explain why familiarity breeds contempt. It introduces us to our infirmities, as well as to the short comings of others. Those who know us best sometimes entertain the strongest feelings of disgust, and they tolerate us with our weaknesses simply for the reason that with all their frailties they do not loathe themselves. "The feet know where the shoes pinch." So said St. Jerome. The Efick tribes of Western Africa say "it is only the sea which knows the bottom of the ships;" and the Irishman says: "Everybody knows what to do with a bad wife but the man who has her."

The proverb which is quite common in the French Antilles, viz.: "A man is not to be known till he takes a wife," appears on its face to be simply a variation of the foregoing; but a knowledge of its origin proves the signification to be altogether different. The people of St. Domingo, known as Buccaneers, were in their notions, habits and customs a law unto themselves. They laid aside the yoke of religion, and thought it rather strange that they had retained any knowledge of the God of their fathers. They had only to continue and in a few generations they would have been brought to the level of the most barbarous and most superstitious tribes of Africa. As it was they went so far as to drop their surnames and adopt their nicknames and martial names, and these were handed down in

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their families ; but some on the occasion of their marriage had their real surnames written in the contract, and this gave rise to the proverb, "A man is not to be known till he takes a wife."

"Ratte mange canne ; zandolie mourrie innocent." "The rat eats the cane ; the innocent lizard dies for it." People are not afraid of lizards who live in countries where they are numerous. Their harmlessness is proverbial. They stand among reptiles like the lamb among animals—the emblem of innocence. The Italians have a proverb which shows that the good reputation of the lizard is not confined to the tropics : "Qui serpe mozzica lucerti teme." "He who has been bitten by a serpent is afraid of a lizard." According to Gibbon, the people of Naples, who lived on the confines of Paradise and Hell, congratulated themselves on their exemption from the misfortunes so common among the inhabitants of La Torre del Greco. They were accustomed to say : "Naples commits the sin and LaTorre expiates them." This proverb reminds one of James I., who, in all respects submitted to the discipline peculiar to the Scotts, but was allowed a substitute, on whose back was laid the whipping merited by the misconduct of His Majesty. Louis IV., after recanting, sent two proxies to receive chastisement at the hands of the Pope and return with absolution for himself. In Hayti, the innocent is of often condemned, while the guilty escape with the judgment of the court in his favor. Those who commit the crimes often find others to expiate them ; and those whose merits entitle them to promotion are often left to witness the exaltation of others who are without fitness. How natural that the proverb should be often in their mouths, "The rat eats the cane, the innocent lizard dies for it."

"Petite mie tombe, ramasse li ; Chretien tombe, pas ramasse li." "If the millet falls, it is picked up ; if the Christian falls, he is not helped up." The millet is a little grain largely cultivated in the Antilles. There is nothing more to be

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regretted than the lack of charity among those who profess to be Christians, and yet it is true that we are accepted by God, our Heavenly Father, just in proportion as we exercise charity one towards the other. We are taught to expect God to forgive our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. This proverb brings our mind to the fact that whatever may be the degree of our progress in the Christian life, and however commendable may be our growth in grace, we are not to entertain the idea that we are beyond the force of temptation; that there is no possibility of falling. The greatest saint may have temptations, as many and as strong as the greatest sinner, and therefore, while Christians, who occasionally fall, are not to be indulged, yet they are uncharitably treated when they are considered as hypocrites and imposters. There is in this better judgment, expressed in the Haytien proverb, a theology more profound and a charity more divine than that which is often taught in our *homes* and pulpits.

"Joudin pou ous, demain pou moin." "To-day for you, *to-morrow for me.*" This proverb was the inexhaustible source of consolation for those whose bread was daily moistened by the tears of bitterness. They found in it the substance of that which they most desired, and the invisible evidences of unborn realities concealed in the womb of futurity. It is a somewhat modified form of our old English proverb: "It is a long lane that has no turn." This disposition to appeal from the present to the future is a peculiarity of our nature and therefore a fixed principle in the human constitution. The prayers of the Israelites seasoned with their blood and tears and the painful recollection of the house of bondage, was an appeal to the future, and one not made in vain, for thus said the Lord, by the mouth of his servant: "I have seen; I have seen the affliction of my people which is in Egypt, and I have heard their groaning and am come down to deliver them." This form of appeal receives the highest sanction in the conduct and words of our

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Saviour. When the chief priests, captains of the temple and elders came out with swords and staves against him as against a thief, he said unto them: "I was daily with you in the temple and you lifted up no hand against me, but this is your hour and the power of darkness." Here he stops, but is eloquent in his silence, which intensifies the implication of his utterance that *his hour* and the *power* of *light would come*, and it has come, for the kingdom of the Lord is at hand, and we may look away from our ignorance and our infirmaties and from sin which may have dominion over us, to the beauty of holiness, the perfection of righteousness, to Him upon whom our sins were laid, and whose *merits prevail.*

"Quand vou mange aves diable tiembe cuiller vous longe." "When you sup with the devil use a long spoon." In the days of Shakespeare this proverb seemed to be familiar and commonplace. Stephano exclaims, "Mercy! Mercy! This is a devil, and no monster; I will leave him; I have no long spoon." While the devil may have as much influence to-day as at any other period of the world's history, certainly there is not as much personal consideration for his Satanic majesty, except it be among those who believe not only in the personal existence of the devil, but regard him as a being to be propitiated and appeased, as for example, in Hayti, among the tribes of Africa, and some Christian sects. This proverb, as you perceive, embodies an unhealthy moral sentiment. It allows us to sit at the table with the devil; but suggests that we act cautiously in our dealings with him. It enters no protest against a policy which compromises us with evil. The excuse supposed to be sufficient is, that it is only for the time being. Most of us, without doubt, entertain the idea that we are more than a match for the devil. We undertake to accept his favors and make no return; to enter into his services for a limited time. The Germans say, "Once is never." People who are deprived largely of their social and political liberties, seem to have a corresponding disposition to compensate

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themselves for their privations through falsehood and theft. But in saying what we have said, we would not impress you with the idea that the king in this particular is superior to the subject, or that the servant is less truthful than the master, though he may tell more lies. Reverse the situation, and kings and masters, among those of whom we are now speaking, prove often more frail and seek a hiding place often more quickly in a refuge of lies. Gallileo stretched on a rack of the inquisition, recanted; it is right for us to deplore his weakness, but placed in his position we might prove no stronger. So long as we are governed in the discharge of our duty by worldly prudence, rather than deep seated convictions, the difference between us after all is not very great; it is only the difference in the length of the spoon with which we serve at the devil's table. The following, which bears resemblance to the foregoing, Quintillian says was old in his day: "Liars should have, if not long spoons, long memories."

"Ous pas capable manger gumbo avec nion doigt." "You never eat gumbo with one finger." Those who are familiar with the common people, or peasants, of Hayti know that spoons and forks are luxuries almost unknown among them. Gumbo is known in the United States by the name of Okra. This preparation is served up in the half of a calabash, and what they do not drink is taken out with the fingers. The following expresses about the same idea: "Ous pas capable trapper pouces avec une doigt." "It is not possible to catch a flea with one finger." The Spaniards say: "One man and no man is all the same." The Calabars, of West Africa, say: "A man does not use one finger to take out an arrow." The French say: "He who eats his bread alone must alone bear his burden." The Spaniards have another proverb which says: "Who eats his dinner alone must saddle his horse alone." This same general truth is set forth in Paul's exhortation to the Galatians: "Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfill the law of Christ." The preacher says: "Two are better

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than one; because they have a good reward for their labor; for if they fall the one will lift up his fellow. But woe to him that is *alone* when he *falleth*, for he hath not *another* to *help him up*." This proverb discloses an eternal principle, which may be said to embrace the beginning and end of human wisdom, combination, fellowship, organization, co-operation, union; and it teaches a sense of dependence among men, by which the ignorant, as well as the most learned, are unconsciously led to comprehend and acknowledge their primary and final dependence upon God, a conviction which is the basis of all true religion.

The following is truly significant: "Complot plus fort passe ouanga." "Conspiracy is more powerful than witchcraft." This proverb indicates the change taking place in the mind, gradually emerging out of the darkness of gross superstition, and the dawning of a sense of the superiority of plans and the combination of natural forces over incantation and dark arts upon which the *ignorant* and *superstitious* more or less *depend*. It also brings before us a civilization animated by a public sentiment, which supports those who advocate and carry into effect the doctrine that conspiracy and assassination are legitimate means of statesmanship. We are pleased to note, however, that by virtue of a principle fixed in the nature of things, through the wise arrangement of divine Providence, that combinations in which the motive is evil and the aim corrupt and selfish, are not and cannot be permanent; often they dissolve while in the process of formation; at most they cannot be expected to stand only while in the presence of a common enemy. This element of weakness enters to a greater or less extent into all human organizations. "It is a wonderful proof of the wisdom of Providence," said the late Lord Lytton, "that whenever any large number of its creatures form a community or class, a secret element of disunion enters into the hearts of the individuals forming the congregation and prevents their co-operating heartily and effectually for their

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own common interests." "The flies would have dragged me out of bed if they had been unanimous," said the great Curran, "and there can be no doubt if all the spiders in the commonwealth would attack me in a body, I should fall a victim to their combined nippers."

"Cabrite qui pas malin mange nen pie morne." "The wild goat is not cunning that eats at the foot of the mountain." Another proverb of like significance is: "The snake that wishes to live does not promenade on the highway." All Haytiens are not alike. All are not aspirants for public office and many are satisfied to enjoy the comforts they have, without seeking to excite the envy of those who have been unfortunate, or not so highly favored. To one who is acquainted with the revolutionary condition of the country, in consequence of which there is a proper conception of the perils in the midst of which the people live, and the risk to which all property is subjected, it is not a thing to be marveled at that a few Haytiens have cultivated obscurity and that this disposition has passed into a proverb and is preserved in provincial dialect where it is easy of access. The sad fate which has overtaken too many of the public spirited citizens of Hayti, who have endeavored to serve their country, render doubly impressive the lesson taught by the proverb, "The snake that wishes to live does not promenade in the highway."

"Tang on pancor passe la riviere prin gade ou joure maman caiman." "Till you are across the river, beware how you insult the mother alligator." The greatest outrage you can offer to a Haytien is to insult his mother. He will never forget the perpetrator of such an act and in all probability never forgive. This regard for *mother* is a trait of character very commendable in the African race, the prevalance of which has arrested the attention of travellers through the dark continent. Among the distinguished explorers by whom attention has been directed and comment made in this particular, we would mention the name of Mungo Park. A saying common

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among Hindoos is, "What! dwell in the water and quarrel with the crocodile." The German admonition is, "Do not whistle till you are out of the woods." "Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off."—I. Kings, xx: 11. It was this proverb which President Lincoln called into service explaining his conduct when dealing with an emergency—Never swap horses when crossing a stream.

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CHAPTER XLII.

THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION IN HAYTI.

Haytien independence dates from 1804, which year marked an ecclesiastical as well as a national epoch. The separation of Saint Domingo from France was without doubt final; but the divorcement of the Catholic Church in Hayti from the See of Rome was of short duration. After remaining independent little more than half a century the national church returned to her first love. President Jeffrard, who restored the republic, also brought about an understanding between the government of Hayti and the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

The history of the "Black Republic" presents two phases of Catholicism. The former was developed during the separation from the See of Rome; the latter commenced with Jeffrard's administration, and continues to the present under the regulations established by the concordat. Since the restoration of papal authority we have reason to believe that the work of the Catholic Church in Hayti has been more effective and her influence more wholesome and far reaching. If, from a religious point of view, we consider the former period as the dark age of Hayti, we are, nevertheless, forced to confess that from 1804 until the restoration, little more than fifty years, a few good men appeared, who performed good work and whose influence was of a healthy character. They were serious, earnest and even pious. They accomplished much good and left the indelible impress of their individuality upon their generation and the institutions of the period.

The man to whom Toussaint L'Ouverture was indebted for early instruction was known by the name of Pierre Baptiste. He was highly respected on account of the purity of his life, and for his day and generation he was a prodigy in knowledge. He knew a little French, still less of Latin, had some notions of geometry, and a thorough knowledge of the map of his dis-

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trict. Pierre Baptiste possessed that which was still more excellent, viz.: a knowledge of "Christian Philosophy, of which the Cross of Christ is the symbol." The knowledge of this black man (who was, after Toussaint's father, his principal instructor), came through the goodness of one of those Jesuit missionaries, who in preaching the power of God, enlightened and elevated man in all quarters of the globe, where they went in obedience to the command, "Go into all the world and preach the gospel." In passing, we would notice the religious bias of the popular mind brought about through the instruction of their religious teachers.

The day following the entrance of General Toussaint L'Ouverture into Port au Prince, after the evacuation of the English, was observed as an occasion of thanksgiving. The people electrified by the success of the general-in-chief, and the crowning events of a long struggle to which they were permitted to be eye-witnesses, repaired to the church, where they assisted, with the priests, in the celebration of "The Te Deum."

At the time of independence the Roman Catholic clergy were quite numerous in Hayti. Christophe,* who was in command of a division of General Dessalines' army when the order was given to retreat from San Domingo City, is said to have burned St. Jago and caused the execution of quite a number of priests. During the reign of Christophe, whose character seems to have justified some writers in comparing him to Henry VIII. of England, the church and the clergy constituted an institution well regulated and influential. Christophe had under serious consideration the necessity of establishing a national clergy.†

*The Haytien historian informs us that Christophe, as he hastened with his retreating columns to the North, set fire to St. Jago, it is said, with his own hands, and ordered the butchering of twenty priests, who were afterwards found in the burying ground of that place."

†With regard to religion and the clergy in Christophe's kingdom, it would appear that he had two arch-bishops, both of whom, it is said, fell under his displeasure for a time. He had also in view the creation of a national clergy.—"The Black Man; or, Haytien Independence," p. 110.

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The presence of the clergy and the influence of the church were among the striking features at the inauguration of Christophe's* constitution, who, after he had been declared chief magistrate of the new state, gave to religion an important place in the affairs of the nation. On the 28th of April, 1852, about three years after the advent of Gen. Soulouque to power, the coronation of both Emperor and Empress took place. Gen. Soulouque was afterwards known as Faustian I. It appears that the reason why the coronation ceremony took place years after Gen. Soulouque became chief magistrate, was the difficulty experienced in the negotiation carried on between the government and Rome, to secure if possible, dignitaries clothed with ecclesiastical authority to perform the solemn ceremonies which are very properly an important part of the coronation service. The Soulouque government was not successful in securing from Rome the high functionaries so much desired and which would have been regarded at the time both as a great favor and a distinguished honor. The trouble was, Hayti had not yet entered into ecclesiastical relations with Rome. We are told by one who was present at the inauguration, that while there was no oration delivered on the occasion, no sermon preached to the assembled thousands, the priests were in attendance in large numbers. About the year 1837, Dr. England, Roman Catholic Bishop of Charleston, S. C., visited Hayti as the Pope's legate, with a view to establish the supremacy of the court of Rome over the clergy of that country. This prelate was received with every mark of distinction, but the object of his mission was at the time alto-

*Christophe now began to organize his affair and a constitution promptly appeared in which Hayti was declared to be a state, with a president at the head. This constitution was inaugurated with great pomp and ceremony and Gen'l Christophe, who was now chief magistrate of the new state, attended the Te Deum which was sung in the church at Cape Hayti, at the close of which the new functionary received the most flattering felicitations of the people at large and especially of the generals of the army.—"The Black Man or Haytien Independence."

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gether unpopular, Hayti having hitherto looked with great suspicion and even dread on papal ascendency in the nation.* The whole of the Roman Catholic clergy had up to that time been entirely under the control of the Le Ministre des Cultes.†

It is worthy of note that there appeared from time to time worthy examples and brilliant illustrations of the faith expounded by those who were intrusted with the religious instruction of the people; and these were the conspicuous representatives of the humble minority, whose upright lives were the best proof of their religious devotion. Toussaint L'Ouverture was a Roman Catholic and we see, perhaps, more that is suprising in his religious character than what is marvelous in his military genius. We have sufficient proof that the tone of his religious and moral life was very exalted. But what he was in character was the result of Christian teaching he had received from the apostles of the faith in which he was baptized. The sunlight of truth which pervaded and sweetened the atmosphere of his homelife is reflected in the following extract: "We went," said he, one day, "Susan and I, to work in the fields. Scarcely did we perceive the fatigue of the day. Heaven has always blessed our labors. Not only do we roll in abundance, but we have still the pleasure of giving food to those who stand in need of it. Sundays and holidays we went to mass; after an agreeable repast we passed the rest of the day at home and we terminated it by prayer in which we both took part."

The severest crisis of Toussaint L'Ouverture's experience was the last months of a miserable existence, lingered out at Fort de Joux. In this dungeon the iron was forced into his soul. In this dark, miserable vault the unfortunate Toussaint, who had never experienced a winter, hovered over an insuffi-

*"The Black Man or Haytien Independence" p. 178.

†General Inginac, the secretary of state, who was charged with all the interest of public worship, such as obtains where the church is united with the state.

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cient fire, chilled and shaking through every fibre of his body. It was at such a time and in such condition that the faith in which he was instructed by Jesuit missionary supported him. Mars Plaisir, Toussaint L'Ouverture's body servant, who remained with him in the prison until a very short time before his death, tells in his unpublished correspondence how Toussaint read his Bible in the prison; we may add, with all propriety, in his tomb. Page after page of the open Bible on the table was devoured. It was light in the darkness. Thus he made his offering to God, from whom he received consolation with a sublime resignation, in the midst of humiliation and indescribable suffering.

The following extract will show to what extent, at least, a few of the most influential men of Hayti were imbued with the highest morals and religious sentiments. The address from which it is taken was delivered by M. H. Ferry, at the annual examination of the National Lyceum, 1844, during the administration of President Guerrier:

"Young students, this educational fete, established to demonstrate before your own families, your progress and to distribute among you those crowns of approbation, which assiduity and ardor in the pursuit of knowledge have merited, is the patriotic joy of the authorities by whom we are now surrounded; in fact, this touching scene reminds us all that education effaces national distinction and brings all hearts into unity; that the spread of light abolishes prejudice, unites people, polishes man, and introduces into commerce the charms of urbanity and honor. The youth of Hayti thirst for knowledge; they wish to drink at the fountain of truth, and seem to be impelled forward by irresistible instinct toward the great object of their being, and we hope, therefore, that in the future the competition will be great. The present government hails this intellectual movement with delight and without pride wishes to identify itself with it and encourage it, knowing as it does that love of knowledge is the distinguish-

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ing feature of the present age, which founded in and directed by religion, lights up the hopeful future of a nation. Perhaps before long you will be called by your country to bring into action the talent you are now acquiring; therefore, under the shield of an enlightened faith and a pure morality resist unceasingly every evil passion, and amass the precious treasure. Your country demands not only enlightment, but men whose knowledge shall be found to be of a sound and honorable character. May that Divine Providence which has ever watched over Hayti make you better than your fathers."

Rev. M. B. Bird, who was personally acquainted with M. H. Ferry bears testimony to the fact that he was a conscientious Roman Catholic, a man of good education, great intelligence and well worthy of the distinguished position conferred upon him by his government.

Just as the coin bears upon its face the likeness of the ruler, the date of his reign, so literature, and especially legislative enactments furnish the index by which we may determine the religious sentiments of the nation. In our reference at this time to Pres. Petion's plan for the distribution of land, we are not seeking an opportunity to eulogize one of the most distinguished chiefs of Hayti, but simply wish to call attention to the measure introduced by the representatives of the people which was intended to offset and take the place of Petion's plan and which bears upon its face a decided religious bias. The measure which had originated with the chief executive and the passage of which was desired by him, proposed the distribution of public lands in quantities varying from thirty to sixty and more acres, among soldiers who had in any way distinguished themselves in the service of their country. Doubtless this plan would not only have increased the popularity of Petion, and given the western republic a larger place in the affections of its citizens, but it would have been also the channel through which substantial good would have passed into the possession of those who deserved consideration at the

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hands of the government. Strange as it may appear, this measure was not only the occasion of discussion, but discussion in which was expressed the widest difference of opinion.* The senate, in opposition to Petion's plan, did more than find fault. The members of that honorable body introduced a measure the aim of which was the same, the distribution of public lands, but the benefits were to be conferred in such a manner as to encourage and develope among the people a higher class of virtues. The principal feature of the measure introduced by the senate, was expressed in these words: "That those fathers and mothers who should have the greatest number of legitimate children resulting from honorable marriage, should be favored with concessions of land."

The clash between the legislative and executive branches of the government took on very serious forms,† finally terminating in the dissolution of the senate by the president. That both measures were good, all must agree; which was the most excellent, may be seen without comparison or reflection. Pres. Petion's plan offered a reward to those who had been loyal to the republic; while the measure for which the senate contended, placed a preminm on the observance of the 7th commandment, which was at a great discount by virtue of the almost universal disregard of the marriage institution.

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*This doubtless would have reached a great number of deserving persons and would have had a powerful eflect in diffusing strength throughout the entire republic, but the senate, from some mysterious cause, either did not or would not see this and the consequence was painful and unhappy throughout the nation, dissentions and conspiracies being the result.—"The Black Man or Haytien Independence" p. 94.

†But things now rose to so high a pitch between the parties that Petion dismissed the senate abrubtly.—"The Black Man or Haytien Independence." G. Larmour, who was attached to the senate at that time, denies that military power was in any sense resorted to by Petion in this case. L. Ardouin, in his essay on Haytien history, declares that the senate dissolved itself involuntarily. M. B. Ardouin, in his "Studies Sur l'histoire d' Haite" declares that Petion threatened military force, and that the senate then dissolved.

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Petion's plan encouraged allegience to the government, the senatorial plan, allegience to God. What concerns us most is to find the main-spring of this distinctively Christian legislation attempted by the senate in the advocacy of which they were persistent and astonishingly tenacious.

The National Assembly, which may be considered, with propriety, as the starting point of free and constitutional government in Hayti, convened on the 18th day of December, 1806, in the Cathedral Church of the Capital, which was at that time Port au Prince. Deputies from the North were present, and the members of the assembly favorable to Christophe were so numerous that his influence was positively very great, notwithstanding the majority of the representatives present were inclined to a republican form of government which was not in keeping with Christophe's views, whose ideas were well known to be in favor of confiding greater power and prerogatives to the executive. Christophe, learning the nature of the constitution which was adopted, refused to abide by the decision of the assembly, which had proclaimed him president for four years, and marched against Port au Prince with 18,000 men. The constitution, however, which had been rejected by Christophe, was adopted by the assembly and proclaimed with solemnity, December 27th, 1806.

Alexander Petion was elected and declared president, March 9th, 1807.

It is very apparent, that from the force of peculiar circumstanstance, some of the most influential men, and some of the most ardent supporters of Petion's government were from the North; also the section where bibles had been so largely distributed. May not these representatives have been responsible for the distinctive Christian legislation to which we have had occasion to refer. Credit is due to someone for attempting to propagate Christianity, by the distribution of the Word of God. At least one writer* has given Christophe the honor

*Rev. M. B. Bird.

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of inaugurating the grand movement productive of so much good. We must admit that Christophe, with all his faults, was a man of great force of character; but how to explain the wisdom and foresight reflected in a policy so advanced, and which, even in the present generation, would crown with honor the rulers of the most enlightened nations, is not at once apparent.

Christophe had a singular destiny. A French writer informs us that he had been a slave, the proprietor of a hotel and the commander of a privateer. He became captain of the National Guard, a general in Toussaint L'Ouverture's army, and finally king of Hayti, under the name of Henry I. "Henry Christophe, according to an account sanctioned by himself, was born on the island of Grenada, in the year 1769, and came out at an early age to St. Domingo. He was the slave of a French gentleman, whose daughter resided at the Cape when I* was there, and to whom Christophe was kind and attentive in his prosperity." Christophe was one of the officers who signed the act of independence proclaimed by Dessalines. To promote the civilization of his subjects he assembled men of talent and learning, even from Europe.†

Christophe's faith in the Bible as an important agency in the extension and development of civilization, and the readiness with which he distributed copies of the scripture among his subjects, must be explained in one of three ways, perhaps all combined gave the result: Either by his contact with the French family in which he was a servant; or the influence exerted over him by the learned men from Europe, who in answer to his call had come into his service; or by the pres-

*Mackenzie.

†Christophe's schools were furnished with hundreds, if not thousands, of copies of the Scriptures, many of which were printed with one column of English and one of French on each page. The efficiency of these schools was subsequently seen in the fact that they furnished the country with many educated and able men, most of whom could express themselves with more or less ease in English.—"The Black Man, or Haytien Independence."

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ence of the Roman Catholic Church, from whose priests it is natural to believe he received instruction and advice.

Notwithstanding the anti-Protestant feeling which manifested itself once under the administration of President Boyer, and so also once under the administration of Emperor Soulouque, the period between independence and the advent of President Jeffrard, was marked by a spirit of toleration not then enjoyed by any of the Roman Catholic countries of Europe. Down to the present time Protestant missionaries who have crossed the mountains and plains of Hayti are unanimous in their testimony concerning the kindness of officials, the hospitality of the people and the public expressions of good will which sometimes came from Roman Catholic priests.

Rev. M. B. Bird was for many years, before the ratification of the concordat, an active missionary in Hayti. He found then, as many of his successors have since in the prosecution of their missionary work in different parts of the island, almost the entire population of villages and boroughs coming together to hear the gospel. The respective rulers of Hayti, in their turn, have held out inducements to Protestant missionaries to labor in word and doctrine among the people. But the most assuring proof that missionaries are welcomed by the Haytiens, is the eagerness with which the natives assemble at the call of the preacher, and the willingness with which they hear the gospel.*

*The greater part of our journey between LeVieux-Bourg and Cote de Fer was through a hot, sandy country, the heat and monotony of which made it quite fatiguing. On this sandy road we halted in the course of the morning and partook of what we had with us; then proceeding we soon reached the fertile plains of Aquia, and entered the old burg about 5 P. M. This small, but well known, village was commanded by a military officer, to whom I presented myself and my passport. This colored gentleman received me with politeness and gave me a hearty welcome to his house. I told him that notwithstanding I was fatigued I should like to preach the gospel in the village that evening, and inquired of him if he could procure me a place. His reply was, "Your passport announces you as a ministre

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Do we not see in the attitude of the Haytien people an open door which invites the entrance of the heralds of the Cross? Do we not hear the cry of the hungry multitude for bread—the bread of life—the Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us?"

In their visits from house to house, Protestant ministers, as a rule, are delighted with the hearty welcome extended them by members of Roman Catholic families; and the result is generally the growth of mutual respect, out of which comes more or less good. Sometimes through these pastoral visits the way is prepared for the reception of the truth.

The dedication of a church is a very important event in any community. The highest civilization can boast of nothing

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de l'evangile, and I think the gospel should be preached in the church. Will you preach in our church?" I replied that I should be sorry to pain the mind of the parish priest, or anyone else. "I will then see," said the officer, "and get you a place." He went, but was soon back, and observed, "It is now getting late, and there is difficulty in getting a place. The parish church does not belong to the priest, but to the Republic and its citizens; if you will preach in our church I will take all responsibility on myself; for there is but one gospel and that gospel ought to be preached in the church." I therefore consented, and about 7 P. M. the commandant got the little church lighted up and ordered the bell to be rung. Nearly the whole village must have come together, for the meeting was very large. On entering the church I took my stand by the side of the Virgin Mary. She seemed to be nearly my own height, was well dressed, but said not a word: "A mouth, but they speak not." All was deep attention and in the midst of the sermon the priest, who had attended a funeral in the plain, came up; he listened silently at the door, and when all was over, the commandant presented me to Monsieur L'Abbe, the parish priest, who received me with great blandness and we spent some little time in conversation. Before leaving the priest invited me take coffee with him the next morning, which I promised to do. Continuing our journey we soon arrived at the large town of Aquin, and en passant, I, according to promise, took coffee with the abbe. We arrived at Cavaillon about midday. We soon made everything known through the place, and about 7 in the evening, a large congregation came together at the place appointed, consisting of respectable and intelligent people; in fact, there seemed to be something especially interesting in the general bearing and character of the people of this neighborhood, as though it were a special center of intelligence.—"The Black Man, or Haytien Independence," pp. 240, 241, 242.

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superior to the consecration of wealth in the erection of churches and the dedication of them to the worship of Almighty God. The erection and dedication of a church in Hayti, is no insignificent event, as every missionary knows, who has had the privilege to see his own work thus crowned, or to assist in the dedicatory services which indicate the permanent shape that another's labors have taken. With the Haytien, it is an afterthought as to whether or not the church is intended for Roman Catholic or Protestant worship ; on such occasions Protestants and Catholics worship together and appear alike impressed with the sacredness of the service, In Hayti, according to our information and the extent of our observation, no distinction obtains as to the place of burial. Protestants and Catholics are interred in the same graveyard, so that the priest and the minister often meet on the same ground to perform the last sad rites of religion. We affirmed in the begining of this chapter, that from 1804 until the restoration, a few good men appeared and may we not add that it is impossible to explain much that was admirable in the life and practice of many families and much that tended in the right direction which was praiseworthy and indicative of true progress in not a few communities as well as the liberal character of the period, if pious Roman Catholic missionaries, of whom Thomas Correa was a representative, did not in the exercise of the functions of their high calling exert a positive influence for good on the generation to which they ministered in holy things. Since we have mentioned the name of Thomas Correa and pointed him out as a worthy representative of a clergy who by virtue of appointment and duties, belong to the most exalted sphere of usefulness known among men, we are inclined to go a step further and unfold for the benefit of the reader his exemplary character, his beautiful life and his heroic devotion, each and all strikingly illustrative of the miracle of grace. Thomas Correa was wise but not ostentacious, religious but not fanat-

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ical, pious and humble, living the gospel he preached. The word he announced was not corrupted by the prejudice of the times, but on the other hand, it was wholesome doctrine, limited only by divine precepts. Charitable to excess, he died poor as those whom he assisted everyday, notwithstanding he was the pastor of a large church that furnished a good living. Tolerant, he respected the religious opinions of others and if he won them to the standard of his faith, it was not by any effort on his part to make proselytes, but rather through the grandeur of his pure character and the irresistable force of his holy example. Attached to the soil on which he was born, he was not ashamed of the fact, but congratulated himself on being a Haytien and was pleased to demonstrate the advantage which accrued therefrom.

Thomas Correa was born at San Domingo, 1766. He took holy orders in 1790, after having passed successfully through a course of profitable study. He entered upon the prosecution of his ministerial duties in the parish of Higuey. Long before his time the miraculous virgin of the ancient capital of the Chief Cayacoa was employed on all occasions to satisfy every desire and to render easy the impossible. In performing his work in a field so generally permeated by ignorance and fanaticism he established fame, only in that for which the world has but little appreciation. He might have acquired great riches and carried upon his breast a "Cross of Diamonds," instead of the modest wooden cross, which more nearly resembled the one upon which expired the God-Man. What were they to Thomas Correa—the perishable things of this world—when compared with things spiritual and eternal, things which he hoped to obtain in the world to come. He did not allow himself to be influenced by the favors and smiles of men and women. He refused everything which seemed to indicate a disposition on the part of those whom he served to worship the creature, accepting and acknowleding only that in which homage was ascribed to God. There was nothing harsh

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about Thomas Correa, for even when he found occasion to refuse the proffers of his numerous friends, his refusals were accompanied by such wholesome instructions and kind remarks that in them his own convictions were often carried to the hearts of such members of his flock as he had occasion to address, and not unfrequently became part of their character.

Thomas Correa was called to other work and finally obtained in 1840, the chair in connection with the canonship of the cathedral at San Domingo; there marked distinction was conferred, however, after the expulsion of the French and when the dissolution of the old Spanish monarchy was everywhere apparent and when the Regence de Cadiz thought and hoped to retain the immense possessions in America, by tardy concessions to those who, until then, were carefully held remote from all public charges and hence not permitted to enjoy any of the benefits which accrued from them. Thomas Correa proved himself very efficient as a professor in the university at San Domingo. The result of his good work was seen in those students who became distinguished for their learning and piety, and who followed in the footsteps of their worthy instructor. This good man died at Port au Prince, where he came for treatment. The death of this venerable father was regretted by all who knew him and were able to appreciate his qualities. Calm and resigned, he succumbed to the inevitable, but he lives in the hearts of his countrymen, for when a character like Thomas Correa passes away, there remains always a reputation grand and beautiful, without reproach, the influence of which continues to opearate in the circle of true and devoted friends.* Prior to the concordat, the Roman Catholic priests were supported in Hayti by revenue collected from the performance of religious rites. There was a price fixed by the government on each rite that a priest might be called upon to perform. The schedule included masses for

*Essais Sur L'Histoire D'Haiti par G. N. Geligni Ardoin. pp. 205 and 206.

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the dead and living, baptisms, marriages and funerals, the last mentioned was divided into the first, second and third classes, for which more or less in cash was demanded, according to the class called for. First class required more display, more music, more prayers and hence, more labor on the part of the priest. From this same source, the state also received a certain portion of revenue, in consideration of church repairs and other expenses which the authorities were expected to furnish when necessity requited it. The division of this tariff called for a public functionary who was appointed by the state, and known as the Marguiller or church warden. It was the duty of this distinguished officer to separate the revenue which came into his hands, appropriating to the state so much as would satisfy her claim, and to the priest the balance, as the reward of his labor. The following conversation, related by an English traveler, is not foreign from the subject and gives some idea of the prices fixed on the schedule: "I ventured to remind him (the priest) that sixty Haytien dollars were allowed by law for a funeral of the first class and a dollar for every baptism. 'These dollars,' said the priest, 'are the sweat of our brow, but the government impounds a large amount of them, and applies it to other purposes. We only obtain twenty dollars for a funeral and one-half dollar for a baptism. What is one-half dollar for a baptism?' "*

We do not think that the evils and abuses of which the Roman Catholic Church, during a period of 56 years—from 1804 to 1860, the year in which the concordat was ratified—have been exaggerated. The misrepresentations and the wrongs, of which some writers have been guilty, are apparent to all who read their productions and observe how carefully they have exposed the corruption of the period, maintaining at the same time a profound silence in regard to all the good attempted and accomplished. Admit the evil of the period, was as great as the pen of those who have seen fit to write on

*J. Candler.

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the subject have declared it to be. Why should we make the Roman Catholic Church responsible for the condition that obtained? The clergy of the Catholic Church in Hayti were for many years free from the controlling influence of Rome, and without the presence and aid of episcopal supervision. The increasing demand for religious teachers and the great improbability, growing out of causes too well known, of worthy men answering this demand, left Hayti an open field to be sought and preyed upon by adventurers; and, as a matter of fact, wolves in sheep's clothing found their way thither and prosecuted very successfully their operations. Frenchmen, Corsicans and Italians came in the name of religion and presented their credentials to the Minister of Public Worship, the only authority to whom they were amenable. The very same reasons which caused worthy men to hesitate to go to Hayti and to prefer other fields of labor in which to work as missionaries, caused the Minister of Public Worship to admit almost without exception anyone who applied, providing there was the least degree of promise in the applicant.

Writers who have written with an air of authority on Haytien affairs go so far as to say that not a few of the foreign priests who came to Hayti prior to the days of the concordat, were exiles and many of them men who took the clerical garb in order that they might with more certainty, greater facility and security, carry out their immoral projects. According to these writers, the hirelings who pretended to minister in holy things did not hesitate to do anything, however bad, in order to increase their exchequer and gratify their carnal propensities. The rites of the church were prostituted by them, and even the fettish blessed and baptized for the consideration of filthy lucre. The archbishop of Hayti, referring to this deplorable condition into which the church had degenerated, and which was too apparent long after his arrival among the unfortunate Haytiens, wrote: "Moreover, it is quite sufficient to travel through the villages and districts of the republic in

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order to witness abundant proof of unprecedented libertinism."* To the same archbishop we are indebted for another statement which we here incorporate and which leads us to believe that his efforts in the way of reform, have been crowned with a goodly degree of success.

"We are no longer living in the days when unscrupulous priests who, by their unjust exactions in the principal parishes of the republic made enormous gains, by means condemned, both alike by conscience and the law of the Church. What need is there that I should bring up the past lamentable condition of the Church in Hayti. I am a priest and if I could, I would, for the honor of the priesthood, wash away the approbrium with my tears, and plunge it into eternal oblivion, but it is not in my power to do it, neither is it possible for anyone else to efface the dishonorable record of the past."† The extract below is from an address delivered by M. V. Lizaire, Minister of Public Instruction, and confirms all that the Arch-Bishop of Port au Prince confesses and deplores. This address was delivered 1863. "Are we not pained and grieved in contemplating the state of our church from the days of its organization until the present; in seeing the dignity of the sacred ministry menaced and compromised by unknown persons without character, who by some means or other have escaped from their own country and have come into our homes to exhibit all the deformities and the dangerous spectacle of their

*Ne Suffit il pas d' ailleurs de parcourir les villis et les bourgades de la Republique pour rencontrer encore les temoins vivants d'un libertinage sans example.—Guilloux.

†"Nous ne Sommes plus aux temps ou quelques rares cures repartis dans les principales paroisses de la Republique faisaient de' enormes benefices par des moyens souvent ne pas eprouves par la conscience et par la lois de l'eglise. Qu, ai-je besoin d, evoquer dans le passe les lamentable souvenirs de l'Eglise en Hayti. Je suis pretre, et Je voudrais pour l' honneur du sacerdoce pouvoir laver son approbe de mes larmes et de les plonger, en eternel oubli. Mais il ne depend ni de moi ni depersonne d'en effacer la triste memoire."—Monseigneur A. Guilloux, Arch-Bishop of Port au Prince.

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disorderly lives. I will not appal anyone in essaying to uncover the debauchery and excess which constitute part of our religious annals. It sufficeth to say that perhaps in no part of Christendom has the clergy been so profane as in Hayti.* In extending a hearty welcome to those who came in the name of Christ and who represented themselves as ministers of the most holy religion, the government of Hayti was not only endeavoring to meet a natural demand, but entertained very properly the hope that through the employment of such sacred instrumentalities, knowledge of the true God might be imparted to its citizens. But what they meant for good, we regret to say, proved to be a prolific source of evil. Those priests, who brought upon themselves and the Church disgrace so terrible that not even time, with all its modifying influences can efface, came from the countries of Europe which stand for the most advanced civilization. In the flat contradiction their recreant lives gave to the gospel they professed and preached, may be found a partial explanation of impetus given to infidelity in Hayti. Their influence was as destructive to morals as fire in dry stubble. The cause of Christ is seriously compromised when the most humble member digresses from the path of right; but when the priests who minister at the altar, choose the livery of Heaven serve the devil in, a spectacle is presented over which angels may weep. But why marvel at these things? We know that in his wonderful transformation, the prince of the powers of darkness, appears as an angel of light."

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*N'Eprouve-t-on pas un sentiment penible et douloureux en contemplant l-etat de notre eglise depuis sa naissance juesqu' a ce jour, en voyant la dignite du Saint Ministre Souvent menacee et compromise par des inconnus sans qualite par quelque moines la plus part du temps echappes de leurs conaents et venant affiir jusqu a' chez nous le dangereux spectacle de leurs dereglements? Je ne ferai point l'horreur a plaisir en essayant de renferment de desordres et eccs. Il suflit dedire que mille part peutetre dans la chretiente le clerge n'a profane autant qu'en Haiti le sacerdoce dont il est revetu.

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When the numerous scandals with which the priests were associated and the crimes with which they were charged became generally known, the government realized that a crisis was at hand, but, unlike France, in the hour of her deepest grief and most pronounced humiliation, bleeding from wounds inflicted by ministers of religion who ministered in her temples instead of declaring against all religions and all creeds and publically avowing infidelity, the authorities of Hayti formed an alliance with Rome through which they hoped to reform the Church and rid the country of a clergy positively immoral, whose baneful influence, like the venom of the Upas tree, had carried moral death into all grades of society. The formation of the compact between Hayti and the court of Rome under which the ecclesiastical authorities of the eternal city obligated themselves to supply the Republic with religious instructors, was attended with many difficulties. The work was finally consummated and the instrument signed in 1860. The provisions of the concordat were carried into effect on the arrival in Hayti of the Pope's delegate, who brought with him a number of priests who were not installed in the Churhes of the Republic until after a serious struggle with the incumbents, who had forfeited all their rights by reason of their impure lives, their immoral and sacreligious conduct.*

"The concordat, as signed, consisted of seventeen articles, and two additions, which provided, 1st. for the special pro-

*At length the scandal became so intolerable that the government of Hayti determined to negotiate a concordat at Rome, and after many difficulties had been overcome, it was signed in 1860, and the Pope sent his delegate, Monseigneur Testard de Cosquer, to bring it into practice. He was one of the most pleasing of men, handsome and eloquent; and the romantic and terrible episode related of him, as the cause of his leaving the army and entering into holy orders rendered him an object of great interest to the fair sex. He brought with him a body of French clergy whom he gradually installed in the different parishes of the Republic, not however, without a difficult struggle with those who formerly held possession and disgraced the Church.—"Hayti or The Black Republic" by Sir Spencer St. John, K. C. M. G.

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MIRAGOANE.

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tection of the Catholic religion, the establishment of an archbishopric at Port au Prince, and as soon as possible, other bishoprics paid by the state; nominations by the president of three bishops, subject to the approval of the Holy See; the clergy to take an oath of fidelity to the government; establishment of seminaries and chapters; nomination of priests by the bishops of persons approved by the government, and a few other arrangements of less importance."

The figures given below show the character of the provision made under the concordat for the support of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Hayti, and to what extent they are allowed to draw on the public treasury: The archbishop receives annually, out of the coffers of the state, $4,000; two bishops, from the same source, $1,200 each; the grand vicar at Port au Prince receives annually as his share, $800; four other vicars receive $600 each; the sixty-seven parish priests are allowed annually $240 each. The annual draft upon the treasury for the support of "The National Church," aggregates the sum of $25,880. Besides this annual stipend the clergy are entitled to the fees which come from marriages, baptisms and funerals, and houses in which to live, erected and furnished at the expense of the government.

The Haytien government has been for years contributing more or less for the education of those whose purpose it is to do missionary work on the island. While Hayti has its public school system, money for both religious and secular education has been very generally handled by priests and agents of the Roman Catholic Church. "To afford or provide priests for Hayti, Archbishop Testard de Cosquer, established in 1864, a Haytien Seminary in Paris, for the support of which the Assembly in Port au Prince voted 20,000 francs per year." There are quite a number of well-regulated schools, not a part of the public system, in different sections of the Republic of Hayti, under the direction of Jesuits, Christian Brothers, and the Sisters of Cluny. "The Petite Seminare," conducted by

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priests—Jesuits, it is said, under another name—is considered by those who are regarded as competent judges, as a very good institution. The head of the college in my time was, and, I believe to the present day is, Pere Simonet, a very superior man, quite capable of directing the institution aright, and I have been informed that the favorable results of their system have been very marked. In September, 1883, this establishment was directed by fifteen priests of the congregation of "The Holy Spirit," and contained as many as three hundred pupils. The Sisters of Cluny have an establishment near Port au Prince, where the daughters of the chief families of the capital receive their education. This institution is well spoken of.

"I attended one of their examinations and school exhibitions, when recitals and actings by the young girls were the amusements afforded. Some of the pupils seemed remarkably bright and acquitted themselves of their task in a very pleasing manner. Since I left Hayti these establishments for girls have greatly increased in importance. There are now as many as sixty sisters and twenty others, called 'Filles de la Sagesse,' who have established schools throughout the country, which, in 1883, were attended by about three thousand pupils. 'The Christian Brothers' have also many schools distributed throughout the country, principally, however, in the large towns. These schools are fairly well attended. They are reported also to have had, in 1883, as many as three thousand boys under tuition."*

Religious instruction is not neglected in these schools; indeed, so much of the time is occupied in teaching the lives of the saints and the doctrines of the church that many of the parents have found very just cause of complaint. The object of these schools seems to be not so much to educate the youth and make them, by reason of liberal instruction, capable citi-

*Hayti, or the Black Republic, by Sir Spencer St. John.

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zens, as to endoctrinate them and make them good Roman Catholics.

"PROTESTANTISM."

As early as 1816, two missionaries of the Wesleyan connection arrived in Hayti. These good men received a hearty welcome at the hands of President Petion, by whose invitation they had come, and began to prosecute with great earnestness and success their Christian work. The death of President Petion was followed by a change of policy which was obvious in the bearing of the government toward Protestant missionaries. A religious persecution broke out; the Methodist pastors, who had recently arrived, with their followers and work were all in imminent danger. At the suggestion of President Boyer, and the advice of their own members who could not bear to see their religious teachers insulted and abused, the Protestant missionaries withdrew and returned with reluctance to England. During their absence Mr. J. C. Pressoir* lifted up and carried forward the standard of Methodism, around which the little band of Christians continued to rally.

In 1834, Rev. John Tindall arrived in Hayti. Mr. Tindall was a minister of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. He was sent to Puerto Plata by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Committee of London, at the suggestion of the American immigrants at that place who made known to the Missionary Committee their religious needs. The good work of Mr. Tindall† was soon recognized, and men who were able to help

*J. C. Pressoir was a native minister.

†Mr. Tindall was encouraged and sustained by many influential gentlemen in that part of the country, and before long mission premises were secured at Puerto Plata, healthy and beautiful. A neat little church, capable of containing nearly two hundred (200), together with a parsonage house, were before long erected by the activity, perseverance and zeal of the missionary. In fact, as far as the American colored people were concerned, the two stations, Puerto Plata and Samona, were soon prosperous and interesting.—"The Black Man, or Haytien Independence."

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him, although not of his faith, came to his assistance. The result was the permanent establishment of Methodism, the influence of which continues to the present.

In 1839, Mr. Tindall's health failed and he withdrew from the field. But he had the satisfaction of seeing on the field before his departure Rev. W. T. Cardy, who proved himself by his work at Samona, Gonaives and Jeremie. In 1837, Rev. W. Touler was sent to Hayti by the Missionary Committee of the Wesleyan Church. He occupied as a principal station Puerto Plata, visiting now and then the work at Samona, which is a distance of nearly two hundred miles from Puerto Plata. In 1840, Rev. M. B. Bird, with his wife and infant son, arrived at Cape Hayti. 1841 witnessed the arrival of Rev. J. T. Hartwell and wife. These two missionaries of the Wesleyan Church were well received. Not only Protestants but Roman Catholics were happy to do them favors, and ready to show them kindness whenever an opportunity presented itself. Too much cannot be said of the faithful and successful labors of these zealous missionaries. It pleased Divine Providence to remove by death the following year the beloved wife of Rev. Hartwell. Her mortal remains repose in peace at a place called Post Marchand, in the immediate neighborhood of Port au Prince. Rev. J. T. Hartwell's missionary labors extended over a period of ten or twelve years. In 1849, in the midst of the greatest difficulties, he succeeded in carrying to completion a church and mission house at Cape Hayti.

The labors of Rev M. B. Bird extended over a period of forty years. He traveled through every section of the island of Hayti, and preached to the people in all the principal cities. He visited the United States in the interest of the missionary work and succeeded through his earnest appeals in creating through New England considerable interest in the Christian work among the Haytiens, to which he had dedicated his life.

No Protestant missionary ever had more influence than Mr. Bird, with the authorities and with men who were prominent

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in commercial and educational circles. No man was more fearless than he. He performed his duties under disagreeable as well as pleasant circumstances. He respected governments but he was not afraid to speak in the presence of crowned heads when the exigencies of his Master's cause required a witness. The following memorial was addressed by this devout missionary to the government of Faustin I, Emperor of Hayti.

"PORT AU PPINCE, June 19th, 1851.

"MY LORD:—Being persuaded that a full and free expression on the subject of religious liberty cannot be offensive to a government which has avowed itself to be the friend of toleration, I take the liberty, as the friend of humanity, to address a few remarks to you on that subject. We only ask for the extension of virtue and Christian knowledge the same liberty which is accorded, too many things which are pernicious to society, such as the African dances which can have no other effect than that of encouraging superstition and vice and of diverting the attention of the masses from the industry which is essential to the prosperity of the nation. We beg that ministers of the gospel may have the same liberty as is awarded to the chiefs and queens of vicious dances. Oh! allow the light of Celestial Truth to shine upon the mass of the people in every corner of the empire. But it will perhaps be said that the religion of Christ exists already in Hayti and has existed for a long time. I grant, indeed, that the symbols of Christianity, either in wood or gold or silver or other material, have long been known in Hayti; but the Christian religion in ancient times caused the idolotry of Greece and Rome to disappear upon the same principle that light and darkness cannot blend, that is to say, that error and vice have always fled before the light and power of Christian truth. But what shall we say of that Christianity which leaves vice and error entire? My Lord:—I have travelled through nearly

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the whole of the French part of Hayti, but alas! what have I seen? I have seen, it is true, a mild, docile and very hospitable people and I have never met with but the greatest respect, both from the authorities of the country and from the people generally, but in a moral point of view, with regard to education and civilization, general information and knowledge, I have not been able to help asking if the Christian religion really does exist in Hayti, where are its fruits? For the gospel was never really preached anywhere without producing the happiest results. When, therefore, I hear it said that the Christian religion already exists in Hayti, I naturally ask, where are those institutions to which the religion of the Saviour never fails to give birth wherever it is truly seated in the heart? Where are those establishments that ought to adorn the plains and mountains where Christ is said to reign—those institutions where the faculties and capacities of the rural population should be developed and where the general habits should be formed and purified? Where is the noble institution of the Sabbath?* The day of rest which is the gift of Heaven to mankind, and so much needed by humanity at large to keep up the remembrance of our obligations to the Creator, and to cultivate the religion of the heart. Yes, my Lord, if the Christian religion really exists in Hayti, how shall we account for the absence of those things which it ought to produce? I might have entered much more into detail and might have deplored many other evils, such as the great neglect of marriage, and the thousands of children disavowed by their fathers and who, like the savages of Africa, are without anything to cover their nakedness, but I will stop here, and beg to be allowed to reassure your Lordship that it is not proselytism that the Wesleyan communion has in view in Hayti. No, this communion offers her services to the friends of humanity to help in arresting the progress of vice, to pro-

*The public markets were at this time held in Hayti on the Sabbath day.

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mote the general and universal regeneration of mankind and lead them to glory and immortality by means of the religion of Jesus Christ.

"The order of Nature and of God, both in the moral and intellectual world, is progress and improvement; hence thought and conscience are left free, and God has given to each man every kind of liberty, except that of doing evil. He has charged the governments of the world with the care of liberty, the maintainance of order and the chastisement of vice. Hence, My Lord, while we are thankful to the Haytien government for that measure of religious liberty which is accorded to a portion of the human family which is committed to its care, we would at the same time ask that religious liberty, that gift of Heaven, should be accorded as God Himself would have it; yea, as He Himself has given it—fully, entirely and without limit. His Majesty, the Emperor of Hayti, has already given it in a constitution, which in that respect is worthy both of himself and the nation. We, however, beg that religious liberty in Hayti may not be a dead letter, but a glorious reality. It is truly painful to me to find myself under the necessity of placing these remarks before the public of Europe, but as it has been officially announced to me that religious toleration is now limited, it is necessary that philanthropists of England and elsewhere, should know that their efforts to do good in this country cannot now be extended to the whole population, and that their confidence in the constitution and institutions of the country have been misplaced. I cannot for a moment doubt, My Lord, but that your urbanity will forgive the liberty I have taken in writing to you frankly and freely on this great subject. My object has been to place before you more fully the motives and desires which influence our proceedings in Hayti. Believe me, My Lord, I more than ever desire the happiness and prosperity of Hayti."*

*M. B. Bird in "The Black Man, or Haytien Independence."

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In the performance of his duty as a Christian missionary, Mr. Bird was not actuated by a sectarian spirit. He was always ready to assist by words and kind acts (and if they were in need, his pocketbook was at their service,) ministers of all denominations who entered upon their labors in Hayti. His anxious concern for all who were engaged in the Christian work and self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of missions, won for him the appellation, "Father Bird," the name by which he was generally called.

There are others whose faithful labors in connection with the Wesleyan Church in Hayti entitle them to more than honorary mention, but our space is too limited to do more than record their names—Revs. St. D. Bauduy, S. C. Pressoir, C. H. Bishop, Sharp, Ereville and Baker. In this category belong the names of worthy native helpers, a few of whom we remember, J. Catts Pressoir, Paul Lauchard, Alexander Jackson, General McRose and Mr. Lilavoir.

The first serious effort on the part of the people of the United States to establish Christian missions in Hayti, was put forth by the Protestant Episcopal Church. Rev. J. T. Holly, now bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Hayti, landed on the island May 26th, 1861, at the head of a mission colony of one hundred and eleven persons, from New Haven, Conn. On arriving in Hayti they were located by the president of the Republic on an estate belonging to the government, situated about three miles from Port au Prince and known by the name of Drouillard. The people who composed this missionary colony were industrious and intelligent, and were determined upon two things: to make for themselves homes and better their condition, and at the same time exert a positive Christian influence on the natives with whom they were constantly coming in contact. Shortly after their arrival the mission was strengthened by reciving the entire frame work in wood of a small church, parsonage house and school.

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This valuable accession to the mission work was sent out from the United States.

The pioneer of the English Baptist Mission was Rev. E. Francis who landed at Jacmel, Dec. 10th, 1845. But Mr. Francis, who possessed so largely the elements of success and who made in a very short time, lasting impressions on the hearts of the people, died July 26th, 1846. His successor was soon appointed in the person of Rev. W. H. Webley, who landed at Jacmel from England on Feb. 14th, 1847. A commodious building, well planned, was soon erected. It combined under the same roof, both church and dwelling. Mr. Webley visited the United States in the interest of his work, and while there, sent out the frame work of a church, together with men to erect it. African methodism floated to Hayti in an emigrant ship. The Haytien government, as early as 1823, during the administration of Pres. Boyer, inaugurated on a very large scale, a system of emigration by which they hoped to increase their population at least 20,000. Just how many emigrants actually came from the United States during 1823–24, we are unable to say; but without doubt they numbered thousands. No emigration since, numerically speaking, has equalled it. We may add without reflection, that many who availed themselves of the opportunity offered by the Boyer government were worthless and added nothing to the institutions and people of Hayti at whose expense they came. In this particular the republic was unfortunate, but the fault and blame must rest where it belongs, on the shoulders of the Haytien authorities. They did not exercise the discrimination and discretion which the importance and magnitude of the enterprise demanded. The movement, so far as the government of Pres. Boyer was concerned, commenced in good faith but it was not well managed. Nevertheless there were hundreds of worthy men and women who formed an important part of the emigration of 1823. Not a few went to Hayti independent of the government, paying their own passage, car-

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rying with them respectable sums of money and other valuable property; some of them became successful farmers; a few soon found themselves occupying enviable positions in the commercial world; others worked as laborers; and others followed the trades of which they were masters, with profit to themselves as well as satisfaction to those in whose employment they were engaged. Last, but not least, (for they were the most remarkable, while it is true they were the most humble) were those, who, laboring with their own hands to maintain themselves, continued while they lived, to preach the gospel to their brethren. As a result, small churches soon sprang up, both in the Spanish and French parts of the island * Rev. Richard Robinson and Rev. Scipio Beanes were ordained in the United States for the Haytien Mission work; but their ordaination and recognition at the hands of the Church did not mean support for them in the foreign field and they did not so understand it.

The A. M. E. Church in the United States was indeed poor and struggling against great odds. Both Bishop Allen and his successor—Bishop Brown—were too honest to deceive men by promising assistance which the Church could not give. Hence the most they could do for Hayti was to ordain Revs. Richard

*These people landing in different parts of the island carried with them their religion and soon commenced publicly to worship the God of their fathers as they were wont to do in their old homes. Among those who led the Lord's hosts in this strange land may be mentioned Henry Allen, Alexander Jackson, Jeremiah Williams, Richard Robinson, Scipio Beanes and a host of good women, many of whom went from Bethel A. M. E. Church of Philadelphia. Among these old sisters, whose names are still blessed in memory, may be mentioned Mother Hunt, who came from the above named church and who had been for many years connected with "The Band Societies" of Philadelphia; she died in Jeremie in great triumph, having fought the great fight of faith. We may also mention Mother Tapsico, who still lives and whose father-in-law was the man who occupied the pulpit of Bethel Church (Phila.) at the time when Roberts made an effort to secure the church for his conference. It is said Bro. Tapsico's theme that morning was "The Burning Bush," to which he did full justice—"African Methodism in Hayti," by Rev. T. G. Steward.

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Robinson and Scipio Beanes and invoke God's blessing upon them as they went forth to preach the gospel in the distant field which they themselves had chosen.

Scipio Beanes, after years of faithful service, which endeared him to his fellow countrymen, died at his post in the full assurance of a glorious immortality. Rev. Richard Robinson continued the work. The occupation of Richard Robinson, the business in which he earned his bread by the sweat of his brow, exposed him all day long to the elements and the intense heat of the sun. Those who have felt the rays of a tropical sun know perfectly well that the foreigner who endures them and maintains average health and vigor, gives proof that he possesses a large degree of moral courage as well as a strong constitution. Richard Robinson, although in a land where the Sabbath was, and is, almost totally disregarded, kept it holy by a strict observance of the fourth commandment. He rested from the service in which he was occupied during the week to unite with the people who came to hear him expound the word of truth in the worship of Almighty God. This excellent man's life is worthy of study and imitation. His efforts to elevate the people generally and to bring about, among the most depraved, a better moral and religious condition, were characterized by real devotion and enthusiasm and enables us to see the self-sacrificing spirit which sustained him during the years through which, in imitation of his master, "He went about doing good." Richard Robinson was misunderstood by many of those among whom he labored. The result was an attack upon his work and administration. So far as I could learn, when in Port au Prince, and I talked the matter over with persons who had taken part in the affair, directing their influence against Robinson, he was called in question because he exercised the prerogatives of his office and insisted on doing so, when some persons thought he ought to desist. "It all occurred about a class," which Brother Robinson, perhaps, in empioying a little

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more zeal than policy, insisted on leading, among which were many objectionable members. On this account the feeling arose against him so strong that he thought it best to retire, which he did, about 1834.

Bishop Maurice Brown was at the time the only living bishop of the African Melhodist Episcopal Church, and there are several letters extant written by him which show very plainly how the difficulty between Elder Robinson and St. Peter's Church, Port au Prince, was regarded by the Church in the United States.*

Dr. T. G. Steward in referring to this difficulty, mentioned in the letter we give below, wrote the following statement on his return from Hayti: "The reader will perceive that this letter is a reply to the Church to whom it was addressed, namely: St. Peter's Church, Port au Prince, or that portion of it which had succeeded in expelling Brother Robinson, having deprived themselves of a ministry, they now desired to re-establish one according to their own notion, with men of their own selection, whom they desired Bishop Brown to ordain and to which he objects in the very plain terms of the dignified but positive letter which we have presented our readers. This however, did not settle the matter, and later, the Bishop was obliged to reply through a messenger sent directly to him with the same request.† These letters show the cause and ex-

*PHILADELPHIA, May 8, 1835. Dear Brethren:—We have received your letter informing us of your proceedings, but we are sorry to inform you that as you have rebelled against the elder that was duly authorized to take charge of you, by the conference, we cannot countenance your conduct. It is our duty to strive and preserve peace and good order in the Christian Church. We are truly sorry to see so much division and contention among brethren, especially in a land where it must considerably tend to disgrace the cause of our Redeemer. We cannot, therefore, receive any man you may send only through the recommendation of a regularly appointed successor of Brother Beanes.—Maurice Brown, Bishop.

†Bishop Morris Brown's reply to the urgent request of members of St. Peter's A. M. E. Church, Port au Prince, Hayti: PHILADELPHIA, October 5th, 1835. Dear Brethren in Christ:—I embrace this opportunity of writing

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tent of the dissatisfaction, and unfortunately, the difference then created was never healed. I have never learned whether the petition was forwarded or not, but I am inclined to think from what followed that it was never sent. After Bro. Robinson's departure, Rev. Scipio Beanes, who was associate missionary, and who had been ordained previously to Bro. Robinson, viz.: 1827, seems to have taken the charge, but held it for a few months, for he died in Port au Prince, January, 1835, before the letters of Bishop Morris Brown were written. Sixteen years after the organization of St. Peter's Church, or in 1843, before this difference which broke out in 1835 was settled, they resolved themselves into the 'Haytien Union M. E. Church' and made an effort at independence, but having no leader, and being poor and unable to preach in the vernacular of the country, their progress was slow although their faith was strong, their efforts sincere and their perseverance worthy their cause."* We may add that a conference was convoked in which representatives, from several churches in different parts of the island were present. The action of the conference was regarded by all the churches as binding, and afterwards the title-deeds by which they held their church property were altered so as to conform to the letter and spirit of the resolution which was passed by the conference, declaring the Church in Hayti separate from and independent of the A. M. E. Church in the United States.

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these few lines hoping they may find you all, together with the Church, enjoying the blessing of health. I have seen brother Davis and he has mentioned the deplorableness of your situation for the want of a minister. I am sorry to hear of the situation in which you are placed; but part of it is the fault of yourselves in rebelling against the minister who held the charge. At the present we would not be able to receive anyone whom you may send to be ordained, but if you will send a petition to the General Conference, which will meet the 1st of May, I doubt not but that you may obtain a minister to take charge of the church. That petition should specify that you will submit to rule and order and to the minister whom we shall send. I am, brethern, yours.—Morris Brown, Bishop.

*Rev. T. G. Steward.

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Rev. T. G. Steward, a missionary of the A. M. E. Church, who was sent to Hayti to inspect the field, arrived at Port au Prince, June 13th, 1873. Mr. Steward, after a sojourn of several weeks, in which he visited two or more places where there remained a nucleus of the Christian work already begun by the fathers, returned to the United States and made a report, which was accompanied with an earnest plea in behalf of the missionary work in Hayti. Just how Dr. Steward was impressed by his visit, by what he saw and heard, during his stay at the capital of the Haytien Republic, may be best expressed by reproducing the conclusion of his poem, written as he looked for the first time on scenes and customs altogether strange and new to him:

But in the mass of seething life
No peace or comfort soothes the heart;
And from the altars of great papal Rome,
And from the tables of the dark voudoo's art,
The cry still comes, "Light! Light and Life.
Oh! who will give us Life?"

To you, to me, to all who know the Lord,
This cry comes.
The cry of souls for bread,
The cry of men and women
Who have done great deeds, and
Whose guiding star is liberty;
Who, strong in their right arms,
Have won a name, a place;
And who, with valor true, will dare defend
That place, and sooner die
Than wear the badge of slave.

Will ye not heed their call
And to them send the pure and holy word—
That word that can and will
Speak light and life.
Oh, send it forth with prayers wreathed
And benedictions shall its steps attend;
And Hayti, Roman Hayti, shall be made
The Hayti of a people free,
The land a freeman's God will e'er defend.

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Rev. C. W. Mossell and wife arrived at Port au Prince April, 1877, where they remained laboring with marked success until May, 1885. Mr. Mossell found an open door to preach the gospel in "St. Peter's Haytien Union M. E. Church," which more than three years before had so kindly welcomed to its pulpit Dr. T. G. Steward. Mr. Mossell's pastorial charge in connection with St. Peter's A. M. E. Church terminated at the expiration of nine months. During the years he remained in Hayti, whenever there was an occasion to speak of the matter, he always evinced the most profound regret, but maintained that the separation was inevitable. The difficulty in this case was unlike that which confronted Rev. Richard Robinson; Robinson insisted on leading objectionable members; Mossell insisted on enforcing objectionable methods—at least methods that were objectionable to some of the official brethren, for example: at every preaching service, before the congregation was dismissed, he extended an invitation to any one who might feel disposed to unite with the Church, explaining always the obligation inseparable from union with the Church Christ has purchased with his blood. To this method, some of the most influential officials took exception and at a conference held at a private house, where Mr. Mossell was present, the officials of St. Peter's Haytien Union Methodist Church gave pastor Mossell to understand that before admitting anyone to membership in the Church, even before receiving anyone on probation, he must consult them. Mr. Mossell, after hearing patiently all the brethren had to say on what he considered a subject of vital importance, so far as concerned the future of the Church, stated very frankly that the proposed conditions of membership were altogether new to him, that he had not read them in the discipline, and that, in his opinion, such requirements were no part of Methodism, and he further stated to the brethern that their position, in so far as it related to the reception on probation of persons who had a desire to flee the wrath to come, was un-

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tenable, and to him all the more a matter of regret, because it was contrary to the spirit and letter of the discipline of the A. M. E. Church, of which he was a minister and of which they were members.

In answer thereto, the officials in question replied: "We are not members of the A. M. E. Church. Our church is independent and has been for forty years." This reply was a surprise, in fact a revelation to Mr. Mossell, who was under the impression that his advent in Hayti was a partial answer to prayers and petitions sent from the members of the church, which had kindly welcomed him to its pulpit on his arrival. Of this fact however, the Rev. Pastor was thorougly convinced after he saw and read the title deeds. The whole matter, with the consent of all present, was referred to the Bishops of the A. M. E. Church in the United States and the official brethren who had taken exception to the pastor's method of inviting and receiving persons into the church, were invited to state their position in their way and transmit the same, with the understanding that all parties concerned would be governed by the decision of the board of Bishops. But when that decision came, and it was found not to be what they desired and diametrically opposed to the practice which had obtained for years in the Haytien Union M. E. Church, they changed their minds and positively refused to abide by it. Thereupon Rev. C. W. Mossell thanked them for the kindness they had extended to him and the privilege he had enjoyed of preaching to them and others who attended the church during his brief pastorate, and bade them adieu.

It was a trying hour for Rev. C. W. Mossell and his devoted wife, but their faith enabled them to see beyond discouragements which surrounded them, a brighter future for the mission. From this time on they held their Sabbath and week-day services in the private house of Mr. and Mrs. Wood. The increase in membership and congregation soon made it necessary to secure a more commodious room in which to

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REV. SOLOMON DORCE, Native Missionary.

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worship. This accomodation was obtained in the house owned by Bro. John Shay.

St. Paul A. M. E. Church was now fairly established, with a membership of forty-odd persons in which the families named below were largely represented. Dorse, Day, Hurst, Wood, Shay, Brown, Harris, Belfond, Matharam. Those who took part in the organization of St. Paul A. M. E. Church know the difficulties which presented themselves daily, and the obstacles thrust in the way by designing persons to prevent the progress of the church.* Mr. Mossell succeeded in raising sufficient means through the assistance and liberality of President Solomon, to send five native youths to the United States, where they were educated under the auspices of the A. M. E. Church at Wilberforce University, Green Co., Ohio. Through a special effort of Mrs. Mossell, a concert was given at Port au Prince which brought in the hands of the committee, sufficient funds to nicely furnish with suitable outfit the last three young men who left Port au Prince for Wilberforce University. Mr. Solomon Dorse and Mr. Adolphus Meves, two of the young Haytiens who studied at Wilberforce University for

*But in addition to the difficulties already named, others environed the labors of the missionaries. A church into which they at first had gone, on the invitation of its members, in which they had hoped to find permanent location, and in which they had hoped to do their school and general religious work, was taken from them through the bad faith of certain of its members, the want of intelligent courage and confidence of others, and the undue adverse influence of designing persons outside exerted upon the members generally. Connected with the removal from this church, and the sundering of spiritual ties which had been slowly uniting the missionaries to the congregation, and many of the congregation to them, there was debate, crimination and recrimination, which at first appeared to threaten hurtful consequences. But not so; it was far otherwise. That which seemed to be harmful proved to be full of blessing. For although a house suited for the work was secured in the beginning with great difficulty, the effort connected therewith led to a large and noble enterprise to buy a lot and build a church and school property worthy of the cause and work. This end, so far as the Church was concerned, was gradually accomplished. —The A. M. E. Church Review, Vol. III. Jan. 1887. pp. 228 and 229.

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the ministry, having completed the course of study, returned to Port au Prince about one year before Mr. Mossell and Mrs. Mossell with their little daughter Mary Ella took their departure. It was a happy day for these missionaries and the members of St. Paul A. M. E. Church, when Mr. Solomon Dorse was installed as pastor. Mr. Meves and wife, after remaining in Port au Prince for several months, were sent by the Missionary Board of the A. M. E. Church to San Domingo City. Mr. Hurst, an intelligent young Haytien who was educated also at Wilberforce University, under the auspices of the A. M. E. Church, after graduating, left New York, and arrived at Port au Prince, Oct. 15, 1886. Mr. Hurst succeeded Mr. Dorse, who was assigned work in the United States.*

Mr. Solomon P. Hood, a missionary of the A. M. E. Church, arrived at Port au Prince May 12, 1889, where he is now engaged in missionary work. The inquiring mind naturally desires to know, if possible, the results of missionary efforts extending through the years which have witnessed the arrival in Hayti of a goodly number of Protestant msisionaries.

We first call attention to the statistics given by Rev. M. B. Bird and published in his book. Public places of worship in Hayti, apart from and independent of the National Ecclesiastical Establishments of the Government:

Denominations.	Number of Places of Worship in each place.	Attendance at each place during the year.
English Weslevan Methodist:		
Port au Prince	1	600
Fond Cheval	1	40
Jeremie	1	100
Gonaives	1	100
Cape Haytien	1	200
Gros Morne du Nord	1	40
L'Anse a Veau	1	40
Comunin	1	40

*Rev. Solomon Dorce is at present the General Missionary of the A. M. E. Church in Hayti and the very efficient pastor of St. Paul A. M. E. Church, Port au Prince.

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Denominations.	Number of Places of Worship in each place.	Attendance at each place during the year.
English Wesleyan Methodist—*(Con.)*:		
Puerto Plata	1	50
Samana	1	100
African Methodist:*		
Port au Prince	1	150
Arcahaie	1	50
Jeremie	1	50
Santo Domingo	1	50
English Baptist:		
Jacmel	1	300
St. Raphael	1	50
American Baptist:		
Port au Prince	1	100
St. Marc	1	50
Episcopalian (American):		
Port au Prince	1	200
Cabaret Quartie	1	30
Colored American Emigrants dispersed through the Republic without pastors		400

EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS.

Probable number of children sent from different Protestant schools since the commencement of Evangelical Missions in Hayti:

Port au Prince, Wesleyan Day-School,	1000
Cape Haytien, " " "	500
Gonaives, " " "	500
Jeremie, " " "	400
Jacmel, English Baptist Day-School,	200
Port au Prince, American Baptist Day-School,	100

Cost of land and buildings among the English Wesleyan Methodists and other Protestant denominations in the Republic of Hayti:

*The church referred to as African Methodist is, properly speaking, the Haytien Union Methodist Church, for as a matter of fact the African Methodist Episcopal Church ceased to exist in Hayti as early as 1843. It was re-established and organized in the year 1878, by Rev. C. W. Mossell.

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PORT AU PRINCE:	
English Wesleyan Methodist, Land and Church (gold).....	$15,000 00
Parsonage, school house, etc.,.....	12,000 00
Other dwellings on the same property, ...	1,000 00
African Methodist,.....	2,000 00
Episcopalian (American), Land, Church, Parsonage, ...	3,000 00
JEREMIE:	
English Wesleyan Methodist, Land and Church,.....	5,000 00
Parsonage, etc.,.....	3,000 00
African Methodist	500 00
CAPE HAYTIEN:	
English Wesleyan Methodist, Land and Church—lease from government	5,000 00
Parsonage, school, etc.....	3,000 00
AUX CAYES:	
English Wesleyan Methodist, Land and Church.....	5,000 00
FOND CHEVAL:	
English Wesleyan Methodist, a small chapel	100 00
CABERET QUATRE:	
English Wesleyan Methodist, a small chapel	100 00
JACMEL:	
English Wesleyan Methodist, Church, Land, Parsonage, etc.	12,000 00
ST. RAPHAEL:	
Native Baptist property	1,000 00
ARCAHAIE:	
African Methodist.....	100 00

"The Protestant Missionaries have not had much success in Hayti. The Episcopalians are represented by a bishop. Mr. Holly, a convert from Romanism and a black, was the first representative of that Church whom I met with in Port au Prince. He had many of the qualities which insure a good reception. He had pleasant manners, was well educated and was thoroughly in earnest, but the pecuniary support was so slight that he never could carry out his views. I believe that those who attend the Anglican service in the whole of Hayti, number less than one thousand, and the majority of these are brobably American and English immigrants. The Wesleyans had for their chief pastor, Mr. Bird, who was an institution in Hayti. He had a very good school and was highly respected.

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There are several chapels in different parts of the island, and I notice in a recent consular return that as many as (1400) one thousand four hundred attended the service. With other denominations combined, the Protestant population may be considered to amount to between 3000 and 4000 persons. When I first arrived in Hayti, and was curious as to the character of certain individuals, I was often struck by the reply: 'Oh, he is an honest man but then he is a Protestant" and this from Roman Catholics. The Protestants are not yet in any way sufficiently numerous or influential to be a counterpoise to the Catholic clergy and do not therefore excite the latter to exertion. I did suggest that the Protestant clergy should all join the Free Mason Lodges and be ready to perform the religious ceremonies required at funerals. It would have greatly increased their influence and popularity in the country; but I believe my advice was considered too worldly."*

We have already referred to the arrival in Hayti of Rev. C. W. Mossell and wife, and we may add that notwithstanding the drawbacks which attended their efforts, they were very successful in their missionary work. They organized and re-established African Methodism, collected on the field, sufficient money to purchase and pay for a very fine property, handsomely situated in the city of Port au Prince. They were able, through the liberality of their members and many friends, to erect the very elegant iron structure purchased in England by the Missionary Society of the A. M. E. Church. They succeeded after considerable correspondence with the authorities of the Church at home, in making arrangements at Wilberforce University for the education of five native youth. They obtained sufficient money from the Haytien Government through the kindly consideration of President Solomon to pay the travelling expenses of these five young men from Port au

*Hayti or The Black Republic, by Sir Spencer St. John, K. C. M. C. Published in London, 1884.

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Prince to Wilberforce University, Xenia, Green Co., Ohio. Mrs. Mossell organized among the native young men and women, a "Christian Musical Association," which was well attended and took high rank.

Entertainments given from time to time by this Association at the National Theatre of Port au Prince, under the auspices of St. Paul A. M. E. Church, witnessed by hundreds who were certain to be in attendance, and who remained for hours listening to the addresses of Christian pastors, and progressive intelligent Haytiens, who were always ready to encourage the good work. But that which charmed most on such occasions the large audience assembled, was the faultless rendering in French of hymns from the Moody and Sankey collection, by the Musical Association. Mr. Mossell, from the very commencement of his work, instituted through the assistance of native preachers, a " French Service," and very shortly after his arrival, began himself to administer the rites of the Holy Communion in the language of the country. The result was what might have been expected—when the time came for him to leave Hayti, he had the satisfaction of knowing that through the assistance of the Good Spirit, he had built up a native congregation. The English work was not neglected, as was apparent from the fact that the English speaking people of Port au Prince attended in considerable numbers, the services of St. Paul A. M. E. Church. Mr. Mossell put a very high estimate upon the talents and the labors of the native preachers and did all in his power to increase their sphere of usefulness.

At the earnest solicitation of the Church, Mr. Mossell visited the United States, where he occupied many of the pulpits of the principal churches, travelling from Maine to Georgia in the interest of missionary work in Hayti. His success financially was not all that he desired, but the opportunity was a grand one to inform the people of the condition of the foreign work, and the urgent needs of the mission

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in Hayti. Mr. and Mrs. Mossell were successful in their church work and in their school work. Their school, established at Port au Prince, was largely attended and well conducted. There was an average attendance of one hundred and thirty (130) scholars. Instruction was given in French and English. Special attention was paid in the girls' department to needle work and sewing, and scholars who were inclined were carried through a regular course of vocal and instrumental music. The school was in the interest of poor children, and as such no fee was demanded, except for lessons in instrumental music.

In the interest of missions Mr. Mossell made tours to the North, West and Southwest sections of the island. At Cape Hayti he met Mr. Pecott, a young Wesleyan missionary, and had the pleasure of talking to many of the members of the historic church to which Mr. Pecott ministered in holy things. Here it was he had the pleasure of forming the acquaintance of the Rev. Mr. Carr, who at that time was looking after the interests of the Protestant Episcopal Church. At St. Marc, Mr. Mossell met Rev. George Angues, a missionary of the Baptist Church, who has labored faithfully and successfully to build up the cause of Christ.

Assisted by Brothers Joseph Day, Samuel Day, Charles Dorse, and on one occasion Frere Jean and Paul Lauchard, a local preacher of the Wesleyan Church, Pastor Mossell conducted religious services at Petit Goave, Leogane, Grand Goave, Arcahaie and Croix des Bouquet, and organized the African Methodist Episcopal Mission at Miragoane and Arcahaie. On one occasion Mr. Mossell visited Arcahaie with his wife, who sang, to the great satisfaction of the large audience present, many of the Moody and Sankey spiritual songs. "They may forget the singer, but they will not forget the songs." They were rendered in the French tongue, the language spoken and understood, and some of the books were left with the people present. The impression made on this occasion

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was more than ordinary. But a short time intervened between this meeting and the reception of Brother George Cadouche, on confession of his faith, into the A. M. E. Church. Brother George Cadouche is at present not only one of the most substantial members of the A. M. E. Church in Hayti, but as a matter of fact he is one of the most pious and influential native preachers connected with the mission. Mrs. Mossell while at Port au Prince was deeply interested in, and devoted much of her time to, the Sabbath School, where she regularly instructed a class composed of a large number of interesting girls, ranging from five to eighteen years of age. These girls without an exception all professed conversion and united with the Church. Some of them have since died in the faith, leaving in their testimony and the assurance of their faith, a precious legacy to the Church.

Mention has already been made of the difficulties and sacrifices attending the success which crowned the efforts of these missionaries in Hayti. It is proper to notice here the affliction which they sustained in the demise of several members of the family. Mr. Mossell was in Hayti but two years when he received the sad news of the death of his mother, to whom he was very strongly attached. It was a coincidence that just at this time the Missionary Board of the A. M. E. Church should have invited him to return to the United States, where he was afforded an opportunity to present to the churches in the United States the needs of the mission field in which he had been so earnestly engaged.

On his return to Hayti his younger sister, Alveretta, an intelligent Christian girl of eighteen years, accompanied him. On her arrival at Port au Prince she commenced the study of the French language, in order that she might be more useful in the mission work, but it was not long before she fell a victim to the yellow fever. Her death was a sad calamity to their family, and was a matter of sincere regret to all, more especially the young people of the mission, who had already formed

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a very strong attachment to her. Mr. Mossell's infant daughter, born four days after the insurrection in Port au Prince, which occurred on Sept. 23, 1883, never recovered from the sad effects which followed the terrible shock sustained by Mrs. Mossell on the occasion, and eleven months after was buried in the cemetery in Port au Prince. It was hoped that, although their infant daughter succumbed to the inevitable, that Mrs. Mossell would finally recover and enjoy her former good health. But it was not so to be. She died in the hope of a glorious resurrection, on June 29, 1886, in the city of Baltimore, and was buried in the Laurel cemetery of that city.

Her death awakened a very general interest in the missionary work with which she had been identified for eight years. Especially was this true in the city of Baltimore, where she was born, brought up and educated and where she was so generally and favorably known. It was in deference to this kindly and appreciative sentiment that the family invited Hon. John Mercer Langston to deliver the eulogy on the life and services of Mrs. Mary Ella Mossell. Mr. Langston, for eight years, represented the United States government in Hayti, in the capacity of Minister Resident and Consul General, he had an opportunity from personal observation, to become well acquainted with missionary operations as they were being conducted in Hayti by the different denominations. Through the kindness of Rev. James Norris and his officials, Trinity A. M. E. Church was placed at the service of the family, and on the evening appointed, a large and appreciative audience assembled. Quite a number of the city pastors were present and assisted in the service. After an introduction by the Rev. James H. A. Johnson, Mr. Langston said:

"It is appropriate that we, like civilized and Christian people generally, offer our tribute of respect and appreciation to our influential and distinguished women, as they pass, one by one, to the grave.

"A few weeks ago, June 29th past, a woman, born in this

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city, educated here, well known of you all, married in your midst by the minister, assisted by the Bishop, of her own church, bade her husband, her child, her mother and friends farewell, and betook herself to that sleep whose waking comes only at the entrance of the higher and nobler existence which awaits 'the just made perfect.'

"Not, however, until this woman had performed her life-task, fully and completely, did she take her place among the dead. Her work was done, and then she slept. Nor was her task an easy or light one. She was to be educated, under trying circumstance, at an opportune moment in the history of her race in this country, especially in this city; and her labors, peculiar and severe, were to be performed in her own and a foreign country, in behalf of her own and another people.

"As to her education, how well it was completed,—how thorough, how various and how useful it was,—her success as teacher in the several positions which she was called to occupy in life fully demonstrates. But it must be remembered that her want of enlarged, convenient conditions and opportunities for securing her education was such, in a state and city slave-holding at first, and without a free common school system during her minority, that her advancement and culture, in all the more weighty and exalted matters of general scholarship, must have depended largely upon her own purpose and effort. So it was in her case. And to her credit it must be said that here, as in other duties of life, she neither faltered in purpose nor became wanting in courage necessary to earnest and intelligent effort.

"Let the facts be presented connected with the early educational situation and efforts of her to whom reference is made. Such facts will prove to be full of interest, while they will discover in large measure the difficulties which confronted her, to overcome which required the exertion of her best powers, patience and perseverance.

"Mary Ella Forester was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on

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the 22d day of May, 1853, eight years before the election of Abraham Lincoln, ten years, quite, before the publication of our Proclamation of Freedom. In 1850 the notorious Fugitive Slave Law of this nation was enacted, and immediately subsequently the nefarious Dred Scott decision of our National Supreme Court was promulgated, with the blasting, barbarous legal paradox that the Negro was so degraded that he had no rights which white men were bound to respect. Imagine, if you can, how slavery must have debauched our national public feeling to render it possible for our Supreme Court, with our Declaration, our Constitution, the utterances of our great lawyers, statesmen, jurists and orators, in their philosophic, legal and moral teachings utterly opposed to such doctrine, to enunciate and attempt to enforce judicially such principle. But so it was. And in this condition of the public sentiment of the nation, with the great body of colored people of the country slaves, the State of Maryland a slave-holding state, and the City of Baltimore a city where the Negro was constantly bought and sold as common property, the eyes of the subject of our eulogy were first opened to the light of day. Though born on the eve of the mighty moral change which awaited our country in the overthrow of the institution of slavery in the condition of the public feeling of the nation, as indicated, it is easy to conceive how the early years of Mary Ella Forester must have been spent, if in any sort of school, in such, in the first place, as was tolerated by the state and city in which she resided; and, in the second place, in such school as the changing and improving public judgment allowed.

"At first, then, the schools of her earliest years, while they were not to be despised, are not to be regarded as anything superior. Fair they may have been, but they were not suited to the best and most thorough education and training of her intellectual powers. And even the schools which she attended in the after years of her student-life were not of the high order and grade best calculated to develop, strengthen and

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fortify her naturally excellent mental and moral endowments. The faults and defects of the schools had to be overcome and corrected largely by her own endeavors, and as regards this duty, she was not without wisdom and purpose.

"Beginning at five, the school life of Miss Forester closed with her eighteenth year. From the commencement she was attentive, teachable and proficient. She was never idle; generally enthusiastic in her studies. And when she had finished her course of instruction, she could number beside the ordinary English branches, among the subjects to which she had devoted her time, thoughts and labors, the Latin, Greek, German and music.

"It will be remembered by those acquainted with her school days, that at fourteen years of age she entered the Normal School taught in 1867 by Prof. Hartwell and others, persons well known in the community, in the interest of the colored youth of this city. Here she continued her studies for four consecutive years, not only making commendable progress therein, but here it was that she laid the foundation of all those habits of easy, graceful and effective explanation, connected with ordinary school instruction, which afterward, more thoroughly perfected by practice, gave her unusual efficiency and success as a teacher. It is reported that upon her final examination in this school she was awarded, for proficiency in her studies, three high prizes, she excelling above all others specially in physiology, history and elocution.

"The value of one's education, however, is not to be estimated by the honors won in school days. It is too often the case that scholars who win prizes in large numbers and of much value fail in the struggles of after life, when their scholarship and ability are not tested by examinations of formal, oral or written character, but by the labors and trials of education, such as try the largest native and acquired powers. The education which stands such tests is that whose value is real and

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enduring. The knowledge which serves one under such circumstances is that which is true power.

"Measured after this standard, the education of the young scholar of whom mention is now made, and whose training in its early stages was committed to your city schools, was in no sense or degree found at fault, as regards a single practical excellence. By the aid of your schools, through her own diligent and earnest efforts, sustained by wise counsels and judicious outlays of her devoted mother,* before she had reached her nineteenth year, Mary Ella Forester, an educated woman, fully equipped for the duties of dignified, useful life in Sabbath or ordinary day-schools, as teacher, instructor in music, or laborer in other callings where developed and disciplined talents are required, presented herself to your community for services, upon a school record made in your midst, of which, by reason of her good conduct and attainments, she might well be proud. Her record was well known. It commanded the admiration of all. And before she was twenty years old, the community in whose midst her school record had been made, had gladly recognized her as one of its most efficient laborers in the various ways of its educational necessities.

"How many young children, boys and girls, found in your day and Sabbath schools seventeen years ago, now quite advanced in manhood and womanhood, recollect with feelings of gratitude, even this day, the instruction which, with so much patience, earnestness and painstaking. she imparted to them! How many pupils who took music lessons of her in the earlier years of their several courses, call to mind to-day, with cordial thank-offerings, her kindly and effective efforts in their interest! And how many of the more advanced persons, members of the churches and others, who heard the sweetest songs of

*Her father, Mr. Perry Forester, who was a highly respected business man of Baltimore, acting in the capacity of commissary in the army under Gen. B. F. Butler, was killed at Richmond, Va.

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Zion, as she sang them, in the great congregation of the people, in loving memories hear again with joyful hearts the inspiring, divine strains of her voice, sustained now as they pass in echo and re-echo through their souls, seemingly by the veritable Heavenly Harp!

"But the rule is, we shall not educate our children for ourselves. We grow sons and daughters, when we are wise, and they are considerate and sagacious for manly and womanly, earnest, sometimes self-sacrificing duty, generally in distant, often in foreign fields of labor. Hence, no parent should grieve, but rather rejoice, when his son or daughter is counted worthy, by any indication of providence, for exalted, dignified endeavor, in the remotest climes, where human want, degraddation, poverty or ignorance demand amelioration.

"Miss Forester was to be no exeeption to the rule we explain, and her mother and friends, however much they loved and admired her—however much they desired her to remain with them, feeling that her native city and State might afford an ample field of labor, with responsibility quite commensurate to her talents, though great and well developed—must yield to this inexorable law. She must go abroad. New fields awaited her and new scenes must awaken latent powers in her not yet touched by books or instructions, studied or given. Such proved to be true in her case. So that even in addition to the studies which she had taken, she was finally compelled, in the discharge of new duties and responsibilities met by her, to study and master the French and Spanish languages. But once more let facts speak here.

"A young lady of more than ordinary personal beauty, of graceful and agreeable manners, sober, yet always interesting and entertaining in society, accomplished far beyond the ladies generally of her age and association, it was entirely natural that she should be admired and loved, and early in life, having attracted special attention, received proposals of marriage. So it was. And in 1874, on the 29th day of October,

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she was united in holy wedlock with one of our most promising young Christian gentlemen—a graduate of one of our institutions of learning of Pennsylvania, and of a theological seminary of New England. Henceforth, not only her social status and name was changed, but her circumstances and labors. Soon after her marriage she left her native city, her native State, and found with her husband, Rev. C. W. Mossell, a new field of labor in a distant Soutnern city and State. She continued at Georgetown, South Carolina, her labors as teacher in the Howard School, of which her husband was principal. In this place she acted as female superintendent of the Sabbath school of the African Mefhodist Episcopal Church, of which Mr. Mossell was pastor, and besides doing the work of an earnest and laborious teacher in both the Sabbath and day schools, did a large amount of valuable service in visiting, as an enthusiastic Christian missionary, the freed people, advising, helping and encouraging them in their new and strange ways of freedom. Her labors in this ancient and well-known city, and the region round about it, were gratefully recognized, and endear her memory to those there who cannot forget her and appreciate her influence.

"In 1875 Mrs. Mossell, by reason of the appointment of her husband to the pastorate of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of Columbia, South Carolina, leaving Georgetown, located in the capital city of the state. It was not long before her excellent qualities of character became known and valuable here, and she was called to the superintendency of the Sabbath school, and to a place as teacher in the Sumner Public School of the city. Added to the labors of these two positions, it is a fact that Mrs. Mossell gave lessons in music to a large number of pupils, and, in such connection, planned and conducted one of the most brilliant and entertaining concerts ever given in a Southern city among any class of the people. Her labors in this city in the Sabbath school, the public school and as teacher of music, were abundant and successful. And,

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as regards the church and the services connected therewith, naturally enjoined upon her, under the circumstances, and cheerfully accepted and performed by her, words of the heartiest commendation are due her. Here, too, she was earnest, faithful and laborious.

"Some two years were spent by Mrs. Mossell in her residence and labors in South Carolina, and in her work and experience among the freed people there she was prepared more fully for a broader and more important undertaking which awaited her and her husband, in the Providence of God, by appointment of the church to a distant foreign land.

"How mysterious the ways of our lives! A strange Providence, as it would seem to us, directs them. We are born, sometimes educated, often without mental training; we are driven, or invited, or led to our life-work. Frequently a circumstance propels us, the call of the needy controls us, and last and greatest of all, the voice of an all-wise Providence commands us. In either case, finally, we find our places and our tasks, and, according to an overruling, omnipotent will, we advance to duty and achievement. So it was with her whose labors we recount. And so it has been with each in the great army of workers, whose deeds are the sweet savor of humanity as they are the causes and sources of its highest blessings.

"Some two brief years only had passed from her marriage till, in 1876, Mrs. Mossell, accompanying her husband, now commissioned a missionary of the African Methodist Episcopal Church to Hayti, went aboard of a great steamship to make her way thereupon to a new and untried field of labor, with the climate, the language, the habits and customs of the people of the country to which they would go, all against them. With her husband, she met the trials and hardships of missionary life incident to an inhospitable climate. With him she overcame the difficulties of the language, which was strange to her, by mastering it. And the habits and customs

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of the people she soon became fully acquainted with, and, when good and reasonable, approved them, and when otherwise, urged that they be changed wholly or improved.

"In Hayti the labors of Mrs. Mossell were various, difficult and trying in the extreme. Her mind, her body, her health were all taxed to the utmost. This would have been so if her circumstances had been those of ordinary and common character. But she was called to assist in conducting and teaching the Sabbath school, composed of children and adults, for the most part speaking a foreign language, and of other religious training and habits than those she understood. The day school which she was required to teach was composed of similar material, while the community from which the membership of the church which she and her husband were expected to found and build, was in the main French in education and habits of life and thought and Roman Catholic in religious inclination, belief and church relations.

"Contemplate a frail American woman, of Protestant Methodist faith, educated in the language of her own nation, with a small knowledge of Latin, Greek and German, in a hand-to-hand struggle against such ignorance, superstition and mental inactivity as the French Roman Catholic Negro Haytien Church would naturally produce, and you will have a tolerable picture of the condition of the work of your missionaries when they commenced their labors in Hayti.

"They spent nine years there, from 1876 to 1885. For nearly six months during this time, in the absence of her husband in the United States, Mrs. Mossell was in Hayti alone. Nothing daunted, she moved on therein like a true and devoted heroine. And upon her husband's return, he found that, on the whole, no loss had been sustained.

"But, in addition to the difficulties already named, others environed the labors of the missionaries. A church into which they at first had gone, on the invitation of its members, in which they had hoped to find permanent location, and in which

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they had hoped to do their school and general religious work, was taken from them through the bad faith of certain of its members, the want of intelligent courage and confidence of others and the undue adverse influence of designing persons outside, exerted upon the members generally. Connected with the removal from this church and the sundering of spiritual ties which had been slowly uniting the missionaries to the congregation, and many of the congregation to them, there was debate, crimination and recrimination which, at first, appeared to threaten hurtful consequences. But not so. It was far otherwise. That which seemed to be harmful proved to be full of blessing. For, although a house suited to church purposes alone was secured in the beginning, with great difficulty, the effort connected therewith led to a larger and nobler effort to buy a lot and build a church and school property worthy of the cause and work. This end, so far as the church was concerned, was gradually accomplished and Mr. and Mrs. Mossell did not leave Hayti till after they had seen their beautiful church edifice properly erected and dedicated to its sacred, legitimate use, in the possession and under the control of the African Methodist Episcopal Society of Port au Prince, Hayti—the creature of the united prayers, labors, donations and sacrifices of members and friends on the field and in the United States. The church property, eligibly located near the center of Port au Prince, the building being of solid iron, fire-proof, of English manufacture, cannot be worth less than ten thousand dollars. The building is of good size, with external appointments of agreeable appearance, and, on the whole, loses nothing in comparison with any Protestant church structure in the city of Port au Prince. The audience-room, with its stand, pulpit, orchestra seats, wide aisles and long, numerous windows, all of late English workmanship and style, is in all respects well calculated for the easy and comfortable accommodation of a large

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gathering of people, and when filled, the audience appears to fine advantage.

"It was a memorable day to those who were present when the church was dedicated. Everything was propitious, and a large and beautiful assembly greeted the orators of the occasion. An elegant, special seat, decorated in the most appropriate manner, had been provided for the President of the Republic, who, failing to appear in person, sent a distinguished officer of the government to represent him. The arrangement and decoration of this special seat, as well as those of the whole house, was the work of Mrs. Mossell. On other occasions, the assemblies of this church have been large and imposing, as for instance when the young graduates of Wilberforce, Dorce and Mevs, were received, and once when Mr. H. C. C. Astwood, United States Consul at Santo Domingo, one of the ablest officers in the consular service of our government, and one of the most eloquent pulpit orators of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, delivered one of his most acceptable discourses. The airy, comfortable condition of the audience-room, coupled with the elegant, entertaining music conducted by Mrs. Mossell, to say nothing of the other performances, always pleasant, rendered the church at all times very inviting.

"But more than all, and to the great disadvantage of missionary schools and religious enterprises, Hayti is a revolutionary country. The presidency of the Republic is ever an inviting and dazzling prize in the eyes of the designing and disloyal, to be gained by any effort of treachery, bloodshed or ruin. And it has seemed astonishing to one uninitiated, how easy it appears to find leaders and chieftains of revolutions in Hayti, oftentimes with large and imposing popular following, capable of any deed of carnage or destruction in attempts to gain this coveted honor, even in the overthrow of the government itself.

"The 22d and 23d days of September, 1883, will ever be

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regarded as among the darkest, the blackest days in the history of Hayti. On these days, especially upon the latter, there were enacted scenes of outrage and blood in the capital city of the Republic, Port au Prince, which did fill the country with feelings of horror and distress.

"At this time, and in a manner utterly violative of every principle of justice and law, both as regards citizens and foreigners, with all the attendant circumstances of the blackest barbarism, the notorious Bazelais Revolution, so-called, was brought to a terrific, fearful close. Ah! here was an awful tragedy of blood! And the national alarm it caused can never be forgotten.

"Nor can the international disturbance, resulting in many heavy demands, aggregating over hundreds of thousands of dollars against the Haytien government, made by the various diplomatic agents residing near that government, in the name of foreign residents injured, ever be forgotten. The record thereof is kept in the sacred archives of the various great civilized powers of the world, whose citizens made reclamations.

"Of the events of the days referred to, General Solomon, the president of the Republic of Hayti, in his message of 1884, holds the following language as translated: 'Those who can make cool, dispassionate and profound study of political parties, of their passions and the excesses to which they often carry themselves, at a given moment, in a country torn to pieces by internal dissensions, have viewed certainly with lively regret, but without astonishment, that which occurred at Port au Prince during the unfortunate days of the 22d and 23d of September of last year.'

"On the 22d day of September, 1883, the sun, all glorious and beautiful, arose over the lofty mountains which look down from the eastward upon the lovely city of Port au Prince, and threw its golden splendors across a city all at peace and good order. No danger seemed at hand. Nature seemed to

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vie with man in joyous purpose of general quiet and tranquility.

"But ere the sun of the 23d day of September had hid itself behind the beautiful, placid waters of the bay of the port of Port au Prince, a hundred lives had been lost and the principal parts of the city destroyed, in the sad, bloody, inhuman events which must forever darken in deepest shadow the days of their occurrence.

"It was in connection with the destruction of property here referred to that the home of the missionaries of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Hayti—a home prominently situated in Port au Prince, well furnished generally, and admirably, in many respects, in its school appointments, suited to the accommodation of its one hundred and thirty scholars then taught by Mrs. Mossell—was utterly destroyed. The house, the furniture, the instuments of music, the books of the family and the scholars, all articles of clothing, everything was burned, and the family, in the greatest peril of life itself, with the loss of a dear little daughter for over two days, made its way by the hardest, through the infuriated mob of soldiers and maddened rabble, to the United States Legation.

"Ah! what a time this was for our missionary friends! What an experience for her who had gone out, leaving native land, her loving friends, all the endearments of a happy home, to consecrate her life, her labors, her all, to the good of those who seemed ready to destroy all she held dear! Her experience was hard, but she bore it as her Master did his cross to his own crucifixion.

"Yes, the 23d day of September, 1883, is, and always will be, regarded as the blackest day in the annals of Haytien history—a day in which base, revengeful, partisan passion and purpose were permitted to run riot in murderous mastery of good order, venting themselves in carnage, pillage and conflagration—a day when the government seemed even to forget its duty to control and check the mad mob of its desperate

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adherents who appeared to be set on the utter destruction of every one opposed thereto, rightfully or wrongfully, with every person or thing offering the least obstruction to the accomplishment of such end. Ah! a sad day! Black as night in the life of a great nation! For the deeds which rendered it infamous can find no justification in any fact, or consideration of law, reason, or individual or national necessity.

"But what proves to be the black day of the nation is the glorious, effulgent one of a humble, delicate woman, who shrank in natural diffidence and Christian modesty from public gaze, or display, ordinarily, in the hesitation and fear of a child. It is a day fraught with duties and consequences which a trying, cruel emergency would bring upon her. Whence comes now the physical strength, the moral fortitude, the power of purpose, the quick, conscious sagacity, equal to the responsibility of this fearful hour? God did not forsake Abraham, and since his day, no child of his, destined to martyrdom for truth's sake, has ever found himself in times of his fiery ordeal without His presence, inspiring and sustaining him.

"Mrs. Mossell had seen every house neighbor to hers go down in flames. The inmates of the last one burned had come to her own for shelter and safety. And that all might take notice that her house was one sacred and safe against attack and destruction, a tiny American flag, belonging to the family, had been thrown out upon the breeze across the bannister of the upper front gallery. The American flag waved in full view, as she felt, over the home of American citizens, and, as heretofore, she supposed would prove to be their protection. But the moment made haste when her own house was set on fire; those who had taken refuge in it were forced to leave—the principal family, Haytien people of high social and official standing, being conducted away in safety, while all other inmates thereof, including the family, were left to make their way as best they might against the fast-devouring

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flames and the furious mob of soldiers and populace now forcing their way into the premises and house with bloody intent. Declaration to such purpose in word and act was at once made. For revolvers, guns and swords were freely used, several persons being shot down, wounded and killed upon the spot, and immediate, direct and malignant assault, with murderous threats, were made upon Mr. Mossell himself, who was hurriedly and rudely and roughly forced thence into the streets with revolvers loaded and cocked drawn upon him, with every circumstance of word and conduct shown by those who had him in this condition, calculated to demonstrate their fiendish purpose. Now came the supreme hour of Mrs. Mossell. She alone could, under the circumstances, and she alone did, by her courageous, heroic conduct, prevent the assassins' foul purpose upon her husband's life. Her imploring words, her womanly, earnest efforts, her whole appearance and manner, so impressive and subduing, as, clinging to her husband, she was borne on, as he, by the crowd, through the streets, pulled and hauled and pushed, under the direst threats and fearful manifestations of personal violence, could but draw to her and her husband, in such sore condition, at least a friend or two who would seek their succor and relief. So it happened, and they were saved. The emergency came, and its duties and consequences were met in heroic, valliant manner, and all the beauty and excellence and nobility and dignity which it revealed in the character of Mrs. Mossell will ever remain our glad heritage—the amplest justification of our deep admiration for her as a true Christion heroine.

"Subsequently to these events, so sad and painful, Mr. and Mrs. Mossell went on with their work of religious and moral improvement, conducting all their exercises in their convenient and beautiful church edifice, which had been spared to them, with a respectable church membership of quite one hundred, and a large general attendance in Port au Prince alone,

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with a promising initiatory work in the neighboring town of Arcahaie.

"Of the general results of the labors of these missionaries, President Solomon in that portion of his message of 1884 having reference to public worship, makes, as translated, the following encouraging mention:

"'The St. Paul Church, African Methodist Episcopal, of Port au Prince, under the pastorate of Rev. C. W. Mossell, obtains happy results in its work of Christian civilization. Its station at Arcahaie is maintained upon good footing.

"'Of five Haytien youth sent, at its expense, to Wilberforce College, in the United States, two of them, Solomon Dorce and Adolph Mevs, having finished their theological studies, are about to return to Hayti as Evangelical Ministers.

"'The missionary daughters of the St. Paul Church, to the number of forty, have prepared themselves to labor with zeal in the work of propagating the Evangelical Faith.

"'May their efforts,' he continues, 'be crowned with success!'

"Ah! daughters, missionary daughters of the St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church of Port au Prince! Who are these? They would labor with zeal to advance and sustain their faith! Whose labor, whose influence, is seen and felt here?

"Had you stood on the shore of the sea, along the line of the port of Port au Prince, in May, 1885, and had you seen these noble women, daughters of the church, with their husbands and friends, in multitudes, come down, surrounding Mrs. Mossell, her husband and her family, as they were taking their leave of the city and country where they had resided and labored nine years, and, with their farewells pronouncing upon their pastor and his good wife, their friend indeed, their choicest benedictions, you could tell whence the labors and the influence came that had wrought such grand and lasting results in the creation of such organization.

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"There had been self-denial and self-sacrifice, there had been labors and trials, even tears and agonies, but now the united voices of all celebrated, even at a sad separation, heartfelt, abiding thanksgiving in view of the good, substantial work already done.

"The prayers and the blessings of the good and true men and women of Hayti, who knew Mrs. Mossell while living and laboring among them, followed her to the last moment of her life. Among none will her illustrious Christian example have greater influence, or her memory be more gratefully and sincerely revered. As teacher, Christian laborer and missionary, her record is made. It is one admirable and enduring, worthy of the closest study, the most earnest emulation.

"Largely endowed intellectually, with tenderness of heart, breadth and comprehension of understanding, lively and responsive imagination and acute logical powers, Mrs. Mossell was, naturally, an accurate thinker, and at ease in the acquisition of every sort of learning.

"She was, too, a person of sweet temper of mind, amiable and affectionate, winning for herself not only the respect and admiration of her friends and associates, but their deepest confidence and love.

"Such natural qualities of character were, in her case, accompanied by the profoundest love of truth, virtue, justice and right; while deeply seated in her soul, animating and energising her whole being, were found those sentiments of humanity, devoted to freedom and appreciation of equal rights, which made her life in all its leading characteristics a record of noble philanthropy.

"The inclination of her being, the inherent, original promtings and inspirations of her nature, were toward those perfect and divine things which, duly cultivated, make human character chaste, lovely and charming.

"Her love of her Creator and His divine character was as natural as her breath. She lived and moved and had her be-

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ing in His benignant presence, directed by His Holy Spirit as she went forth to duty day by day, intent upon the accomplishment of every practical benevolence.

"Such intellectual and moral qualities, constituting by nature the foundation elements of her character, one, even standing in the morning glimmer of her existence, observing them as revealed in her childish face and conduct, might have predicted, with greatest certainty, what she and her life must be. For persons so constituted, educated and developed by the training of the schools, or the experience merely of life, reach at last those moral and mental conditions which their natures foretell.

"The two mental traits which, more than any others, illustrate the intellectual life of Mrs Mossell were her docility and her individuality. She was teachable always, and yet she was self-reliant. While she heard attentively, and was ready to correct every mistake and put away every error in science or morals, she was wont to subject every teaching to her own judgment, as any matter of counsel to her own conscience. Tenacious of her faith in learning and religion, she kept her conscience clear by listening with diligence to the command of her own reason. With less docility and self-reliance, Mrs. Mossell could never have been the woman that she was, and could never have accomplished the noble deeds which distinguished her career.

"Converted early in life, when she united with the church, her faith grew with her years, broadened and deepened with her experience and wisdom; until, taking fast hold of her very soul and life, it became as fixed and enduring as her being. Her life was, therefore, a constant testimony to that power and consistency of Christian belief which make one's life here a model in all the elements of its earthly phases, while it grows brighter and brighter, in all its heavenly, unto the perfect day.

"And yet, sometimes, when Mrs. Mossell contemplated the

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character of our Saviour, so perfect; His love for the world, so precious; His sacrifices, even unto death—crucifixion—for us all, so great; and dwelt in thought, upon her own salvation through Him, so full and abundant, she was disposed to count her love for Christ as nothing in the comparison.

"And yet all was well with her at last! Her death was the glorious counterpart of her magnificent life! Her sun went down in all its radience, to rise again in full-orbed glory! Thus the Christian sleeps awaiting the Judgment!

"In the death of Mrs. Mossell let us all remember that we have lost a noble Christian woman—a representative of all that is excellent and beautiful in womanly character.

"Yes, she was a virtuous woman—a woman not only loving and cherishing chastity and modesty as happy traits of personal female character, but one of strength and wisdom, after the style of the one described by the Wise Man of Israel in the Proverbs, when he says:

"'Who can find a virtuous woman? for her price is far above rubies."

"'The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her, so that he shall have no need of spoil.'

"'She will do him good, and not evil, all the days of her life. . . .'

"'Her husband is known in the gates, when he sitteth among the elders of the land. . . .'

"'Strength and honor are her clothing; and she shall rejoice in time to come.'

"'She openeth her mouth with wisdom, and in her tongue is the law of kindness.

"'She looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness.'

"'Her children arise up and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her.'

"'Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all.'

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"'Favor is deceitful, and beauty is vain; but a woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised.'

"'Give her of the fruit of her hands; and let her own works praise her in the gates.'—Proverbs xxxi.

"Ah! beautiful and truthful, indeed, is the testimony of Solomon to the representative of the highest, the best type of genuine exalted womanhood! And it is matter of deepest congratulation that ours, like other races, may produce such characters, the loftiest promise and realization of our Christian civilization.

"We have lost an advanced, scholarly female thinker. Too few before, there is now one less of this desirable class among us. The loss, too, in this regard, if our estimate be correct, is very, very great indeed.

"Here, her productions in music, if not those in general composition, should be specially mentioned; and her 'La Grande Marche' and 'Le Bouqet,' both composed in Haiti, and dedicated to distinguished Haytien gentlemen—the first to General Solomon, and the second to General Legitime—should be made, as they deserve to be by reason of their real merits, altogether conspicuous.

"But how shall we estimate her loss when we call to mind that she was one of our most laborious, self-sacrificing and efficient teachers? Perhaps no one among us, of her age, has accomplished larger labor in this field of dignified, useful and indispensable service, and who has been more successful?

"How our children multiply! how their educational wants stand out before us in comparison to that too small company of teachers who devote themselves in zeal and earnestness to the instruction and elevation of those of the young committed to their charge and care. The loss of an ordinary teacher, then, must be deeply regretted; but when an able, experienced, efficient teacher passes from her work in death, her loss can only be profoundly mourned; it cannot be duly estimated.

"Mrs. Mossell, as a teacher, was moderate, judicious and

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efficient. Her discipline was that of reason and moral suasion. Physical force found the smallest, if any place at all, in her management of youth. And, though careful and thorough, the closest attention was always given by her pupils to her explanations of arithmetic and grammar, history and reading, geography and drawing, spelling and writing, music, vocal or instrumental, knitting and sewing, artistic work, whether given in French or English. In their deep love, respect and confidence shown her, her scholars ever manifested her great power over them—a power always used for their good. How easy, graceful and potent was her power! She was by nature, as well as education, an accomplished teacher.

"As a Christian laborer, in society, among all classes, Mrs. Mossell was earnest and efficient; and in her death, for such reason, the church and the community have sustained, alike, great loss.

"As a missionary her work is done, and those who awaited, praying for her return, at the expiration of a brief vacation, to her former field of labor, where she had accomplished so much, will hear her voice no more in their midst, in song, or prayer, or instruction, for it is hushed forever. How great the loss is here, who can tell? For among the thousands of our sons and daughters who have gone as missionaries, with their lives in their hands, to the islands of the sea, or to the great continents on this or the other side of the ocean, not one has been more deeply impressed with the dignity, importance and necessity of her calling, and no one has labored in larger faith, or with greater devotion or efficiency. And really, it may be very properly claimed that she gave her life a willing sacrifice, following the yearning of her magnanimous soul, in obedience to the promptings of her Christian zeal, to the cause of missions.

"With such help-mate, such valiant co-laborer in his work, it is not to be wondered at that the missionary proper of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Hayti was able, in so

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short time, to give his church and work conspicuous and influential place among the people of that famous island. Father Bird, of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of England, ever faithful and judicious; Bishop Holly, of the American Episcopal Church, always indefatigable and laborious—both missionaries of long years' standing in Hayti—accomplished, in view of the time occupied, no such results as those which must be credited to Mr. and Mrs. Mossell.

"Finally, as an affectionate and dutiful wife, faithful in everything implied in such relation; as a discreet, painstaking and loving mother; as a child, endeared to her aged mother by every consideration of love, obedience and filial care, Mrs. Mossell will be missed by none, her loss so keenly and deeply felt, as by those of her own household, in whose midst she was a sacred power, an angel of devotion and mercy.

"As dutiful and affectionate wife, mother and child; as missionary; as Christian laborer; as thinker, and as representative woman, Mrs. Mossell remains now to us only in name, character and life. Here she is immortal, and her example will serve as a constant inspiration to us all to make our lives useful in generous service to our 'day and generation.'

"Here the words of the sacred writer have force and illustration:

"'And I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them."

"The works of Mrs. Mossell do follow her; and they shall be her enduring monument, more lasting than crumbling, perishing marble and brass.

"Hail, Sister of the Skies, and Farewell!"

The marked success of Mr. Dorce and Mr. Hurst who returned as missionaries to Hayti, their native country, immediately after finishing their studies at Wilberforce University,

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leaves no room for doubt in a reasonable mind, that a properly trained native ministry is the principal need of Hayti, and that with such an institution permanently established, the future of the Haytien Republic will be assured. For three years, Mr. John Hurst has done effective work in the mission field. His time was divided between the church and the school and no fault can possibly attach itself to him if results more flattering have not followed his labors. As it was, under his administration, the church at Port au Prince doubled its membership, and new life was infused in the outstanding posts, where missions had already been organized. Had the Missionary Board done anything like as much for this earnest native minister as it is wont to do for those who have been from time to time sent out from the United States under its direction, the work in Hayti would now be in a much better condition. The very meagre support received by Mr. Hurst during the three years he remained the pastor of St. Paul A. M. E. Church, Port au Prince, and the general superintendent of the mission, was supplemented by his own personal efforts in another direction. He wrote hours every day at the American Legation. These hours would have been pressed into his legitimate work, had the Missionary Board been more liberal in supporting him. The laborer is worthy of his hire every time. The Church has been warned against muzzling the ox which treadeth out the corn, and it is true now, as it was in the days of Christ, that to sow sparingly is also to reap sparingly. Deserving Christian men who are willing to devote themselves to the service of the Church, are not the men to be starved to death in that service, or supported in such an indifferent manner as to defeat the purpose for which they have been sent forth. The disinterested testimony which we now submit, is not foreign from the subject under consideration, and may be found in a very recent date of the leading literary journal of the Empire State :—"The Methodist Mission at Port au Prince is fortunate in having

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among its workers, two young men, negroes, who are especially fitted for the field. The Rev. Mr. Hurst and the Rev. Mr. Hood, graduates of Wilberforce, if I mistake not, who have thrown themselves into the work with an enthusiasm which it is to be hoped will be stimulated by the Church in the States. It is their ambition to establish industrial schools, particularly for girls, where home making shall be especially taught. The missionary who succeeds in teaching the Haytien peasant girl how to make a home, will achieve what alone can secure the future happiness of the country. These young men have common sense ideas of what is needed in Missions for Hayti, and it was painful to see their self-sacrificing zeal so sadly hampered for want of means. They are carrying on a day school at their own expense, and that with a sorry lack of books; in fact they need almost every convenience a school demands, yet, they have no lack of pupils. These young men are a brotherhood of two, living and working together, and that under discouragements, only those who have seen their work can understand."*

Organization of the Haytien and Santo Domingo Conferences.— At the dawn of the year 1804, the world witnessed a bold assertion of negro bravery and courage, the bugle-blast of their self-wrought emancipation, rallied the old Saxon together and before the year closed they organized the great "Bible Society" in the city of London, and the world received an effusion of gospel heralds, preaching the good tidings of salvation. Hayti, free and prosperous, but ignorant and superstitious, felt interested in a movement that was to lead man to his Maker. Emperor Christophe, if not the best, at least the most successful ruler the North ever had, applied to England for her religion and language, in order to supplant

*The above article appeared in The Independent of May 8, 1890, under the caption of "Missionary Field in Hayti," and was written by Jane March Parker, an American woman who was at the time visiting friends in Port au Prince, Hayti.

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RT. REV. J. P. CAMPBELL, D. D.,
Late Bishop of the A. M. E. Church.

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Catholicism and French, which were the religion and language of the former planters.

English teachers listened to his plea, and with their bibles and industrial appliances, sailed under the auspices of the "Bible Society of England," for the northern shores of Hayti, but before they had established themselves long enough to carry out the ideas of the emperor an unfavorable climate made it necessary for them to withdraw. In 1818, the wise and intelligent Alexander Petion obtained from the Wesleyan Missionary Sociey of London a corps of missionaries, but President Boyer counteracted the operations of these good men, reflected on the worthy action of his predecessor, and by virtue of removing this influence which tended to restrain vice, drove deeper into idolotry the country.

While these years were recording pages of the blackest deeds in Hayti, the A. M. E. Church in the United States, out of drudgery, humiliation, toil and vexation, sprang forth and gave to the race its second hero—Richard Allen, who stands out in bold relief with Toussaint L'Ouverture, as the true embodiment of Christian manhood. With the marvel of 1804—Haytien Independence—and the manly success of 1816—the organization of the A. M. E. Church—liberty, wealth, religion and intelligence converged to prepare a channel for the development of a full, perfect Christian manhood. Apparently, through the years, the hand of Providence has been bringing into closer proximity these two institutions. The factors in this case are different in language and ordinary habits of individual life, but as we see it they have a common destiny. They are drawn together by an unconscious affinity into strong and mutual sympathy. Under the glorious palm of liberty, whose existence was made possible by the courage, sacrifice and intelligence of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the missionaries of the A. M. E. Church, in common with others, found shelter, and erecting the typical altar of the New Testament, earnestly entreated the people of Hayti to be reconciled to God

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through faith in the Lord Jesus. Their entreaties have not been in vain, for hundreds and thousands of all ranks and conditions have accepted the Saviour, and in their worship of the true God are ever grateful for the gift and preservation of a free nation, whose possibilities, under divine grace, are beyond human comprehension. But years had passed and a permanent, uniform system of operation, as that adopted all through the A. M. E. Church, had not obtained in Hayti until 1887. The Rt. Rev. Jabez P. Campbell, accompanied by the secretary of the Board of Missions, authorized by the A. M. E. Church to visit the missions in the West Indies, went to Hayti and crystalized the fragments of fifty years' labor, anxiety and earnest endeavor.

On the 15th of May, 1887, Bishop Campbell organized the Haytien Mission Conference, in St. Paul A. M. E. Church, in the city of Port au Prince, capital of the Republic. Looking upon the country, its inhabitants, and reviewing its past history and witnessing its present condition and the work of the church that had laid so long near his heart, and conscious that the prayers and anxious concern of all sincere African Methodists had been answered in the definite shape which the highest aspirations of the fathers had taken, well might the bishop's soul burst forth in the language of the patriarch, "Let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

No occasion was more propitious; new life was infused into the mission and greater strength was communicated to the work, which in after days would show itself in more vigorous religious and moral character. At this epoch the vitality of the mission was apparent in the work being accomplished through the well-known Mary Mossell Institute at Port au Prince, and the converts gathered through the efforts of missionaries and pious native helpers, who having the mind of the Saviour, continued to push forward the "victories of the cross."

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Bishop Campbell visited the country, commencing by way of Santo Domingo and the coast of the North, and if he had gone to Jacmel from Port au Prince, he would have journeyed over two-thirds of the island. In Santo Domingo he broke the bread of life to the people and during his short sojourn inspired the zeal of native Dominicans for the sacred ministry, opened new fields and organized the Santo Domingo Mission Conference. In the course of events Rev. Adolphus H. Mevs, B. D., in charge of the Santo Domingo district, was ordained and his assistants commissioned and sent to stations in the interior. General Ulysses Henreana, "President de la Republica Dominicana," received the venerable bishop in his palace, where his excellency listened graciously to words appertaining to the duties of a Christian statesman; the influence of Christianity in all nations, and the aim of African Methodism in Santo Domingo.

Coasting the northern shores, Bishop Campbell visited Puerto Plata and Samona, both Dominican ports, and preached in the former city on Ascension day concerning Christ, the founder of the Church, completing the plan of redemption by His ascension. At Cape Hayti and Port de Paix he came in contact with the people for whom he had great sympathy, and delivered to them the message of the Master, through the special arrangement of Rev. Daniel M. Kitchen, a worthy, intelligent Baptist missionary. On Bishop Campbell's arrival at Port au Prince he was received by a special delegation, composed of the officers and pastor of St. Paul A. M. E. Church, and the people eager to see a Methodist bishop for the first time flocked impetuously to the parsonage to cordially welcome their father in Israel. The next day Bishop Campbell could be seen passing from house to house, praying, singing and glorifying God for the realization of the promise made unto His people, and the union of a forlorn race to whom He had given such a brilliant heritage, with the great church he had chosen, to perpetuate it. Oh, such a time; none will ever

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forget it. Every heart was filled with joy. The Haytien Mission Conference was organized by Bishop Campbell, with assistance of Rev. James M. Townsend, D. D., Secretary of Missions; Rev. Jno. H. Hurst, acting secretary. The members present were Joseph Day, Samuel Day, Charles Dorce, George Dorce, Sr., Paoli Audige, George Chiery, Simeon Stonklin, John Kaplinger, George Cadouche. In the course of the conference session, the work that had been done was examined in all of its extent, and the missionary school was visited by Bishop Campbell, in company with Secretary Townsend and the pastor of St. Paul A. M. E. Church. At the suggestion of the bishop, and by the vote of the conference, Miragoane, Petit Goave, Arcahaie, Petion Ville, Carrefour, were included within the bounds of the conference; and the members of the conference receiving their commissions signed by the bishop and countersigned by Secretary Townsend were respectively appointed to their fields of labor.

The wide extension of the field, the actual demand of the churches and the necessity for the administration of the sacrements known in Methodism, caused the bishop to ordain Rev. John Hurst, elder, and Joseph Day, deacon. The former was assigned the general superintendency of the work, with headquarters at Port au Prince. This event gave a complexion of more than ordinary interest to the Bishop's visit. For the first time in the history of the church, a bishop of any branch of Methodism had visited Hayti; and for the first, also, the people attended an ordaination service of that order. Their satisfaction was unparalleled. Never solemnity so imposing and majestic was witnessed in our church, they said. After this ceremony, the bishop summoned before the altar all the ministers present and in a deep tone of voice, indicative of real earnestness and with a true sense of responsibility, he addressed them on the importance of their charge and the sum of duties involved in a commission to preach and instruct the people. With these remarks he delivered the parchments,

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one by one, to each of the brethren ; then he called the attention of the congregation to the liberality they should exercise toward the messengers of God, and explained the injunction that Christ exercised in sending out the apostles, as being not only the ground for their reception but for their entertainment and support likewise. During his sojourn he preached to large congregations. People that could not even understand the English language flocked around to see and hear him. Many said with feeling and sincerity, "We do not understand what he is saying, yet we feel that it is a real remedy he is pouring upon our souls." His lecture on the rise and progress of the A. M. E. Church was an unparalleled success. Never before had such a large English congregation assembled in the church, many of whom were unacquinted with the minutiæ which enters into the development of the A. M. E. Church ; and after hearing the bishop's lecture, became more fixed in their convictions and devotions to the church. How often have we heard the people speak of that lecture, condemning caste prejudice in America, yet depicting the hand of God in it, as the very instrument by which he would cause men to praise him. They alluded with pride to the A. M. E, Church and the independence of Hayti as the chef-d-œuvre of the race. No sensible mind will fail to discover the well drawn contrast and at the same time the points of striking resemblance between the nature and development of these two institutions.

As a duty imposed upon all men to pay due regard to those in authority, the bishop, in company with Sec'y Townsend, called at the National Palace and were presented to President Solomon by Rev. John H. Hurst. His Excellency received them in the form that became *sa grandeur* in his private parlor, attended by his aid-de camp, private secretary, his minister of Foreign Affairs and of Public Worship. After presenting to the president the object of his mission and explaining the purpose of the Church he represented, Bishop Campbell continuing, spoke on the social questions of the day, as they

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related mostly to future of the Republic. The president, in his very happy manner, told the bishop of the great assistance the country had derived from Protestant Churches, and that while he felt a heart full of thanks to him and to God, for what the A. M. E. Church had already done through the labors of her missionaries, he was still in hope of greater things, for the accomplishment of which he willingly pledged his government, which, he assured the venerable prelate, would give its practical contribution and support. The president spoke with feeling of the misfortune that befell, in 1883, the sainted Mrs. Mossell, and expressed deep regret over her death, which was the sequence of that event. He dwelt at length upon the ardious labors in Port au Prince performed by Mr. and Mrs. Mossell, which were productive of so many good and happy results. On Saturday, June 22d, a special dinner was given to Bishop Campbell by the Hon. John E. W. Thompson, minister resident of the United States in Hayti, at his private residence, "L'œil," two miles up in the mountains. Among other distinguished guests, were the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and of Public Wofship, the Charge d' Affairs of Liberia, Bishop Holly of the Episcopal Church, and Mrs. Thompson and mother. This happy moment furnished the occasion for Bishop Campbell to exchange views on the religious and moral condition of the country, with the Minister of Public Worship, and after listening to the encouraging words of the Minister of Public Worship and the earnest words of Bishop Campbell, touching the aim of the Church, to enter with greater activity upon the work of evangelization, all present felt that with the visit of the bishop, a new era of religious development and prosperity had dawned upon Hayti.

The success of Protestant missionaries in Hayti has not been very large when compared with what remains to be accomplished. More satisfactory results in the same length of time might have crowned in other fields equal endeavor, energy and distribution of means; but this consideration can never

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determine the action of an evangelical church, whose mission is to sow by all waters and preach the gospel to every creature. Various indeed have been the forces and causes which have antagonized the efforts put forth from time to time by Protestant missionaries. They are found in African superstition and pagan rites, so largely shared and practiced by the Haytiens; in a foreign language which is not always easy for the stranger to acquire; in an unfriendly climate, which in many cases has proven fatal, nipping in the bud, life full of promise, devotion and zeal, and while we would rather not mention the fact, the cause of truth requires us to state that the sectarian spirit, at times too plainly manifest among Protestants, has prevented their success as much, if not more, than the uncharitable treatment accorded them by governments from which they had a right to expect protection. We may very properly add and number among the damaging causes which have operated so powerfully in Hayti to prevent larger success in answer to missionary efforts and operations, revolutions,* earthquakes, epidemics of the most malignant type, and religious persecutions. Revolutions are generally attended with great loss† of life and destruction of property. The military system which separates fathers and sons from their homes and which requires so much of their time in peace and all of their time in war, has always had a demoralizing tendency and has always proved destructive both to society and the efforts of missionaries to build up Christian homes.

The fact that a very terrible religious persecution broke out

*The year 1865 was an unfortunate one for Hayti. A great fire burned down 350 houses in the best part of the capital. In 1866, a great fire broke out in Port au Prince and 800 houses are said to have been destroyed.—"Hayti, or the Black Republic," by Sir Spencer St. John.

†The revolutions of 1879 and 1883 were attended with great destruction of property and life. Ten acres of Port au Prince were destroyed by fire. It was in the month of September, 1883, that the house of Rev. C. W. Mossell, in which he lived and conducted a very prosperous school, was demolished.

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in Hayti immediately after the death of Pres. Petion, leads us to infer that his friendly attitude toward Protestants was the occasion of the growth and development of hostile feelings and that the religious bigotry which had been held in check by the influence of the Great Chief made itself felt when the protecting arm of Petion fell under the power of death. Ignorant and enraged mobs were left free too long, to do as they pleased with those who differed from them in matters of religion. Protestants were attacked on the street and in their Churches, the doors and windows of their meeting houses were broken out and bursted open by rocks hurled with great force against them. Innocent and honest people whose only crime was that they were Protestants, were thrust in prison, and that in the name of law and justice. Christian missionaries were ordered by Pres. Boyer to leave the country; the government required all religious assemblies of Protestants to disperse and forbade them to assemble any more for religious worship.* That Boyer had the same power as his predecessor, to protect and patronize Protestant ministers, is beyond all

*It is known that the Roman Catholic religion in this country is predominent, yet all others, by the constitution, are tolerated. The great bulk of the inhabitants of the country being of the above named church, it was dangerous, about 19 years ago, when we resided there, to make a public profession of the Protestant faith. We shall not forget a certain Sabbath day, about that time, when the populace arose, en masse upon a few of the despised followers of the Saviour, who dared to assemble themselves in a secret chamber to worship God according to the form and manner that the Methodist missionaries who had been among them had prescribed for them before they were ordered away from the country. The scene that took place upon the persecution of these servants of God, on his holy day, is indescribable, such yells, hisses, ephetets of Methodist, devils, &c. An array of the military was presented and these brethren, worshippers of the living God, were finally marched out of their place of worship amidst the clatter of bayonets and swords, surrounded by the infuriated mob, who stoned them all the way to the city prison, where they were incarcerated for several days, and on being released were obliged to pay one dollar ($1.00) each.—The above extract if from the editorial written by Rev. Geo. Hogarth on his return from Hayti, which he visited in 1842.—Outlines of History, p. 166. by B. T. Tanner, D. D.

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REV. JOHN HURST, Native Minister of the Gospel.

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contradiction, but he evidently differed from Petion. This will appear plainly from his language to Mr. Pressoir, which was precisely opposite to anything Petion would have done or said. Boyer, as a decided Roman Catholic, probably felt it to be his duty to oppose the introduction and progress of Protestantism in the Republic; or, as a statesman, he probably supposed that such opposing elements in the nation might ultimately engender unhappiness; such views led him to conclusions opposite those of Petion and he probably deemed it an error in his predecessor to have brought such an element into the country at all, hence he did not protect, simply because his views were different and not because he could not; posterity, therefore, will judge between Petion and Boyer in this matter. Gen'l Soulouque was proclaimed president, April 16, 1848. August, 1849, the president and his lady were temporarily crowned in the Cathedral of Port au Prince and the reign of Faustin I. commenced. The spirit of religious persecution was again manifested, and, what is more, it asserted itself again under the administration of Emperor Soulouque. In this instance history repeated itself after a period of thirty years.

Opposition to the Protestant missions first disclosed itself under the Soulouque government when a desire was expressed to annul the lease under which the Wesleyan Church held its property at Cape Hayti, and which had been accorded by the preceding government. The imperial authorities, further, had the temerity to arrest Protestants; to interrupt them in their religious worship and to suspend their operations. We give in the foot-note two examples which are sufficient to show the character of the Soulouque government and the spirit of the times.* These arrests were made from among the members

*During the morning service, at which our esteemed native missionary, Heureaux had officiated, a body of armed police was observed to surround the church, and, as it subsequently appeared, with orders to seize each young Haytien on going. Some nine or ten were thus unceremoniously

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of the Wesleyan Church at Port au Prince. The work which was suspended by order of the government appertained to the Protestant Church at Jeremie, which was at the time in process of erection. No cause was assigned for the strange order and no explanation was ever given, say nothing about satisfaction to the aggrieved parties, by the authorities. Protestants in every part of the island were aroused, for they understood that behind the movement was the spirit of the inquisition that had deluged Europe with blood and they made haste to appeal to the government from which they received favorable consideration after months of delay, and indeed the Wesleyans of Jeremie were allowed to finish their church. While religious persecutions in Hayti were hardly carried far enough to satisfy those who instituted them, they tended perhaps, more than anything else, to unite more closely Haytiens who professed the Protestant faith and who were wronged and outraged at the hands of their misguided brethren. Providential visitations have, apparently, at times interfered with the mission work. As the blessings of God come alike upon the just and the unjust, so the righteous are frequently included within the scope of His judgments.

The earthquake of 1842 carried widespread devastation more or less throughout the entire island. Port de Paix was

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seized and conducted to "La Place." The young native minister, just mentioned, was met as he descended from the pulpit by the policemen who had come into the church for that purpose, and led him off as their prisoner. On arriving at "La Place" myself, I was told by the governor that "I had no voice in the matter," but I persisted that the young man, Heureaux, was a minister of the Gospel and that he was my coleague. The governor of the city, evidently pleased that I had no more than that to say, simply replied: "then take him away with you." With regard to the others, as a foreigner I could do nothing, but was compelled to see them walked off like so many criminals. The fact that they were treated as prisoners when they arrived on board of the man-of-war to which they were sent, not as sailors, and told that they would have to learn what it was to change their religion, will show the nature of the case.—"The Black Man or Haytien Independence,"

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covered by the sea, which unnaturally rushed from its limits, rolled over the smoking ruins and engulfed the wounded and dying, and many of the living who had not been able to make their escape. St. Jago, in the Spanish part, sustained a powerful shock; the houses and church of this place were razed to the ground, and many of the population perished. At Puerto Plata three violent shocks were experienced; surrounding mountains with trees and houses in the city reeled to and fro like a drunken man. The earth trembled at the presence of the Lord; at the presence of the God of Jacob. Cape Hayti suffered most from the earthquake, particularly from the fact that the houses were nearly all of stone and brick, and comparatively speaking, the population of the city was large. It is estimated that six thousand people were buried in the ruins. The church at Cape Hayti was a noble structure, and but a few months previous to the earthquake had been beautifully restored from its former dilapidated condition by General Bottex, then commanding that city. It however fell in this dreadful moment, and many who were inside when it yielded to the shock (although not an hour of public worship), met with instant death.

Rev. M. B. Bird, who was residing at the time with his family in the doomed city, wrote to the Missionary Committee in London, quite a lengthy communication, from which we quote the following graphic description: "Picture to yourselves, dear sirs, the suddenness of this visitation, literally as a thief in the night. The groans of the dying and the cries of those imploring help from under the ruins, without even the possibility of being rescued; the continuation of the shocks, the rush of the sea towards the doomed city; in fact, think of one of the finest and most strongly built cities in the West Indies, with a population of about nine thousand, cast down in a moment by Omnipotence, and two-thirds of its population buried in an instant in one common grave, and you will have some faint idea of a scene which it wrings my heart to think of."

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Rev. Mr. Bird's family numbered six, including himself and wife, a servant and three children. They were all providentially preserved, although the house was thrown down with such violence as to render Mr. Bird unconscious for some time. Recovering presence of mind he raised himself from the street, where he had been ejected, and went immediately to look after his family, which he found covered with falling timber and debris, but uninjured. He helped them out of the dangerous position, and with them sought a place of safety. They passed by the ruins of what had been only a short time before happy homes, in which was heard the echo of merry voices. The sun shining upon the shattered walls caused now and then the shadows of sadness to fall before them. But on and on they went, doubtless trying to avoid the intense heat of the flames which were consuming rapidly what remained of former greatness and grandeur.

This providential visitation, in which property was destroyed and life sacrificed, brought to a stand the wheels of industry; paralyzed commerce; threw the government into confusion; buried the hopes of thousands; frustrated the plans of speculators and money seekers, and caused the most serious reflection on the part of missionaries in the field, as well as the members of the Missionary Committee in London.

This earthquake,* which confounded plans and enterprises, and which reduced hundreds of families to a condition of actual starvation and left them at a loss to know what course to

*One day, at Port au Prince, I was alone in the house with my infant daughter, my wife having stepped over to the church, where she was instructing a class in music. Suddenly, I was seized with a peculiar sensation, which I cannot describe. I sprang to my feet; but found it very difficult to walk. The thought flashed upon me that it was an earthquake. I lifted our baby, Mary Ella, up from where she was lying, carrying her in my arms, rushed into the street. It was an earthquake. There was considerable destruction of property, but no loss of life. The shock and sensation were so severe that the practice in the church was suspended for a few moments, and, strange to say, it never dawned upon my wife and the young people present, that it was an earthquake.—C. W. Mossell.

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pursue, deprived the Wesleyan missionary and his family of nearly everything but life.

Sad consequences of epidemics as well as the dire results of earthquakes have entered from time to time into the experience of missionaries. The writer has personal knowledge of two widespread calamities which had their origin in contagious diseases. These followed each other in rather close succession and assumed the most appalling proportions among the inhabitants of the cities and villages of Hayti. The smallpox, which made such sad havoc among the population, was preceded by an epidemic of yellow fever. During the yellow fever scourge at Port au Prince, foreigners were generally the victims. There was, however, raging among the natives at the same time, what is known as "*la mauvais fievre*"—the bad fever. It is generally claimed when the yellow fever appears in Hayti, "that it is brought on some foreign vessel and does not have its origin in the country." This we believe to be a mistake, for at times, in the harbors and cities of the Haytien Republic, there exists all the conditions favorable to its development. It is always unpleasant for any of the foreigners who may be in any of the ports, or sojourning for a time in the country, to hear of the presence of "Yellow Jack." In the epidemic to which reference is now made, among the many victims—nearly all foreigners—were three Wesleyan missionaries who had not been in the country more than a month. The smallpox epidemic of 1880 was the most terrible scourge ever known in the history of Hayti; this fearful plague covered a period of four mouths, and the number of persons who died throughout the island were estimated at 40,000, and we do not think this any exageration. We know, at Port au Prince, which claimed at the time to have a population of 30,000, the death rate, when the epidemic was in full blast, exceeded at times, 100 per day, according to the official returns sent to the American Legation. The general opinion,

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based on official returns was that not less than 5,000 of the population of the capital succumbed to the loathsome pest.

The sanitary condition of the cities and ports of Hayti can be greatly improved, and, without precaution is taken by the municipal authorities, the sad experience of 1880 will repeat itself. An epidemic is simply a general revolt on the part of nature against filth, combined with an earnest effort to bring about more wholesome conditions. Happy are those people who understand this principle, and acting upon it willingly assist nature to throw off daily the rapid accumulations of filth. The darkest picture, however, has a bright side, and even here there seems to be a compensating Providence. Convulsions in nature and general sickness, in which many families were distressed, had a tendency to turn the minds, at least of some of the people, from the creature to the Creator, and to bring about in them a serious condition of thought favorable to the reception of truth. Earthquakes and wars and epidemics are calculated to try the faith of the Church, but were never intended to direct her movements. Sufficient for this purpose is the sure word of truth, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature."

In considering the causes which have hindered the development and retarded the growth and progress of Protestant missions in Hayti, it would be unfair not to mention the fact that blame attaches to the Church. The Church, so far as it is a human organization, is far from being perfect. Attention has already been called to the errors and mistakes of the Roman Catholic Church. The spirit of impartial criticism, in its turn, requires the uncovering of the unfortunate blunders and shortcomings of the Protestant Church. Evangelical denominations that have sent missionaries to Hayti, have been guilty of all but deserting their agents and their work when *it* and *they* most needed their sympathy and support.

The native Wesleyan Church formed among its members, in 1865, a financial committee, the object of which was to create

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funds through the Republic for the general support of the mission work. The purpose was, through this movement, to help support the work which was carried on among them by the Wesleyan Church. Had the movement been properly encouraged it would have, doubtless, by this time, yielded sufficient funds to support the whole work without aid from outside. The offer of "The Native Committee" to the parent committee of London was conditional. The former pledged themselves to raise annually fifteen hundred dollars, if the parent committee would send out five missionaries. The sum offered, of course, was a very small proportion of the support necessary. It was only intended to supplement what the home committee might do. The offer was declined by the parent committee. The impression among the Haytiens, made by the action of the parent committee in this case, was that the Wesleyans of England were not very much interested in the success of missions in Hayti, or if interested they were not in condition to do very much to advance the cause. We would remark that perhaps the principal reason why the Protestant cause has not gained more rapidly among the well disposed and more liberal elements, is the manner in which it has presented itself. When contrasting with the Roman Catholic Church and her institutions it does not appear to them equally well prepared to meet the religious wants of the people. The refusal of the committee caused Mr. Bird to feel that the work which he and others had succeeded in organizing was underestimated by the authorities, from whom the mission expected supplies. Humanly speaking, there is nothing that tends to strengthen a missionary, laboring in a foreign field, more than to know not only that his movements are watched and his success prayed for, but to know also that he has the confidence, the practical sympathy and support of those whose representative he is. No man ought to be sent into a foreign field in whom the missionary board and the church have not the fullest confidence, and when this is the case the duty of the

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missionary board is plain, viz.: to encourage their agent in his operations and support him in his work.

But when the Missionary Board insists upon knowing more than the agent in the field and instead of carrying out his plans, forces theirs upon him, which are often purposely intended to check, rather than develope the work, we must expect dissatisfaction and sometimes failure. Earnest, faithful laborers have quit the mission field, rather than subject themselves to the restrictions and limitations imposed by missionary boards. Doubtless this was the cause, more than anything else, which led so many missionaries of the Wesleyan Church after having entered the field, to withdraw from it.*

After laboring for forty years to build up Christian missions in Hayti, and demonstrating all the zeal and Christian fortitude of an apostle, Rev. Mr. Bird was not quite satisfied with results of missionary effort covering the period which marked the operations of the Wesleyan Church. The cause, he doubtless traces to the true source, viz.: a failure on the part of the Wesleyan Church to follow up her work and to make the most of opportunities which presented themselves. In the quotation we give his words: "Whatever view may be taken on this subject, it is a fair question, whether, if this mission had been kept up, and the same increase of missionaries as was accorded during the first thirty years of its existence continued, Hayti might, as a nation, been put on a different track and whether the impulse thus given might not have led to another order of things." We are inclined to think that the Rev. Mr. Bird might have saved the situation had he pressed into the service of the mission, native preachers whose piety and intelligence would have justified such action on his part and which it seems to us, entitled them to more conspicuous consideration at the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities of

*Most of the European missionaries, for reasons, apparantly sufficient to themselves, have gradually withdrawn from the field.—"The Black Man, or Haytien Independence."

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the Wesleyan Church. The time had come for such action. Foreign missionaries who occupied the field were, for reasons apparently sufficient to themselves, leaving it and the supply of laborers sent out from time to time by the home Missionary Committee of London were perceptibly diminishing, and while this was the case, the demand for more laborers continued to come from every part of the island. We repeat, the time had come and it was a mistake on the part of those in authority that they did not replace the foreign missionaries by native preachers, who were prepared and anxious to do all in their power as expounders and teachers of the word to advance the cause of Christ, to whom the heathen is promised as a heritage and the utmost parts of the earth as a dwelling place. The efficient native element could not at such a time be overlooked without very reasonably taking offence. To what extent dissatisfaction prevailed, we are not prepared to say. The following from the pen of Mr. Bird is, however, very significant: "While most of the native missionaries have ceased to be connected with the English body, also, for reason sufficient in their own estimation, they have nevertheless remained friendly." The inference is, that ceasing their relations with the Wesleyan Methodist Church they became members of some other evangelical body. In some instances, this was the fact. The case of Mr. Sadrack Hypolite is a very notable one. Withdrawing from the Wesleyan Church, he united with the Baptist, among whom his efforts have been more highly appreciated. He sent his son, at his own expense, to the United States and afterwards to Europe, in which countries he remained thirteen years, preparing for the ministry. He is now in Hayti at the head of the work which his father sacrificed so much to build up.

The Protestant Episcopal Church, pursuing a course directly opposite to that adopted by the Wesleyan Methodist, has cultivated a native ministry. Without any intention to cast a reflection on the rectors of the Episcopal Church in Hayti,

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who are pure and faithful and who are worthy of the confidence imposed in them, we do say without hesitation that in some cases the selections for its ministry have been very questionable; instead of advancing the cause of Christ they have very seriously compromised it. We have read of a Catholic priest in the Spanish part of the island, after having finished the Sabbath morning mass, repairing to a cock pit with a game chicken under his arm to take a conspicuous part in the recreations of the ring; but it remained for us to visit Hayti to witness a scene in which a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church was the most notorious actor. One day when returning from the cemetery, which occupies the northeastern section of Port au Prince, we passed a well-known cafe and to our surprise we saw a very distinguished priest of "the church," in his clerical uniform, sitting at a table with several other citizens playing cards and drinking.

In Roman Catholic Hayti, where the faithful never seem to become weary in discussing the unity and the catholicity of their church, the missionary work of the Protestant Episcopal Church is retarded as much by worldliness as the Methodist Church is by the scisms which have from time to time rent asunder its membership. There is also among the Protestants of Hayti an exclusive element, the members of which I do not think ever did very much to propagate the faith of their fathers. This spirit, so foreign from that which actuated the Saviour of sinners, dominated too many of the American emigrants, who were members of the A. M. E. Church. They, without a doubt, felt kindly towards the natives and desired their conversion, but they would bring it about much after the fashion in vogue among white Americans, from whom they had received their religious notions.*

*On the way to Sabbath school one morning, I ventured to say to a professed Christian lady, whose father came to Hayti in 1824, and who with the members of his family are all very highly respected, as we passed a number of naked children playing in the street, that we ought to organize a

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We have already in these pages, referred to the protracted persecutions directed against Protestants in Hayti. It is not necessary to enter our protest against such unchristian conduct and to dwell at length on the obviously bad faith of the several administrations which were responsible for these persecutions visited upon Haytien subjects who had done no wrong, committed no crime, violated no law and whose only offense was their assembling together to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience. All of this goes without saying. A fair question is: Was religious persecution in Hayti as pronounced as in other Roman Catholic countries? Had the situation been reversed and had Protestantism occupied the seat of power, having on its side the influence of the nation and the active support of those in authority, would there have been any religious persecution at all? If so, would intolerance and religious bigotry have been manifested on fewer occasions and with less severety? These questions can only be answered in the light and reflection which the past history of the two great religions furnish. That history teaches us that they are antagonistic. They may yet appear otherwise. We mean to say, it may be discovered in the near or remote future "when the mist is rolled away." That each contains an element the other cannot supply and that these double forces are necessary to the wellbeing of society and the progress of civilization. Be this as it may, the representatives of each have not so maintained. Both religions are of European origin. The Papacy was firmly established in 538, A. D., when

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society in the church for the purpose of making up and getting together suitable clothing for the poor and destitute children, who were so sadly neglected, and besides make an effort to bring them into the Sabbath school and instruct them in the principles of the religion of Christ. She replied: "Do you think our children would sit by the side of those children in the Sabbath school? If you do, you are very much mistaken." This lady was born in Hayti, but her parents came from the United States, where the Protestant church has been the principal agent in the support and perpetuity of caste.

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Justinian's decree went into effect. Protestantism, taken within its narrowest limits, came to occupy conspicuous position in the year 1517, when Martin Luther published his thesis on the church door at Wittenberg. In their hand to hand struggle on the continent, for existence and supremacy, these two religions represented opposite political interests and ethnic divergencies which are apparent when we contrast the Teutonic and Latin races. The younger of these two religions represented a revolt, intellectual and religious, against the traditions of centuries conserved by the Latin Church and which she endeavored to impose upon the faith and habits of thought peculiar to western Christendom. The Council of of Trent sanctioned the doctrines which are peculiar to Protestantism and thereby drew the line which has ever since separated these contending forces. Subsequent contests have not been for the purpose of bringing about or resisting reforms in discipline, in doctrine and in the modification of dogmas, but rather with the intention on the part of each to annihilate the other. Germany, Switzerland, France and England were the battle fields on which the devotees of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, in the spirit of hate, endeavored by carnal methods, to settle their differences.

The Reformation in Germany was a popular movement; the hearts of the people were in it and the conditions were every where favorable. Charles, Maximilian's successor, tried, only to find himself powerless, to impede the progress of a movement which passed with extraordinary rapidity from one section of the country to the other; but nevertheless the peace of Augsburg did not come until 1555, thirty-eight years after Martin Luther made his protest at Wettenburg. In Switzerland the religious agitation measured a period of thirty-two years, a period of controversy and war. Peace came with the death of John Calvin. In France, the cause of the Reformation was, in a sense, kindly regarded. Francis I. regarded the Protestants as a people of some education and enlightenment.

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Quite a number of the great families with more or less earnestness, accepted and adopted reformed opinions, and with these noble families went a large body of the upper clergy, and yet with this strong element in its favor, the Reformation failed in France. The struggle prolonged itself for thirty years, and then not until after a baptism of blood which came with the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, were the Huguenots in a position to enjoy the protection which the edict of Boulonge brought to them, and which was a guarantee to them of more substantial good than they had been promised by the peace of St. Germains.

The history of England is the history of a religious conflict, the most intense and bitter period of which perhaps lies between the reign of Henry VIII. and June, 1690, the month in which the Prince of Orange defeated James II. at the battle of the Boyne.

The facts in which we have presented the terrible conflict between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, answer very conclusively our first question. Religious persecution at no time in Hayti was carried to the extent witnessed in the countries referred to in this relation; the truth is it dwindles into insignificance when compared with religious persecutions which have taken place in other Roman Catholic countries.

We are not inclined to the opinion that had Protestantism been in the ascendency in Hayti religious persecutions would have been unknown. In the United States where the Church and State are separate and distinct institutions, there has been too much of religious bigotry, and strange as it may appear, those who sought and found in America an asylum where they might remain free from oppression and enjoy religious liberty went so far as to burn at the stake those who entertained, on serious matters, different opinions.

Up to the present the most stupendous monuments erected by Protestantism in the New World are the extermination of the aborigines; the extension for two hundred and fifty years

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of the institution of slavery; the maintenance of a social caste the like of which is not found anywhere else in the world, outside of India. Considering these facts and giving to them, in our calculations, the force and importance to which they are entitled, how do we know what would have occured in Hayti, had the situation been reversed and had Protestantism occupied the seat of power there, having on its side the influence of the nation and the active support of those in authority.

The history of these two great religions, however, puts beyond question and contradiction, two propositions, viz.: Roman Catholicism and Protestantism are potent factors in our progress and civilization. The second proposition is unlike the first in so far as it appears to be a contradiction, viz.: these potent factors, to which we may attribute more largely than to anything else, our advancement and achievements, carry not a few dangerous tendencies which have proven a very strong menace to religious civil and constitutional liberty. In their relation to the second proposition, the two resemble each other so closely there is scarcely a single charge, it matters not how grave, which we may urge against Roman Catholicism that it would not be proper and just to lay at the door of Protestantism. The Inquisition is the child of Romanism and it is without doubt the blackest chapter in the world's history; and yet, all the elements which entered into the horrors perpetrated by the inquisition and for which it is responsible, rapacity, bigotry, intolerance, inordinate selfishness, thirst for blood, gain and power, duplicity, ignorance and hate, reappeared at different stages of the Reformation, in the discipline and practice of the Church of England; under the administration of the English Nonconformists and the proceedings of the Scotch Dissenters, which exasperated the clergy of the Church. "The Dissenters in England drove hundreds of quiet students from their cloisters and thousands of respectable divines from their parsonages, for the crime of refusing

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to sign what they were pleased to call the covenant. Such men as Hall and Sanderson, Chillingworth and Hammond, were not only plundered but thrown into prison and exposed to all the rudeness of brutal jailors." In Scotland, if anything, they were more bigoted, insolent and cruel. "They shut up churches, burnt prayer books, dispersed congregations by violence, hustled, pelted and pilloried clergymen and drove them forth, with their wives and babies, to beg or die of hunger.

We say without reserve that the Roman Catholic Church has never hesitated to grasp temporal power when she found it within her reach. How she used that power is illustrated in the history of the inquisition; the intrigues hatched at Saint Germains, under Louis XIV.; the deception practiced by James II. of England, and most clearly it is seen in the consideration which Napoleon gave to Pope Pius VI. Instead of obeying the orders which he had received from the French Directory, to destroy the Papal government, Napoleon, on his own responsibility, made peace with the Pope and returned to France. This tendency to grasp temporal power, perhaps, is stronger in Catholicism than in Protestantism, but it is there all the same.

You have heard of the man who had an ailment, in the treatment of which his physicians used a sheep's stomach. The operation was very successful, and of course he recovered. One day, in company with friends, he was passing a field covered with fresh grass and they found it very difficult to restrain him and prevent him from entering the field, such was the strength of his hankering after the tender green blades. The reason of his strange conduct remained for some time a mystery, but it was all understood by them after they had learned that it was the sheep's stomach following its natural propensity.

Roman Catholicism gave birth to Protestantism under trying circumstances. The process was very painful; the child, how-

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ever, inherited from its mother traits of character and strong propensities. One of these traits, and one with which we are disposed to deal charitably, is a hankering after temporal power. In order to stand behind the throne, if not to occupy it, English Protestants granted to Henry VIII. the concessions which he demanded at their hands. The Anglican Church, at the beginning, differed from the Roman Catholic in one point only—that of the supremacy. Supported by the force of a strong character, the favorable situation in which he stood with respect to foreign powers, the prodigious wealth which the spoliation of the abbeys placed at his disposal, and, favored with the counsel of the crafty and learned Cranmer, Henry VIII. and his Protestant supporters did not permit any consciencious scruples to prevent them from committing some of the most atrocious deeds ever recorded in the catalogue of crimes. To maintain and perpetuate their power, they burnt as heretics those who advocated the tenets of Luther, and hung as traitors those who avowed the authority of the Pope. We are separated by two and a half centuries from the days of Henry VIII.; but neither time nor the voyage across the Atlantic have proven to be elements strong enough to take out of Protestantism the inherited desire to rule thrones and possess dominions.

As early as 1820, Protestant missionaries from America commenced their labors of love at Honolulu. In the process of time they converted the natives to their faith; but later on, true to their inherited tendencies, during the administration of President Benj. Harrison, aided by an American man-of-war, they took possession of the island, appropriated the crown of Lillakalina and divided the government among themselves. President Cleveland, against his inclination, finally did the only thing left for him to do: acknowledged the *de facto* government of Honolulu. One hundred years hence, when our children of the seventh generation shall look back upon these times, as we now look back upon the early days and fathers of

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the Republic, the only redeeming feature they will discover in this dishonest and unjust transaction, will be the courageous effort put forth by the administration of President Grover Cleveland, which, if it did not result in righting the wrong, exposed the infamy of the act, and thereby vindicated, so far as possible, the national honor.

It is affirmed that every Catholic is under moral obligation, by virtue of the doctrine to which he subscribes, to render supreme allegiance to the Pope. In support of this proposition the dogma is submitted "in which the Pope is regarded by Catholics as the Vicar of Christ, head of the bishops, Supreme Governor of the whole Catholic Church, of which the whole world is the territory, or diocese; Patriarch of the West, Bishop of Rome and its districts, and temporal prince over the states of the Church known as the Pontifical States."

The United States is not a pontifical state. No valid concordat can be made, therefore, between Rome and the United States. All this dogma can mean to an American Catholic, is this: that in matters of doctrine and faith, he must give allegiance to the Church of Rome, whose chief dignitary aud spiritual head is the Pope. But on the supposition that it means just what the most apprehensive Protestants would have us believe—obedience to the Pope and defiance to the Federal Constitution—what then? Would the attitude of Roman Catholicism be much more alarming in the estimation of right-minded, serious, patriotic Americans, than that which is recorded in public and official declaration of representative Protestants. Are not the Protestants of the United States responsible for lifting above the constitution, that which it has pleased them to call by the name of Anglo Saxon civilization and White supremacy. Governors of states and representatives in congress, in obedience to the dictatorial orders of this potentate, elevated to the place of power and authority by Protestantism, have given utterance to sentiments which positively tend to subvert the fundamental principles of our gov-

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ernment and constitution. Why do we not see in these Protestant statesmen and in the secular and religious Protestant press which encourages and upholds them, a source of danger to our institutions and government? Is a traitor any less a traitor because he is a Protestant?

The institution of caste was very strong in Hayti when she began her national independent career; perhaps in no country was it more pronounced. To-day, it has virtually disappeared; but this is not the case in the United States. Many well informed, serious people are of the opinion that caste prejudice is a permanent fixture, and that if it is not a divine institution, it is at least a very wise providential arrangement. I do not say that the difference between the two countries in this particular, is the difference between their religions. One is a Protestant country, the other is a Catholic country. There may be something in this fact. It is at least a matter for serious consideration. Macaulay calls attention to this fact. He says: "To this day, in some countries where negro slavery exists, Popery appears in advantageous contrast to other forms of Christianity. It is notorious, that the antipathy between the European and African races is by no means as strong at Rio de Janeiro as at Washington."

Notwithstanding what we have said in respect to both Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, it remains true that these two great religions constitute the most important factors in our civilization and progress. Blind indeed, must be the Protestant or the Romanist who is not able to see the good which has come to humanity and the beneficent results which have followed in the wake of that which he may consider an opposing faith. The churches which stand for these two creeds occupy, in Hayti, common territory, and from present indications, are likely to continue their operations for all time to come, accomplishing for the people and country, through the course of years, the same substantial good which in other nations discovers its source in Roman Catholicism and

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Protestantism. The benefits which have been and will continue to be confered upon humanity under all circumstances and in all countries by these two religious institutions are considerable, and perhaps no authority has stated the case in a clearer light and better form than the one from which we have already quoted. Latin Christendom met and turned to flight the army of infidels which had crushed the East under the yoke of Islam. The best authorities claim that this victory added four centuries to the life of the Eastern Empire and by so doing arrested the tide of Mohammedan conquest and saved both the Latin and Teutonic races from a tyranny which, like a black frost, was fatal to the most promising regions of the earth. There were more remote results. The movement gave freedom to the serf and established the supremacy of the common law in lieu of jurisdiction which was independent and in which the individual chief claimed right to declare and prosecute wars. Results of scarcely less importance were seen in the transfer of possessions belonging to feudal lords to the industrial classes and in the bringing together and the welding into a homo genous family, different nations and races. This making out of many, one organic whole, is like belting a continent with iron rails; it gave an impulse everwhere to trade, agriculture, navigation and commerce. The great force behind the changes we have mentioned and the mighty guiding principles which effected the destinies of nations and races in the middle ages, had their source in the Roman Catholic Church, whose clergy, while they inculated the economic virtues of thrift, industry, fidelity in the relations of life and obedience to established order, presented also the claims of the poor and preached the doctrine of love, compassion and forgiveness.

After exposing the inertia of the Roman Catholic Church of the 16th century, the opposition that Church offered to learning, progress and to the exercise of liberty in matters of conscience; after giving a practical illustration by placing in

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contrast Roman Catholic and Protestant principalities of Germany; Catholic and Protestant cantons of Ireland, and the Protestants of the United States with the Catholics of Mexico, Peru and Brazil, to show that Protestant countries everywhere present a more vigorous civilization than Roman Catholic countries; after making this comparison the great English historian adds: "It is difficult to say whether England owes more to the Roman Catholic religion or to the Reformation. For the amalgamation of races and for the abolition of villenage she is chiefly indebted to the influence which the priesthood in the middle ages exercised over the laity. For political and intellectual freedom, and for all the blessings which political and intellectual freedom have brought in her train, she is chiefly indebted to the rebellion of the laity against the priesthood."*

Roman Catholicism in Europe supplied the force which drew to the center; united and harmonized races, which left without such binding, controlling and directing influence, would have destroyed each other. Protestantism supplied the force to which Europe is indebted for intellectual, religious and political expansion. There is no question but what the Church has the power to bind and loose on earth. In the history to which we have called attention, and which measures the influence of the Church during the middle ages, we have a very wide application of the doctrine of the Keys. In this particular the Church has lost none of its power; for this reason it is always desirable to know where the Church stands on any question which involves social order, the rights of men and women, any question which involves the consideration of the industrial and economical relations with the obligations man owes to man, as well as the higher spiritual relations and duties he owes to God.

It is not an accident that we find modern reformers looking to the Church, around whose altars the toiling masses and the

*Macauley, vol. I., p. 38.

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grievously oppressed bow, waiting and asking for relief and deliverance from their burdens. The attitude of the Church on any question touching the interests of society and humanity means more than language can express. People are not expected to be any better than their religion. If the members of the Church frown upon a man because he is poor, society and the community at large will be sure to do the same thing; if they treat him in an uncharitable manner because he has stumbled and fallen by the way, they justify the harsh and inhuman treatment which was too commonly practiced by pagans and barbarians; if they ostracize him on account of the accidents of birth, the curl of the hair, the complexion of the skin, the sharpness or bluntness of his features, his racial identity or national allegiance or religious faith, they virtually prevent him from enjoying and making the most of opportunities which come to others who are not the victims of such proscription. Take the opportunity out of a man's life to do, to be something, to achieve something, and what is such a life but a living death? The robber who relieves the traveller of his purse on the highway is much more considerate than the community which, by virtue of an unrighteous public sentiment, takes from those who are the most needy their opportunities. We go a step further and say that in our opinion the highwayman is more generous in the application of his nefarious business than the Church, which, in the name of Christ, who was no respecter of persons, proscribes on account of color, condition and opinions, political or religious. It is a mistake to believe that any religion which damns the body, takes away the opportunity, can save the soul. Organized *churchianity* which proceeds along this line, it matters not *under what name* must eventually lose its power, prestige and place. Organized *Christianity*, it matters not *under what name*, the aim of which is to build, not race, but character; to lift those up who are down; to help those who have no helper; to save those who are lost, must eventually triumph everywhere.

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CHAPTER XLIII.

HAYTI AT THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

The Queen of Sheba visited King Solomon, listened to his wisdom, gazed upon his glory, and returned to her native province so profoundly impressed with all she had seen and heard that when she was interrogated concerning her experience at Jerusalem she simply replied that "the half has not been told." So we say concerning the World's Columbian Exposition, "the half has not been told," but in this respect no blame attaches itself to those who have attempted to tell the wonderful story of a friendly confederation in which the nations of the earth appeared at their best, certainly to greater advantage than on any similar occasion.

The world's progress has been chronicled in England, France, Austria and the United States, these four; but the greatest of these, when we take into consideration the essential elements which contributed so largely to the success of the enterprise, the exhibit, its value, excellence, diversity; the races and nationalities represented, and the perfect freedom with which they were allowed to put on exhibition their religions, politics and social customs, together with the great law, the subtle influence under which the ends of the earth were brought together at Chicago, we do not hesitate to say was the World's Columbian Exposition. No sane man will ever attempt to estimate the forces—moral, physical, intellectual and spiritual—of this universal confederation, of this world's congress, of this brotherhood of nations, which represented the progress and genius of the world. It would be like attempting to empty the ocean with a ladle, the vain endeavor to number the grains of sand on the sea shore, or count the stars and name the suns, systems and constellations of the heavens.

In contributing to the literature, already plentiful on this

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subject, we shall be perfectly satisfied to bring to light one truth, to add a single idea, and to leave indeliably impressed on the mind of the reader one important lesson.

Were you at the World's Columbian Exposition? If you were, you saw for yourself the wonders of Jackson Park. The magnificent structures which covèred wide acres, posed in such manner that even the outside magnitudes and distances which separated them gave to the eye a picture of harmonious variety, while that in the almost innumerable divergencies which marked these magnificent buildings, there was so much of pure art, refined taste, apt and proper adjustment, as to beautifully blend into a faultless unity that which was unique, characteristic and original in design and execution. You saw that the mansions and pavilions which were in their construction triumphs of art and architecture, were also, if it could be possible, greater revalations in the beauty, value, ingeniousness and perfection of their exhibits. Every department of knowledge, industry, endeavor, achievements of research and investigation, were represented therein, and poured out only in too great profusion a wealth of marvelous treasures. The student without any difficulty could select the subject he was best adapted to study and the one most agreeable to his taste and inclination, whether it might be agriculture, commerce, navigation, engineering, mining, electricity, art, architecture, sculpture, philosophy, religion, sociology, literature, history, or what not. No education is complete without the benificent results which come from extensive travel and general contact with people and institutions divided among the nations of the world.

We may admit this proposition without discussion and yet we believe the Columbian Exposition afforded the American student greater advantages for study, stronger incentives to improve and an inspiration which could be found no where else to prosecute lines of special and general work, such as years of travel abroad would not furnish; even with the var-

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ied associations such as change from place to place in unfrequented parts would give, when there is both leisure and ample means, which tend to strengthen influence and prestage and give easier access to avenues of larger information. Were you at the World's Columbian Exposition? If not, you will be interested in reading about those who were there. It was the greatest show that has ever been witnessed on the planet; as we come to think of it, we recall now the vast amount of travel on all lines throughout the country, the point of destination was Chicago. We scarcely missed the people from the farms, the rural districts, the villages, towns and cities, and we presume that what was true in this respect with regard to our own communities was also true in distant communities and foreign countries; nevertheless it is estimated that 25,000,000 people visited the exposition. Representatives in large numbers were there from the hoary monarchies of Asia, the sturdy Sovereignties of Europe, the barbarous tribes of Africa and the freedom loving children of Australia and citizens from seventeen Republics of the western hemisphere, and they were present in such numbers and attire and with such native surroundings as to give a very graphic idea how they appeared in their own homes and the respective communities of their different countries. For instruction in this particular, one had only to resort to the Midway Plaisance, where he could view at leisure, village scenes of Dahomey, Germany, Austria, the Malay Archipeligo, Egypt, Holland, Tunis, Java and Japan, Esquimaux, Morocco, Pompeii, the Sandwich Islands, China, Algiers and Turkey. They were there not empty handed, but with rich gifts, making their contributions in such a substantial, characteristic manner and in that which appertained to unique and indigenous products the most beautiful, the most useful, the most durable, rare, and costly contributions, entitling each nation to the respect and admiration of all the other nations. Japan, scarcely accustomed to the new light of civilization, plucked the wreath of laurals from the brow of France, the

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HAYTIEN PAVILION, WORLDS COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

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Queen of Art, and spread before the gaze of an admiring world, miracles of horticulture and the beautiful arts. Gautamala and Hayti Republics, which have had quite enough of internal discensions, whose citizens have paid very dear for the liberty they enjoy, demonstrated both taste and progress, by the erection of buildings so suggestive of beauty, durability and comfort as to justify the favorable popular verdict confirmed by enlightened judges who willingly laid at the feet of the Sister Republics, their tributes of praise and homage.

No such an assemblage as the World's Columbian Exposition, the object of which was to mark the progress of civilization, cultivate friendship and stimulate sentiments of good will among the nations of the earth, has ever before convened in the history of the world. It was a marvelous result, and like all other results, behind it there was a sufficient cause. The presence of people in such large numbers, from all quarters of the globe, representing all nations, kindreds, tongues, and conditions, is not sufficiently explained by saying that the United States gevernment extended an invitation to the nations of the earth, to assist and take such part as they might deem proper and best in the World's Columbian Exposition. The United States have for the inhabitants of this planet attractions which no other nation possesses. All the countries of the earth have contributed to increase our population and in coming to our shores immigrants have wisely agreed to leave behind them the feuds and bitter animosities which have separated them in hostile camps and rendered their native land an undesirable dwelling place. Good faith in this respect is essential to the perpetuity of our institutions and laws, which have been created and established in an atmosphere of freedom and good will, where each citizen concedes to the other the right to think, speak and act along the line of conviction in matters of religion and politics.

In 1876 the proclamation was issued to the world that we had kept the faith for one hundred years and that we were

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still living in the bonds of peace and union. The nations of the earth desired to see this great sight and believing that the millenium had dawned in the United States, had we not invited them they would have come of their own accord.

"E Pluribus Unum" is a very appropriate motto. The United States constitute a nation made up of many states, whose population has been drawn from every race, nation and people under the sun. Respect for this statement is more than justified when we consider that since 1780, 17,000,000 foreigners have landed on our shores. It is a fact which is not in conflict with either religion, science or philosphy that these millions constitute an attractive force, drawing the nations of the earth to the United States, the logical center of the world. This universal law, always in force, became more effective in 1892, for the reason that conditions more favorable to its operation obtained throughout the world. As God spake the race apart at Babel, the indications of Providence are that He called the nations together at the World's Columbian Exposition, and there commenced the process which will eventually weld them into one. Great significance indeed attaches itself to the confederation of nations which convened at Chicago during the year 1892.

President Cleveland aptly interpreted the World's Columbian Exposition, when, at the opening ceremony he uttered these words: "Let us hold fast to the meaning that underlies this ceremony and let us not lose the impressiveness of this moment. As by a touch, the machinery that gives life to this vast exhibition is now set in motion, so at the same instant, let our hopes and aspirations awaken forces which in all time to come shall influence the welfare, the dignity and the freedom of mankind." This interpretation of the wonderful movement with its marvelous combinations as the aim of a people entering upon the second century of national existence, adds new importance to the presence and position of Hayti at the World's Columbian Exposition. Hayti was the first country

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in the new world to make an assertion in the interest of liberty and universal sufferage. Such assertion gave inspiration to her courageous sons, who, following the leadership of Toussaint L'Ouverture and the revolutionary patriots, poured out their blood freely for the maintenance of the principle. To the Haytiens belong the honor of emancipating themselves and they are the only people in the history of the world who enjoy such distinction. This remarkable and successful assertion in the interest of liberty and manhood rights, which put an end to slavery in San Domingo, was followed by the downfall of slavery in the French, English and Spanish colonies and the United States of America, and these latter results were without doubt hastened by the former. However adversely the use to which the Haytiens have put their liberty and independence may be dwelt upon, there is one opinion only which can be expressed concerning their contribution to the cause of general liberty, and therefore to progress in the western hemisphere, viz.: that it was very great. Was it a consciousness of being the pioneer in the cause of freedom among the nations of the new world and in her devotion thereto, rendering superior service which promted Hayti through her sturdy but now lamented executive, President Hyppolite to lead the procession of nations in erecting and dedicating at the World's Columbian Exposition the Haytien pavillion, beautiful to look upon, handsome in all of its appointments and appliances, occupying such place among the confederation of buildings as was both convenient and conspicuous? Hayti honored herself in honoring Frederic Douglass, who, in the cause of liberty and equal rights, was the champion of his race and nation. The Chicago press chronicled the event as may be seen from the Herald's report:

Fred Douglass came all the way from Washington to make the speech dedicating the "Hayti Pavilion." He came at the request of President Hyppolite. Mr. Douglass addressed a

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small audience. When he threw off his heavy topcoat and raised a big brown hat from his long white locks the hall was almost deserted. Director-General Davis was there to respond to the address. Colonel Dawson, Colonel Rice and Chief Allison were the only representatives of the World's Fair. Mr. Douglass was accompanied by several colored friends, among them Dr. Curtis, Lloyd Wheeler and Dr. Jenifer, of Quinn's chapel. He spoke nearly half an hour.

FRED DOUGLASS' ORATION.

Gentlemen:—The first part of my mission here to-day is to speak a few words of this pavilion. In taking possession of it and dedicating it to the important purpose for which it has been erected within the grounds of this World's Columbian Exposition, Charles A. Preston and myself, commissioners appointed by the government of Hayti to represent that government in all that belongs to such a mission, wish to express our satisfaction with the work thus far completed. It is no disparagement to other public spirited and patriotic citizens of Hayti who have taken an interest in the subject of participation of Hayti in the World's Columbian Exposition when I say that we have found these valuable and necessary qualifications of mind and heart pre-eminently embodied in the wise and patriotic president of the Republic of Hayti. His Excellency, General Hyppolite, has been the supreme motive power and the main-spring by which this pavilion has found a place in these magnificent grounds. It is an evidence of the high intelligence of President Hyppolite that this building has taken its place here amid the splendors and architectural wonders which have sprung up, as if by magic, to dazzle and astonish the world. Whatever else may be said of President Hyppolite by his detractors, he has thoroughly vindicated his sagacity and his patriotism by endeavoring to lead his countrymen in the paths of civilization, peace, prosperity and glory.

As for Hayti herself, she has never flinched when called by

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her right name. She has never been ashamed of her cause or her color. Honored by an invitation from the government of the United States to stand in her place as a nation and be represented among the foremost civilized countries of the earth, she has not quailed or hesitated, but has promptly responded. Her presence here to-day is a proof that she has the courage and ability to stand up and be counted in the great procession of the civilization of the nineteenth century.

For ourselves, as commissioners, under whose supervision and direction this pavilion has been built, I may say that we feel sure that Hayti will heartily approve our work, and that no citizen of that country who shall visit the World's Columbian Exposition, will feel ashamed of its appearance. Its internal appointments are consistent with its external appearance. Its location and situation are desirable. It is not a candle put under a bushel, but a city set upon a hill. For this we cannot too much commend the liberality of the honorable commissioners and managers of these grounds.

Finally, Hayti will be happy to meet and welcome her friends here. While the gates of the World's Columbian Exposition shall be open and welcome the world, the doors of this pavilion shall also be open and a warm welcome given to all who shall see fit to honor us with their presence. Our emblems of welcome will be neither brandy nor wine. No intoxicants will be served here, but we shall give all comers a generous taste of our Haytien coffee, made in the best manner by Haytien hands.

But, gentlemen, I am reminded that on this occasion we have another important topic, which should not be passed over in silence. We meet to-day on the anniversary of the independence of Hayti, and it would be an unpardonable omission not to remember with all honor at this time and place. The heroic chief of Hayti, in the year 1803, declared her independence and she has made good that declaration down to 1893. Her presence here to-day in the grounds of this World's Col-

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umbian Exposition, at the end of the 400th anniversary of the discovery of the American continent, is a re-affirmation of her existence and her independence as a nation and of her place among the sisterhood of nations.

DIRECTOR GENERAL DAVIS RESPONDS.

Director General Davis responded as follows:

Commissoners, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I regret that we did not receive notice of these interesting proceedings in time to have present that numerons representation of the exposition management which the occasion would render appropriate. I myself learned of this contemplated ceremonial only a short time ago, and hastened here at once to signify our appreciation of the gallent little republic which thus leads all the foreign nations in the completion of its stately pavillion as a general rendezvous on these grounds for its visiting citizens. It is not in this handsome building alone that Hayti will be fittingly represented at the fair. Allotments have been made to her in the departments of agriculture, mines and mining, forestry and others. With a sagacity that is full of promise for the future she is preparing an object lesson, teaching the abundance and variety of her natural resources that are only waiting development.

I congratulate you, Mr. Commissioner, on the recent progress made by the promising country you represent here and in which you have lately and ably represented our government. I congratulate the Haytien government upon its selection of a commissioner who, though a citizen of the United States, knows so well and sympathizes so deeply not only with her struggles for political independence, but also with her aspirations for industrial growth and intellectual development.

Had we the time there is much in the past as well as the future of Hayti that would be pleasant food for thought and speculation. We do not forget that to Hayti Columbus gave the name of Hispaniola because it was looked upon by him

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as the choicest fruit of his voyage of discovery, as well as for the superiority of its inhabitants.

Its natives were a well formed and spirited race, of a gentle and peaceful disposition, fairer and handsomer than the natives of other islands. They were hospitable to a fault then as the people are there to-day. "There is not in the world," wrote Columbus, "a better nation or a better land." But the fairest of all lands may be made, as Columbus learned to his sorrow, a theatre of treachery and malevolent aspersion. The very men whom he had led to this Utopia, conspired to destroy him that they might reap the reward of his genius and build up their fame and fortune on the ruins of his own, and they actually succeeded in sending him home in chains from a port of this beautiful island. But after four centuries his fame is secure while the name of his maligners are lost in merited oblivion.

The Haytien pavillion cost about $20,000 and will be used as head-quarters by visitors from that country. Hayti appropriated $100,000.

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APPENDIX.

Madame Toussaint L'Ouverture, the widow of the ex-governor of Saint Domingo, a most excellent wife and one of the best of mothers, died at Agen Lot et Garonne, where she was interred, at the age of sixty-seven.

It affords us great pleasure to present the elevated character and private virtues of this unfortunate heroine for the benefit and instruction of our readers. A bird's eye view of it is seen in a letter addressed to M. Isaac L'Ouverture, by an illustrious French general, whose respect and admiration were the measure of personal experience gained while receiving the hospitality of the L'Ouverture family.

"BAYONNE, Oct. 8, 1806.

"SIR :—It is with no ordinary interest that I take this occasion to inform myself of your situation and that of your excellent mother.

"I will never forget what I have seen of her goodness and charity. I received a care under her hospitable roof, the recollection of which is most precious, as the charity bestowed was worthy of the virtues of a good woman. I apprehend, with extreme pain, that her misfortunes have carried no little personal injury with them. An excellent wife, one of the best of mothers, she has been called upon to experience reverses, and these sad changes followed a life most regular and agreeable. Believe me, sir, that no one sympathizes with her in her affliction more than myself. I know too well that she merits a better destiny, and I desire that you should make her acquainted with the sincere sentiments expressed in this letter.

"As for you, sir, who yet very young, find yourself separ-

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ated by circumstances the most sad, from a position which I have desired to assure you conforms too perfectly with the thorough education you have received, you are able to discover in the resources of this same education the very means which will better your present condition.

"GENERAL DE VINCENT,
"Director of the Fortification."

In the month of September, 1816, Isaac L'Ouverture changed his residence to Bordeaux, where, with his family, he hoped to enjoy a sense of security, which happy events seemed to promise to those who were not impeached in the estimation of justice and public opinion. It is worthy of remark that both Isaac L'Ouverture and his family had been pursued for a long time and carefully watched by a public functionary, apparently with an implacable hatred. On the 31st of January, 1817, he addressed an eloquent defense to Louis XVIII., which has been preserved and handed down to posterity, and which takes its place among the writings marked by the French as *pieces justificatives.*

"SIRE :—Isaac L'Ouverture presents himself with confidence and respect at the foot of the throne of V. M., in order to pray you to bring to an end the odious surveillance to which himself and family have been subjected since the time of Bonaparte.

"Sire, if V. M. think it worth the while to consider the military and political conduct of Toussaint L'Ouverture, you will see that his family is not unworthy of your royal protection.

"He served in 1792 and 1793, in the armies of a prince who belonged to your august house. He was named lieutenant-general by King Charles IV.; he received a sword and military decoration from Marquis d' Hermonas, in the name of S. M. C. When at the persuasion of General Laveaux, he ranged himself again on the side of the French, he appeared as the star of hope on the tempestous horizon of Saint Domingo. He pro-

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tected the ministers of religion and several faithful servants at the R. T. C. He saved the life of the brave Marquis d' Espinville, on the battlefield of Mirebalais. When the enemies of M. le Comte d' Ambrugeas, who immortalized himself under a prince of your blood, and who commands to-day a corps of the royal guards, persecuted in him both the descent and talents he represented, it was under the broad shield of protection held out by Toussaint L'Ouverture that he sought and found an asylum.

"Isaac L'Ouverture, who has inherited the name and misfortunes of his father, passed all his youth in France. The professors from whom he received his instruction were among the men who constituted the glory and ornament of the ancient university of Paris, some of whom were honored by the friendship of *Quintilien Francais* and the poet *de la Pitie*. These were noteworthy men, Sire, both on account of the learning they possessed and the holy doctrines they expounded. After we had finished our studies, myself and half-brother, accompanied by the principal of the college *de la Marche*, were sent with the expedition of Leclerc, to Saint Domingo, from which place we were shortly separated by perfidy and violence.

"I crossed the ocean a second time with my family. Arriving in the harbor of Brest, we were directed to different points of the kingdom of V. M. The husband was separated from his wife, the father from his son. Toussaint L'Ouverture had the Chateau de Joux for a prison and tomb; my brother was sent to *Belle Illen Mer*; the rest of the family including myself, was guarded in sight of the ramparts of Bayonne. From Bayonne we were transported to Agen, where we were accorded the privilege of traveling through the department of *Lot et Garonne*, but not allowed to go beyond the limits without permission from the general of police.

"It was at Agen that I lost a young brother to whom I was very much attached, and my mother, who was the object of

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my respect and love. She died May 1st, 1816, from an affliction with which she had suffered for thirteen years.

"It was at Agen that I was united in marriage to my father's niece, and we, permit me, Sire, to use an expression the truthfulness of which is confirmed by all the citizens, have lived without reproach. During the time we were under serveillance in the department of Lot et Garonne, God in his avenging wrath crushed the power of the tyrant of France and opened the throne to the son of Saint Louis S. A. R. M. Your august brother, who preceded the arrival of V. M. in his capital, produced in 1814, in his quality of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, an ordinance which will be regarded by posterity as a monument of justice and goodness. An article of this instrument declared that those against whom *un mandat d arret* had not been announced were free to go and come at will. From that moment, Sire, I no longer believed myself under surveillance. Sire, I now touch upon the essential part of the memorandum that I have the honor to submit for your consideration. V. M. will judge in your high discretion and with your ordinary good will, if a simple change of residence occasioned by the kindly sentiments common to the human family—a desire to conduct with greater facility correspondence between relatives and friends who are in another hemisphere, is a sufficient cause why I should be considered a dangerous man and in any way a source of annoyance to the political regimen of V. M.

"In the month of August, 1816, my wife received a letter from one of her sisters, who lives in the meridianal section of the island of Saint Domingo, known to day as Hayti. This communication determined our departure for Bordeaux, and in changing our residence we had but one object in view, viz.: to take advantage of the occasions which presented themselves to write our relatives and remain in constant communication with the country in which we were born and which we will not cease to love.

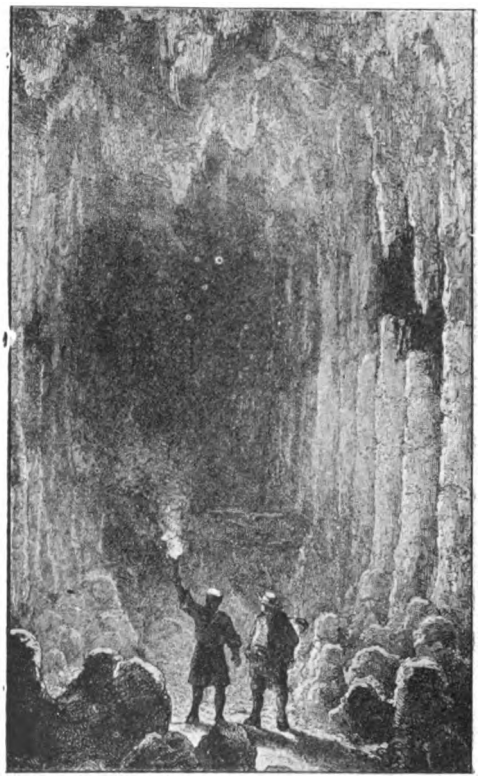
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"With this object in view I demanded passports from the chief magistrate of the department of Lot et Garonne. They were furnished me by virtue of the ordinance I have had the honor to cite to V. M. and which has not since been annulled. I arrived at Bordeaux with my wife, during the latter part of the month of August. After having finished our business, we returned to Agen. We had scarcely returned when the solicitations of our fellow countrymen retained in the part from which we had just come, and the advantage for transatlantic correspondence, brought us to the conclusion to return and fix our residence at Bordeaux, where we could obtain also the small subsidy that V. M. has had the goodness to continue for our benefit. On arriving, we presented ourselves in the office of M. Bergevin, chief commissary, in order to inform him of our residence at Bordeaux. Conducted into his private cabinet, where seated with him were four marine commissiaries, he said to us in the presence of these gentlemen, that we were wrong in changing our residence from Agen to Bordeaux as we were still under surveillance, and in support of this declaration he produced a ministerial letter which appertained to the times of Bonaparte. I protested, Sire, against this letter, *par* respect, pour V. M. I invoked the ordinance of S. A. R. In the meantime, M. Bergevin informed me that he had to make a report to M. the minister of the marine, and that until he had a reply from him he would not give an obole. In a moment we retired. He demanded our passports and I sent them to him the next day. He believed that by virtue of the authority invested in him, he had the right to take possession of them; did so; and addressed them to the minister of V. M. with his report.

"In the month of January M. Bergevin wrote me that the secretary of the navy authorized him to require me to pay the arrears. I passed his hotel. The employer of the bureau read to me a dispatch de S. E. announcing to me that I am still under surveillance! Thus I see M. Bergevin has tri-

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NATURAL CAVE, AT MINGNET.

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umphed! He is right, I am in error! The ordinance of S. A. R has never existed! Yes, Sire, it is to M. Bergevin that I am indebted for this unjust measure. His eagerness to injure me does not date from to-day. It is the outcome of a long perseverance, or rather an animosity of long standing, which I am not able to explain. In 1807 he formulated the project and proposed to have my family and myself enter the jurisdiction of the chief of police. Bonaparte, who was at the time in the heart of Poland—Bonaparte himself— rejected the proposition.

"Sire, I am not able longer to conceal it, I see with pain that my loyalty is doubted. My past conduct does not justify any such conclusion. But, Sire, all these malevolent suppositions will disappear before the liberal and enligtened politics of V. M."

NATURAL CAVE AT MINGNET.

This cave is divided into three distinct parts; one very large opening, or apartment, between two lower sides, from which it is separated by two ranges of irregular stone work, placed on a straight line. Some of the pillars have been wrought upon, others have been slightly chipped. The interior is made up of columns, very numerous, formed by the deposits of calcareous substance. The farther one advances into this cave, used in former times as a temple of worship by the Caribbeans, the deeper he sinks into the decayed substance under foot, which is the very richest guano, which has been aceumulating for three hundred years through the deposits made by all species of birds.

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INDEX.

Amiens, disregard of the treaty of, xx.
Ardouin, M. B., 68, 39, 90, 95, 120, 131, 143, 209; opinion of Villate, 106; on constitution of L'Ouverture, 220.
Arada, 33, 120.
Antron, Captain, noble act of, 95.
Arthaud, blunder of, 111.
Aux Cayes, 129, 139, 198, 315.
African campaign, 176.
Adams, John, president, 187.
Ans a Veau, 315.
Audain, J. J., 361.
Anti-Protestant feeling, 383.
Arrival of Wesleyan missionaries in Hayti, 395.
Baptiste, Pierre, 37, 40; his influence over L'Ouverture, 51; death of, 295; religion and instruction of, 374, 375.
Boudet's, Gen., letter to L'Ouverture, 270.
Boundary question, discussion of, xvi.
Beauvais, Colonel, 48, 90, 115, 145, 170, 193, 194.
Buckmann (insurgent), death of, 49, 45.
Biasson, Gen., 49, 81, 122.
Battle of Camp Pele, 69.
Battle at Tannerie, 59.
Brandicourt, Colonel, 65.
Belair, Charles, 66, 133, 134, 257, 267, 269, 280, 293, 294, 295.
Battle of Marmelade, 70.
Bayonne, 71.
Breda, Count de, 32.
Beager, M., 32.
Bourdet, Gen., 39.
Bastile, cannon of, 44.
Battle of Lariviere, 83.
Brisbane, Brigadier, 94, 107, 109, 110.
Blanc, Cazenave, 94.
Biarche, Captain, 109.
Banica, 123, 147.
Battle at Vere, 128.
Brothier, M. (architect), 129.
Bird, Rev. M. B., 383, 396, 400.
Bible in education and civilization, 382.
Batty, Etienne, 129.
Bale, treaty of, 137.

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Bellemain, Colonel Edward, 144.
Benefactor of St. Domingo, 158.
Borgella, M. Bernard, 160, 221.
Battle on habitation Fancher, 193.
Battle on habitation Tanzen, 193.
Boyer, General, 196, 232, 265, 331, 363; elected president, 322; marched to Cape Hayti, 322; visit to San Domingo, 322; his relation with France, 324; attitude towards Protestants, 448.
Battle of Aquin, 198.
Bonaparte in Egypt, 209, 241.
Battle at Pilboreau, 72.
Bougainville, Vice-Admiral, 241.
Benezech, counsellor of state, 241.
Bombardment of Fort Betty, 243.
Battle of LaCroix, 255.
Brunet's, Gen., letter inviting L'Ouverture to merry making, 287.
Besse, Gen. Martial, 303.
Bible Society of England, 441.
Coisnon, M., 241, 247.
Courier, reports of, 250.
Cardy, Rev. W. T., arrival and work, 396.
Cafarelli, Gen., interviews L' Ouverture at Fort de Joux, 307, 309.
Comparison between deaths of L'Ouverture and Napoleon, 318.
Charles X. acknowledges independence of Hayti, 319.
Canal, President Boisrond, administration of, 333.
Cooper, Rear-Admiral, admiration of, for President Solomon, 348.
Cleveland, President Grover, 358, 464, 474.
Catholicism, two phases of, 374.
Correa, Thomas, 385, 386, 387, 388.
Character of priest who came to Hayti prior to concordat, 389.
Condordat as signed, 392.
Campbell, Bishop J. P., Episcopal, visit of, 443.
Christophe, Gen., 256, 258, 271, 273, 277, 294, 314, 315; elected president of Hayti, 320, 321, 322, 323.
Cape Hayti, burned, 243.
Crete a Pierrot, 256, 257, 260, 261.
Chavannes, J. B., xvii; widow of, 213.
Camp Galifet, 50.
Commissioners and 10,000 troops arrive, 50; second error of, 60; annual ordinance of, 61; negotiated with insurgents, 63; inconsistency of, 71; unable to maintain authority, 75; abandoned by supporters, 77; appointed to visit St. Domingo, 207; bring to St. Domingo new French constitution, 207.
Character of Toussaint L'Ouverture, 313.
Charles IV. of Spain, 69, 35.
Conquest by Toussaint, 70.

Digitized by Google

Chanlatte, A. Colonel, puts L'Ouverture to flight, 73 ; A., Colonel, 77.
Candy, Colonel, 77, 79.
Cape Francais, 77.
Count d' Estaing 78.
Chateaubriand 31, 318.
Chancy, Bernard, 202, 262, 296.
Charivari 32.
Constitutional Assembly, 219.
Code, L'Ouverture, 225.
Calendar of French Republic, 225.
Composition of Cabal, 230.
College de la Marche, 240.
Declaration of war, 206.
Dissatisfaction in France, 207.
Desruisseau, Faubert, 190.
Dahomey, 176.
Desrouleaux, Colonel, 133, 144.
Dentu, Commander, arrested, 133.
Doctors, Insurgents consideration for, 50.
Dondon, 65 ; Battle of, 122.
Desfourneaux, 99 ; marches against St. Michael, 71 ; defeated at Marmelade, 267 ; retreat of, 72.
Duvigneaux surrenders Ennery, 72.
Directoire Executif, 39, 143, 175.
Decree of year 1793, 91.
Dessalines, Gen., 109, 144, 170, 190, 194, 261, 196, 199, 262, 258, 260, 261, 294, 320, 331 ; and independence 319, ; death of, 320.
D'Espinville, Marquis, 115.
Docko independents, 120, 121.
Decree of National Convention, 125.
Detractors of L'Ouverture, 167.
Don Garcia request for delay, 206, 212, 213.
Delegates of Constitutional Assembly, 219.
Duncan, Captain and discovery of Navassa, 353.
Delmonthe, Rear-Admiral, 242.
Droit des Gens, 262.
Davoust, Adjutant Commander, 241.
Duchene, officer on the staff of Gen. Desfourneaux, 267.
Disposition of the Army of St. Domingo, 282.
Departure of L'Ouverture signal for uprising, 293.
Dubois, M., describes L'Ouverture's manner at Fort de Joux, 311.
Dedication of a church in Hayti, 385.
Difficulty between A. M. E. Church and Haytien U. M. E. Church, 406, 407, 408, 409, etc.
Evacuation of San Domingo by the French, 319.
Ecclesiastical functionaries at the inauguration of Emperor Soulouque, 376.

Digitized by Google

Errors and mistakes of the Protestant Church in Hayti, 454.
France and England, 275.
Fontaine, Gen., special mission of, 273.
French make their escape, 257.
Francois, Jean, 49, 51, 84, 102.
France declares war, 61, 84.
Fressinet, 39, 275, 276, 277, 282.
Fanatcism and vagrancy, 169.
First Consul's orders concerning war in the South, 198.
French ports from which Leclerc's expedition sailed, 240.
First Consul's interview with L'Ouverture's sons, 241.
First Consul, 248, 297.
Fort de Joux described, 302, 304, 318.
Faustin I., 362.
Gravina, Admiral, 242.
Gazagnaire, chief of battalion, 316.
Goman, Gen., 322, 323.
Guilloux, Monseigneur, Arch-Bishop of Port au Prince, 390.
Haytien civilization, 361.
Hayti, location of, xi; population of, xi, xvi; discovery of, xi; description and landscape of, xi; introduction of slavery in, xiii; independence of, xx; government and rulers of, xx; autonomy recognized by France xxi.
Haytien autonomy, date and rise of, 319.
Hood, Rev. Solomon P., 410.
Hurst, Rev. John, 410.
Hench carried by assault, 104.
Historian sees design in L'Ouverture's promotion, 138.
Hedouville, Gen., 159; interview with, 159; invites co-operation of Gen. Maitland, 161; gives more consideration to Rigaud than to L'Ouverture, 162; agricultural regulations, 171; cry of alarm, 173; demands protection of L'Ouverture, 173; embarks for France, 174, 179; proclamation influenced by unfounded rumors, 177; gives Rigaud authority in the South, 178; the instrument through which France lost St. Domingo, 179; hasty departure of, 174; and reform, 169.
Huin, Adjutant-General, 160.
Holly, Bishop J. T., 400.
Henry IV. and his solution of labor difficulties, 170.
Haytien officers in Leclerc's expedition, 244.
Hardy's division attacked, 264, 278, 280.
Honorable tribute conferred on L'Ouverture, 271.
Hidden treasure, 314, 315.
Hartwell's, J. T., arrival and work, 396.
Henreana, Gen. Ulysses, president de la Republica Dominicana, 443.
Hogarth, Rev. George, 448.
History of religious persecution in Germany, Switzerland, France and England, 460, 461.

Digitized by Google

Henry VIII., 461.
Hayti at World's Fair, 470.
Immigrants, France extends protection to, xiii, xix.
Insurgents, frequent appearance of, xviii; character of, xviii; success of, xix, xx; flags of, 48, 52; number of, in revolt, 49; dance the chica, 57; titles of, 53; proclamation of, 53.
Insurrection, second phase of, 54.
Interposition of Isaac L'Ouverture, 262.
Indemnity claimed and demanded by France, 324, 325.
Independence of Hayti acknowledged by the United States, 346.
Indefeasable title to territory precedes, 353.
Jeannot, 49, 52.
Josephine, 209.
Jacmel evacuated, 194; also, 315, 338, 339.
Jean Rabel and the Mole fall into the hands of Renaud Desruisseau, 191.
Jeremie, 315, 338; blockade of, 339.
Jeannin, M., acts as secretary for L'Ouverture at Fort de Joux, 306.
Jeffrard, Gen., advent to power, 326; in comparison with Solomon, 330, 331.
James I., 367.
L'Ouverture victorious, 72; recaptures Ennery, 73; at Tannerie, 73; surprized Lazary in camp, 74; concluded to profit by divisions, 75; entered Gonaives, 76; proof of his humanity at Gonaives, 76; receives representatives of Blanc Cazenave, 77; victorious before Plaisance, 77; honored at Gonaives, 76; new accessions, 77; eulogized by M. Saint Remy, 77; visits his family, 81; protested against the massacre at Fort Dauphin, 80; receives decoration of Charles IV., 81; honored by Don Cabrera, 81; visited by DonGarcia, 81; family of, prisioners at St. Raphael, 82, wounded during his march to Gonaives, 83; sends supplies to Port de Paix, 84; accessions from Acul to, 84; enters service of France, 84; answered Laveaux's communication, 85; exact knowledge of the situation, 87; congratulated by the commissioners, 88; exertions hasten consumation of siege, 89; took command at Gonaives, 89; answered misrepresentations, 90, 92, 109; fought the Spanish at Savannah d' Alford, 93; confronted the English along the Artibonite, 93; ordered before St. Marc, 94; wounded at Morne Diamond, 94; brought charges of perfidy, 95; letter to secretary of the navy, 96; favored the French who fell into his hands, 98; report to Gen. Laveaux, 99; avenges massacre at Fort Dauphin, 102; complimented 104; and Laveaux meet for the first time, 104; presented Laveaux his principal officers, 104; new line of defense, 255, 259; communication to Flaville, 106; victorious at Verettes, 107, wounded, 110; forms his soldiers in a square, 109; received at Gonaives, 110; demolishes 28 Spanish camps, 110; ascendency over men, 113; congratulated, 114; adaptibility of, 118; respect for Laveaux, 119; sees the advantage of Mirebelais, 115; conversed in the Arada language, 120; bettered the condition of the Dockos, 121; official report of to Laveaux, 121; retrieved the loss sustained by Moyse, 122; his letter to Laveaux, 126; and Rigaud, 127; at haut du Cap, 133; destroys fort at Verrettes, 120; answers Laveaux's letter, 130; delivers Laveaux from from prison, 134; unique method in quelling a revolt, 136; favors the election of Laveaux, 140; gives definate shape to organization, 144; and Rigaud compared, 145; invited to revolt, 145; sent his sons to school in France, 146; plan of campaign, 147; victory at Mirebalais, 148;

Digitized by Google

L'Ouverture operates against the English, 158; numerical strength of the army of, 158; devoted much time to the cultivation of soil, 283; refused to attend a fete made in his honor, 163; second conference with Maitland, 164; presence at Mole St. Nicholas, 165; wrote to Hedouville, 165; refused the kingship of St. Domingo, 166; covered with glory before Napoleon won a name, 167; personal loan to France, 168; could not induce Hedouville to change, 171; profound gratitude, 173; intention of, 173; resignation of, 175; in comparison with de Montfort, 176; report on the situation at the Cape, 176; funds for African enterprise, 176; in control of general administration, 179; home centre of social attractions and asylum of unfortunates, 180; observation on prejudice of color, 181; face to face with a crisis, 185, 186; reply to those who proposed to work fields, 186; foresight, 187; required Maitland to hoist American flag, 188. turned his attention to Rigaud, 189; favorable consideration of whites, 190; issued a severe proclamation, 191; fired at from ambush, 192; occupied himself with the siege of Jacmel, 194; army at the gates of St. Louis, 196; approved of the humane conduct of his officers, 203: consideration for interest of Napoleon, 208; reasons for not proclaiming Napoleon's constitutions, 209; in harbor of the Cape, transfered to the Heros, 290; gigantic enterprise, 210; warning to Don Garcia, 211; addressed Don Garcia, 211; honored at the Cape, 211; consideration of, for Spanish prisoners, 212; appropriated money at Santo Domingo City, 212; consideration of, for Chavannes' widow, 213; administration epitomized, 214; discriminated in cultivation of agricultural products, 214; was an enemy to ignorance and superstition, 215; invited the people to name framers of colonial constitution, 216; in his administrative work, 219; knew the character of M. de Vincent, 224; and Napoleon compared, 225: observation on the execution of Moyse, 227; commended by official organ in Paris, 229; understood one thing by Napoleon's letter, 236; army with which, opposed Leclerc's expedition, 238; Placid and Isaac, 241; effective force, 251, 248, 252, 243, 244; cut Leclerc's communications, 268; placed the responsibility where it belonged, 270; arrested on the habitation Georges, 287; embarked at Gonaives on the Crede, 290; Isaac arrested at Ennery, 290; Mme. arrested, 292; embarked on Guerriere 293; family of, with several persons transferred to the Heros, 293; wrote two letters during the voyage, 296; family of, separated in the harbor of Brest, 296; on the way to prison was treated with consideration by French officers, 297; arrived at Fort de Joux, 298; family of, received consideration in Paris, 298: addressed the government from his prison, 302, 305, 307; found consolation in reading the bible, 304; memoirs of, 306; intolerable treatment of, at Fort de Joux, 212; death, date and description of, 316; life and experience furnished thought and influence for the different chiefs of Hayti, 331; religious character, 379, 380.

Law under which United States excercises jurisdiction over Navassa, 352.

Lessons which Haytien proverbs teach, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368.

Legislation in the interest of religion, 380.

Lizaire, M. V., on the character of the clergy, 390, 391.

Leclerc, Gen., 242, 243, 245, 248, 250, 251, 255, 257, 278, 279, 285, 301; expedition, what it prevented, 117; motive of, 331; complained to L'Ouverture of insubordination, 284.

Lamartiniere, Colonel, 261.

Laurent, Colonel, 261.

Digitized by Google

Laplume, 158, 190.
Laveille, 144.
Leblanc, 137.
Lapoint, Colonel, 129;
Lafrance, Colonel, 70, 71, 76.
Lazary, Brammant, 74.
Latouche, 39.
Laveaux, Gen., appointed governor, 92; communication of, to Rigaud, 115; at Cape Hayti, 105; unpleasant reception at Cape Hayti, 125; explained situation at the Cape, 126; and L'Ouverture meet at Gonaives, 126; conducted to prison, 131; Gen., 59, 77, 113; departure for France, 143.
Las Cahabos, 116, 145.
Lacroix, Pamphile de, insinuations of, 118.
Mint in City of Santo Domingo, 214.
Maitland, Brigadier-Gen. Thomas, 160, 188, 163, 144, 165.
Miragoane, 145, 197, 336, 339.
Morisset, 144; chief of squadron, 275.
March 20, 1796, 130, 132.
Madagascar, 245.
Maurepas, Jacques, 71, 144, 191, 295.
Madiou, Thomas, 204; opinion of Villate, 106.
Masseron, 76.
Manifesto against general emancipation, 75.
Mole St. Nicholas, 78, 161, 165.
Marriage of Gaou Guinou and Pauline, 33.
Martin, Colonel Claude, 133.
Moyse, Bridadier, 83, 82, 122, 144, 192, 211, 227.
Marquis d' Hermonas, 81.
Massacre at Fort Dauphin, 93, 102.
Mornay, Colonel Christophe, 191, 108, 109, 147, 116, 144.
Mirebalais described, 115; see also, 122, 147, 148.
Michael, Pierre, 132, 133.
Montfayon, 134.
Meharon, Colonel, 146.
Murat and the crown of Naples, 167.
Malefant, 233.
Memorial on religious liberty, 397, 398, 399.
Macedonian cry, 384.
"Moniteur," Oct., 180, 229.
Motive assigned for Leclerc's expedition, 232.
Magny, Colonel, 261.
March of Hardy's division, 263.
Members of L'Ouverture family in the power of Leclerc, 280.
Marc, St., 293.
Metral, M., 316.
Mackau, Baron de, mission of, 324.

Digitized by Google

Monroe Doctrine, 355.
Ministre des cultes and clergy of National church, 377.
Mossell, Rev. C. W., arrival of, 407; his efforts in the interest of an educated native ministry, 409; summary of work accomplished by, 413; his visit to the United States and the opportunity it afforded to inform the Church concerning nature of missionary work in Hayti, 414; his travels in different sections of the Haytien Republic, 415; Mrs. Mary Ella, her interest and success in the Sunday school work, 416; death of and eulogy on the life and services of, 417.
Napoleon, 39, 296, 322; confessed his error in removing L'Ouverture, 220; definition of a great general, 151; letter to L'Ouverture, 235; prison life contrasted with L'Ouverture's, 308; cited to the presence of God by L'Ouverture, 318.
Numerical strength of Leclerc's expedition, 237; strength of L'Ouverture's army, 238.
Noel, Chief, 293.
National party, 335; clergy, 375.
Navassa, located and described, 351; Phosphate company, 352.
Officers promoted at the suggestion of L'Ouverture, 135.
Ordinance regulating foreign commerce, 187.
Official report of interview at Fort de Joux between Gen. Cafarelli and Gen. L'Ouverture, 309.
Opinions of Hayti by foreigners, 342.
Organization of the Haytien and Santo Domingo conference, 440.
Origin of the Papacy and Roman Catholicism, 460.
Personnel of provisional government of 1879, 334.
Products, industrial and agricultural, xv.
Polverel, Commissioner, 59, 69, 210.
Pascaud, Lieutenant-Colonel, 65.
Planel, Lieutenant, 65.
Paparel, Jean Baptiste, 70.
Pilboreau, habitation of, 71, 83.
Plaisance, 77, 260.
Petion distinguishes himself, 99, 143, 145, 158, 196; retreats to Miragoane, 197; 232, 320, 321; invites Protestant missionaries to Hayti, 395; death of, 322, 331.
Pageot in command at Port de Paix, 125.
Pinchinat's vain hope, 127, 138.
Perrond, Henry, Gen., 104.
Paris, 146.
Philadelphia, Pa., 177.
Port au Prince, 147, 158, 160, 218, 242, 315, 333, 338.
Pacificator de la Vandee, 179.
Porto Rico, 206.
Paul, St., declaration of, 210.
Promotors of the Leclerc expedition, 233.
Peace of Amiens, 234.
Proof of L'Ouverture's influence over his soldiers, 259.

Digitized by Google

Prisoners tell of their hardships, 265.
Perrin, Adjutant Commander, 282.
Pierrot, Gen., elected president, 326.
Pesquidon, chief of battalion, searched residence of L'Ouverture, 291.
Plaisir, Mars, 297, 304, 305, 312.
Preston, Hon. Stephen, late Haytien minister, 352.
Protestant missionary preaches in Catholic church, 384.
Protestants and Catholics interred in same graveyard, 385.
Provision for the support of Roman Catholic hierarchy, 393.
Protestant Episcopal Church in Hayti, 400.
Pioneer of English Baptist Church, 401.
Ryswyk, Treaty of, xv.
Rigaud, Gen. Andre, 48, 306, 105, 112, 138; repelled attack of Col. Whitelock, 78; took Leogane, 99; at the siege of Fort Bizoton, 113; writes to Laveaux in praise of L'Ouvertue, 116; recaptured Tiburon, 127, 145, 159; labor regulations of, 170; welcomed to L'Ouverture's home, 180; refuses to abandon Miragoane, 184; patriotism of, applauded, 185; resolution of, 189; fortifies Miregoane, 190; victories in the South, 190; success in North, 191; and officers out-general, 194; proclamation of, 195; lieutenants continued the campaign, 195; without hope, 196; departure of, followed by peace, 196; affected by the situation, 198; invited to visit the Cape, 198; embarkation of, 200; returned to St. Domingo, 232; at Fort de Joux, 303; escapes from France to Hayti, 321; became military dictator of the South, 322.
Remy's, M. St., opinion of Toussaint, 46; of the influence of education, 49; of Toussaint's eloquence, 55; on humanity of L'Ouverture, 110.
Raynal, Commander, 65.
Richebourg, Paymaster, 104.
Roume, Governor-General, 137, 138, 159; arrived at Port au Prince, 182; expressed opinion of L'Ouverture, 182, 183; invited Rigaud to conference, 183; moved the seat of government, 184; sanctioned treaty of commerce, 187; stated his opinion of L'Ouverture to Rigaud, 189; wrote letter to Beauvais, 193.
Raymond, Julien, 160, 179, 137, 146, 157.
Rochambeau, Gen. Donatieu, 59, 137, 244, 268, 280, 319.
Rantzan, Marshal, 150.
Right of asylum, 156.
Reunion of L'Ouverture family, 247.
Report, official, of disposition of colonial treasures, 314.
Riviere, Gen. Herard, elected president, 325.
Riche, Gen., elected president, 326.
Revolution of 1879, 334; of 1883, 338.
Roman Catholic Church and responsibility, 389.
Robinson, Richard, 403.
Sonthonax, 59, 69, 78, 89, 137, 138, 145; executive duties of, 146, 147.
Siege of Fort Belair, 94; at St. Raphael, 98.
Senneville, M. de, 120.
Spanish sentimental character, 122.

Digitized by Google

System L'Ouverture, 146.
Stevens, William, 177.
St. Raphael's gold mines, 186.
Spanish interest at Port Cabello, 212.
Sabes, Adjutant-Commander, 261.
St. Domingo, 10th regiment of, 266, 276.
San Domingo evacuated, 312.
Santo Domingo City, 315.
Saint Helena, 316.
Soulouque became president, 326.
Solomon, Gen., appreciation of, for Hon. John A. Dix, 347; knowledge of Americans and their institutions, 349; birth and education, 228; personal appearance of, 229; in comparison with Jeffrard, 331; called from exile, 333; election of, 334; second election the rock of offence, 341; efforts to exalt the name of Hayti, 343; established the national palace, 345.
Steward, Rev. T. G., 404, 406.
Tragedy on the island of Navassa, 351.
Treville, Latouche, Rear-Admiral, 242.
Tille to Navassa, based on one of four things, 353.
Toussaint unexpected, arrived at the Cape, 278; education of, 37; appearance of, 39; home of, 40; marriage of 40; reflections on slavery, 41; fidelity of, 46; religion of, 41, 44, xxiv.; popular respect for, 41; recognition accorded, 48; imitated by Napoleon, xxiv., xxv.; Pierre Dominique, 31; birth of, 36; Abbe Raynal's prophecy, 43; the liberator reserved by Providence, 48; an apostle of charity, 50; victory of, at Bluff Pele, 60; study of the insurgents, 50; required insurgents to respect droit des gens, 52; ascendency in administrative councils, 52; contemplated withdrawing from insurgents, 57; military education of, 58; a prisoner at Valliere, 63; admired humanity in a general, 69; complimented by Marquis de Hermonas, 68; extended a line of works from East to West, 68, 69; gave example of moderation and executive ability, 70.
Tindall, Rev. J., arrival and work, 395.
Valliere taken by Jeannot, 51.
Vernet, Gen., 70, 71, 133, 261, 280.
Verettes, great battle at, 108.
Valeureux, Colonel, 107, 108.
Villate, Gen., presents officers, 131, 132, 138.
Vincent, M. de, 209, 210, 229; presented new constitution to Napoleon, 223.
Waring, E. J., defended Navassa rioters, 352.
Webley, Rev. W. H., 401.
Wilberforce University, 409.

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