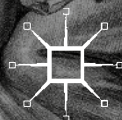
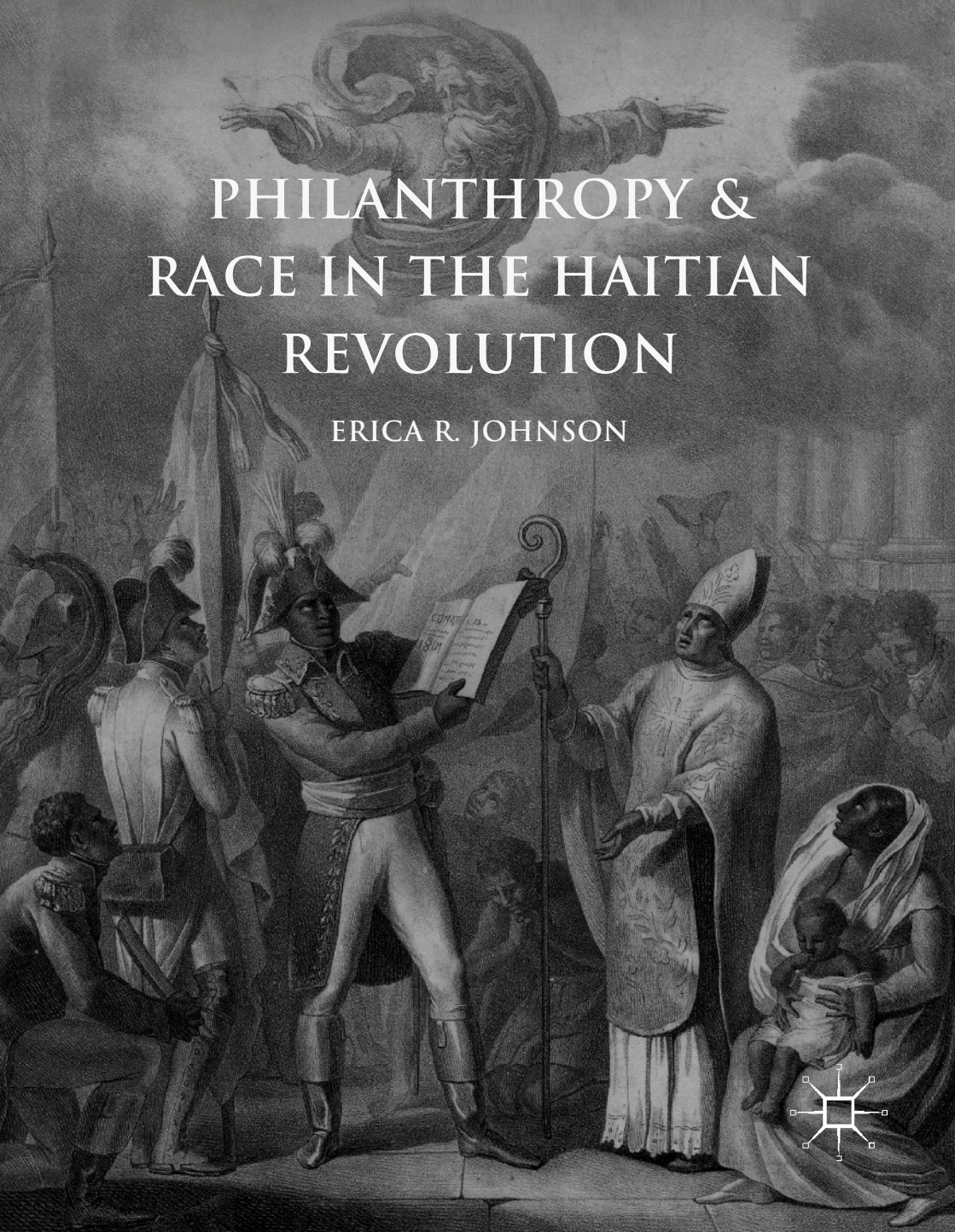


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PHILANTHROPY & RACE IN THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION

ERICA R. JOHNSON



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Erica R. Johnson

Philanthropy and Race in the Haitian Revolution

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In *Silencing the Past*, Haitian scholar Michel-Rolph Trouillot wrote that “history is messy for the people who must live it.”¹ In order to secure their freedom, many people of African descent fostered relationships with whites in the French colony who for a myriad of reasons supported racial equality, the end of slavery, and Haitian independence. However, scholarship still tends to portray whites as enemies of a successful slave revolt that resulted in independence. With the exception of studies of how whites in colonial Saint-Domingue reacted to the French Revolution’s colonial policies, scholars approach whites as a monolithic group bound by race. Since I began studying the Haitian Revolution, I have kept encountering whites within primary sources who did not fit within the rigid dichotomy between black and white that has served as the accepted framework for Haitian Revolutionary studies since the nineteenth century. Based on extensive archival research, my work fills part of the lacunae left by reductionists, and considers how the stories of white Haitian revolutionaries contributes to our understanding of the messiness of the Age of Revolutions.

While I explore whites who advocated for peoples of African descent in revolutionary Saint-Domingue, my work should not be mistaken as apologist for those who bolstered and benefited from the slave system. Only a minority of whites participated in the Haitian Revolution, and no one can *or should* neglect the predominant role of the blacks and people of color in fighting for liberty and racial equality. It is important to remember that whites represented a very small element of the revolutionary population. Even before the revolution, the enslaved and free people of color outnumbered whites dramatically. In 1789, there were almost half a million

enslaved blacks, around thirty thousand whites, and about twenty-eight thousand free people of color.² Recognition of the very limited white participation does not diminish what peoples of African descent did. Rather, it confirms the broader significance of the Haitian Revolution. Tracing the contributions of whites should not downplay the centrality of the slaves and free people of color in the revolution. Instead, the roles of whites adds complexity to our historical understanding of an event typically defined by a stark contrast between black and white. White involvement highlights just how fluid Saint-Dominguan racial ideologies were. It also suggests the potentially universal appeal of the values of liberty and equality for which slaves were fighting. This provides evidence for Laurent Dubois' contention that the Haitian Revolution had a universal appeal—broader than just to Haitian slaves seeking freedom in that specific spatial and chronological context.³ White philanthropy shows that the Haitian Revolution was not just about people of color, but rather about peoples of *all* colors.

Historians accumulate great debts over the course of a large project. I must thank my family for their love, encouragement, and support while researching and writing this book. Throughout this long and arduous process, they always believed in me, and they kept me from giving up on myself and my dreams. My mother has been my primary source of inspiration and strength. During difficult times, she was always there to listen and reassure me. My father has provided me with the tough love necessary to persevere. My sister has never been more than a phone call or text message away from making me smile. She keeps my heart light. My extended family has also made me feel strong enough to accomplish my goals through their loving support. I also have to thank Punch for being my constant companion, across states and the ocean.

I could not have written this book without my friends. Since meeting during our undergraduate studies, Dana Jackson-Hardwick, Deah Caldwell, and Stephanie Giacomo have continued to support me after all these years and separated by many miles. I was also fortunate to have amazing people come into my life during my graduate studies and my early career. I have to thank Kim Beaver for always being my champion. I am indebted to Bryan Banks for patiently reading this entire manuscript many times and providing invaluable feedback. Victoria Penziner Hightower continues to be someone for me to look up to, and I am grateful to have her as a friend and mentor. I also want to thank the other members of the SLC APWH crew: Tim Best, Eric Limbach, Lucius Wedge, and Matthew Barlow.

Many scholars provided guidance in developing the various parts of my project. Chris Morris supervised my master's thesis, part of my inspiration for this larger project, and has stayed in touch through the evolution of this project. Matt Childs was my first advisor at FSU, and he has provided me with great opportunities and continued support. He also invited me to join a group of Atlantic scholars at the University of South Carolina, who provided valuable insight on this book's introduction. Rafe Blaufarb was my second advisor at FSU, and has been open to my ideas and encouraged my pursuit of my dissertation's unconventional argument. Jack Censer, Jeremy Popkin, Linda Frey, Margaret Crosby-Arnold, Philippe R. Girard, David Geggus, Andrew Michael Daily, and Kenneth Johnson offered thoughtful feedback provided on segments of my manuscript at various conferences since 2010. I must also thank John Garrigus, Timothy Tackett, Sarah Curtis, and Heidi Keller-Lapp for corresponding with me about elements of the French Atlantic.

While researching in France, I found an amazing support network amongst the other American researchers and the French people. At the overseas archives in Aix-en-Provence, I was fortunate to have met Jessica Pearson, Lindsey Gish, George Trumbull IV, Melissa Anderson, Jenna Nigro, and Blake Smith. I am also thankful for the hospitality of the various institutions that helped with my research. The staff at the overseas archives in Aix-en-Provence was extraordinary. Not only were they accommodating in my research, they made me feel welcome, even inviting me to join them for lunch nearby. They made my many months in Aix enjoyable and therefore more fruitful. I am thankful for access to the records of the National Archives, the National Library, the French Institution, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris. I am also grateful for the wonderful experience and materials at the Capuchin library in Paris. This untapped archival resource had the warmest and welcoming staff.

NOTES

1. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997), p. 110.
2. Médéric-Louis-Elie Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description topographique, physique, civile, politique et historique de la partie française de l'isle Saint Domingue*, vol. 1 (Paris: Société de l'histoire des colonies françaises, 1797), p. 5; J. Ph. Garran, *Rapport sur les Troubles de Saint-Domingue, fait au nom de la Commission des Colonies, des Comités de Salut Public, de Législation et de Marine, réunis*, vol. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1796), pp. 15–18.
3. Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2004), pp. 6–7.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND TERMINOLOGY

Some sources for this work were written in French or later translated into English. If the work was written in French, the titles in the citations remain in French. Unless otherwise noted, the translations of sources written in French are my own. For common words, such as commissioners' names, slave insurrectionists' names, or city names, I used the most common spelling with the variations indicated in the footnotes. Throughout the revolutionary era, names of cities changed; for instance, Saint-Domingue's capital city, Port-au-Prince became Port Républicain. For consistency, I employ a standard usage. For example, instead of switching between Cap-Français, Le Cap, and Cap Haïtien, I refer to this northern port city as Le Cap. However, when quoting sources, I maintain the name used by the author. Some words do not have English equivalents. Therefore, I have kept some terms in the original French, as indicated in italics.

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Introduction

In 1810, the white judge of Pointe Coupée parish in Louisiana, Pierre Benonime Dormenon—a refugee from the Haitian Revolution—faced accusations that he “aided and assisted the negroes in Santo Domingo in their horrible massacres, and other outrages against the whites, in and about the year 1793.”¹ Although the courts of Louisiana, a territory of the United States, could not directly try him for the alleged crimes in a French colony, the prosecution sought his disbarment on the basis of supposed collusion with non-whites in Saint-Domingue—the colonial name for the independent nation of Haiti. According to published depositions, Dormenon’s accusers focused heavily on his own racial identity and racial sympathies. One witness recounted a discussion with an innkeeper who supposedly heard Dormenon “say several times that he hated whites and was ashamed to be one of them,” and “Dormenon believed that by opening a vein he could take in some black blood.”² Further, the prosecution alleged Dormenon took a mixed-race bride. There was neither a marriage certificate nor firsthand accounts of the relationship. The prosecution introduced the hearsay testimony to reinforce the accusation that Dormenon was a black sympathizer. This case raises important historical questions about racial fluidity in colonial Saint-Domingue and the role of whites in the Haitian Revolution. Were there other whites who worked with the enslaved in the Haitian Revolution to overthrow slavery? Had any of those whites advocated for peoples of African descent

before the revolution? What moved them to act in such a way? In answering these questions, this book complicates the racial narrative of the Haitian Revolution.

As I researched, I found that a minority of primarily white, male, French philanthropists used their social standing and talents to improve the lives of peoples of African descent in colonial Saint-Domingue during the crucial period of the Haitian Revolution.³ These philanthropists went to great lengths to advocate for the application of universal human rights through political activities, academic societies, religious charity, influence on public opinion, and fraternity in the armed services.⁴ Participants in and products of the Enlightenment philanthropic spirit, the motives for their benevolence ran the gamut from genuine altruism to the selfish pursuit of prestige, which could, on occasion, lead to political or economic benefit from aiding blacks and people of color. Their philanthropy, its effects, and its reception were equally diverse. By focusing on this little-known, often overlooked group of philanthropists, my book explores the complicated racial relationships of the Haitian Revolution and offers a view that takes into account the efforts of all peoples who worked to end slavery and establish racial equality in colonial Saint-Domingue. This book challenges simplistic notions of the Haitian Revolution, which lean too heavily on an assumed strict racial divide between black and white.

Despite the scholarly attention the Haitian Revolution has received, historians associate movements toward liberty and racial equality in colonial Saint-Domingue with the enslaved or free people of color, but they have overlooked an active white minority in the colony.⁵ Nonetheless, a small group of white philanthropists in Saint-Domingue advocated for equality for people of color, declared the abolition of slavery, wrote and delivered a colonial constitution grounded in racial equality to metropolitan France, and even signed the Haitian Declaration of Independence. Considering the long history of slavery and the status of colonial Saint-Domingue as the “pearl of the French Antilles,” examples of whites striving to better the lives of blacks and people of color would seem extraordinary based upon the existing historiography. However, there is significant evidence of such individuals in the primary sources.

A study of the philanthropy in the French Atlantic during the Age of Revolution brings to the forefront the fluidity of racial relationships in both the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary ideologies.⁶ Therefore, I trace the actions of people across all levels of society to determine the broad range of complex factors, including but not limited to race, that shaped the

attitudes and actions of Atlantic philanthropists between 1791 and 1804. Although the French and the other eighteenth-century Europeans obsessed over the purity of blood, the upheaval of the Haitian Revolution threw presumed racial hierarchies into disorder.⁷ This book examines connections between philanthropy and race, as well as the various motivations that led to associations between the two within the revolutionary French Atlantic.

The histories of the French and Haitian Revolutions intertwine, and Atlantic philanthropists grappled with issues of race amidst the two revolutions. In 1789, the French Revolution erupted in Europe, and revolutionary ideas flowed across the Atlantic, resulting in parallel events and a revolutionary dialogue among peoples of all colors. For instance, while some of colonial Saint-Domingue's whites demanded more colonial representation in the metropole or autonomy, members of the Third Estate in France rose up in the cities and countryside as part of the Great Fear. French people on both sides of the Atlantic sought social and political equality among white men. Yet, neither metropolitan nor most colonial whites anticipated that free people of color in Saint-Domingue would invoke the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen* to claim citizenship for themselves. The question of the status of free people of color created a dialogue between France and Saint-Domingue, involving white philanthropists. After attempting to persuade officials in Paris to give equal rights to free people of color throughout France's colonies, Vincent Ogé led a revolt of enslaved and free people of color in Saint-Domingue in October 1790.

As the whites and free colored people within the French Atlantic continued to fight over the status of men like Ogé, the enslaved population in colonial Saint-Domingue organized a violent and bloody revolt against the masters of the island in August 1791. Consequently, the Legislative Assembly in Paris sent three white civil commissioners to Saint-Domingue to restore order: Edmond de Saint-Léger, Frédéric Ignace de Mirbeck, and Philippe Roume de Saint-Laurent. After numerous attempts to mediate between peoples of all colors, the first civil commission returned to France. In April 1792, the Legislative Assembly granted rights for free people of color in Saint-Domingue, and once again sent three white civil commissioners Etienne Polverel, Jean-Antoine Ailhaud, and Léger-Félicité Sonthonax to Saint-Domingue to ensure those rights later that year. The second civil commission established an interracial Intermediary Commission to replace the Colonial Assembly in Saint-Domingue. In early 1793, revolutionaries in France executed the monarch, beginning the first French Republic, and quickly went to war against England and

Spain. In June, violence erupted from a dispute between the French civil commissioners and colonial governor, resulting in the burning of the capital city of Saint-Domingue, Le Cap. The Revolutionary Wars in Europe soon carried over into the Caribbean. British troops invaded southern Saint-Domingue, and major leaders of the slave uprising, including Jean-François Papillon, Georges Biassou, and Toussaint Louverture, allied with the Spanish in neighboring Santo Domingo, joining the Black Auxiliaries of Carlos IV in late 1793. After the civil commissioners declared emancipation in colonial Saint-Domingue, the National Convention in Paris formally abolished slavery in the French Empire on 4 February 1794. Helped by the efforts of philanthropists, this became the first and most complete abolition of the institution of transatlantic slavery.

Although the French Revolutionary government abolished slavery, the rapidly changing circumstances on both sides of the Atlantic jeopardized permanent abolition in colonial Saint-Domingue. In the summer of 1794, Louverture allied with the French in Saint-Domingue, and the National Convention recalled the second civil commission. The next year, Spain ceded Santo Domingo to the French. The Directory and Legislative Corps took power in France, replacing the National Convention, and sent a third civil commission, including civil commissioner Sonthonax, in mid-1796. They oversaw philanthropic efforts in education, established an interracial learned society, and implemented new agricultural policies intended to keep former slaves working on plantations as waged laborers. In late 1796 and early 1797, Saint-Dominguans elected deputies of all colors to the Legislative Corps in France. In France, these deputies joined the *société des amis des noirs et des colonies*, an organization devoted to maintaining general emancipation in France's colonies.

When Napoleon Bonaparte rose to power in 1799, Haitian Revolutionary leader Toussaint Louverture had expelled foreign intruders and established his authority over the island. Louverture, along with the help of white sympathizers, successfully led an interracial army in ridding the West and South of Saint-Domingue of British occupation in 1798. In August 1800, Louverture consolidated his control of the entire French portion of Saint-Domingue by winning the war of the South against André Rigaud. At the end of April 1800, Bonaparte appointed Louverture as commander in chief of the army of colonial Saint-Domingue. The next year, Louverture assembled a group of white philanthropists and free colored colonists to draft a constitution for Saint-Domingue. When white *philantropes* delivered the colonial constitution to France, many Parisians

reacted negatively, but Bonaparte was not in a position to take any action overseas with the French Revolutionary Wars underway in continental Europe. However, after establishing a tenuous peace with England in 1802, he sent a multinational expedition to the island. After the expedition's leader, Bonaparte's brother-in-law General Charles Victoire Emmanuel Leclerc, died of yellow fever, Donatien Rochambeau took command. Despite the aggressive tactics of the French expedition, the Saint-Dominguan forces, including some white supporters, defeated the French forces, and Jean-Jacques Dessalines declared Haitian independence in 1804. After the revolution ended, some white supporters of Haitian independence remained in Haiti notwithstanding the massacre of whites carried out by Dessalines and the anti-white rhetoric of the Haitian Constitution of 1805, which declared all Haitian citizens were black.

Modern philanthropy emerged during the early Enlightenment, and evolved to include issues of race by the end of the eighteenth century. Within French Atlantic historical sources, authors frequently identified those pursuing the abolition of slavery or racial inequalities in the 1780s and 1790s as *philantropes*.⁸ By the late eighteenth-century, in the French language, *philantrope* referred to those who loved all of humankind.⁹ While Samuel Johnson's English language dictionary employed a similar definition for philanthropy, some English writers of the same period used the alternative phrasing "love of humanity." For those who grappled with race through their philanthropy, humankind or humanity included people of African descent, typically dehumanized in slave societies, such as colonial Saint-Domingue. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* contained an entry for *humanité*, "a feeling of good will toward all men" that "fills men with the desire to traverse the world in order to do away with slavery," "turns us into better friends, better citizens," and "delights in doing good deeds."¹⁰ Well-known Enlightenment author Immanuel Kant and American founding father Alexander Hamilton used philanthropy to mean "universal good will."¹¹ Taken together, these Enlightenment thinkers perceived philanthropists as those concerned with the universal wellbeing, the humanity of all people. They did not, however, define the actions of philanthropy—also referred to as benevolence, charity, or humanitarianism. Consequently, French Atlantic *philantropes* pursued many avenues to overcome slavery and racial inequality.

French Atlantic philanthropists fused Enlightenment ideals with the nature of the relationship between metropole and colony. In colonial Saint-Domingue, philanthropists understood that their interventions would

need to make an impact in metropolitan France as well. Some common features emerged across the variety of approaches, and those in the colony often mirrored metropolitan philanthropy. Foremost, French philanthropists worked outside the Catholic Church and French government.¹² This did not exclude the religious or politicians from philanthropy, but often required their efforts to remain independent of and even in opposition to their respective institutions. For example, in Saint-Domingue, priests and representatives sought to improve the lives of blacks and people of color while the Catholic Church and French colonial governments supported slavery and racial inequalities. Further, similar to the efforts in eighteenth-century Europe to train and educate the poor to ensure a future beyond poverty, philanthropists in Saint-Domingue created programs to maintain the abolition of slavery after 1794. On both sides of the Atlantic, the overall idea was to combine basic education with agricultural practice. The philanthropists hoped this would give the poor in France and former slaves in Saint-Domingue jobs and an education necessary to be citizens. This would contribute to their individual wellbeing as well as that of society as a whole.¹³ Lastly, most philanthropists assumed that the recipients of their efforts wanted or needed their assistance. Regardless of the sincerity of their intentions or love of humankind, *philantropes* bestowed their goodwill upon others that they perceived as in need.¹⁴ In colonial Saint-Domingue, philanthropists worked to end slavery and achieve racial equality, but they rarely asked the blacks or people of color if they wanted their help or how they envisioned the future of the colony. Unlike Enlightenment authors such as Diderot, Kant, and Johann Gottfried Herder, many Atlantic philanthropists were not opposed to imperial paternalism.¹⁵ For some in the French Atlantic World, Enlightenment philanthropy was compatible with concepts of colonialism as well as class and racial superiority even during two parallel revolutions, French and Haitian.

Many scholars have studied eighteenth-century philanthropy in the United States and Atlantic World, but have not included race in their studies.¹⁶ For instance, Hannah Arendt asserts that compassion motivated eighteenth-century revolutionary politics. Citing Jean-Jacques Rousseau, she explains how Enlightenment philanthropy heavily influenced those who carried out the French Revolution.¹⁷ This study proves that such a contention is also true for the Haitian Revolution. Expanding upon Arendt's ideas about compassion in the Age of Revolutions, Norman S. Fiering claims that eighteenth-century philosophers and political leaders believed that people "irresistibly" felt compassion for those less fortu-

nate and the need to help them. Using Adam Smith, Thomas Jefferson, and Benjamin Franklin as notable examples, Fiering demonstrates how these men expressed sympathy, and even empathy, for the suffering of others.¹⁸ Philanthropists in the revolutionary French Atlantic only represented a minority of the population moved by such irresistible compassion for blacks and people of color. My work expands upon that of Arendt and Fiering as they do not explore how compassion affected peoples of African descent in the Age of Revolutions.

Other historians have explored the relationships between race and philanthropy, often focusing on abolitionism, in the United States and the Atlantic World in the eighteenth-century.¹⁹ Barbara Bellows, for example, explores why slaveholders in antebellum Charleston, South Carolina, provided assistance to poor whites. Her study demonstrates the importance of race in philanthropy by arguing that white South Carolinian slaveholders sought to create racial unity through charity to poor whites in hopes of preventing them from collaborating with free blacks.²⁰ Unlike the small group of philanthropists in the French Atlantic, racial prejudice and continued racial inequality motivated those in the U.S. South. On the other hand, Ashli White examines how the United States provided philanthropy to white refugees from Saint-Domingue during the Haitian Revolution. While some abolitionists in the United States hoped to help enslaved refugees, most white Americans racialized philanthropy. They excluded blacks from aid, as well as the benefits of republicanism, as state and local governments carried out philanthropy.²¹ Bellows and White demonstrate how philanthropy was racially exclusive in the United States. Even when considering Saint-Dominguan refugees, Americans sought to maintain unity amongst whites. While philanthropy divided whites and blacks in the North American republic, the whites in the French Atlantic of this study used it to advocate for liberty and racial equality.

In recent years, the Haitian Revolution has come to occupy a central place in the historiography of the French Revolution and the Age of Revolutions more generally. Therefore, it is necessary to situate the historiography of the Haitian Revolution—from the late nineteenth century to the present—as well as this study within the larger corpus of literature on the French Revolution and its intellectual antecedents. There are three overarching interpretations within this body of literature, but these do not relate strictly to any particular period of scholarship, as certain variables, such as the scholar's racial heritage, often influence the perspective of the author. Thomas Madiou and Beaubrun Ardouin initiate the study of the Haitian Revolution with black, nationalist epics in the late nineteenth

century, which have become historic sources for twentieth and twenty-first century scholars because they incorporated oral histories.²² In contrast, C. L. R. James and Pierre Pluchon argue the slave revolt in colonial Saint-Domingue was a result of the French Revolution, implying a separate Haitian Revolution did not exist.²³ With the turn to social history, Jean Fouchard, Robin Blackburn, and Gabriel Debien separate the two revolutions, emphasizing the internal causes of the Haitian Revolution, some even denying the influence of the French Revolution, seemingly returning to the arguments of Madiou and Ardouin.²⁴ Within this second interpretation, authors, such as John K. Thornton, focus heavily on the African culture of the enslaved.²⁵ Carolyn Fick attempts a combination of these first two interpretations in her influential monograph.²⁶ Lastly, David P. Geggus and Laurent Dubois seek to show the effects of the Haitian Revolution within the Atlantic World, even the influence of the event on the French Revolution.²⁷ My work aligns with this third interpretation. Like Geggus and Dubois, I do not deny the influence of the French Revolution, but emphasize a need to recognize separateness between the French and Haitian Revolutions, as they diverged over goals and outcomes, the latter resulting in Haitian independence in 1804.

In studying individuals who acted beyond the limitations of skin color in the revolutionary French Atlantic, the most significant questions I will address concern race. The history of race in France and the French Empire is growing, but the existing literature focuses largely on philosophical writings or popular culture.²⁸ While these types of studies are suggestive, they do not reveal the actual application of racial ideologies prevalent in eighteenth-century French culture. Historians readily acknowledge the difference between theory and practice, and recognize it is necessary to study social practices as well as ideas. This study of the involvement of a minority of whites in the Haitian Revolution does both—by illuminating the lived experiences of the militants, as well as how racial ideas were tested and put into practice in the context of racial revolution. Indeed, the significance of race goes beyond whites, to raise questions about all Haitian revolutionaries. To what extent were people of all backgrounds within colonial Saint-Domingue willing to set aside racial ideologies in order to achieve their changing goals? Was race important to the actions of white and non-white participants in the Haitian Revolution? By framing their studies of the Haitian Revolution in this way, have historians uncritically imposed on it conceptual categories derived from their own society and times? In exploring these questions, this project has the potential to historicize further the concept of race.

Charles Frostin's studies from the 1970s remain the most substantial and influential work on whites in Saint-Domingue.²⁹ He argued that the white population of the colony had an extensive history of rebellion against French administration and even secessionist tendencies. Frostin's research reveals the desires of more conservative whites for colonial autonomy from France. A similar yearning for autonomy likely motivated some whites who worked alongside blacks and people of color during the Revolution. However, Frostin's work does not address this possibility for more radical whites, and focuses most heavily on the time leading up to 1790. More recently, Jeremy D. Popkin examined captive narratives created by whites during and after the Haitian Revolution.³⁰ Although his analysis demonstrated how captivity challenged racial stereotypes, as many authors noted the unexpected humanity of their captors, his work represents only one aspect of white involvement in the events. These whites were not willing participants in the Haitian Revolution, and most maintained a negative outlook on the revolutionary events and its leaders. By examining the humanity of philanthropic whites who voluntarily took part in the Haitian Revolution, my work offers a new perspective on what it meant to be a good citizen and a republican in the Age of Revolutions.

My work engages with a substantial body of work on the concept of whiteness and white identity within the Caribbean. Instead of simply studying whites and their actions, other scholars, particularly those focused on the British Caribbean, analyze the racial identity that some whites constructed in slave societies.³¹ For example, authors, such as Cecily Forde-Jones, examine the connections between race and gender in the construction of whiteness in British plantation societies. Similarly, Yvonne Fabella highlights how white creoles used gendered language to engage in Atlantic political discourse about race and slavery.³² Alternatively, scholars like Christer Petley study the importance of the British Empire in shaping white creole identity in the British Caribbean. While these works on whiteness emphasize solidarity among whites in Caribbean slave societies, researching white philanthropists reveals a small group that challenged traditionally constructed racial identities. Atlantic philanthropists disrupted notions of whiteness in colonial Saint-Domingue by seeing the shared humanity of peoples of all colors.

The relationship between philanthropy and race in revolutionary Saint-Domingue is also intertwined with gender. The majority of the philanthropists in the Haitian Revolution were male. There are two reasons for this gender disparity within this small group. First, the number of white

females in colonial Saint-Domingue at the beginning of the revolution was quite low. In 1789, there were approximately 32,000 whites in Saint-Domingue, and only twenty percent of those were female.³³ This population quickly decreased as women fled the colony because of the revolutionary violence. Second, philanthropic activity was part of eighteenth-century sentimentality and male sociability.³⁴ Most commonly associated with freemasonry, men in the Atlantic World sought friendships built upon a “voluntary bond of solidarity.” In revolutionary Saint-Domingue, these men moved beyond the political and economic constraints of Old Regime plantation society to form interracial bonds built on “tenderness, humanity, and generosity.”³⁵ Philanthropists sought this fraternity with men of different races and through various social and political organizations, including academic societies and military service, during the Haitian Revolution.

White philanthropists’ engagement in the Haitian Revolution also illuminates the non-racial aspects of categories that scholars traditionally describe through racial terms. This challenges the dominant interpretations of the event. My work builds upon several important books that have moved beyond traditional interpretations that for generations portrayed the Haitian Revolution as a simple clash between white and black. A more nuanced explanation is already emerging. For example, John D. Garrigus and Stewart R. King emphasize the role of free blacks and people of color in Saint-Domingue before and during the Revolution.³⁶ Geggus explores the impact of foreign—particularly British—involvement in the Revolution.³⁷ Popkin suggests that the abolition of slavery in revolutionary Saint-Domingue hinged on one particular event, the destruction of Le Cap in June 1793.³⁸ In contrast, Malick W. Ghachem, in his examination of the *Code noir*, argues that emancipation was a result of Saint-Domingue’s colonial legal history not the product of revolutionary upheaval.³⁹ These challenges to the traditional dichotomies have shaped the interpretations of the revolution, but ignore the activities of white philanthropists in the event.

By refocusing the discussion on race and philanthropy, this project challenges the dominant interpretations of the eighteenth-century French abolition movement.⁴⁰ Many works on abolition contrast the French and British movements; yet these authors typically do not engage with the literature on eighteenth-century philanthropy. Scholars of the Enlightenment and philanthropy place abolitionary activities within a larger shift in voluntary action to improve society as a whole.⁴¹ A study of Atlantic philanthropy

expands our understanding of the movements for liberty and equality within the French Empire and offers a sharper comparison to the British abolitionist movement. To understand the French movement fully, it is essential to consider the activities of philanthropists on both sides of the Atlantic to achieve universal human rights. From the efforts of the *Société des Amis des Noirs* (Society of the Friends of the Blacks), a philanthropic society in the Paris area, historians categorize the French movement as based solely in the printed word and infrequent speeches before revolutionary assemblies.⁴² Taken in isolation from colonial philanthropic activity, the *Amis des Noirs* was diminutive, sporadic, and ineffectual—even though France did abolish slavery while Britain did not. However, the actions of a minority in colonial Saint-Domingue reveal an element of a larger Atlantic movement dedicated to all peoples of African descent.

Philanthropists on both sides of the French Atlantic not only directed their campaigns against the slave trade or slavery, but also the elimination of inequalities experienced by free people of color. In fact, they spoke most openly and forcefully early in the French and Haitian Revolutions for the rights of free coloreds, not the enslaved. Indeed, some free people of color owned slaves, highlighting the separation of the notions of abolishing slavery and establishing racial equality and the compatibility, for some, of racial differences and philanthropy. Not all philanthropists supported both causes; not all philanthropists had the same motivations. Often, these whites continued the efforts from the Old Regime into the Revolution, and applied similar projects for equality for both free people of color and former slaves. However, there are important points of departure from the Old Regime, which reveal actual breaks with the past commonly associated with the idea of revolution.

Although typically discussed as an anti-slavery revolution, one fought and maintained by slaves, the Haitian Revolution is fertile ground to explore evolving issues of race, abolition, and society that do not reduce neatly to skin color, location, or education level. Many of these topics cannot be confined solely to the years of the revolution alone, as some preceded the event in the Old Regime and continued after the revolution into independent Haiti. This work examines intersections of race, abolition, philanthropy, and society in six thematic chapters illustrating how the Haitian Revolution was a revolution for peoples of all colors. These respectively illustrate the participation of white philanthropists in the revolution in colonial Saint-Domingue through the Catholic Church, educational and intellectual institutions, the press, the military, and politics.

The first chapter of this book demonstrates how Catholic *religieux* (religious) promoted liberty and equality, even before 1789. Scholars have suggested that after the colonial government expelled the Jesuits for being sympathetic to the enslaved in 1763, other members of the Catholic *religieux* did not advocate for people of African descent.⁴³ However, the Capuchin order, whose province extended over two-thirds of the island, was active before 1789 in promoting slave wellbeing and religious instruction. After the revolution erupted, the Capuchins first called for equal rights for free people of color and then emancipation. Some even joined the slave insurgents in their rebel camps after 1791. The Capuchins' engagement on behalf of the Haitian revolutionaries paralleled their strong commitment to the Revolution in France, demonstrated by their nearly unanimous support of the Oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. The humanitarianism of the colonial religious contributed to the development of an alliance with the revolutionaries, allowing the Catholic *religieux* to take an active part in the political and social upheaval during the Haitian Revolution.

The second chapter demonstrates how academic societies offered opportunities to counter proslavery beliefs. In the Old Regime, the institution of slavery permeated colonial society and influenced ideology, and was upheld by learned societies. However, after 1791, these institutions—under white leadership—began to counter proslavery beliefs with abolitionist arguments. Learned societies were important means of disseminating knowledge to all levels of colonial society. Society encountered and often participated in one or more of these establishments and the ideas they propagated. During the Haitian Revolution, philanthropists founded a racially integrated Free Society of Sciences, Arts, and Humanities to showcase the intellectual achievements of men of all colors. The effect of emancipation and the philanthropic efforts to maintain it were irreversible, and the influence of learned societies is visible in Haitian history during and after the revolution.

The third chapter focuses on ways philanthropists sought to provide education to former slaves to help them integrate into republican society as citizens. This closely paralleled similar education projects in revolutionary France. While some of the revolutionary leaders of color in colonial Saint-Domingue could read and write, most of the enslaved did not have basic literacy. Educational projects in the colony required the efforts of peoples of all colors, from state-sponsored schools to children teaching one another in the streets. Beyond the classroom, these projects in the Haitian Revolution also sought to provide agricultural instruction to keep the colony economically functioning without slavery. Philanthropists saw

this as necessary to institutionalize ideas of liberty and equality while maintaining the colony for France.

The fourth chapter explores the ways philanthropists used the press in revolutionary Saint-Domingue. During the Haitian Revolution, printers and editors of colonial newspapers actively encouraged citizens in Saint-Domingue to engage in the public sphere through their daily publications, by printing letters to the editors, responses to the minutes of the legislative and governing bodies, and thought-provoking questions.⁴⁴ Philanthropists engaged in this colonial public sphere through the press, a tool for change. They did more than just use Saint-Dominguan Revolutionary press to report on the Revolution; they used it for cultural development, including philanthropic endeavors to end slavery and establish racial equality.

The fifth chapter explores the important role played in the Haitian Revolution by white men of all ranks with the French Atlantic military in colonial Saint-Domingue. During the Haitian Revolution, colonial advancements culminated in the formation of an integrated army set up by the second French civil commission to defend Saint-Domingue from British and Spanish invasion in 1793. The Legions of the Equality, largely overlooked by previous scholars, differed from Old Regime and early revolutionary military units in that their officers were both white and black and white soldiers frequently served under black commanders. Fighting internal and external enemies, adapting to revolutionary changes, and negotiating across racial and geographic lines, white soldiers and officers were instrumental in the military achievements of the Haitian Revolution.

The final chapter explores the significant contributions made by philanthropic whites within the politics of the French Atlantic World during the Haitian Revolution. Some had an impact at critical junctures, such as when white radicals led various mobilization efforts, including the get-out-the-vote campaigns in Le Cap and Port-au-Prince in 1793 to ratify the civil commissioners' emancipation decrees. Others had a subtler effect on the revolution through their continued political presence in Saint-Domingue before and during the Revolution. Despite their contributions, the literature has overlooked the role of colonial whites in Saint-Domingue's revolution. Historians have focused upon the influence of whites from France, suggesting the politics of race came to the colony from the metropole. However, this approach overlooks the whites—some longtime residents of the colony—who participated in the revolutionary legislative and judicial administrations alongside former slaves and men of color to achieve and maintain abolition and racial equality.

NOTES

1. François-Xavier Martin, *Orleans Term Reports* (St. Paul: West Publishing, 1913), p. 129.
2. Testimony of Antoine Remy, in *Recueil des dépositions faites pour et contre le Sr. P. Dormenon par-devant la Cour Supérieure du Territoire de la Nouvelle-Orleans*, trans. Carol Johnston (New Orleans: Chez [House of] A. Daudet, 1809), pp. 11–12.
3. Most of these white French men were born in metropolitan France. However, many spent extensive periods in Saint-Domingue, some even the majority of their lives. In addition to those born in France, a minority of the white philanthropists were creoles, born in Saint-Domingue or elsewhere in the French Caribbean colonies.
4. This expands upon the connections Lynn Hunt made between the French Revolution and human rights. Philanthropists in the Haitian Revolution also pursued the universal application of human rights within the Atlantic World. See Hunt, *The French Revolution and Human Rights: A Brief Documentary History* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1996). See also Nick Nesbitt, *Universal Emancipation: The Haitian Revolution and the Radical Enlightenment* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008).
5. See for example Laurent Dubois, *Les Esclaves de la République: L'Histoire oubliée de la première émancipation, 1789–1794* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1998). Jeremy D. Popkin has conducted research on whites who were not active participants on behalf of liberty and equality. See for example *Facing Racial Revolution: Eyewitness Accounts of the Haitian Insurrection* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007) and “The French Revolution’s Royal Governor: General Blanchelande and Saint-Domingue, 1790–92,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* vol. 71, no. 2 (April 2014): pp. 203–228.
6. Jennifer Spear has made an argument for racial fluidity under the French in colonial New Orleans. She claims race did not matter as much as historians have long assumed. See *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009). See also Bill Marshall, *The French Atlantic: Travels in Culture and History* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009); Marshall, “French Atlantic Diasporas,” in *Comparing Postcolonial Diasporas*, Michelle Keown, David Murphy, and James Procter, eds. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 189–210; Dominique Rogers, “The Complex Route to Integration of the Free People of Color in the Two Capitals of Saint-Domingue,” in *The World of the Haitian Revolution* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), pp. 65–72; Kenneth R. Aslakson, *Making Race in the Courtroom: The Legal Construction of Three Races in Early New Orleans* (New York: NYU

- Press, 2014); and Jennifer L. Palmer, *Intimate Bonds: Family and Slavery in the French Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).
7. For histories of race in the eighteenth-century Atlantic World, see for example Guillaume Aubert, “‘The Blood of France’: Race and Purity of the Blood in the French Atlantic World,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 21, no. 3 (2004): pp. 439–478; Ira Berlin, “From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of Africa-American Society in Mainland North America,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* vol. 53 (1996): pp. 251–288; Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, *Race and the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997); John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Robert Bernasconi and Tommy L. Lott, eds., *The Idea of Race* (Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 2000); George M. Frederickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002); Charles W. Mills, *The Racial Contract* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1997); David Theo Goldberg, *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1993); Michael A. Morrison and James Brewer Stewart, eds. *Race and the Early Republic: Racial Consciousness and Nation-Building in the Early Republic* (Landham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002); Andrew Valls, ed., *Race and Racism in Modern Philosophy* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2005); Colin Kidd, *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic, 1600–2000* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
 8. See for example Martial Besse to the Civil Commissioners, 30 September 1794, DXXV 50, Archives Nationales [hereafter cited as AN]; L’Assemblée coloniale de la partie française de Saint-Domingue, aux quatre-vingt-trois Départements de la France, aux Places des Commerce aux Manufactures de la Métropole, 17 February 1791, DXXV 112, AN; “Extrait d’une lettre de Madame de Saintard, habitante de la Paroisse de l’Archaye, à Monsieur son fils, du 6 Septembre 1790,” *Nouvelles de Saint-Domingue*, no. 6, p. 2; M. de Pons, *Observations sur la situation politique de Saint-Domingue* (Paris: Imprimerie de Quillau, 1790), pp. 18–19; *Sur la question des gens de couleur, par M. Roume, créole et commissaire-ordonnateur de l’île de Tabago*, 11 May 1790, p. 5, 87 MIOM 10, Archives nationales d’outre-mer [hereafter cited as ANOM]; Mémoires de M. Blanchelande, sur son administration à Saint-Domingue, 1791, 87 MIOM 76, ANOM; and *L’Ami de l’Égalité*, no. 11, 17 July 1793, p. 6.
 9. “Philantrope,” *Dictionnaire de l’Académie Française*, 4 ed., 1765, p. 364, and 5 ed., 1798, p. 364.

10. Marty Sulek, "On the Modern Meaning of Philanthropy," *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, vol. 39, no. 2 (April 2010), p. 196. Sulek lists John Locke, Adam Smith, and Edward Gibbon as examples of English writers using the alternative phrasing. "Humanité," vol. 8 (1765), p. 348 in *The Encyclopedia: Selections: Diderot, d'Alembert and a Society of Men of Letters*, Nelly S. Hoyt and Thomas Cassirer, trans. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965).
11. Sulek, "On the Modern Meaning of Philanthropy," p. 197.
12. David Garrioch, "Making a Better World: Enlightenment and Philanthropy," in *The Enlightenment World*, Martin Fitzpatrick, Peter Jones, Christa Knellwolf, and Iain McCalman, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 487.
13. In France, the Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt operated a school for the sons of soldiers that included a farm for agricultural training. Garrioch, "Making a Better World," p. 489, 496. In Saint-Domingue, French philanthropists (discussed in a later chapter) established schools that included plantation work. Both of these philanthropic projects were good for the individuals as well as society as whole while maintaining forms of social hierarchy.
14. Garrioch, "Making a Better World," pp. 494–495. Françoise Vergès observed similar paternalism among abolitionists and humanitarians in the nineteenth century. See *Abolir l'esclavage: Une Utopie coloniale: Les Ambiguïtés d'un politique humanitaire* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2001).
15. For more on Diderot, Kant, Herder, and imperial paternalism, see Sankar Muthu, *Enlightenment against Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003).
16. See for example Sydney V. James, *A People among Peoples: Quaker Benevolence in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963); Robert Bremner, *American Philanthropy* (University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 20–39; Amanda Porterfield, "Protestant Missionaries: Pioneers of American Philanthropy," in *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History*, Lawrence J. Friedman and Mark G. McGarvie, eds. (Cambridge University, 2003), pp. 49–69; G. J. Barker-Benfield, "The Origins of Anglo-American Sensibility," in *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History*, pp. 71–89; and Bruce R. Sievers, *Civil Society, Philanthropy, and the Fate of the Commons* (UPNE, 2010), pp. 84–106.
17. She notes the American Revolution as an exception, likely because the colonists did not abolish slavery. She first published these ideas in the United States in 1963. Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), pp. 71–73, 79–81.

18. Norman S. Fiering, "Irresistible Compassion: An Aspect of Eighteenth-Century Sympathy and Humanitarianism," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 36, no. 2 (1976): pp. 195–218.
19. See for example Clare Midgley, *Women against Slavery: The British Campaigns, 1780–1870* (London: Routledge, 1992); David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Melanie Newton, "Philanthropy, Gender, and the Production of Public Life in Barbados, ca. 1790–ca. 1850," in *Gender and Slave Emancipation in the Atlantic World*, Pamela Scully and Diana Paton, eds. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), pp. 225–246; Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Francois Furstenberg, "Atlantic Slavery, Atlantic Freedom: George Washington, Slavery, and Transatlantic Abolitionist Networks," *William and Mary Quarterly* vol. 68, no. 2 (2011): pp. 247–286; Travis Glasson, *Mastering Christianity: Missionary Anglicanism and Slavery in the Atlantic World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); J. R. Oldfield, *Transatlantic Abolitionism in the Age of Revolution: An International History of Anti-Slavery, c. 1787–1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); and Amanda Moniz, *From Empire to Humanity: The American Revolution and the Origins of Humanitarianism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).
20. Barbara L. Bellows, *Benevolence among Slaveholders: Assisting the Poor in Charleston, 1670–1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993).
21. Ashli White, *Encountering Revolution: Haiti and the Making of the Early Republic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2010).
22. Thomas Madiou, *Histoire d'Haïti*, 3 vols. (Port-au-Prince: Courtois, 1847); Beaubrun Ardouin, *Etudes sur l'histoire d'Haïti, suivies de la vie du General J.-M. Borgella*. 11 vols. (Paris: Dezobry, 1853–1860).
23. C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins* (New York: The Dial Press, 1938); Pierre Pluchon, *Toussaint Louverture: de l'esclavage au pouvoir* (Paris: Fayard, 1979).
24. Jean Fouchard, *Les marrons de Liberté* (Paris: Editions de l'Ecole, 1972); Gabriel Debien, *Le commerce nantais et la perte de Saint-Domingue: d'après une correspondance de la maison Lebourg* (Port-au-Prince: Valcin, 1944); *Les colons de Saint-Domingue et la Révolution: essai sur le club Massiac* (Paris: Colin, 1952); *Esprit colon et esprit d'autonomie à Saint-Domingue au XXVIIIe siècle* (Paris: n.p., 1954); *Plantations et esclaves à Saint-Domingue* (Dakar: n.p., 1962); *Les esclaves aux Antilles françaises, XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Basse-Terre: Société d'histoire de la Guadeloupe, 1974); Robin Blackburn, "Haiti, Slavery, and the Age of Democratic Revolution,"

- The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 63, no. 4 (2006): pp. 643–674; *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776–1848* (Verso, 1988).
25. See for example Willy Apollon, *Le Vaudou: un espace pour les "voix"* (Paris: Editions Galilee, 1976). Apollon, a psychoanalyst at the Interdisciplinary Freudian Group for Research and Clinical and Cultural Interventions in Quebec, emphasizes the importance of slave religion, specifically voodoo. See also John K. Thornton, "I am the Subject of the King of Congo: African political ideology in the Haitian Revolution," *Journal of World History* vol. 4, no. 2 (Fall, 1993): pp. 181–214. Thornton explores the royalist ideology embraced by the Kongolesse slaves imported to Saint-Domingue in the years just prior to the Haitian Revolution.
 26. Carolyn Fick, *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from below* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990).
 27. David Geggus, *Haitian Revolutionary Studies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002); *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001); and Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*.
 28. See for example Jacques Barzun, *The French Race: Theories of Its Origins and Their Social and Political Implications Prior to the Revolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932); Roger Mercier, *L'Afrique noire dans la littérature française: Les Premières images, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles* (Dakar: Université de Dakar, Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, 1962); Yvan Debbaesch, *Couleur et liberté: Le Jeu de critère ethnique dans un ordre juridique esclavagiste* (Paris: Libraire Dalloz, 1967); Richard H. Popkin, "The Philosophical Basis of Eighteenth-Century Racism," in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture: Racism in the Eighteenth Century*, Harold E. Pagliaro, ed. (Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1973), pp. 254–262; William Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans: White Response to Blacks, 1530–1880* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980); Pierre Pluchon, *Nègres et Juifs au XVIIIe siècle: le racisme au siècle des Lumières* (Paris: Tallandier, 1984); "Race," *Writing, and Difference*, Henry Louis Gates, Jr., ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Pierre H. Boulle, "In Defense of Slavery: Eighteenth-Century Opposition to Abolition and the Origins of a Racist Ideology in France," in *History from Below: Studies in Popular Protest and Popular Ideology*, Frederick Krantz, ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), pp. 219–246; Louis Sala-Moulins, *Les misères des Lumières: sous la raison, l'outrage* (Paris: R. Laffont, 1992); A. J. R. Russell-Wood, "Before Columbus: Portugal's African Prelude to the Middle Passage and Contribution to Discourse on Race," in *Race, Discourse and the Origins of the Americas*, Vera Lawrence Hyatt and Rex Nettleford, eds. (Washington, D.C., 1995),

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29. Charles Frostin, *Histoire de l'autonomisme colon de la partie française de St. Domingue aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: Contribution à l'étude du sentiment américain d'indépendance* (Lille: Université de Lille, 1973); and *Les révoltes blanches à Saint-Domingue aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: l'Ecole, 1975).
 30. Popkin, *Facing Racial Revolution*.
 31. See for example Cecily Forde-Jones, “Mapping Racial Boundaries: Gender, Race, and Poor Relief in Barbadian Plantation Society,” *Journal of Women's History*, vol. 10, no. 3 (1998): pp. 9–31; Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2003); David Lambert, *White Creole Culture, Politics and Identity during the Age of Abolition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Christer Petley, “Slavery, Emancipation and the Creole World View of Jamaican Colonists, 1800–1834,” *Slavery and Abolition*, vol. 26, no. 1 (2005): pp. 93–114; Natalie Zacek, “Class Struggle in a West Indian Plantation Society,” in *Class Matters: Early North America and the Atlantic World*, Simon Middleton and Billy G. Smith, eds. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), pp. 62–75; and Zacek, “Searching for the Invisible Woman: The Evolution of White Women's Experience in Britain's West Indian Colonies,” *History Compass*, vol. 7, no. 1 (2009): pp. 329–341.

32. Yvonne Fabella, "Redeeming the 'Character of the Creoles': Whiteness, Gender and Creolization in Pre-Revolutionary Saint Domingue," *Journal of Historical Sociology*, vol. 23, no. 2 (2010): pp. 40–72.
33. James E. McClellan III, *Colonialism and Science: Saint-Domingue in the Old Regime* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010), p. 49, 181.
34. For more on male sociability and the Age of Sentiment, see for example Markman Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility: Race, Gender and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel* (Cambridge University Press, 1996); Janet M. Burke and Maragaret C. Jacob, "French Freemasonry, Women, and Feminist Scholarship," *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 68, no. 3 (1996): pp. 513–549; and Jan C. Jansen, "In Search of Atlantic Sociability: Freemasons, Empire, and Atlantic History," *Bulletin of GHI*, vol. 57 (2015): pp. 75–99.
35. Kenneth Loisel, *Brotherly Love: Freemasonry and Male Friendship in Enlightenment France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), p. 3.
36. John D. Garrigus, *Before Haiti: Race and Citizenship in French Saint-Domingue* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Garrigus, "Vincent Ogé Jeune (1757–91): Social Class and Free Colored Mobilization on the Eve of the Haitian Revolution," *The Americas*, vol. 68, no. 1 (2011): pp. 33–62; John Garrigus, "Colour, Class and Identity on the Eve of the Haitian Revolution: Saint-Domingue's Freed Coloured Elites as *Colons américains*," in *Slavery and Abolition*, vol. 17, no. 1 (1996): pp. 20–43; and Stewart R. King, *Blue Coat or Powdered Wig: Free People of Color in Pre-Revolutionary Saint Domingue* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001).
37. David P. Geggus, *Slavery, War and Revolution: The British Occupation of Saint-Domingue, 1793–1798* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001).
38. Jeremy D. Popkin, *You Are All Free: The Haitian Revolution and the Abolition of Slavery* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
39. Malick W. Ghachem, *The Old Regime and the Haitian Revolution* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
40. For the dominant interpretation of the French abolition movement, see for example Ann Julia Cooper, *Slavery and the French Revolutionists (1788–1805)* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellon Press, 1988); Daniel P. Resnick, "The Société des Amis des Noirs and the Abolition of Slavery," *French Historical Studies* vol. 7, no. 4 (Autumn, 1972): pp. 558–569; Lawrence C. Jennings, *French Anti-Slavery: The Movement for the Abolition of Slavery in France, 1802–1848* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Ruth F. Necheles, *The Abbé Grégoire, 1787–1831: The Odyssey of an Egalitarian* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 1971); Edward Derbyshire Seeber, *Anti-Slavery Opinion in France during the Second Half*

- of the *Eighteenth Century* (New York: B. Franklin, 1971); and Marcel Dorigny and Bernard Gainot, *La Société des Amis des Noirs, 1788–1799: Contribution à l'histoire de l'abolition de l'esclavage* (Paris: Editions UNESCO, 1998).
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 42. It is important to note that the French did not use the term *abolitionniste* during the French and Haitian Revolutions. The term did not emerge until the 1820s and 1830s. During the revolutions, the French used *philantrope* or *philanthrope* to identify those seeking the abolition of the slave trade and slavery, as well as equality for free people of color. For visual representations of these trends from 1750 to 1850, see Google Ngram.
 43. George Amitheat Breathett, "Religious Missions in Colonial French Saint Domingue" (Ph.D. diss., State University of Iowa, 1954); J. M. Jan, *Les Congrégations religieuses à Saint-Domingue, 1681–1793* (Port-au-Prince: Henri Deschamps, 1951); R. P. Joseph Janin, *La Religion aux Colonies Française sous l'ancien régime (de 1626 à la Révolution)* (Paris: D'Auteuil, 1942); and Sue Peabody, "'A Dangerous Zeal': Catholic Missions in the French Antilles, 1625–1800" *French Historical Studies* vol. 25, no. 1 (Winter 2002): pp. 53–90. One exception is Laënnec Hurbon, "Church and Slavery in Saint-Domingue," *The Abolitions of Slavery: From Léger Félicité Sonthonax to Victor Schoelcher, 1793, 1794, 1848*, Marcel Dorigny, ed. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), pp. 55–68.
 44. For a brief explanation of the public sphere, see Jürgen Habermas, "The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article (1964)," *New German Critique* no. 3 (Autumn, 1974). For information on the public sphere in Spanish Latin America, see Victor M. Uribe-Uran, "The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America during the Age of Revolution," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* vol. 42, no. 2 (April, 2000): pp. 425–457.



Faith in Humanity: Philanthropists in the Colonial Clergy

The religious body of colonial Saint-Domingue played an important, but little-known role in the Haitian Revolution. In the years before the slave uprising, the religious engaged in philanthropy aimed at improving the lives of people of African descent, gained the trust and respect of the enslaved population, and eventually took an active part in the political and social changes of the French and Haitian Revolutions. Interactions between the religious and slaves remained a constant, and these relationships played important roles in the revolutions in Saint-Domingue. To be sure, the religious did not always contribute to the revolution with philanthropic intent or a desire for racial equality, nor was slavery the only factor shaping their actions. Their decisions were complicated by the parallel revolutions in France and Saint-Domingue, forcing them to choose sides on varied issues, such as the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, rights for free people of color, and the abolition of slavery. This chapter explores the diversity of religious responses to the revolution. It juxtaposes the alternative courses of action taken by the religious—abolitionist and pro-slavery, revolutionary and counter-revolutionary. Whatever side they were on, the religious were always important to colonists of all colors, free and enslaved. This juxtaposition also emphasizes the sincerity of the philanthropic and revolutionary actions of some religious, as it was not the only course of action. Rather than for personal benefit or a result of opportunism, these

religious explained their philanthropic efforts in the name of enlightened defiance, conscience, humanity, and religious devotion.

Work on the religious and the Catholic Church in the colony is minimal, mostly published in the mid-twentieth century, and does not offer much information on the Haitian Revolution.¹ George Breathett, who has written extensively on pre-revolutionary religion in Saint Domingue, claims that “the Catholic Church in Saint-Domingue practically disappeared during the excitement of the years following the revolt of 1791.”² This chapter questions Breathett’s claim. It demonstrates a continued presence of the religious and the Church in the colony during and after the Haitian Revolution. It also questions the notion that Christianity was a source of slave docility. Sue Peabody has claimed that the Catholic decline after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1763 may have facilitated the successful slave revolution in the colony. She asserts that “the demographic revolution of the plantation complex, coupled with this rise of anticlericalism and expulsion of the Jesuit order, made widespread conversion of the enslaved impossible in the late eighteenth century and may have indirectly influenced the unfolding of the Haitian Revolution.”³ With this, she implies that Christianity made slaves docile, and low conversion rates allowed the enslaved to remain wild and violent, helping to bring about the Haitian Revolution. This chapter challenges Peabody’s assertions, by showing that Christian instruction encouraged the revolutionaries. The alliance between the religious and the revolutionaries contributed to the abolition of slavery and growth of racial equality in Saint-Domingue.

Scholars recently have begun to uncover the contributions of the religious to the Haitian Revolution. In the early 1990s, two authors briefly introduced evidence to suggest antislavery and revolutionary sentiments among some Saint-Dominguan clergy. In a chapter contribution to the edited volume *The Abolitions of Slavery*, Laënnec Hurbon claimed that various primary sources demonstrate “the participation of the clergy in the insurrection of August 1791.”⁴ Hurbon references only one similar study, an article written by Father Antoine Adrien in 1992. According to Hurbon, Father Adrien “endeavoured to open the debate on the attitude of the colonial clergy to the slave revolt in the North, although with the greatest caution....The evidence that he adduces...makes it possible at once to abandon the current view that the clergy was wholly committed to the cause of slavery.”⁵ Adrien’s article only focused on the priests in the North Province, without examining the involvement of the clergy in the other two provinces of the colony. Moreover, it only discussed the beginning of

the slave uprising in 1791. Hurbon supplemented Adrien's evidence by presenting a few instances of participation by the clergy in other parts of the island, and suggesting that some of the priests and nuns in Le Cap may have been warned about or anticipated the initial slave uprising.⁶ While these two brief analyses are in no way definitive, Hurbon and Adrien prove the need for further study of the clergy as philanthropists and revolutionaries in Saint-Domingue before, during, and after the Haitian Revolution.

The Catholic Church had a long history in the French Caribbean, even before Saint-Domingue officially became a French colony in 1697 with the Treaty of Ryswick. The initial colonial relationship between the Church and the state was complementary. When Cardinal Richelieu, chief minister to Louis XIII, commissioned the establishment of the first French colony in the Antilles in 1626, he required Catholic instruction for the inhabitants. Eventually, France applied this policy to all its colonies in the Caribbean.⁷ In addition to the religious instruction of the French colonists, Louis XIII authorized slavery in the French colonies in 1636, as long the enslaved converted to Christianity.⁸ Even before the French had any substantial colonial presence in the Antilles, the monarchy and metropolitan political leaders formulated a colonial policy guided by Christianity. This religious element of French colonialism in the Antilles would shape the development of colonial society and influence many of the conflicts within the individual colonies over slavery and power.

The French Crown cemented the relationship between the Catholic Church and the colonies when it decreed the *Code noir* in 1685, which applied to all of France's colonies, as well as Saint-Domingue, even though it was not yet a colony. Catholicism was central to the *Code noir*. Although intended to regulate relations between masters and the enslaved, Catholicism appeared throughout the *Code noir*—in its preamble, as the focus of the first article, and figuring into the next 13 statutes. The edict explained the need for the authority and justice of the French Crown “to maintain the discipline of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church” *before* mentioning the decree's announced purpose, “to regulate the status and condition of the slaves.”⁹ This prioritization reflected Cardinal Richelieu's emphasis on Catholicism in the colonies. As France introduced slavery legally into the colonies, Catholicism took precedence in official policies. The first two articles repeated this prioritization. The first article decreed the expulsion of Jews from the colony, but did not mention slaves or the treatment of slaves. The second article, requiring the baptism and Catholic instruction of all slaves, commenced the regulations regarding

the enslaved.¹⁰ Further, Catholicism continued to influence the remaining articles, which concerned working on holidays, marriages, and burials. Overall, the French Crown intended for the Catholic Church to play a significant role in justifying the institution of slavery, as masters were saving the souls of slaves.

Catholic missionaries accompanied early French inhabitants to Saint-Domingue. Although the first missionaries sent by the Pope in 1635 to the West Indies were Dominicans, it is unclear when the first missionaries went specifically to Saint-Domingue.¹¹ The Jesuits arrived in Saint-Domingue in the late 1650s, and there were about a dozen Dominican and Capuchin missionaries and secular priests combined in the colony in 1685, the year of the *Code noir*.¹² The Capuchins, Dominicans, and Jesuits eventually divided the religious responsibilities of the island geographically. The division was not equal, but reflected royal favoritism. The Dominicans maintained continuous control over the South and West Provinces, but religious authority in the northern parishes remained contested. The Capuchins originally controlled the northern parishes, but Louis XIV reassigned power over the entire North Province to the Jesuits in 1704.¹³ Later, with the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1763, the Capuchins gained the apostolic prefecture of the North, while sharing the remainder of the island with other orders, such as the Dominicans.¹⁴ However, the extensive presence and intense activity of the Jesuits in Saint-Domingue for over one hundred years had a significant and lasting impact on the colony and its inhabitants, free and enslaved.

Even though some French colonists in the Caribbean were Jews or Protestants, Catholicism became the only tolerated religion in the Antilles very early in the colonization process. In September 1683, Louis XIV expelled the Jews from the islands one month after his royal order, claiming that they set a “bad example.” In addition, the king prohibited French Protestants from practicing their religion in the colonies and forbade their residence there without his express permission. Louis XIV relied upon the colonial authorities to enforce his orders.¹⁵ Two years later the king reiterated these earlier decisions through the *Code noir* in 1685. The first article ordered all Jews in the islands “to leave within three months of the publication dates of these present [edicts], or face confiscation of body and property.” This suggests that the Jewish population in the Caribbean had not obeyed the initial expulsion order of 1683, as well as the inability of the colonial authorities to fully enforce the king’s commands. Further, the third article forbade “any public exercise of any religion other than the

Catholic...We wish that the offenders be punished as rebels and disobedient to our orders.”¹⁶ Unlike the earlier order, this article did not prohibit the residence of Protestants, but made the open religious interaction of the enslaved with non-Catholics punishable by law. Although some non-Catholics may have broken this law, as the Jews had the previous order, the primary religion with which slaves had contact was Roman Catholicism.

Not all slaves accepted Catholicism as the French embraced it, but instead observed a form of religious syncretism. Despite the various European efforts to evangelize the enslaved, genuine Christian conversion—or even syncretism—was not necessary to forge alliances between slaves and the religious in Saint-Domingue. The similarities between African cosmologies and Catholicism allowed for syncretism, combining African beliefs with Catholic representations.¹⁷ In his eighteenth-century history of the colony, Jesuit priest Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix claimed that most slaves were not “able to understand Christian truths” and could only obtain “a superficial knowledge.”¹⁸ While he suggests that some slaves could not comprehend Christianity, it is likely that many combined some of the content of Catholicism with their African existing beliefs. Perhaps the best-known example of syncretism during the Haitian Revolution involved Romaine Rivière, a free man of color who led an armed rebellion of slaves in the West Province, claiming their masters denied them the freedom already granted by the king of France.¹⁹ Whether a shaman or a prophet, many slaves believed he possessed spiritual powers. He held a mass in front of an inverted cross in an abandoned Catholic Church he took over as his own, preaching the need to kill all whites and that “God was black.” He claimed he was the godchild of the Virgin Mary, with whom he exchanged written correspondence, and he took the feminine title, Romaine-la-prophétesse.²⁰ This example is significant in demonstrating the overall social importance of the Catholic Church for free people of color and the enslaved. While his perceived spiritual power may have come from a non-Catholic source, Romaine Rivière employed Catholic symbols—the church building, the cross, godparentage, and the Virgin Mary—in ministering to the slaves.

One well-known instance of slave resistance, the Makandal poisonings in 1758, demonstrated syncretism, indicated the deep relationship between the Jesuits and the enslaved in Saint-Domingue, and highlighted a significant omission in the *Code noir*. Makandal embraced a form of syncretism that combined a type of magic, Christianity, and Islam.²¹ The *seneschal*, or royal officer, of Le Cap, Sébastien Jacques Courtin, explained that

Makandal was convicted for “mingling holy things in the composition,” referring to Allah and Jesus Christ, and using “allegedly magical packets,” and casting “evil spells...in addition to [having] created, sold and distributed poisons of all kinds.”²² The seneschal also noted the subversive actions of a Jesuit Father Duquesnoy, a *curé des nègres*, a priest charged with the religious instruction of slaves. Assam, a young enslaved woman captured for poisonings with Makandal, claimed during her interrogation that Duquesnoy suggested that she would go to Hell if she gave up the other co-conspirators and advised her to bear any torture exacted by the white colonists. The priest did not condemn Assam for her actions against her master, but instead appeared to justify her fighting back against her enslavement. He believed that slave society presented many reasons for condoning her crimes and offering her forgiveness for her sins.²³

Despite the resistance by some individuals against the racial hierarchy, the religious in colonial Saint-Domingue, including the missionaries of the various orders, owned slaves. When Louis XIV gave the Jesuits control of the North Province of Saint-Domingue, he also gave them permission to obtain property for themselves and their slaves.²⁴ In fact, the mother of well-known leader of the early Haitian Revolution, George Biassou, was a slave in a Jesuit hospital in Le Cap when the slave uprising began.²⁵ After the Jesuit expulsion in 1763, the religious continued to own slaves. In the early 1770s, French authorities ordered that each of the parish priests in Saint-Domingue to take an inventory of their property, including the names, origins, and functions of their slaves. The religious owned a very small number of the colony’s enslaved at the time, only 435 out of approximately 240,000.²⁶ Regardless of their Province, the Catholic clergy throughout colonial Saint-Domingue accounted for at least one slave in their inventories. For example, a Capuchin priest in the northern parish of Cap, Joseph-François Droguet’s personal inventory included three male slaves, a “Congo,” a “Mina” *fossoyeur* (gravedigger), and a creole domestic. In the West, the inventory for the Dominican mission at Léogâne listed 169 slaves working on the mission’s plantation as coopers, cooks, field hands, and in the hospital. Father Thomas, the parish priest in Torbeck in the South Province, owned at least six slaves, including a creole laundress and her two daughters, the younger of which was only one year old.²⁷ The example of Father Thomas is representative of the tendency for the religious to maintain family units; numerous of the registers from 1773 clearly note parental relations between slaves.²⁸ While most missionaries owned slaves, they likely saw themselves as the paternalistic example for slaveholders (Table 1).

Table 1 Slaves owned by the religious of Saint-Domingue, 1773^a

	<i>Numbers of slaves</i>		
	<i>Creole</i>	<i>African</i>	<i>Unknown</i>
<i>North Province</i>			
Acul		No slaves listed	
Borgne	3	1	0
Cap	1	3	0
Dondon	1	6	0
Fort Dauphin	0	1	0
Grande Rivière	0	1	0
Gros Morne	1	3	0
Jean Rabel		No slaves listed	
Limbé		No slaves listed	
Limonade	0	1	0
Mole Saint-Nicolas		No slaves listed	
Ouanaminte	0	1	0
Petite Anse		No slaves listed	
Petit Louis		No slaves listed	
Plaine du Nord	1	2	0
Plaisance	0	0	2
Port de Paix	0	4	0
Quartier Morin		No slaves listed	
Terrier Rouge	0	5	1
Trou	1	1	0
<i>West Province</i>			
Arcahayé	1	3	1
Baynet	4	2	0
Cayes de Jacmel	1	2	0
Croix des Bouquets	5	8	0
Fond des Nègres	2	1	0
Gonaïves	2	0	1
Jacmel	4	1	0
Léogâne	99	59	18
Mirebalais	3	0	0
Petit Goave	9	2	0
Petite Rivière	2	3	0
Port-au-Prince	1	0	0
Saint-Marc	3	4	5
Verettes	1	4	0
<i>South Province</i>			
Anse à Veau	3	0	0
Cap Tiburon	0	1	0

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

	<i>Numbers of slaves</i>		
	<i>Creole</i>	<i>African</i>	<i>Unknown</i>
Cavaillon	61	46	4
Cayes	1	4	0
Cotteaux	0	3	0
Grand Goave	0	5	0
Jérémie	2	1	0
Petit Trou	1	1	0
Saint-Louis	2	1	1
Saint-Thomas d'Aquin	2	0	0
Torbeck	4	2	0

^a*Inventaire des biens des missions des Dominicains, des Capucins et de toutes les cures desservies par des réguliers (22 juin–15 août 1773)*, F5A 23, ANOM. These numbers include a few slaves listed on the inventories as being free. While the inventories list them as having obtained their freedom, the clergy still chose to include them in the same lists as “esclaves” or “nègres.” This also includes inventories that mentioned recent sales of slaves or slaves no longer residing in the parish. In other words, some of these parishes previously owned slaves, but did not at the time of the inventories

The Catholic Church did not officially oppose enslavement of Africans during the eighteenth century, but some individual members of the Church recognized the people of African descent as potential converts and considered them to be equal in the eyes of God. Although the various popes opposed enslaving Indians in the Americas, none of the papal bulls until the nineteenth century even referred to enslaved Africans.²⁹ While the Church did not contest enslavement of Africans, the Church attempted to maintain government support for their protection of the faith of converted slaves.³⁰ However, this policy, most visible in the *Code noir* in 1685, was not necessarily an abolitionist policy. Although abolition was not the official policy of the Catholic Church, some religious philanthropists advocated for better treatment of peoples of African descent. For instance, a Capuchin friar inspired a slave rebellion with his anti-slavery preaching in 1777.³¹ Other clergy like this one acted outside of church and government authority to undermine the established plantation system and racial hierarchy by advancing the equality of all people in God’s eyes.³² While trust and respect between the religious and peoples of African descent existed, the philanthropic actions of the religious were not always as overt as the Capuchin example.

Nuns in Le Cap undermined the racial hierarchy by giving colored female pupils preference over the white female boarders. In 1722, Father Boutin, a Jesuit priest, founded a convent in Le Cap to serve as a house of education for young females in the colony to be run by La Compagnie des Filles Notre-Dame recruited from Périgueux, France.³³ Most of the colonists prioritized sending their sons to France for an education, but many did send their daughters, such as François Antoine Bayon de Libertat.³⁴ Although some colonists sent their daughters to France for an education, letters published by Marie le Masson le Golft indicated that some colonists were still concerned about the lack of educational opportunities in Saint-Domingue for their creole daughters. According to her correspondence, without proper instruction, young creoles tended to imitate the behaviors of the enslaved with which they had frequent contact.³⁵ A boarding school for the daughters of the colonists promised to correct this undesirable behavior in creole females. Over time, these nuns also took responsibility for the religious, moral, and material needs of the poor black women.³⁶ In a letter to a vicar in Limoges, mother Recoudert, a nun in Le Cap, claimed that the devotion of the white females could not match that of the black women in the convent.³⁷ Eventually, the nuns alienated themselves from their white boarders through their dedication to the women of color, who, in turn, became deeply attached to the nuns. In May 1790, the Assembly heard an address by the families of the boarders of the convent at Le Cap. Since its origins in the mid-eighteenth century, the nuns in the convent in Le Cap had been responsible for the education of their young female pupils. In 1789, Médéric Louis Élie Moreau de Saint-Méry noted that the nuns had fewer boarders than in years before, because of disapproval within society for their “relaxation in monitoring of these boarders” and the number of non-white residents.³⁸ At Saint-Marc, the boarders and their families “claimed the Nuns knew better to edify them than to teach them.”³⁹ The preferential relationship established between the nuns and colored women upset the white colonists, as well as the racial divisions of colonial society.

Around the same time as Jesuit banishments in metropolitan France and the greater Atlantic World, the colonial administration in Saint-Domingue expelled the Jesuits from the island in the early 1760s for their involvement of slaves in religious conversion. While the Conseil du Cap was considering the fate of the Jesuits in Saint-Domingue in February 1761, their proceedings reveal the clandestine religious actions of the enslaved in and around the city. The attorney general explained that free and enslaved black men were leading worship in the church independent

of a priest or any supervision. Others served as choir leaders, beadles, and churchwardens. As a result, the Council forbade slaves to serve in any function of the Church, and required the religious to close the churches during certain hours to prevent these autonomous religious services. It laid the responsibility for the slaves' independent worship on the Jesuits, whose instruction seemed "to inspire and announce to these same blacks that they form a body of faithful distinct and separate from the others."⁴⁰ On 24 November 1763, the Conseil du Cap found the Jesuits guilty of teaching slaves immorality, which led to "enormous crimes, including desecration and poisoning," as well as violations of various other decisions previously put forth by the Council.⁴¹ Although the authorities expected the Jesuits to leave the colony within six weeks of the decision, many remained in the colony. One such Jesuit, Father Leclerc, the former Jesuit apostolic prefect, chose to stay in the colony into the 1780s.⁴² Nonetheless, the Jesuit expulsion discouraged other clergy from publicly expressing sympathy or favor for the enslaved and free people of color, while deepening tensions between the free white colonists and the religious.⁴³ Although the Conseil du Cap outlawed official Jesuit authority, the order's history in the colony left a lasting impression on the colonial population, especially the slaves.

Other modes of Christian conversion and instruction in the colony, as well as the presence of other religious orders continued after the expulsion of the Jesuits. Although the new restrictions on the Church following the Jesuits' removal forced Capuchins and Dominicans to be more discreet in their interactions with slaves and opinions regarding the slaves and slavery, this did not mean that they stopped ministering to the enslaved with the same zeal as the Jesuits. The Jesuits were not the only religious order to work with Saint-Dominguan slaves, and later the alliances between some Catholics and the revolutionaries demonstrated the significance of Christianity to the Haitian Revolution.

After the expulsion of the Jesuits, the Capuchins took their places within the colony, which changed the responsibilities of the *marguilliers* (churchwardens).⁴⁴ At the beginning of the century, Louis XIV had given the Jesuits control of the North, which the Capuchins had previously controlled.⁴⁵ Upon the Jesuit expulsion, the Capuchins returned to the North, the origin of the slave insurrection in August 1791. Unlike the Jesuits and Dominicans who operated mission plantations, the Capuchins limited themselves to owning only a few slaves for domestic purposes, if any at all.⁴⁶ This application of the vow of poverty made the Capuchins much

more reliant upon the financial contributions of the colonists than the other two dominant orders. Although the colonists had disliked Jesuit competition in the plantation economy, at least the Jesuits were financially independent. Further, the Jesuits' own slaves absorbed much of their ministerial attention, providing the colonists with more flexibility—and less accountability—in the religious care of their slaves.⁴⁷ However, the Capuchins, without their own plantations and with few slaves, were more likely to meddle with the colonists' slaves, which could have threatened profitability if Capuchin religious instruction interfered with plantation work. For example, planters who previously ignored religious holidays for the sake of harvest would have harbored resentment if the Capuchins insisted upon exempting the enslaved from labor on holy days for worship. Therefore, for the colonists, the Capuchins were doubly costly, requiring monetary assistance for their support and hindering the plantation economy through their invasive ministry. Their financial dependence heightened the resentment of the colonists and darkened their perceptions of the *marguilliers* responsible for collecting each colonist's contribution.

Although scholars have long suggested African religious origins of the Haitian Revolution, they focus on Voodoo.⁴⁸ However, the enslaved brought other religious influences from Africa. In fact, Christian converts of African descent led some of the largest rebellions in the Americas.⁴⁹ The Christianity brought to Saint-Domingue by slaves traces back to the western coasts of Africa, where the Portuguese introduced Catholicism even before Columbus landed in the Americas. In the Kongo in particular, the local population embraced Christianity following the voluntary conversion of the Kingdom's royalty and nobility. Over time, the Kongoleses incorporated Christianity into their culture and adapted it for their own needs. Dating from the sixteenth century, Catholic clergy, primarily Capuchins, permitted syncretic practices in Kongoleses Christianity.⁵⁰ Some priests in Saint-Domingue recognized that some Kongoleses slaves were already Christians when they arrived in the colony.⁵¹ By the time of the Haitian Revolution, the Kongoleses had been continuously practicing Christianity for over two centuries.

While few other African kingdoms or groups officially adopted Christianity, European missionaries also had success in the Kingdom of Warri in West Africa.⁵² A group of Augustinian monks under the Portuguese introduced Christianity into the Kingdom of Warri in the second half of the sixteenth century.⁵³ Like in the Kongo, the king of Warri led his people, the Itsekiri, to accept Christianity. In 1600, the king, Sebastian, sent

his son to Europe for an education so he could provide religious instruction for his people as well as government advising for his father. Although the missionary presence was diminutive and sporadic after the establishment of Christianity in the kingdom, the Itsekiri continued to embrace Catholicism and instruct their own people in it. After visiting Warri, Portuguese traders reported to the Bishop of São Tome that Sebastian, late in his reign, led religious instruction and ceremonies himself.⁵⁴ Local ministering, beyond the efforts of the royal family, would have been necessary to perpetuate Christianity in the Kingdom of Warri, as missionary activity waned and came up against resistant Itsekiri leaders throughout the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Nonetheless, over one hundred years later, a new ruler of the Itsekiri in the 1760s repeatedly requested that missionaries be sent to his kingdom, demonstrating an ever-present Christian spirit in Warri.⁵⁵

To judge the impact of African Christianity on Haitian revolutionary culture, it is essential to measure the number of slaves imported to the colony from Christian regions in Africa prior to the Haitian Revolution. The Bight of Benin, including the Kingdom of Warri, contributed a significant proportion of the slaves sold to Saint-Domingue before the Haitian Revolution.⁵⁶ In addition, a civil war in the Kingdom of Kongo lasting from the 1760s through the 1780s resulted in great numbers of prisoners of war who were sold into Saint-Dominguan slavery. Many of the Kongolese soldiers would have been Christians or had at least been exposed to Christianity.⁵⁷ The Apostolic Vicar in Kongo in the 1780s, Father de Castello de Vide encouraged the Kongolese kings to make the coastal merchants sell the slaves to European Christians, preferably Portuguese Catholics.⁵⁸ While this indicates his concern for the fate of their souls, due to the considerable presence of Protestant competition—Dutch and English—along the coast, it does not necessarily mean the enslaved were not already Christian or had not already encountered Christianity. What is clear is that the presence of Father de Castello de Vide in the Kongo demonstrates continued Christian activity there.

The Catholic clergy were not the only people taking part in the religious instruction of the enslaved population in Saint-Domingue. African catechists were vital in communicating Christianity with enslaved African populations, because they better understood the languages and cosmologies of the potential African converts.⁵⁹ Similar to the catechists in Africa, slaves and free blacks in Saint-Domingue took it upon themselves to share Christianity with one another. As the enslaved population increased and

there was a shortage of priests in the eighteenth century, it became necessary for people of African descent to provide religious instruction. In fact, slaves and free blacks evangelized outside of the city of Le Cap.⁶⁰ There was an active and faithful enslaved Christian population aiding the official clerics in spreading and maintaining Catholicism in the colony.

Despite the prohibitions enacted by the Conseil du Cap in 1761, the Capuchin missionaries, who retook control of the North after the Jesuit expulsion in 1763, continued many of the forbidden missionary activities. An anonymous document from 1777, *Règlement de discipline pour les nègres adressés aux curés de îles françaises de l'Amérique*, indicated the changes and continuities between the periods of Jesuit and Capuchin control. The regulations detailed a relationship between the clergy and the enslaved that would support the "interests of the masters" and "accomplish the needs of the state."⁶¹ The religious hierarchy implemented by the Capuchins included the elevation of several baptized and married slaves to lead catechism and prayer and serve as beadles while wearing a cassock and surplice.⁶² By rewarding certain slaves with church functions and official clerical attire, the Capuchins gave other slaves incentive to embrace Catholic rituals of baptism and marriage, as well as instilling a positive perception of the religious and Catholicism. In giving a small number of slaves an elevated status and observable benefits, the Capuchins positioned themselves as respectable paternal authorities for the enslaved.

Before the Haitian Revolution, runaway slaves had a unique and typically favorable relationship with the religious of Saint-Domingue. While most of the leaders of the 1791 slave insurrection were not *marrons* (runaway slaves), Jean-François Papillon, one of the slave revolution's main leaders, was a runaway.⁶³ Outside of the leadership, many other runaways also took part in the slave uprising. Before their expulsion, the Jesuits had taken a particular interest in converting *marrons*.⁶⁴ According to the Conseil of Le Cap in 1761, the Jesuits gave runaway slaves refuge in churches, suggesting they condoned the enslaved fleeing their plantations and opposed the harshness of slavery.⁶⁵ Father Margat, a mid-century Jesuit missionary, claimed that the runaway slaves were easier converts than the Indians.⁶⁶ Some *marrons* returned to their plantations after a brief period away, known as *petit marronage* because they never intended to permanently settle elsewhere or they were unable to survive on their own.⁶⁷ When these slaves decided to go back to their former owners, they often called upon a priest in the parish or district to plead on their behalf to the former master.⁶⁸ These slaves recognized the influence of the priests in the colony, and

trusted them with their fate on their former plantation. Such interventions by priests indicated the trust and respect colonists of all colors had for the clergy and the Church.

In the final decades before the French and Haitian Revolutions, the French king and his ministers issued new regulations, which increased tensions between the Church and secular authorities. In November 1772, the Conseil du Cap explained that the Dominican mission was subject to the authority of their apostolic prefect, as well as the authority of the king, which was represented by the Governor General and Intendant in the colony. However, the two powers seemed to be in competition.⁶⁹ In his *Mémoire sur le spiritual de la missions des ff. prêcheurs à Saint-Domingue*, Dominican apostolic prefect Charles-Damien Duguet explained, "The General and Intendant have historically had high police of the clergy of Saint-Domingue."⁷⁰ Just five years later, the *Règlement de discipline pour les nègres adressé aux curés des îles françaises d'Amérique* further tightened secular control over the religious. The *Règlement* explained the purpose of religion lay in serving "public safety, the interests of masters, and the salvation of souls."⁷¹ In other words, the *Règlement* ordered the religious to use their instruction to reinforce slavery.

Finally, in 1781, another royal ordinance angered some ecclesiastics. The ordinance authorized the creation of plantation chapels required by "the increase of agriculture and the population."⁷² While the masters claimed plantation chapels would better ensure the religious care of their slaves, it also limited the central religious influence and authority in the colony by creating a multiplicity of church sites out of the control of parish priests. In addition, the ordinance threatened serious repercussions for missionaries who challenged the colonial regime. The Governor and Intendant received the power to deport ecclesiastics, including the apostolic prefect, to France to answer for their conduct if suspected of taking part in scandals or causing trouble.⁷³ Duguet commented, "The Ordinance of 1781 has greatly increased their [Governor and Intendant] rights, and has so to speak, elevated their authority to the highest degree of despotism."⁷⁴ Their despotism was short-lived, however, because the revolutions on both sides of the Atlantic began within the decade.

By early 1790, the National Assembly had directly embroiled the colonies in the French Revolution, and initiated a period of unrest for the free population of Saint-Domingue, not least the religious. The ecclesiastic reforms of the French Revolution had profound ramifications across the French Atlantic. An ecclesiastic committee within the National

Assembly began drafting reforms for the Church in August 1789.⁷⁵ In July 1790, the National Constituent Assembly passed the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.⁷⁶ In Saint-Domingue, the entanglements of the revolution and the religious became an obstacle for the Capuchin mission desperately seeking additional priests.⁷⁷ On November 27, 1790, the Assembly passed a related law requiring the clergy to swear an oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.⁷⁸ Many refused to take the oath. Known as non-jurors, these refractory clergy were no longer allowed to exercise the practices of the Church, and were branded enemies of the French Revolution. Priests throughout the French empire were required to take the oath, even those who were in Saint-Domingue, and, as in the rest of France, the result was similar. As in the metropole, the Catholic religious had to choose sides, forcing them to decide upon the causes they supported. In Saint-Domingue that choice was entangled with issues of race, equality, and slavery.

There were correlations between taking the oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and advocating for free people of color and the enslaved. In Saint-Domingue, most of the Capuchins took the oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, but many Dominicans refused, representing perhaps half of the clergy.⁷⁹ The division over taking the oath also meant a geographical divide over the Civil Constitution in Saint-Domingue, because the Capuchins were the religious authority in the North, and the Dominicans had Catholic control over the West and South. Further, geography played into the racial composition each of the colony's provinces. The North had a greater concentration of slaves, while the West and South had more substantial free colored populations. This chapter shows that Dominicans advocated for the rights of free people of color and Capuchins supported the abolition of slavery. Therefore, Capuchins in the North who took the oath were also more likely to want to end slavery, while nonjuring Dominicans were advocates for the rights of free people of color in the West and South. Of course, these correlations cannot be translated into rigid categories of action, but they indicate important connections between geography, the oath, and divisive revolutionary issues.

The division down the middle over the revolution motivated some Capuchins to campaign in favor of the Oath and the French Revolution. Jean Claude Paul Dessirier, known by his religious name Father Julien, a Capuchin priest in Le Cap, claimed he was the first in his mission to take the oath, serving as an example to his fellow priests.⁸⁰ In fact, he took the oath early, acting on information he received in correspondence with

France about the decrees of the Constituent Assembly.⁸¹ Although the law requiring the oath passed in November, Dessirier presented himself before the Provincial Assembly of the North in Grand Rivière to take his civic oath in May. In addition to the ordinary oath, he requested to make an additional speech detailing how, during the eighteen years he had been employed in mission, “he always behaved in a manner worthy of the general esteem.”⁸² Only one month later, Dessirier sent a letter of good faith to the pope, and he made a request to the colonial officials to go back to France due to his failing health. After returning to France, the revolutionary tribunal tried him for suspected counterrevolutionary activity, but he was eventually acquitted.⁸³ Although most juring priests were immune from political suspicion, French officials questioned the sincerity of Dessirier’s oath because of the letter he sent to the pope.

Back in the colony, a monk anonymously voiced his support for the Church reforms in a colonial newspaper, *Le Moniteur général de la partie française de Saint-Domingue*.⁸⁴ His article of 5 January 1793 spoke directly to the priests of Saint-Domingue, calling on them to support the French Revolutionary government. He called on priests to:

Return to your social functions, be citizens, do not contradict what you will have advanced in the pulpit, communicate with your brothers...preach our laws like the Gospel, and give the example of submission to the authorities constituted of a regenerated people...cooperate with our happiness by informing us fraternally, where finally if this is beyond your strength, stay away, rest assured that the republic will be able to replace you with apostolic-constitutional men.⁸⁵

His last statement cautions against dissension, suggesting that the priests are replaceable. He also spoke to the colonists and colonial authorities in his article. Attempting to prove the need for the religious in the colony, he explained the significance of the church in educating the colonists, who had “always had fanatic respect for the priests,” about “the happy revolution which has regenerated us.”⁸⁶ While the monk did not mention the spiritual or Catholic devotion of the colonists, he emphasized the respect held for priests within colonial society, as well as their ability to influence public opinion. With years of conflict between the religious and colonists over the plantation system and racial hierarchy, he definitely oversold the solidity of relations between the two groups. Yet, his support of the French Revolution could have won some favor with the colonists, because the revolution still maintained slavery in early 1793.

Another Capuchin parish priest, Cibot, made a speech in support of the French Revolution before Philippe-François Galbaud du Fort, the Governor General of the island, which was printed in the newspaper, *Affiches Américaines*, on 13 May 1793. He began his speech explaining the ties of the colony to the French Republic, and the importance of the Governor General's "civic virtues" and "military talents" in saving the colony and returning the blacks in revolt to their "duty."⁸⁷ At this point, the French Revolution upheld slavery, and Cibot's comments suggest he also supported the institution. However, he, like many other priests, may have also been concerned about the possible consequences for dissension.⁸⁸ In his closing, Cibot implied a joint effort by the Governor General and the clergy in saving the colony and reiterated that the Capuchins were never refractory priests. Similar to Dessirier and the anonymous monk above, Cibot encouraged the "ministers of the altar, and French citizens" to set an example of "submission to the laws."⁸⁹ By including a call to his fellow priests in his speech, Cibot suggested the equal importance of the clergy alongside the French military and administration in the colony in saving the colony through support of the French Revolution.

The second revolutionary intervention of the religious in the French Atlantic was on the issue of rights for free people of color.⁹⁰ Dominican priest François Pascalis Ouyère of Léogâne was a white representative for the free people of color before the National Legislative Assembly in Paris. In 1792, Ouyère went to Paris with the three commissioners for the colored citizens of Saint-Marc, free men of color Etienne Viart, Dubourg, and Antoine Chanlatte. He made a speech before the Legislative Assembly in defense of the "hommes de couleur," accusing the Colonial Assembly of "oppression."⁹¹ An anonymous author explained how "the incendiary abbot" Ouyère stressed the "counterrevolutionary idea" that the French needed to suspend representative government in the colony and restore the military government of the Old Regime in Saint-Domingue to protect the "political rights of the men of color."⁹² Quadroon spokesperson for the assembly of people of color in Mirebalais Pierre Pinchinat denounced Ouyère as "most inflammatory and most counter-revolutionary" in a letter to Julien Raimond, a wealthy man of color from Saint-Domingue living in Paris.⁹³ In this context, counterrevolutionary referred to his opposition to local government and being racially progressive. Although Pinchinat's strong words came after Ouyère appeared in France, the priest's overall philanthropic desire to achieve rights for free people of color by suspending representative government ultimately influenced perceptions of him as counterrevolutionary.

In the West and South Provinces of Saint-Domingue, the religious were involved in the revolutionary struggles between free people of color and whites. The royalists and patriots were factions within the white population, but both the white royalists and free people of color abhorred the white patriots. The patriots were radical whites who were critical of the Governor General and sought rigorous implementation of laws that maintained the inequality of free people of color.⁹⁴ In Saint Marc, the royalists sought the support of people of color to defeat the patriots and reestablish the colonial Old Regime. The people of color who allied with the royalists became known as confederates. In this dispute, Pinchinat, Ouvrière's critic, supported the signing of a concordat with the royalist whites, while having openly declared his loyalty to France on many occasions.⁹⁵ Former *gérant*, or plantation manager, Grouvel claimed in his account of the Revolution that Ouvrière initially supported the peace as well. Grouvel identified Ouvrière as the "extraordinary" envoy sent by the military leader of color Beauvais to bring "words of peace" to "all the white and colored people of Léogâne" that they "wanted to see and wanted to hear in this time of terror."⁹⁶ His involvement seems to confirm Ouvrière's counter-revolutionary sentiments, but his actions also suggest Pinchinat and Ouvrière would have been in agreement.

The connection between Ouvrière and Romaine Rivière, or Romaine-la-prophétesse, during the struggles between the whites and the people of color was likely to have been the point of departure for many of Ouvrière's potential colored allies. Rivière represented a radical element that threatened the credibility of confederates in West, and they eventually broke ties with him. Further, Rivière and his followers disturbed the plantation system in the region by rousing slaves against their masters.⁹⁷ The anonymous author of *Précis de la révolution de Saint-Domingue* referred to Ouvrière as "one of the instigators of the revolt of the West."⁹⁸ French General Pamphile de Lacroix claimed Ouvrière, "suspected of hatred for the [French] revolution," had "facilitated the enterprises of Romaine-la-Prophétesse" by his inaction, as well as maintaining a correspondence with Rivière.⁹⁹ In a letter Rivière wrote from his camp at Trou Coffy to Ouvrière in October 1791, Rivière referenced receiving a previous letter from Ouvrière earlier that month, and expressed his anticipation of the priest's celebration of mass the following day.¹⁰⁰ While Rivière enjoyed considerable power through his alliances for a brief time, he lost to a coalition of whites and free people of color in March 1792.¹⁰¹ Ouvrière supposedly appeared in Jamaica early the next year. In May 1793, the *Affiches Américaines* printed an

extract from a letter from Jamaica about “an abbot called Auziere (but this is Ouviaère) who committed that greatest crimes in Saint-Domingue,” who was suspected of attempting to “make an uprising” in Jamaica.¹⁰² Branded a counterrevolutionary, Ouviaère’s advocacy for free people of color had been conflated with the more radical actions of Rivière.

Similar to Ouviaère, the *marguillier* in Port-au-Prince, Olivier, also supported the rights of free people of color. Charles-Damien Duguet had been the parish priest of Port-au-Prince and Dominican apostolic prefect of the West and South Provinces in the 1780s. When Duguet left Saint-Domingue in 1791, Olivier replaced him as churchwarden, assuming significant power. In his new position, Olivier used Catholic rituals to celebrate revolutionary legislation from France pertaining to people of color. The white colonists who opposed the decrees labeled Olivier a “fanatic aristocrat” after he sang a *Te Deum*, or Catholic hymn of praise, for the National Assembly’s decrees granting citizenship to free people of color.¹⁰³ Olivier publicly supported right for free people of color, as well as the French Revolution, but his sentiments toward the slave uprising remain unknown. This, as we will see, was a totally different issue from the rights of free people of color.

The slave uprising forced the religious to make a difficult choice. The slave uprising in the North and the revolution raging in France forced the nuns of Le Cap to choose between their homeland and their colored pupils. When Boukman Dutty led the insurrection in August 1791, the nuns, in terror, witnessed the violence and destruction carried out by insurgents in the Northern Plain.¹⁰⁴ Shaken by the turbulent events, the nuns looked to their superior for guidance. The nuns sought out Capuchin Father Saintin, who had been the male superior of their convent.¹⁰⁵ Saintin, like his fellow Capuchins, had taken the Oath; however, he chose to return to France to rally to the Constitutional Church in late 1791.¹⁰⁶ In addition to Saintin, the nuns observed how other Capuchins in the North took the oath to the Civil Constitution of the clergy, and news from the metropole confirmed many priests were doing the same in France. The nuns decided to stay in Saint-Domingue to instruct the black and colored females of Le Cap.¹⁰⁷ Beginning under the second civil commission sent from France, the nuns dispersed during dramatic revolutionary events, but remained a constant—though very small—presence in the island. As the city of Le Cap burned in June 1793, the rebel blacks stormed the convent, attacking the white female boarders, while former slaves of the establishment protected the nuns.¹⁰⁸ Along with the majority of the whites in Le Cap, only

six nuns took refuge on the vessels in the harbor.¹⁰⁹ However, not all of the nuns from the convent fled to the harbor. Toussaint Louverture encountered one of the nuns that remained, Mother Marais, and some of her white students when he visited Le Cap in 1799. After the war for independence, Henri Christophe, monarch of the North, restored the Providence des Femmes under the direction of Jeanne Germaine Saint-Martin, an older nun that survived Jean-Jacques Dessalines' 1804 massacre of whites.¹¹⁰ While many other whites fled the island, the nuns prioritized their colonial religious work across racial lines, despite the danger and violence of by the Haitian Revolution.

The death of Boukman Dutty, famous for allegedly leading the ceremony at Bois-Caïman and the initial slave uprising in August 1791, left a lasting impact on the colonists and the religious. After only a few months of fighting, Dutty was killed in mid-November 1791. The French troops sought to make an example of Dutty by decapitating him and displaying his head on a stake. The attorney of the Clément plantation described their intentions. He wrote, "We made our entry into the town [Le Cap] that evening, with the cannon taken from the enemy and the head of Boukman on a pike that was exposed afterward in the Place d'Armes.... We thought that the death of one of the most famous chiefs would drive the brigands to sue for peace."¹¹¹ Dutty's death provoked the Capuchin parish priest of Trou, Sulpice, to publicly express his disagreement with the mutilation and display of the slave insurrectionist. Sulpice traveled throughout the parishes in revolt, singing masses for Dutty's soul.¹¹² Although Sulpice did not explicitly declare his support for the slave revolt, his reaction openly contested the brutality of the forces fighting against the slave revolutionaries.

Another Capuchin parish priest, Father Cachetan of Petite-Anse, also allied with the insurrectionists in the North, serving as their chaplain. The attorney of the Clément plantation explained, "Father Cachetan... preferred to stay in the midst of the black insurgents to preach the Evangel of the law to them, and encourage them to persist in an insurrection that was holy and legitimate in his eyes."¹¹³ The attorney implied the parish priest had the option to flee like most whites, but he willingly stayed with the insurgents. Further, while many other whites were taken prisoner by the insurgents, Cachetan joined them of his own volition, because he fully supported their cause. In fact, when the whites took over the rebel camp where Cachetan resided, the priest claimed "he was peaceful in the midst of his parishioners (the blacks)."¹¹⁴ Not only did he support the enslaved

in their insurrection, he also saw them as equals to whites, calling them his parishioners. Cachetan was eventually imprisoned in Le Cap, but his actual punishment was kept secret “in order not to scandalize the public and above all the blacks.”¹¹⁵ The need for confidentiality regarding the consequences of Cachetan’s actions further indicates the sincerity of the alliance between the priest and the insurgents. If news of his death could incite further slave rebellion, Cachetan must have been a genuine ally, philanthropist, and likely an abolitionist.

During the first months of the slave uprising that began in the North Province in August 1791, Father Philemon, a Capuchin parish priest of Limbé, purportedly joined the slave insurgents in the area in perpetrating violence against whites. One contemporary witness claimed that “Father Philemon, parish priest of Limbé, who since the beginning of the revolt was with the rebel blacks, their pastor, or better to say like that of Petite-Anse, their instigator, committed more than one crime.”¹¹⁶ A military expedition sent by the royal governor, Philbert-François Rouxel de Blanchelande under Lieutenant Colonel Anne-Louis de Touzard discovered Philemon amongst the rebels and learned of his alleged offenses in November 1791. M. Le Clerc, who left an account of this armed mission, charged Philemon with aiding the enslaved in barricading the rum distillery at Alquier. He wrote, “The position is quite defensible. The plan was drawn up by our curé [parish priest], Father Philemon. Minister of hell! The scaffold is waiting for you.”¹¹⁷ The white forces eventually overtook the insurgents, and began to free the prisoners held by the black rebels for months. According to Clément, Philemon had held white women prisoners in the Church, sharing them with the insurgents as concubines each evening, “like a seraglio.”¹¹⁸ Le Clerc recounted a conversation with one of the females he knew. He wrote, “One of my neighbors, a little old woman, whose soul was her only beauty, came up to me. The curé had wanted to sleep with her, and when she refused, she received fifty lashes, whose scars she still bore.”¹¹⁹ Clément claimed that many of the other women did not survive more than a few days after being freed by Touzard’s forces, because they had been mercilessly abused and contracted diseases.¹²⁰ These accounts by white enemies of the Haitian Revolution were apt to exaggerate and even fabricate details to vilify Philemon for sympathizing with the slave insurrectionists.

For his supposed vicious crimes, including his alliance with the insurgents, whites detained Philemon, eventually publicly executing him. Le Clerc explained, “The curé, who had disgraced the sanctuary of the

Eternal so many times, tried to request a meeting with the general, who refused, and who ordered him kept under guard until the next day, when he would be sent to Le Cap...as a criminal, to be sent before the provost marshal's court."¹²¹ In this account, Le Clerc also expressed his disdain for the priest's crimes against the Church and God in emphasizing the location of Philemon's crimes. Philemon had broken his priestly vow of celibacy when he purportedly raped white women. Directing sexual violence at white women would have turned the colony's racial hierarchy, because, historically, white men had raped women of African descent without consequence in Saint-Domingue's slave society.¹²² Although Le Clerc identified Philemon as the mastermind behind the defensive position of the enslaved earlier in his account, the priest's alleged sexual and spiritual crimes took eventual precedence for the emotional author. However, the official charges brought against Philemon focused on his undesirable alliances. Philemon was "accused and convicted of having supported the blacks in revolt and having corresponded with their chiefs, as well as the Spanish, was hanged on the Place d'Armes at four in the afternoon."¹²³ Such accusations reflected how strongly Philemon's collaboration with slaves violated his accusers' definition of what it meant to be white in Saint-Domingue. By allying with peoples of African descent, the priest forfeited his whiteness.

Priests acted as key intermediaries in negotiating between the slave rebels and French authorities. Father Sulpice, who had sung masses for Dutty's soul, continued his peaceful intervention on behalf of the slave insurrectionists after the First Civil Commissioners arrived from France in late November 1791. The Legislative Assembly in Paris sent three civil commissioners to Saint-Domingue: Edmond de Saint-Léger, Frédéric Ignace de Mirbeck, and Philippe Roume de Saint-Laurent. These civil commissioners delivered the king's proclamation of 28 September 1791, granting amnesty for "acts of revolution." The proclamation lacked clarity in the application of the amnesty to the slave revolutionaries, because it predated news of the slave uprisings, resulting in a disagreement between the slave leaders and the colonial assembly that had to be settled by the new commissioners.¹²⁴ Despite disagreement with the other civil commissioners, Roume chose to offer the amnesty to insurrectionists. Jean-François Papillon and Georges Biassou, leaders of the slave revolution, embraced the amnesty as an opportunity to negotiate with the colonial authorities. General Pamphile de Lacroix wrote, "The leaders of the revolt...tired of the present scenes of carnage and horror...proved willing

to make amends when Father Sulpice, parish priest of Trou, undertook to...explain the feelings of goodwill included in the amnesty of September 28.”¹²⁵ While members of the colonial assembly and other whites refused to negotiate with the enslaved, Sulpice willingly sought to facilitate communications between the insurrectionists and the commissioners. Jean-François Papillon and Biassou likely accepted the priest’s aid because he was literate, and the rebel leaders favored the king and the Church. In his *Rapport sur les troubles de Saint-Domingue*, J.-P. Garran-Coulon explained how Sulpice used the slaves’ respect for priests to bring peace.¹²⁶ Sulpice’s reaction to Dutty’s death could have only solidified Jean-François Papillon’s and Biassou’s trust and respect for him.

The Capuchin parish priest of Dondon, Guillaume Sylvestre de la Haye, also mediated in negotiations between the civil commissioners and the slave leaders. When the insurgents captured the parish of Dondon in September 1791, de la Haye later testified he “would have considered it dishonorable and a dereliction of his duty if he had thought of abandoning his parishioners.”¹²⁷ While in Dondon, Jean-François Papillon sought de la Haye’s counsel, as well as that of a few other white captives, in drafting proposals to present to the authorities. During his time with the slave rebels, the priest maintained correspondence with Biassou, giving the insurrectionist advice and preparing a set of laws.¹²⁸ According to naturalist Michel Etienne Descourtilz, Biassou asked de la Haye to sing a mass and to “draft a plan of conduct and a code of laws” for the enslaved to live by in the “conquered country” until Biassou could receive Louis XVI, “their king and their only master.”¹²⁹ The priest may have also served as chaplain to Biassou.¹³⁰ De la Haye remained with the rebels until January 1792, when he escaped into the bordering Spanish territory, Santo Domingo.¹³¹ When the French Army of the North retook Dondon from the brigands in January 1793, they arrested de la Haye in St. Raphaël in Santo Domingo and imprisoned him in Le Cap.¹³² Despite his arrest, de la Haye had already provided the slaves with valuable political advice and introduced some equality into communications between white French officials and black slave insurrections, earning him the latter’s trust and respect.

Royalist insurrectionary leader Jean-François Papillon also used his alliances with the religious against the French during the Haitian Revolution. As the French civil commissioners worked to end the slave uprising, the Spanish in neighboring Santo Domingo offered the rebel leaders their freedom, as well as rank in the newly founded Black Auxiliaries of Carlos IV, to fight against the French. Jean-François took the opportunity, appre-

ciating that Catholic Spain had a king. The black soldiers formed an alliance with a mulatto priest Josef Vásquez.¹³³ In July 1794, Spanish soldiers captured Fort-Dauphin in Saint-Domingue, and Jean-François Papillon's troops attacked the French colonists. According to French accounts, Vásquez encouraged the black soldiers to massacre the French civilians. Eyewitnesses claimed that the priest had "great influence on the minds of the Negroes, for Jean-François Papillon kissed his hand, when he came near him."¹³⁴ Another account suggested that Vásquez helped plan the massacre of hundreds of French citizens "in the secrecy of the confessional."¹³⁵ These French sources suggest that the blacks would not have taken these actions without the mulatto priest's persuasion, not necessarily because of his race, but their respect for his position in the Church. While there is no doubt that the black soldiers killed hundreds of French colonists, the portrayals of the Spanish priest in French sources do not align with Vásquez's own account of his association with the rebel leaders. Vásquez explained that the Spanish did not fully trust their new allies and the black soldiers working acting of their own volition in fighting and taking prisoners, including slaves for the king.¹³⁶ While Vásquez may not have intervened to stop the black soldiers, the French accounts likely exaggerate his endorsement of and involvement in planning the massacres because of he was Spanish, of African descent, and a priest allied with leaders of the slave revolt in Saint-Domingue.

The enslaved did not trust and respect all of the religious in the colony, as can be seen with Father Bienvenu, the parish priest of Marmelade. After obtaining permission from his parishioners to attempt to negotiate peace with the slave revolutionaries, the insurrectionists instead took him prisoner, suspecting he was a spy.¹³⁷ In his account, Gros described his own encounters with Bienvenu while imprisoned in the slave insurgent camp. Gros wrote, "During supper we perceived a priest, stretched at his length upon a sofa, who observed the profoundest silence; they showed him little or no attention. Only Jean-Louis respected him. Since, we have seen that he was generally hated by the blacks: this priest was Father Bien-Venu." According to Gros, when Jean-François Papillon ordered the execution of one of his subordinates, Jeannot Bullet, a notoriously brutal rebel leader, Bienvenu "exhorted the monster before his death."¹³⁸ Although the slave insurrectionists may not have liked Bienvenu, they obviously respected him and Catholicism enough to give Jeannot the courtesy of final counsel from the priest. In providing detailed information from his captivity, Bienvenu's actions after his release indicated his loyalty to the French

colonial authorities.¹³⁹ He reported back about the causes of the insurgency and the slave alliance with the Spanish in neighboring Santo Domingo. Bienvenu recalled hearing “a uniform language for all the blacks” and the slaves’ claims that the French king had sent orders for “them to arm themselves and to restore freedom.” In addition, he described Spanish military personnel delivering “two barrels of powder” and Spanish commanders meeting with the slave leaders in the camps.¹⁴⁰ Like many other white captives, Father Bienvenu provided the French with valuable intelligence about the uprising based on his own observations amongst the rebels.

Abbé de la Porte, a priest in the area of Vallière in the North Province, also sought to communicate with the slave revolutionaries, but he condemned the rebellion. On 25 May 1792, the priest wrote an extensive letter explaining his face-to-face and written exchanges with and sentiments towards the rebels to Jean-Gabriel Larcheveque-Thibault, deputy to the Estates General and member of the Colonial Assembly. Abbé de la Porte verbally expressed to the enslaved the need to end their insurrection, because they had not achieved their goals and warned them of the threat of a combined European force that could exterminate them.¹⁴¹ He referred to the goals of three free days each week and liberty for the insurgent leaders expressed by Biassou and Jean-François Papillon in letters to the civil commissioners in December 1791.¹⁴² The priest also wrote letters to slave leaders asking their demands, and received a response from Biassou, who expressed his distrust, likely due to his previous exchanges with the civil commissioners. De la Porte noted that his words to the slaves “went in one ear and out the other.” In explaining his involvement with the slaves to Larcheveque-Thibault, Abbé de la Porte wrote, “In doing so, I met the obligations imposed upon me of fairness, humanity, religion.”¹⁴³ While the priest was obligated by fairness and humanity to acknowledge the cause of the enslaved and hear their demands, he believed that his religious obligations required him to condemn a rebellion against the colonial order. He claimed the rebels would suffer “eternal loss of their souls,” because the revolution outraged “the sacred maxims” of religion.¹⁴⁴ The priest used religion to oppose the rebellion, seemingly supporting slavery, but embraced the slaves in person and in writing with fairness and humanity.

Priests also took part in attempts to form a new mixed-race government for the island. Priests became stalwarts of the civil commission. In September 1792, new civil commissioners sent from France, Etienne Polverel, Jean-Antoine Ailhaud, and Sonthonax, arrived in Saint-

Domingue to restore order. Only months after their arrival, the civil commissioners dissolved the Colonial Assembly and replaced it with a racially integrated Intermediary Commission composed of six whites and six free men of color.¹⁴⁵ Father Boucher, parish priest of Terrier Rouge and former member of the provincial assembly, became president of the Intermediary Commission.¹⁴⁶ Boucher was involved in the explosive events between the civil commissioners and the new colonial governor, François-Thomas Galbaud du Fort. Although Boucher publicly welcomed Galbaud upon his arrival, he later spoke out against the governor and in favor of the civil commissioners and men of color. Boucher claimed Galbaud refused to acknowledge the commissioners' authority and discriminated against people of color.¹⁴⁷ In June 1793, the city of Le Cap burned during fighting between the supporters of Galbaud and the civil commissioners promised slave insurgents freedom and citizenship for fighting for France.¹⁴⁸ After the alliance of enslaved and the civil commissioners defeated Galbaud, Sonthonax and Polverel formed an inner circle of loyal whites and free people of color, which included Father Boucher.¹⁴⁹

A few months after the arrival of the second civil commission in September 1792, Sonthonax interrogated de la Haye who had been jailed since January 1792 for his actions amongst the rebels in late 1791. De la Haye was still in the custody of the civil commission "on suspicion of complicity with the black insurgents" when Le Cap burned in June 1793. The commissioners released de la Haye after defeating Galbaud, and he became a member of the commissioners' council of loyalists.¹⁵⁰ The civil commissioners proceeded toward general emancipation with the support of the two priests. In 1793, de la Haye began publishing a newspaper, *Feuille de Jour*.¹⁵¹ In his *Soirées Bermudiennes*, French proslavery author Felix Carteau described "the dreadful" de la Haye as "the ardent apostle of freedom for the blacks, composer of the *Feuille de Jour*, under Sonthonax."¹⁵² Commenting on the relationship between de la Haye and Sonthonax, Michel Etienne Descourtilz wrote, "Abbot de la Haie [sic] found favor with Santhonax [sic]...since he was his adviser and the editor of a paper written in the principles he had professed, when the civil commissioner had lifted the mask."¹⁵³ Clearly, Descourtilz perceived both de la Haye and Sonthonax as abolitionists.

During his leadership, Toussaint Louverture constantly sought the counsel of the ancient clergy of Saint-Domingue, such as de la Haye. This revolutionary involvement with the clergy predates the moment when he switched his loyalty from Spain to the French Republic. When Louverture

joined the ranks of revolutionaries, he served under Biassou in the Spanish military, fighting against the French on the island. However, in the spring of 1794, Louverture abandoned the Spanish and allied with the French, accepted by Etienne Laveaux as an emissary.¹⁵⁴ Pamphile de Lacroix identified de la Haye as the intermediary in secret negotiations between Louverture and Laveaux regarding Louverture's change of alliances from the Spanish to the French.¹⁵⁵ Nineteenth-century scholar Henri Castonnet des Fosses went even further, suggesting de la Haye initiated the secret negotiations.¹⁵⁶ After Louverture joined the French, de la Haye remained a part of the black leader's inner circle.

Louverture also sought the counsel of another colonial priest, Basile Joseph Anthéaume. Anthéaume arrived in Saint-Domingue in late 1787 to serve as the *aumônier*, or chaplain, in the hospital in Le Cap.¹⁵⁷ In the spring of 1793, he engaged a national agent named Puech in a debate regarding the role of religion in the revolutions and the French republic. While Puech claimed religions caused wars and should not be included in the French constitution, Anthéaume argued religion was important for "any good republican."¹⁵⁸ Later, he served as "confessor and one of the political advisors" of Louverture.¹⁵⁹ In explaining his own actions in the colony after his return in 1801, Capuchin juring priest Father Julien identified Anthéaume and Balthazar, parish priest of Port-Margot, as Louverture's "interior confidants."¹⁶⁰ Aware of the close relationship between Louverture and Anthéaume, Gabriel Marie Theodore Joseph d'Hédouville, the French representative sent to the island by the Directory in 1798, sought the priest as one of his messengers for help from Louverture during an insurrection in the North. However, Hédouville's attempted manipulation of the alliance was unsuccessful, and Louverture refused to receive Anthéaume's missives and had him jailed briefly.¹⁶¹ This incident did not, however, permanently sever the relationship between the priest and the revolutionary leader.

In 1801, Louverture assembled a group of colonists to draft a colonial constitution, which declared Catholicism the official religion of the island. Louverture corresponded with Abbé Henri Grégoire, member of the philanthropic society the *Amis des Noirs*, in Paris seeking more priests to volunteer to go to Saint-Domingue. According to the *Annales de la Religion*, printed in Paris, "For three years and on several occasions, he [Louverture] solicited Grégoire, his friend and that of the blacks...for the sending of twelve priests....This, however, was a great and courageous idea that Grégoire proposed to the national council...to found a

great church in Saint-Domingue.”¹⁶² Eventually, Grégoire arranged for the establishment of four constitutional bishops in Saint-Domingue.¹⁶³ The ancient clergy in the island, including Anthéaume and Balthazar, opposed the new priests being sent from France, and they made a public profession of faith addressed to Louverture. In the profession, the colonial priests explained that the ecclesiastics sent from Paris did not have papal approval, because they had been appointed by the French National Church Council, which had not been recognized by the Pope.¹⁶⁴ Not wanting to further the schism and maintain control over the religious in the colony, Louverture sought a compromise, dividing religious control between the old and new ecclesiastics.

The division between the old and new clergy strained their relationships with Louverture. An illustration can be found in the case with Dominican Father Lecun. Lecun arrived in Saint-Domingue in late 1789 to serve as the parish priest of Port-au-Prince.¹⁶⁵ In 1794, when the English controlled the southern portion of Saint-Domingue, Lecun became the apostolic prefect, after Rigaud executed his predecessor Viriot.¹⁶⁶ Suspected of being an agent of the English by Hédouville and fearing Louverture, Lecun sought refuge in Jamaica when the French army pushed the English out of the colony in 1798.¹⁶⁷ Although he opposed Mauviel and the new clergy from France, Lecun was not in Saint-Domingue at the time of the signing of the profession of faith. He did not return to the colony until the arrival of the Leclerc Expedition in 1802. During an extensive battle between the insurrectionists and the expeditionary forces in Port-au-Prince in February 1802, Lecun barricaded the Church with hundreds of people inside to keep them from harm. Pamphile de Lacroix described,

Lecun, former superior of the mission of the Dominicans, then apostolic prefect and parish priest of Port-au-Prince, presented himself to us surrounded by more than five hundred persons of both sexes and all colors. In the time they were barricaded in the church, Lecun, in sacerdotal habits, the sacred vessels in his hands, had covered the exterior entrance, and was able to impose the fury with his character and evangelical courage.¹⁶⁸

After the French evacuated their forces, Lecun remained in Saint-Domingue in the service of Jean-Jacques Dessalines, who took over command of the rebel forces in October 1802. However, Lecun fled in 1804 because he and Dessalines disagreed about the fate of the whites remaining in the colony.¹⁶⁹

Guillaume Mauviel was one of the bishops chosen by Grégoire and the National Council to go to Saint-Domingue, but Toussaint Louverture did not receive him well. Reacting to the profession of faith of the old clergy, Louverture made Mauviel the bishop of the eastern part of the island, formerly Spanish-controlled but seized by Louverture for the French in 1795, instead of one of the provinces in the French part.¹⁷⁰ Although Louverture requested the priests from France, his Constitution of 1801 gave him the power to “assign to each minister of the religion the extent of his spiritual administration.”¹⁷¹ When the Leclerc Expedition arrived in the colony in 1802, Mauviel convinced Augustin Clervaux, the colored commander of Cibao in the East, to submit to the French forces. In February 1802, Leclerc wrote to the Minister of the Marine, “This submission is due to the good spirit of Clervaux, man of color, and the sound advice that he was given by citizen Mauvielle who was sent by the Directory to Saint-Domingue, as bishop in the French part...His conduct has always been French and courageous.”¹⁷² In addition to Clervaux, Mauviel also persuaded the Spanish population around Samana to welcome the French expedition, arming “three hundred people, mostly old nobles, humiliated to be subjected by the authority of a slave leader.”¹⁷³

When Napoleon Bonaparte sent General Charles Victoire Emmanuel Leclerc, Bonaparte advised Leclerc to deport any whites who worked with Toussaint Louverture’s regime.¹⁷⁴ While the French revolutionary tribunal had accused Dessirier, or Father Julien, of counterrevolutionary actions in 1793, General Leclerc suspected him of being Louverture’s agent. In November 1797, Pope Pius VI named Father Julien the apostolic prefect of Le Cap, but he was not able to embark for the island until 1800.¹⁷⁵ In a report from March 1801, Father Julien explained his difficulties in securing passage to the island on a French ship.¹⁷⁶ Upon his arrival, Dessirier announced himself to Louverture and Leclerc, expressing his desire to resume his religious duties in Saint-Domingue. While announcing himself to Louverture—not just Leclerc—may not have seemed suspect in isolation, Julien’s actions after his arrival were suspicious.

In his written defense to the Minister of the Marine, the priest revealed the extent of his involvement with the insurgents, while maintaining his innocence. In the beginning, he wrote, “I assure you there will not advance the slightest appearance of correspondence with any of the brigands, not with the leader, nor with his cooperating officers.” Father Julien explained that during his involuntary stay with the brigands “violence alone” forced him “to exercise the ministry,” fearing he would have been shot if he

refused.¹⁷⁷ While amongst the former slaves, Dessirier performed over four hundred baptisms and around twenty-five marriages, professing his concern for their not yet baptized souls and common state of unmarried cohabitation. He maintained that none of the participants in these religious acts were rebels or their children, but merely cultivators, the general identifier for former slaves used by Saint-Dominguan officials after general emancipation in 1794.¹⁷⁸ It is clear many of the former slaves valued Catholic rituals, even after republican France abolished slavery. Catholic worship was also encouraged by the insurgent leaders. Father Julien also performed Easter mass, but only after some confusion. Louverture heard there was a priest being escorted to Marmelade, but he assumed it was Balthazar, his confidant, not Dessirier.¹⁷⁹ Despite his disappointment, Louverture allowed Father Julien to lead Easter mass. Dessirier claimed, "Over three thousand people attended the Mass," including some of the revolutionary leaders.¹⁸⁰ From the priest's perspective, at least in his defense, unarmed former slaves were not part of the brigands, and therefore, he was as justified in ministering to them as he was to any other citizen. After Julien returned to Le Cap to report to Leclerc, the general had the priest transported back to France to answer for his actions and supposed relationship with Louverture.

After Haitian independence from France in 1804, while the country continued to experience political struggles, the religious continued as counsel to the newly founded black nation. Just after declaring independence, Dessalines ordered the massacre of most of the whites in Haiti. However, Dessalines spared "a handful of whites distinguished by the opinions they have always held and who, besides, have taken the oath to live with us obedient to the law."¹⁸¹ This included many of the religious. In 1805, Dessalines signed the first Haitian Constitution as emperor. Independent Haiti did not have an official religion, but allowed for freedom of worship.¹⁸² In 1806, after the assassination of Dessalines, Haiti divided into "a republic ruled by Alexandre Pétion comprised of the southern and western regions, and a monarchy under Henri Christophe in the north."¹⁸³ Pétion and Christophe, both free men of color, had been active during the Haitian Revolution. Despite the refiguring of authority in revolutionary Haiti, one Capuchin priest continuously counseled the Haitian authorities. Parish priest of Le Cap Corneille Brelle, or Corneille de Douai, signed the profession of faith and served as a chaplain to Louverture.¹⁸⁴ He also performed Dessalines' coronation as emperor in 1805, and he became Archbishop of Haiti and grand chaplain to King

Christophe after Dessalines' assassination.¹⁸⁵ This example illustrates how the religious who advanced the Haitian Revolution also participated in the new black nation of Haiti.

The Catholic Church remained a constant presence in Saint-Domingue, from before it was a colony and even after it achieved its independence, and the Catholic religious played an active role in colonial and revolutionary politics and society. The religious continually sought to guard the Christian rights of the enslaved with government support. However, the sentiments of the religious regarding what slaves' Christian rights consisted of and toward the government changed over time.¹⁸⁶ During the colonial period, religious philanthropists were strong proponents of the humane treatment of slaves, and sought to provide them with religious instruction, despite the small number of clergy to minister to the colonial population, mainly slaves. After 1789, a segment of the colonial religious sought equality for free people of color, the end to slavery, the maintenance of general emancipation after 1794, and Haitian independence in 1804. They allied with the enslaved in various ways, from helping them to negotiate with officials and political advising to providing continued religious instruction and rituals for rebel camps, living alongside the insurrectionists. They protected both slaves' rights to religious instruction and freedom for people of all colors.

NOTES

1. George Amitheat Breathett, "Religious Missions in Colonial French Saint Domingue" (Ph.D. diss., State University of Iowa, 1954); J. M. Jan, *Les Congrégations religieuses à Saint-Domingue, 1681–1793* (Port-au-Prince: Henri Deschamps, 1951); and R. P. Joseph Janin, *La Religion aux Colonies Française sous l'ancien régime (de 1626 à la Révolution)* (Paris: D'Auteuil, 1942). One exception is Sue Peabody, "'A Dangerous Zeal': Catholic Missions in the French Antilles, 1625–1800" *French Historical Studies* vol. 25, no. 1 (Winter 2002): pp. 53–90.
2. Breathett, "Religious Missions," p. 154.
3. Peabody, "'A Dangerous Zeal'," p. 57.
4. It is important to note that the primary sources in which Hurbon refers are commonly used by scholars of the Haitian Revolution, such as Colonial Committee member Charles Tarbé's *Rapport sur les troubles à Saint-Domingue* and Jean Philippe Garran de Coulon's *Rapport sur les troubles de Saint-Domingue*.

5. Laënnec Hurbon, "Church and Slavery in Saint-Domingue," *The Abolitions of Slavery: From Léger Félicité Sonthonax to Victor Schoelcher, 1793, 1794, 1848*, Marcel Dorigny, ed. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), p. 62.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
7. "Commission donnée par le Cardinal de Richelieu aux Sieurs d'Enamuc & de Rossey, pour établir une Colonie dans les Antilles d'Amérique," 31 October 1626, and "Lettres-Patentes du Cardinal de Richelieu, qui donnent octroient au sieur de Caen en propriété les Isles de Inaque, Ibaque et autres situées aux Indes Occidentales, avec pouvoir d'y établir des Colonies de François," 28 January 1633, in Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions des Colonies Françaises de l'Amérique sous le vent*, vol. 1 (Paris: Moreau de Saint-Méry, n.d.), pp. 20–22, 24–25.
8. Pierre de Vaissiere, *Saint-Domingue: La Société et la vie créoles sous l'ancien régime (1629–1789)* (Paris: Perrin, 1909), p. 155; Georges Scelle, "Histoire politique de la traite négrière aux Indes de Castille, contrats et traités d'asiento; étude de droit public et d'histoire diplomatique puisée aux sources originales et accompagnée de plusieurs documents inédits," vol. 2 (doctoral dissertation, University of Paris, 1906), pp. 181–182.
9. "Code noir ou Edit servant de Règlement pour le Gouvernement et l'Administration de la Justice et de la Police des Isles Françaises de l'Amérique, et pour la Discipline et le Commerce des Negres et Esclaves dans ledit Pays," in Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions*, vol. 1, p. 415.
10. "Code noir," in Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions*, vol. 1, p. 415.
11. "Pouvoirs accordés par le Pape à quatre Dominicains, Missionnaires aux Isles Françaises," 12 July 1635, in Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions*, vol. 1, pp. 39–40.
12. The Council of Cap Français did not initially register the patented letter Louis XIV had issued the Jesuits in 1651. "Lettres-Patentes contenant les Privileges accordés aux Pere de la Compagnie des Jesus, dans l'une et l'autre Amérique Septentrionale et Méridionale," in Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions*, vol. 1, p. 71; George Breathett, *The Catholic Church in Haiti (1704–1785): Selected Letters, Memoirs and Documents* (Salisbury, NC: Documentary Publications), pp. 1–2; Breathett, "Jesuits in Colonial Haiti," *The Historian*, vol. XXIV, no. 2 (1962), p. 154. Peabody provides an extensive table of the religious personnel in the Antilles from 1685 to 1786 based on information compiled from several primary sources. Peabody, "A Dangerous Zeal," p. 73.
13. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description*, vol. 1, p. 107, 352, 374; "Lettres-Patentes, portant Etablissement des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus

- dans l'Isle Saint-Domingue," October 1704, in Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions des Colonies Françaises de l'Amérique sous le vent*, vol. 2 (Paris: Moreau de Saint-Méry, n.d.), pp. 18–20.
14. "Lettre du Ministre à M. l'Abbé de la Roque, sur la Préfecture Apostolique de la Partie du Nord de Saint-Domingue," du 22 janvier 1764, in Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions des Colonies Françaises de l'Amérique sous le vent*, vol. 4 (Paris: Moreau de Saint-Méry, n.d.), pp. 642–644; Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description*, vol. 1, p. 107, 353.
 15. "Ordre du Roi, qui chasse les Juifs des colonies," 30 September 1683, and "Extrait de l'Ordre du Roi à MM. de Blénac et Begon, touchant les Religionnaires," 30 September 1683, in *Loix et Constitutions*, vol. 1, p. 388, 390.
 16. "Code noir," in Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions*, vol. 1, p. 415.
 17. Peabody, "'A Dangerous Zeal,'" p. 66.
 18. Pierre-François-Xavier Charlevoix, *Histoire de l'isle espagnole ou de S. Domingue*, vol. 2 (Paris: François Baris, 1731), p. 502.
 19. Many scholars have misrepresented Romaine Rivière as a runaway slave. For a biographical sketch of Romaine Rivière, see Rob D. Taber, "The Issue of Their Union: Family, Law, and Politics in Western Saint-Domingue, 1777 to 1789," (doctoral dissertation, University of Florida, 2015), pp. 137–143. See also David P. Geggus, "Marronage, Vodou, and the Slave Revolt of 1791," in *Haitian Revolutionary Studies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), p. 72, 74, 78; and Terry Rey, "The Virgin Mary and Revolution in Saint-Domingue: The Charisma of Romaine-la-Prophétesse," *Journal of Historical Sociology*, vol. 11, no. 3 (1998): pp. 341–369.
 20. Serge Larose, "The Meaning of Africa in Haitian Vodou," in *Symbols and Sentiments: Cross-Cultural Studies in Symbolism*, Ioan Lewis, ed. (London: Academic Press, 1977), pp. 85–116. Carolyn E. Fick, *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990), 127–28; Rey, "The Virgin Mary and Revolution in Saint-Domingue," pp. 341–369. For more on the significance of the cross African Christianity, see Fromont, *The Art of Conversion*, pp. 65–108.
 21. The *Code noir* was specific about Judaism, Catholicism, and Protestantism, but did not directly mention Islam. Perhaps this was because the *Code noir* was directed at the existing religions of the free population in the colonies, while overlooking the possibility of the exposure of slaves to various religions while in Africa, including Islam. For information on Muslim slaves in Saint-Domingue, see for example Sylviane A. Diouf, *Servants of Allah: African Muslims Enslaved in the Americas* (New York:

- New York University Press, 1998). For more on Muslim slaves in the Atlantic World, see for example James H. Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441–1770* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003).
22. Sébastien Jacques Courtin, “Mémoire sommaire sur les prétendues pratiques magiques et empoisonnements prouvés aux procès instruits et jugés au Cap contre plusieurs Nègres et Nègresses dont le chef nommé François Macandal, a été condamné au feu et exécuté le 20 janvier 1758,” p. 210, ANOM F3 88, quoted in Peabody, “‘A Dangerous Zeal,’” p. 79; for more on the Makandal affair, see also *Relation d’une conspiration tramée par les Nègres dans l’Île de S. Domingue; défense que fait le Jésuite Confesseur, aux Nègres qu’on suplicie, de révéler leurs fauteurs & complices* (Paris? 1758?), pp. 1–8, “Arrêt du Conseil du Cap, touchant l’Empoisonneur Macandal et ses Complices, et qui ordonne la publication de l’Edit du mois de Juillet 1682, sur les Poisons,” 20 January 1758, “Arrêt de Règlement du Conseil du Cap, qui défend aux Nègres de garder des paquets appelés Macandals, ni de composer et vendre des drogues,” 11 March 1758, in *Loix et Constitutions*, vol. 4, pp. 217–218, 222–223; and Trevor Burnard and John D. Garrigus, *The Plantation Machine: Atlantic Capitalism in French Saint-Domingue and British Jamaica* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), pp. 101–122. For more on Sébastien Jacques Courtin, see E96, ANOM.
 23. “Extrait d’une lettre écrite du Cap François, le 24 juin 1758,” *Relation d’une conspiration tramée par les Nègres dans l’Île de S. Domingue*, p. 7; Fick, *The Making of Haiti*, p. 65. Fick translated and printed excerpts of Assam’s interrogation from 27 September 1757 as well as an extract from the minutes of the registry of the Tribunal of le Cap from 9 November 1757 in Appendix A, pp. 251–59. Gisler also excerpted portions of a letter from 24 June 1758.
 24. “Lettres-Patentes, portant Etablissement des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus dans l’Isle Saint-Domingue,” October 1704, *Loix et Constitutions*, vol. 2, pp. 18–20.
 25. Jane Landers, *Atlantic Creoles in the Age of Revolutions* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), p. 58.
 26. This is less than one percent. The estimate of 240,000 is from Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), p. 78.
 27. “Inventaire de l’habitation de la mission à Léogâne,” 22 June 1773, “Inventaire des meubles et papiers appartenant au père Colomban, préfet apostolique de la mission des Capucins au Cap, et au prêtre desservant la curé,” 23 June 1773, and “Inventaire des curés des Cayes, de Torbeck, des Cotteaux, et du Cap Tiburon,” 22 June 1773, F5A 23, ANOM.

28. *Inventaire des biens des missions des Dominicains, des Capucins et de toutes les cures desservies par des réguliers* (22 juin–15 août 1773), F5A 23, ANOM.
29. John Francis Maxwell, *Slavery and the Catholic Church: The History of the Catholic Teaching Concerning the Moral Legitimacy of the Institution of Slavery* (London: Barry Rose Publishers, 1975), p. 73.
30. Breathett, "Religious Protectionism and the Slave in Haiti," *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 55, no. 1 (1969), p. 26.
31. Janin, *La Religion aux Colonies Française sous l'ancien régime*, p. 130.
32. Peabody, "'A Dangerous Zeal,'" p. 90.
33. Moreau de Saint Mery, *Description*, vol. 1, pp. 373, 426–429, 431–432; "Déclaration du Roi, qui fixe à 18 le nombre des Religieuses du Cap," 27 December 1779, *Loix et Constitutions*, vol. 5, pp. 925–926.
34. Mauricette Bécoulet, "Les Bayon de Libertat à Saint-Domingue," *Généalogie et Histoire de la Caraïbe*, vol. 30 (September 1991), p. 386.
35. Marie le Masson le Gofft, *Lettres Relatives à l'éducation* (Paris: Chez Buisson, 1788), pp. 156–157, 162. The topic of convent education of women was debated in France in the late eighteenth-century. See Mita Choudhury, *Convents and Nuns in Eighteenth-Century French Politics and Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), pp. 129–154. Colonists in the British Caribbean also claimed that white women were negatively influenced through interactions with women of color. See for example, Zacek, "Searching for the Invisible Woman," pp. 332–333.
36. R. P. Cabon, "Les Religieuses du Cap à Saint-Domingue (suite et fin)," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, vol. 3, no. 3 (1949), p. 402.
37. "Notices historiques sur la Communauté des Religieuses Filles de Notre-Dame (Saint-Domingue) fondée en 1733," *Lettre annuelle de l'Ordre de Notre Dame* (Bordeaux: Coussan et Constalet, 1889), cited in Cabon, "Les Religieuses du Cap," p. 403.
38. Moreau de Saint Mery, *Description*, vol. 1, p. 431.
39. *Journales des séances de l'Assemblée coloniale de Saint-Marc*, cited in Cabon, "Les Religieuses du Cap à Saint-Domingue," p. 417.
40. "Arrêt de Règlement du Conseil du Cap, sur les abus, en matière de Religion, de la part des Gens de couleur," 18 February 1761, in *Loix et Constitutions*, vol. 4, pp. 352–356.
41. "Arrêt définitif du Conseil du Cap, qui prononce l'Extinction des Jésuites, et leur expulsion hors de la Colonie," in *Loix et Constitutions*, vol. 4, pp. 626–628.
42. See C9B34, C9B37, and F5A 25/4, ANOM.
43. Breathett, *The Catholic Church in Haiti*, p. 16.
44. Churchwardens served alongside and provided a check on priests in administering the finances of the colonial churches. Typically, lay mem-

- bers of the community appointed *marguilliers*, and their political and social opinions influenced how they fulfilled their functions.
45. "Extrait de la Lettre du Ministre à M. Auger, concernant les Capucins établis à Saint-Domingue," 27 February 1704 "and Lettres-Patentes, portant Etablissement des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jésus dans l'Isle Saint-Domingue," October 1704, *Loix et Constitutions*, vol. 2, p. 2, 18–20.
 46. *Inventaire des biens des missions des Dominicains, des Capucins et de toutes les cures desservies par des réguliers (22 juin–15 août 1773)*, F5A 23, ANOM.
 47. According to Moreau de Saint Mery, the Jesuits owned five sugar refineries before their expulsion, and sugar required substantial slave labor for production. *Description* vol. 1, p. 157.
 48. See for example Fick, *The Making of Haiti*, pp. 93–94, 241–42, 264–65; Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, pp. 100–102; Geggus, *Haitian Revolutionary Studies*, pp. 86–87; Robin Law, "La Cérémonie du Bois-Caïman et le 'pacte de sang' dahoméen," in *L'Insurrection des esclaves de Saint-Domingue (22–23 août 1791)*, ed. Laennec Hurbon (Paris: Karthala, 2000), pp. 131–47; Léon-François Hoffman, "Un Mythe national: La cérémonie du Bois-Caïman," in *La République haïtienne: Etat des lieux et perspectives*, eds. Gérard Barthélemy and Christian Girault (Paris: Karthala, 1993), pp. 434–48; Dayan, *Haiti, History, and the Gods*; and Hein Vanhee, "Central African Popular Christianity and the Making of Haitian Vodou Religion," in *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora*, Linda M. Heywood, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 243–264.
 49. For examples of the role of Protestantism in slave resistance in the British Atlantic, see for example Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 289–318; Michael Mullin, *Africa in America: Slave Acculturation and the Resistance in the American South and the British Caribbean, 1736–1831* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), pp. 174–212; and John W. Catron, *Embracing Protestantism: Black Identities in the Atlantic World* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2016), pp. 183–192.
 50. John K. Thornton, "The Development of an African Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Kongo, 1491–1750," *The Journal of African History*, vol. 25, no. 2 (1994): pp. 147–167; Thornton, "On the Trail of Voodoo: African Christianity in Africa and the Americas," *The Americas*, vol. 44, no. 3 (1988): pp. 261–278; Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684–1706* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Sweet, *Recreating*

- Africa*; James Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441–1770* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003); and Cécile Fromont, *The Art of Conversion: Christian Visual Culture in the Kingdom of the Kongo* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).
51. See Charlevoix, *Histoire de l'isle espagnole ou de S. Domingue*, vol. 2, p. 501.
 52. The missionaries also had a little success on the Slave Coast with the Allada and Whydah. See Robin Law, "Religion, Trade and Politics on the 'Slave Coast': Roman Catholic Missions in Allada and Whydah in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. 21 (1991): pp. 42–77.
 53. Alan Ryde, "Missionary Activity in the Kingdom of Warri to the Early Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1960), pp. 1–2.
 54. *Ibid.*, p. 5, 7.
 55. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
 56. The Bight of Benin also included Allada. Peabody, "'A Dangerous Zeal'," p. 65.
 57. While John K. Thornton makes this connection, Sue Peabody fails to acknowledge that Kongolese Christians were enslaved in Saint-Domingue. See Thornton, "On the Trail of Voodoo" and Peabody, "'A Dangerous Zeal.'"
 58. John K. Thornton, "African Soldiers in the Haitian Revolution," *The Journal of Caribbean History*, vol. 25, no. 1 & 2 (1991), p. 61.
 59. Thornton also emphasizes the use of catechists in the Spanish Americas, specifically Cartagena, by Jesuits missionaries. Thornton, "On the Trail of Voodoo," pp. 270–71.
 60. Breathett, "Catholic Missionary Activity," p. 281.
 61. "Règlement de discipline pour les nègres adressé aux curés des îles françaises d'Amérique," excerpted in Gisler, *L'esclavage aux Antilles françaises*, p. 186.
 62. Peabody, "'A Dangerous Zeal,'" p. 85.
 63. Geggus notes that some lesser figures of the uprising were runaway slaves. Geggus, "Saint-Domingue on the Eve of the Haitian Revolution," p. 5.
 64. The term for runaway slaves has different spellings in different sources. Caroyln Fick uses "maroon," and George Breathett uses "maron," but Jean Fouchard alternatively spells it "marron." I will utilize Fouchard's spelling.
 65. "Arrêt de Règlement du Conseil du Cap, sur les abus, en matière de Religion, de la part des Gens de couleur," 18 February 1761, in *Loix et Constitutions*, vol. 4, pp. 352–356; Fick, *The Making of Haiti*, p. 65.

66. "Du Père Margat, Missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus, au Procureur-Général des Missions de la même Compagnie aux îles de l'Amérique," 20 July 1743, printed in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères*, vol. 7 (Toulouse: Sens & Claude, 1810), pp. 145–200.
67. In *The Making of Haiti*, Carolyn E. Fick argues the Haitian Revolution grew out of maronage.
68. Jean Fouchard, *Les Marrons de la Liberté* (Port-au-Prince: Henri Deschamps, 1988), p. 301.
69. "Lettre du Ministre aux Administrateurs, sur la Mission des Jacobins," 5 November 1772, in *Loix et constitutions*, vol. 5, pp. 415–417; "La lettre suivante du P. Maubert, Préf. Ap., à M. de Sartines, Ministre de la Marine, expose le déplorable relâchement des missionnaires Jacobins et l'organisation défectueuse de leur Mission (1er janv. 1776)," in Ignace Marie Le Ruzic, *Documents sur la mission des Frères-Prêcheurs à Saint-Domingue* (Lorient: Bayon-Royer, 1912), pp. 245–249.
70. Charles-Damien Duguet, *Mémoire sur le spiritual de la mission des ff. prêcheurs à Saint-Domingue* (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie de Bourdon & Imprimerie de Mozard, 1790), p. 28. For more on Damien Duguet see E150, ANOM.
71. "Règlement de discipline pour les nègres adressé aux curés des îles françaises d'Amérique," excerpted in Gisler, *L'esclavage aux Antilles françaises*, p. 185.
72. "Ordonnance du Roi, concernant les Missions dans les Colonies Françaises de l'Amérique," 24 November 1781, in *Loix et Constitutions*, vol. 6, pp. 178–80.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
74. Duguet, *Mémoire sur le spiritual*, p. 28.
75. "Séance du lundi 3 août 1789," *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860 recueil complet des débats*, vol. 8 (Paris: Dupont, 1792–1894), p. 335.
76. "Séance du lundi 12 juillet 1790," *Archives parlementaires*, vol. 17, pp. 50–51, 55–60.
77. Letters from P. Constantin, apostolic prefect of the Capuchin missions in Northern Saint-Domingue, 3 July 1790 and 7 October 1790, Ms. 1970 B, Bibliothèque Franciscaine des Capucins [hereafter cited as BFC].
78. "Séance du samedi 27 novembre 1790, au soir," *Archives parlementaires*, vol. 21, pp. 74–81.
79. Janin, *La religion aux antilles françaises sous l'Ancien régime*, pp. 225–226. In the years preceding the French Revolution, Capuchins and Dominicans had similar numbers of representatives in Saint-Domingue. In comparing a range of sources, Sue Peabody concludes that there were twenty-five Dominicans in 1773 and twenty-one Capuchins in 1785, as well as ten other clergy representing other orders or serving as secular

- priests. However, these calculations do not include the nuns in Cap Français, who were under Capuchin authority. Though it is possible the overall figures changed by 1790, with religious authority divided in the island between the two dominant orders, it is likely the Capuchins and Dominicans attempted to maintain balanced representation. In regards to the French Revolution, if Dominicans refused to take the Oath, considering Peabody's calculations, nearly half of the clergy in Saint-Domingue were non-juring. Peabody, "A Dangerous Zeal," p. 73.
80. Jean Claude Paul Dessirier de Rignosot, Dossiers du Tribunal Révolutionnaire, W138, Archives Nationales de France [hereafter cited as AN].
 81. Ibid.
 82. "Extrait des registres des délibérations de l'assemblée provinciale du Nord. Séance du 20 mai 1790 au soir," cited in J. M. Jan, *Les Congrégations religieuses à Saint-Domingue, 1681-1793* (Port-au-Prince: Henri Deschamps, 1951), p. 174.
 83. Dessirier, W138, AN.
 84. Although the monk did not identify himself as Capuchin, it is likely that he was. He published his sentiments in a newspaper in Le Cap, which was under Capuchin spiritual leadership. Further, he made reference to the Capuchin superior going to France to bring more constitutional priests to the colony. Un ex-moine Républicain, *Le Moniteur général de la partie française de Saint-Domingue*, 5 January 1793, vol. III, no. 50, p. 198.
 85. Ibid., p. 199.
 86. Ibid., p. 198.
 87. "Du Cap-Français, Mercredi, 8 du courant, le clergé s'est. présente chez le citoyen Gouverneur général, pour lui rendre ses hommages, le citoyen Cibot, curé, a prononcé les discours suivant," *Affiches Américaines*, 13 May 1793, p. 76.
 88. In addition to King Louis XVI's execution for treason in January 1793 and the September Massacres of counterrevolutionaries in 1792, priests within the French empire had faced deportation for not taking the Oath since May 1792. See "Séance du dimanche 27 mai 1792" and "Séance du mercredi 30 mai 1792, au soir," *Archives parlementaires*, vol. 44, pp. 156-157, 348; "Séance du mercredi 1 août 1792, au matin," *Archives parlementaires*, vol. 47, pp. 367-368; Alfred Lallie, *La Déportation des Prêtres Emprisonnés à Nantes, 8-15 Septembre 1792*, Eugene Lafoyle, ed. *Revue de l'Ouest* (Vannes: [np], 1888), p. 3; and Adolphe Cabon, "Le Clergé de la Guyane sous la Révolution," *Revue d'histoire des colonies* vol. 37 (1950), pp. 181-182.
 89. Ibid., p. 76.

90. Dwain C. Pruitt argues that persons of color also found allies in the Catholic Church in Nantes, the French slaving port city. See "*Nantes Noir: Living Race in the City of Slavers*" (doctoral dissertation, Emory University, 1999), pp. 194–236.
91. M. François Ouviaère, 2 June 1792, *Archives parlementaires*, vol. 44, p. 494.
92. Anonymous, *Précis de la révolution de Saint-Domingue, depuis la fin de 1789, jusqu'au 18 juin 1794* (Philadelphia: Imprimerie de Parent, 1795), p. 153.
93. Pierre Pinchinat to Julien Raimond, 9 April 1792, in *Correspondance de Julien Raimond, avec ses frères, de Saint-Domingue, et les pièces qui lui ont été adressées par eux* (Paris: Imprimerie du Cercle Social, 1793), p. 65.
94. Dubois and Garrigus, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean*, p. 21.
95. Fick, *The Making of Haiti*, p. 121. While a concordat is usually an agreement reached with the Church, in this case, it was used to describe a union between races.
96. M. Grouvel, *Faits historiques sur St.-Domingue, depuis 1786 jusqu'en 1805* (Paris: Renard et Delaunay, 1814), p. 30.
97. Fick, *The Making of Haiti*, p. 128.
98. Anonymous, *Précis de la révolution de Saint-Domingue*, p. 153.
99. Lieutenant-Général Baron Pamphile de Lacroix, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la révolution de Saint-Domingue*, (Paris: Pillet Aîné, 1820), p. 142; Pamphile de Lacroix, *La révolution de Haïti*, ed. Pierre Pluchon (Paris: Karthala, 1995), p. 498.
100. Romaine Rivière and Colonel General Elie to Abbé Ouviaère, 24 October 1791, DXXV 110, AN.
101. Garrigus, *Before Haiti*, p. 263.
102. *Affiches Américaines*, 10 May 1793, 69, ADXXA 6, AN.
103. Rachel Beauvoir-Dominique, *L'Ancienne Cathédrale de Port-au-Prince: Perspectives d'un Vestige de Carrefours* (Port-au-Prince: Editions Henri Deschamps, 1991), p. 50.
104. Cabon, "Les Religieuses du Cap," pp. 418–419.
105. While the Jesuits founded the convent, after their expulsion in the 1760s, the Capuchins took over control of the convent. *Ibid.*, p. 403.
106. Jan, *Les Congrégations religieuses à Saint-Domingue*, p. 225.
107. *Ibid.*, p. 419.
108. Cabon, "Les Religieuses du Cap," pp. 419–420.
109. *Ibid.*, p. 420.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 421.
111. Anonymous, "La Révolution de Saint-Domingue, contenant tout ce qui s'est. passé dans la colonie française depuis le commencement de la Révolution jusqu'au départ de l'auteur pour la France, le 8 septembre 1792," p. 300, F 3 141, ANOM [hereafter cited as Clément manuscript].

112. Fouchard, *Les Marrons de la Liberté*, p. 392. Both the priest's and colonists' actions contradicted the *Code noir*, which specified in Article XIV that baptized and unbaptized slaves were to be "buried at night in some field near the place where they died." While he may have been baptized at some point in his life, Dutty probably was not Christian, as he was the leader of the Voudou ceremony at Bois-Caïman. "Code noir," in Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions*, vol. 1, p. 417.
113. Clément manuscript, p. 268.
114. *Ibid.*, p. 269.
115. *Ibid.*
116. *Ibid.*, p. 277.
117. Le Clerc, "Campagne de Limbé, et détail de quelques événemens qui ont eu lieu dans ce quartier (ou commune) jusqu'au 20 juin 1793, époque de l'incendie du Cap, ville capitale de la Province du Nord, distante de 7 à 8 lieues du Limbé," translated and printed in Popkin, *Facing Racial Revolution*, p. 99.
118. Clément Manuscript, p. 278.
119. Le Clerc, "Campagne de Limbé," quoted in Popkin, *Facing Racial Revolution*, p. 101.
120. Clément Manuscript, p. 278.
121. Le Clerc, "Campagne de Limbé," quoted in Popkin, *Facing Racial Revolution*, p. 101.
122. For more on "colonial rape culture," see Marlene L. Daut, *Tropics of Haiti: Race and the Literary History of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World, 1789–1865* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 263.
123. "La mort du chef noir Boukman et du prêtre blanc Philemon," in Jacques Thibau, *Le Temps de Saint-Domingue: L'esclavage et la révolution française* (Paris: J. C. Lattès, 1989), p. 319.
124. Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, p. 125.
125. Pamphile de Lacroix, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la révolution*, p. 147.
126. J. Ph. Garran, *Rapport sur les Troubles de Saint-Domingue, fait au nom de la Commission des Colonies, des Comités de Salut Public, de Législation et de Marine, réunis* vol. II (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1796), p. 312.
127. "A Priest Who Stayed with the Insurgents: The Interrogation of the Abbé de la Haye, curé of Dondon," "Interrogation of 1 December 1793," DXXV 5, AN, translated and printed Popkin, *Facing Racial Revolution*, p. 160.
128. Yves Benot, *Les lumières, l'esclavage, la colonization* (Paris: Edition la Découverte, 2005), p. 240.

129. Michel Etienne Descourtilz, *Histoire des désastres de Saint-Domingue, précédée d'un tableau de régime et des progrès de cette colonies, depuis sa fondation, jusqu'à l'époque de la révolution française* (Paris: Chez Garnery, 1795), pp. 262–630.
130. In his appended biographical index, Pierre Pluchon identifies Abbé Delahaye as aumônier to Biassou, *La Révolution de Haïti*, p. 484.
131. “A Priest Who Stayed with the Insurgents” in Popkin, *Facing Racial Revolution*, p. 163, 159.
132. “Armée du Nord,” *Le Moniteur général de la partie française de Saint-Domingue*, 31 January 1793, p. 76, 303.
133. Georges Biassou and Toussaint Louverture also accepted the Spanish offer. Jane Landers, “Transforming Bondsmen into Vassals: Arming Slaves in Colonial Spanish America,” in *Arming Slaves: From Classical Times to the Modern Age* Christopher L. Brown and Philip D Morgan, eds. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 130–131; Jeremy Popkin, *A Concise History of the Haitian Revolution* (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, 2012), pp. 55–56. Various sources list Vásquez with other first names. In his biographical index to Pamphile de Lacroix’s account, Pierre Pluchon lists him as Juan Vasquez. In his documentary history of the Haitian Revolution, David Geggus lists him as José Vasquez. See *La Révolution de Haïti*, p. 511 and *The Haitian Revolution: A Documentary History* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2014), p. 212.
134. Report by Paul Cadusch and “Examinations taken before the Council of the Môle respecting the massacre at Fort Dauphin,” National Archives, London, Co., pp. 137–93, 182, 236–237, printed in Geggus, *The Haitian Revolution: A Documentary History*, p. 115.
135. Pamphile de Lacroix, *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire de la révolution*, p. 290.
136. Father Josef Vásquez to the Vicar of Santiago, December 12, 1793, ES 11 doc. 98, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, quoted in Landers, “Transforming Bondsmen into Vassals,” p. 131.
137. “La mort du chef noir Boukman,” *Le Temps de Saint-Domingue*, p. 318.
138. M. Gros, “Récit Historique sur les événements qui se sont succédés dans les camps de la Grand-Rivière, du Dondon, de Sainte-Suzanne & autres, depuis le 26 octobre 1791, jusqu’au 24 décembre de la même année,” in *Isle St. Domingue, Province du Nord* (Paris: np., 1793), p. 12.
139. Laënnec Hurbon, “Le clergé catholique et l’insurrection de 1791,” *L’insurrection des esclaves*, p. 44.
140. “La mort du chef noir Boukman,” *Le Temps de Saint-Domingue*, p. 318.
141. Abbé de la Porte to Larchevesque-Thibault, 25 May 1792, printed in Jean-Charles Benzaken, “Lettre d’un curé dans une zone contrôlée par

- les esclaves révoltés,” *Généalogie et Histoire de la Caraïbe*, no. 205 (July–August 2007), p. 5261.
142. Jean-Francois and Biassou to the Commissioners, December 12 & 21, 1791, Folder 4, #6 & 14, DXXV 1, AN, translated and printed in Dubois and Garrigus, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean*, pp. 99–102.
 143. Abbé de la Porte to Larchevesque-Thibault, *Généalogie et Histoire*, p. 5261.
 144. Ibid.
 145. Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, p. 146.
 146. Felix Carteau, *Soirées Bermudiennes, ou Entretiens sur les événemens qui ont opéré la ruine de la partie française de l’isle Saint-Domingue* (Bordeaux: Chez Pellier-Lawalle, 1802), p. 82.
 147. Jeremy Popkin, *You Are All Free: The Haitian Revolution and the Abolition of Slavery* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 165, 171; Elizabeth Colwill, “‘Fêtes de l’Hymen, Fêtes de la Liberté’: Marriage, Manhood, and Emancipation in Revolutionary Saint-Domingue,” in *The World of the Haitian Revolution*, David P. Geggus and Norman Fiering, eds. (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2009), pp. 128–129, 148 n21.
 148. Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, p. 157.
 149. Popkin, *You Are All Free*, pp. 258–259.
 150. Popkin, *You Are All Free*, p. 259.
 151. *La Révolution in Haïti*, p. 484.
 152. Carteau, *Soirées Bermudiennes*, p. 82.
 153. Descourtilz, *Histoire des désastres de Saint-Domingue*, p. 263.
 154. For more on the details of Louverture’s switch in allegiances see David P. Geggus, “From His Most Catholic Majesty to the godless Republic: the ‘volte-face’ of Toussaint Louverture and the Ending of Slavery in Saint Domingue,” *Revue française d’histoire d’outre-mer*, vol. 65, no. 241 (1978): pp. 481–499.
 155. Pamphile de Lacroix, *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire de la révolution*, p. 299.
 156. Henri Castonnet des Fosses, *Perte d’une colonie, la révolution de Saint-Domingue* (Paris: A. Favire, 1893), p. 159.
 157. Antheaume, Basile Joseph, prêtre attaché au clergé de Saint-Domingue (1787), E 396, ANOM.
 158. Extraits des minutes déposés au greffe de la municipalité de la ville & banlieue du Cap, May 1795, *Recueil de lettres et pièces originaux sur les affaires de l’île de Saint-Domingue*, Français 12103, Bibliothèque nationale de France [hereafter cited as BNF].
 159. Lacroix, *La Révolution in Haïti*, p. 456.

160. *Rapport présenté aux Consuls de la République par le Conseiller d'Etat chargé de toutes les affaires concernant les cultes*, le 26 frimaire an 11, Ms. 2333, BFC.
161. Pluchon, "Biographical index," *La Révolution de Haïti*, p. 456.
162. *Annales de la religion*, vol. 12 (Paris: Imprimerie-Libraire Chrétienne, 1801), pp. 25–27.
163. Three of the bishops resigned, leaving only Guillaume Mauviel as a bishop for Saint-Domingue. Jean-François Brière, "Abbé Grégoire and Haitian Independence," *Research in African Literatures*, vol. 35, no. 2 (summer 2004), p. 37.
164. *Profession de foi des ministres du culte catholique du département du Nord, adressée au général en chef, pour prévenir l'introduction des évêques envoyés par les soi-disans évêques réunis à Paris*, 11 Germinal An 9, CC9B 18, ANOM.
165. Pluchon, "Biographical index," *La Révolution de Haïti*, p. 489.
166. J.-C. Dorsainvil, *Manuel d'Histoire d'Haïti* (Port-au-Prince: Editions Henri Deschamps, 1958), p. 332.
167. Robert Saurel, "La Mission des pères Dominicains à Saint-Domingue (1684–1804)" (Ph.D. diss. Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, n.d.), p. 69.
168. Pamphile de Lacroix, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la révolution*, p. 97.
169. Pluchon, "Biographical index," *La Révolution de Haïti*, p. 489.
170. Gabriel Debien, "Guillaume Mauviel: Evêque constitutionnel de Saint-Domingue (1801–1805)," *Notes d'histoire coloniale*, no. 105 (1981), pp. 17–22.
171. "Constitution of the French Colony of Saint-Domingue," in Dubois and Garrigus, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean*, p. 168.
172. Leclerc to the Minister of the Marine, 15 February 1802, in *Lettres du général Leclerc, commandant en chef de l'armée de Saint-Domingue en 1802*, Paul Roussier, ed. (Paris: Société de l'histoire des colonies françaises et E. Leroux, 1937), p. 90.
173. Thomas Madiou, *Histoire d'Haïti*, vol. II (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie de Jh. Courtois, 1847), p. 167.
174. For more on the deportations see Claude Bonaparte Auguste and Marcel Bonaparte Auguste, *Les déportés de Saint-Domingue: Contribution à l'histoire de l'expédition française de Saint-Domingue, 1802–1803* (Sherbrooke, Quebec: Editions Naaman, 1979).
175. "Conduite du P. Julien Prefet Apostolique dans la mission du Cap Français," Ms. 2333, BFC.

176. "Rapport by Jean Claude Dessirier, propriétaire à Saint-Domingue, prêtre, ancien missionnaire au Cap Français pendant 18 ans, 24 Ventôse an 9," CC9A 27–28, ANOM.
177. Conduite du P. Julien, Ms. 2333, BFC.
178. Ibid.
179. *Rapport présenté aux Consuls de la République par le Conseiller d'Etat chargé de toutes les affaires concernant les cultes, le 26 frimaire an 11*, Ms. 2333, BFC.
180. Conduite du P. Julien, Ms. 2333, BFC.
181. "Dessalines' Proclamation, 28 April 1804," translated and printed in *The Haitian Revolution: A Documentary History*, p. 182.
182. "Haitian Constitution," Dubois and Garrigus, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean*, p. 194.
183. Dubois and Garrigus, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean*, p. 191.
184. *Profession de foi*, 11 Germinal An 9, CC9B 18, ANOM; Hubert Cole, *Christophe: King of Haiti* (New York: Viking Press, 1967), p. 145. Corneille du Douai had been a priest in Saint-Domingue before the Haitian Revolution began in August 1791. See Ms. 1970 B, BFC.
185. Cole, *Christophe*, p. 145, 191; Jacques de Cauna, *Haïti: L'Eternelle Révolution* (Monein: PRNG, 2009), p. 146.
186. Breathett only applied the idea to the Jesuits. Breathett, "Religious Protectionism," pp. 26–39.



Freeing the Mind: Breaking the Chains of Ideological Enslavement

Old Regime learned societies in Saint-Domingue upheld slavery and an associated racial hierarchy that permeated French Atlantic society and ideology. However, after 1791, philanthropic efforts like the Free Society of Sciences, Arts, and Humanities offered opportunities to counter proslavery and prejudicial beliefs. Learned societies were important means of disseminating knowledge to all levels of colonial society as well as political lobbying within the French Atlantic.¹ Before the Haitian Revolution, these institutions were elitist, racially exclusive, and served to maintain slavery and reinforce whiteness. After 1791, some whites in the French Atlantic used learned societies and education to improve the lives of people of African descent. Philanthropists sought to integrate and revolutionize learned societies to affect social and psychological changes necessary to safeguard liberty and equality over the long term and build a new, post-emancipation society. This chapter examines the prerevolutionary origins and status of intellectual institutions to trace changes and continuities over time, as well as the revolutionary role of each entity in influencing politics and educating society about freedom and racial equality.

The Atlantic Enlightenment was a field of discourse capable of manipulation at all levels. In the eighteenth-century French Atlantic, peoples of all races engaged in the Enlightenment through diverse thoughts, expressions, and actions. Many authors argue for this diversity and urge scholars to consider the plurality of the Enlightenment, including the political

thoughts of the enslaved.² Despite this attempt to create a more complete understanding of the Enlightenment within the Atlantic World, the historiography still does not include the contributions of colonial *philantropes*. Between the well-known *philosophes* in Europe and the enslaved Africans in the Caribbean, there were also lesser known philanthropists taking part in shaping the Atlantic Enlightenment. They strove to overcome ideas of race that relegated free black and colored colonists to an unequal status, which maintained the institution of slavery. In Saint-Domingue, they worked to improve the lives of people of African descent, enslaved and free, through Enlightenment projects, such as the Free Society of Sciences, Arts, and Humanities and racially inclusive schools.

The development and evolution of learned societies in Saint-Domingue took place on the periphery of the more pronounced and radical French Enlightenment. While some French Enlightenment authors, such as the Abbé Guillaume-Thomas Raynal and the Marquis de Condorcet, openly opposed enslavement, others found a rationale for slavery and racial hierarchy through Enlightenment reason.³ Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, French philosophers engaged in a discourse on the categorization of human races. French theorists did not always agree upon the reasons for black skin. The Comte de Buffon and Jean-Jacques Rousseau argued that specific environmental conditions, such as proximity to the equator, created the blackness. However, Rousseau also saw a connection between skin color and intellectual capacity.⁴ Unlike his contemporaries, Voltaire disagreed with theories claiming blacks differed due to climatic conditions. He observed that blacks' children remained the same regardless of where they were relocated. Unlike most philosophers, Voltaire also discussed people of mixed ancestry, further classifying humans. He described "mulattoes" as "only a bastard race of black men and white women, or white men and black women, as asses, specifically different from horses, produce mules by copulating with mares."⁵ These authors believed that peoples with black skin were inferior to whites, placing blacks on a spectrum of living things beneath whites and linking peoples of African descent to the domesticated, enslaved beast of burden. Many French colonists shared the perspectives of Buffon, Rousseau, and Voltaire. These ideologies dominated learned societies in the Old Regime. While some philanthropists in Saint-Domingue may have also embraced similar ideologies, they did not believe that racial difference was reason to deny human and individual rights. During the French and Haitian Revolutions, philanthropists sought to replace Old Regime sentiments with ideas of freedom and

equality in order to improve the lives of people of African descent. They believed science and reason could break the chains of ideological enslavement in Saint-Domingue.

Intellectual pursuits in the French Caribbean originated through the collaboration between the French state and Catholic Church. When Cardinal Richelieu, chief minister to Louis XIII, commissioned the establishment of French colonies in the Antilles, he required that the initial and subsequent inhabitants be instructed in Catholicism.⁶ The Catholic missionaries who accompanied early French inhabitants to the Caribbean also observed and recorded botany and natural history in great detail, which they transmitted back to the scholarly community in metropolitan France. Initially, the missionaries traveled throughout the Caribbean colonies and returned to France to publish their findings. For example, Dominican priest, Jean-Baptiste Labat spent 1694–1704 in the French Antilles, later publishing his *Nouveau voyage aux Isles de l'Amérique* in 1722.⁷ It was not until after becoming a French colony with the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697 that the missionaries began to focus efforts in Saint-Domingue.

Jean-Baptiste Le Pers, a Jesuit priest sent to Saint-Domingue in 1704, made significant contributions to the early historical and scientific work on the island, as well as to colonial society, including the enslaved population. Assigned to the parish of Limonade in the North Province, he oversaw the construction of ten Catholic Churches and baptized at least 3000 slaves. Using the testimonies of various *flibustiers* (pirates), Le Pers wrote a history of the island, *La Tragique Histoire des Flibustiers*, in 1715.⁸ During his residence in the island, Le Pers compiled his observations of botany and natural history over the course of eighteen years. With government patronage, Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix, a Jesuit in France, published Le Pers' manuscript in 1730 as *Histoire de l'Isle espagnole ou de Saint Domingue*.⁹ Many others would follow his manuscript.

Father Nicolson, the Apostolic Prefect of the Dominicans in Saint-Domingue and Superior in Léogâne from 1769 to 1773, also wrote a manuscript about the natural history of the colony. After Nicolson's death, Louis XV ordered his family to publish his *Essai sur l'Histoire Naturelle de St. Domingue*, which provided the names and descriptions of the flora on the island.¹⁰ His work was very thorough, detailing the vegetation, commerce, government, population, climate, and archaeology of Saint-Domingue.¹¹ In his general report on the colony, Nicolson detailed the conditions of the enslaved in Saint-Domingue. He wrote, "With regards to this portion of humanity, which is only despicable because it is weak,

nothing is worse than its situation. We see most blacks languish in extreme poverty".¹² This sympathetic portrayal reflected the general Jesuit sympathy for the plight of the slaves and their learned works.

In the mid-eighteenth century, the French *Conseil d'Etat* ordered the establishment of government intellectual institutions to report on agriculture and commerce in the colonies. There were academies in France with parallel responsibilities.¹³ While the decision for the Caribbean colonies came in July 1759, the Chambers of Agriculture and Commerce did not appear until 1761 and 1763.¹⁴ Quickly after their introduction, the French king halted the Chambers of Commerce because of tensions over free trade in 1766 following the Seven Years' War. Alternatively, France allowed a private Chamber of Commerce, or "la Bourse," to reassemble in Le Cap in 1784.¹⁵ In contrast, the two Chambers of Agriculture in Saint-Domingue, in Le Cap and Port-au-Prince, remained a constant until the revolutionary era. The Chambers of Agriculture served a dual purpose. Firstly, they were responsible for anything related to "population, land clearing, agriculture, navigation, external and internal trade, communications, [and] canals" that could "contribute to the improvement, progress and safety of the colony." Secondly, and perhaps more important to the *Conseil d'Etat*, the French government in Paris expected the Chambers of Agriculture to report on the colonial General Governor, "speaking of his character, his talents, his faults, his honesty, and the good or evil he produced during his administration."¹⁶ While pursuing any means to better Saint-Domingue as an agricultural slave colony, this body of learned men also served as check on the authority of the colonial government. The Chambers of Agriculture continued their work until the revolutions. Motivated by money and power, the French government established the first non-religious learned institutions in Saint-Domingue.

Membership in the Chambers, an important representation of the slave colony, was limited and came with significant privilege. The 1759 order from the *Conseil d'Etat* instructed the Intendant and Ordonnateur to elect members from the colony's plantation owners and merchants. The Ministry of the Marine would have to approve the elected members.¹⁷ This selection process gave the Chambers the right to send a deputy to Paris to represent colonial interests. There were seven elected members, all white, for each of Saint-Domingue's two Chambers. Many of the members owned plantations and the enslaved. Monsieurs Cockburn, Paul Belin de Villeneuve, and Jean Barré de Saint-Venant were members of the Chamber of Agriculture in Le Cap.¹⁸ After the revolution, Haitian historian

Pompée Valentin Vastey claimed Cockburn had been a cruel and cold-blooded slave owner during the Old Regime. He asserted that Cockburn buried slaves up to their necks and used their heads to play a game of balls for amusement while lining his property with mutilated body parts on spikes.¹⁹ While his was an exaggerated account intended to justify the Haitian Revolution, Cockburn among all the planters had enough of a reputation to garner such a detailed—and likely embellished—discussion in the publication.²⁰ As a member of the Chamber of Agriculture, Cockburn, along with his colleagues, represented the colonizing, plantation, and slave owning interests of Saint-Domingue.

The Chambers of Agriculture and Commerce celebrated a significant academic achievement for the slave colony. The Chamber of Agriculture in Le Cap had the first printing press in Saint-Domingue, and the Chamber of Commerce published the *Gazette de Saint-Domingue* in 1764. Jean Monceaux, prosecutor for the Conseil du Cap, was the editor of this journal that provided notices “printed in France, relative to commerce, to agriculture, to navigation, to politics, and to colonial culture,” as well as publish items to buy or sell and prices of goods and freight.²¹ The first issue appeared on the first of February and publication lasted until early August. The first two issues included information from the general prosecutor regarding the problems with and the expulsion of the Jesuits. To be sure, this news involving to a religious order suspected of opposing slavery would have been of related to the colony’s commerce, agriculture, politics, and culture.²² In the second issue, the *Gazette* announced that the newspaper would be including an “Etat des Nègres,” providing the names, ages, and stamps on all runaway slaves in the colony’s jails. The editor and Intendant agreed that it would be for the “satisfaction of the public” to print such information.²³ A publication associated with two government-supported institutions, the *Gazette* demonstrated how the Chambers supported slavery in their learned pursuits. Soon, the *Avis divers et petit Affiches Américaines* replaced the *Gazette de Saint-Domingue*, and many other newspapers appeared in Saint-Domingue before the revolutionary era.²⁴ The Chambers and the *Gazette* set the tone for intellectual societies and newspapers in Saint-Domingue, through their association with the government, what was printed, and their support of the racial hierarchy, creating a difficult precedent for philanthropists to overcome during the French and Haitian Revolutions.

Efforts to establish a colonial learned society independent of the Catholic Church also began in the mid-eighteenth century. Early proposals

varied in their focus, but supported colonialism and maintained racial inequality in Saint-Domingue's slave society. In 1769, a northern plantation owner, Lerond, proposed the creation of a "colonial academy of belle letters," which sparked a significant debate in the *Affiches Américaines*. His opposition portrayed Lerond as naive regarding the purpose of the colony and interests of the colonists. Delile, one of his opponents, scoffed at Lerond's vision for an academy, reminding him of the central importance of agriculture and trade in the colony.²⁵ For Saint-Dominguans, any colonial society would have to be practical, not just academic. In 1776, Charles Arthaud, a *médecin du roi* (royal doctor), pursued the formation of a medical and scientific academy for the colony that would represent a combination of societies and academies in Paris.²⁶ Despite his ambitious project, it was not until eight years later that a colonial scientific society came to fruition, and only amidst an ideological controversy within the French Atlantic.

As a royal physician, Arthaud struggled against alternative forms of medicine in Saint-Domingue, particularly mesmerism. Mesmerist Antoine-Hyacinthe-Anne de Chastenet du Puységur arrived in Saint-Domingue in the summer 1784 sparking public disputes. Formulated by Franz Anton Mesmer, mesmerism was a theory based on the ability to manipulate magnetic fluids within humans in order to alleviate ailments.²⁷ At the same time as commissions were appointed in Paris to investigate Mesmer's theories, Arthaud, along with merchant and amateur botanist Alexandre Dubourg, formed the Mesmer committee to investigate mesmerism in Saint-Domingue.²⁸ The investigations on each side of the Atlantic declared mesmerism false. This controversy provided the necessary conditions for Arthaud's 1776 project for a society to become a reality, because, opposition to mesmerism drew attention to the need for a scientific academy in Saint-Domingue.²⁹ Subsequent to the Mesmer committee concluding its work, only two months after Puységur arrived in the colony, Arthaud and Dubourg founded the society the *Cercle des Philadelphes* in August 1784. This new learned society could police all forms of medicine in Saint-Domingue, ensuring only properly educated and trained personnel handled medical treatment.

While Arthaud stressed the importance of official medical personnel in the colony's hospitals, he remained markedly silent about the unlicensed surgeons on the countryside plantations.³⁰ The royal physicians, such as Arthaud, were responsible for licensing in the colony, but plantations employed hundreds of unlicensed surgeons. Despite their inexperience and lesser knowledge, plantation surgeons, "just a cut above barbers,"

often made a significant amount more money than their licensed counterparts did.³¹ Perhaps, Arthaud disregarded plantation surgeons because their primary patients were the enslaved in rural areas. This made them less of a threat than those practicing alternative medicine, such as mesmerism, in the colony's cities. As these plantation surgeons were not practicing in urban areas, they were less likely to treat large numbers of white patients or have any influence on the greater colonial medical community, which the newly formed *Cercle des Philadelphes* could regulate.

From its foundation, the *Cercle des Philadelphes* had a relatively egalitarian system based on residence for its primarily *grand blanc* membership. The Cercle divided its members into three classes, according to where each individual resided. The first two classes were for members living in Saint-Domingue, either in Le Cap or elsewhere in the colony, and individuals residing in other French Caribbean colonies. Residents of Le Cap were responsible for governing the *Cercle* and electing its officers. The final class included members from other lands of France and foreign countries.³² The founders assigned themselves offices inspired by Masonic organizations. Dubourg was president, and Arthaud was orator. There were also four adjuncts and two commissioners. Membership was much more egalitarian than in other learned societies, and more closely resembled that of Masonic lodges.³³ While residential egalitarianism may have governed the *Cercle*, it was not a socioeconomically or racially inclusive group.

The members of the *Cercle* came from a range of colonial institutions and professions, including the religious, military officers, politicians, and medical and scientific personnel. Although it was an organization separate from the Catholic Church, members of the clergy did join the *Cercle des Philadelphes*. Most notably, the Abbé de la Haye and Father Balthazar were members.³⁴ Among the military officers was *marechal des camps* Charles Humbert Marie Vincent, as well as Auguste François Gabriel Courrejolles, *chevalier de Saint-Louis*.³⁵ Louis Narcisse Baudry des Lozières was an *avocat* (lawyer) for the Superior Counsel when he initially joined, but later left the bar to become a colonial military officer when the revolutions began in France and Saint-Domingue.³⁶ Theodore Charles Mozard, author and editor of the *Affiches Américaines*, used his newspaper to promote the group after he joined. Doctors and scientific specialists were well represented too. The primary founders, Arthaud and Dubourg were a doctor and director of the *jardin des plantes* (botanical garden), respectively. Many other doctors became members. Jean Barthelemy Dazille, Rene Nicolas Joubert de la Motte, and Joseph Benoit

Peyre were all *médecins du roi* (royal doctors) and members of the *Cercle des Philadelphes*.³⁷ While the group included people from an array of professions and backgrounds, the *Cercle* did not extend membership to all levels of society.

The *Cercle des Philadelphes*, both in its membership and projects, reflected colonial racial inequality and supported slavery in Old Regime Saint-Domingue. Despite its varied social composition, the *Cercle* reinforced whiteness.³⁸ Although only one planter, Jean-Baptiste Auvray, was a founder, other plantation and slave owners joined in later years, such as Bayard, Robert Coëls, Jean Jacques Julien Fournier de Varenne, Genton, Larche, Mouchet, Tanguy de la Boissière, Villars, and Worloock.³⁹ The planter contingent likely had an influence on the initiatives of the *Cercle* regarding slavery. The most significant project undertaken by the group concerning slavery was an agricultural survey in 1787. The seven articles of the second part of the survey posed questions about the enslaved that illustrated the organization's support of slavery in Saint-Domingue. The survey inquired about slaves' illnesses, mortality, acclimatization, nutrition, and housing. Further, articles four and six questioned the origins of the most easily disciplined slaves and the number of slaves required to cultivate different crops, such as sugar, coffee, cotton, and indigo. The third section, on animals, asked similar questions about illnesses, acclimation, and food.⁴⁰ These types of questions indicated an interest in how to improve and maintain slavery, not for the sake of the enslaved as humans, but for commercial purposes.

Several members of the *Cercle* also became members of the *Société correspondante des colons-français* (Correspondent Society for the French colonists), or the Club Massiac in Paris, the primary opponents of the *Amis des noirs* (Friends of the Blacks). The Club Massiac wanted to maintain slavery and the racial hierarchy that guaranteed its continuity in the French Atlantic.⁴¹ Primarily an alliance between colonial planters and mainland merchants, the Club Massiac had an often-overlapping membership with the *Cercle*. For example, Paul Belin de Villeneuve, Jean Barré de Saint-Venant, Médéric Louis Elie Moreau de Saint-Méry, and René Nicolas Joubert de la Motte were members of both societies.⁴² Belin de Villeneuve owned a plantation in the North Province of Limbé. He was a member of the Le Cap Chamber of Agriculture and published research on sugar production, as well as the initial efforts to plant breadfruit trees in Saint-Domingue in 1788.⁴³ Moreau de Saint-Méry was Arthaud's brother-in-law and author of *Description...de la Partie Française de l'Isle*

de Saint-Domingue, a multi-volume work on Saint-Domingue. Joubert de la Motte was a colonial physician and naturalist in Port-au-Prince, who studied cochineal in Saint-Domingue.⁴⁴ These men represent the cross membership of the Cercle and the Club Massiac, and indicate the similarities in the makeup and ideas of the two groups.

After several years of efforts, selected members of the *Cercle des Philadelphes* went to Paris to seek patent letters. In the fall 1788, Barré de Saint-Venant and two of his colleagues went to meet with the Minister of the Marine, César Henri Guillaume de La Luzerne, at Versailles.⁴⁵ Arthaud continued these efforts from Saint-Domingue by drafting statutes and corresponding with the Ministry. The combined labors on both sides of the Atlantic resulted in success the next spring. On 17 May 1789, the king signed the patent letters for the Royal Society of the Sciences and Arts of Cap Français. This was a substantial achievement, because the Royal Society was one of the first academic societies chartered in the Americas.⁴⁶ In addition, the king awarded the new society “an annual sum of 10,000 livres, for its expenses,” as well 1000 livres for a prize competition based on “a question of public utility.”⁴⁷ After obtaining official recognition, the organization struggled during the revolutions within the French Atlantic.

The French Revolution caused a significant upheaval within the Royal Society, and eventually, brought about its end. J.-B Auvray was a plantation owner in Trou and Terrier-Rouge, as well as a member of the Chamber of Commerce of Le Cap. He led the planters of the Royal Society in barring Arthaud, Moreau, Mozard, and de Coupigny from the group, labeling them as traitors.⁴⁸ In his *Rapport sur les troubles de Saint-Domingue*, J.-P. Garran-Coulon explained that false news spread in Le Cap that Moreau de Saint-Méry had made a motion before the Estates-General for the emancipation of the enslaved, and angered colonists punished those associated with him in the Saint-Domingue. While the Royal Society expelled many members from the group in September 1789, Arthaud was the primary target of rumors and allegations that he was an abolitionist. Arthaud was the center of public drama and mob violence. Residents forced him from his home in the middle of the night and paraded him around Le Cap on a donkey.⁴⁹ However, after the public humiliation, Arthaud appeared before the Provincial Assembly of the North, which reinstated him as royal physician and secretary of the Royal Society by October 1789.⁵⁰ Although the Royal Society remained operational until 1793, it struggled with the revolutions until its end. The French National Convention suppressed all patented societies on 8 August 1793, halting organized academic efforts in the French Atlantic.⁵¹

During the revolutionary era, some of the medical personnel in the French Atlantic were underprepared, receiving an unofficial education and training in the field, because officials relaxed the requirements and documentation, and halted oversight by the Cercle. The tumultuous nature of the revolutionary era required any white French citizen with medical training—formal or informal—to treat the injured and sick. In February 1792, the provisional Provincial Assembly of the South issued a call for all trained colonial medical personnel, including physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, to treat anyone requiring “the help of their art.” The Assembly ordered that patients be treated whether payment could be made immediately or in the future, even offering to cover expenses of those the Assembly deemed appropriate.⁵² Similarly, in France in April 1792, the government requisitioned “all civilians with medical training, whether physicians, surgeons or pharmacists” in response to the state of emergency brought on by war.⁵³ Beginning in August 1793, all French medical practitioners were collectively referred to as *officiers de santé* (health officers), a term that did not “discriminate between trained practitioners and untrained.” Revolutionaries in France intended for the new designation to promote liberty and equality within, as well as the unification of, the profession.⁵⁴ The new terminology applied to all medical personnel in the French Atlantic, including revolutionary Saint-Domingue.

The new concept of equality amongst medical personnel arrived in Saint-Domingue at the same time that the French civil commissioners Sonthonax and Polverel were granting general emancipation to the colony’s slaves. In December 1793, Polverel announced the establishment of an egalitarian hospital in Les Cayes, a city in the South Province. He explained, “It is in this hospital especially that equality must reign....The only differences that the hospital can allow in the diet, the quantity and quality of the food, in the care and treatment are those that are controlled by the nature, intensity, crises, and progress of each disease.”⁵⁵ Despite Polverel’s attempt to incorporate the revolutionary concepts of liberty and equality into colonial medicine, the hospital could not be immediately established. In April 1794, Decout, the *contrôleur de l’imposition de santé* (health inspector) in the South, wrote to Polverel concerning the hospital. He described how the “Africans of the plain” were impatient to see a hospital built for their sick, and inquired if the necessary funds were available yet for its establishment.⁵⁶ Polverel did not get to see his plans come to fruition before the French legislature recalled him in July 1793 and his return to France in September 1793.⁵⁷ While the idea of equality in the

colonial medical profession, French citizenship, and medical care appealed to the colonial administrators, former slaves, and health officers, bringing a project to fruition that combined all three proved difficult in the unstable climate of two revolutions in the French Atlantic.

Despite the revolutionary need for and creation of more equality among those providing medical care, established colonial medical practitioners continued to oppose the presence and methods of uneducated and untrained personnel. Decout, a physician who had been practicing in Saint-Domingue before the revolution, wrote to the Polverel about the “abuses” in the military hospital in Les Cayes. He complained about the charlatanism and greed of the medical personnel there. Decout explained, “The true medicine is gentle, simple, and uniform like nature in its work,” not the “compilations of drugs as vicious as their authors are misleading.”⁵⁸ He specifically identified *caprelatas* (kaperlata) as “men of the deepest ignorance” who provided hazardous remedies.⁵⁹ Kaperlata were former slaves or free people of color who practiced “spiritual and natural medicine.”⁶⁰ In the Old Regime, “official medicine” had condemned these practitioners, and the law forbade enslaved and free people of color “to act in any medical capacity.”⁶¹ Without the availability of adequate official medical care or regulation by a learned society during the revolutions, practitioners of alternative forms of medicine, such as kaperlata, were able to treat Saint-Domingue’s ill more freely under the chaotic conditions.

To battle against the kaperlata and other practitioners of alternative medicine, Decout authored a brief medicinal guide for the colonial population. His guide included descriptions of the “prevailing diseases” in the colony along with their necessary remedies. Before publishing it, he obtained the endorsement of mulatto General André Rigaud.⁶² While Rigaud was not a medical practitioner, Decout likely believed that his endorsement would encourage Rigaud’s supporters of all colors to avoid the kaperlata. Further, he sought popular political support for his call for French aid for the colony’s hospitals and health officers. Writing for the colonists, he attempted to portray his guide as a philanthropic endeavor. He explained, “My troubles will be amply rewarded, if I am fortunate enough to save the life of a single individual, or even to give them some relief.” Despite these words of goodwill, Decout was sure to note his superiority to the other colonists as a trained and experienced physician. He ended the preface to his guide with a disclaimer that he had to consider the ignorance of the people and made efforts “to get as close as possible to the intelligence of the men for whom” he wrote.⁶³ This reiterated his

insistence that only trained physicians, surgeons, and health officers—not the *kaperlata* or regular citizens—should be providing care and treatment in the colony.

After general emancipation, colonial scientific endeavors revived, and a racially integrated learned society appeared in Saint-Domingue. Alexandre-Benjamin Giroud, an *ingénieur des mines* (mining engineer), petitioned the committee of public instruction in Paris on 23 October 1795 for a mineralogical voyage to Saint-Domingue. The committee approved his request, and decided Giroud would accompany the third civil commission to the colony in April 1796.⁶⁴ While in the North Province from May to November 1796, Giroud and colored planter Julien Raimond formed the *société libre des sciences, des arts et belles lettres* (Free Society of Sciences, Arts, and Humanities). Both were members of the National Institute of Sciences and Arts founded in 1795 in Paris, and, consequently, organized the new society on that model.⁶⁵ After establishing the Free Society, the members sought recognition from the Institute in Paris. The petitioners explained that the spirit and regulations of the Institute served as their inspiration for the integrated colonial society. In addition to support and protection of their work, the members sought “to prove to the entirety of France that neither remoteness nor the dangers [could] diminish [their] ardent desire to be useful to [their] fellow citizens in Europe, as well as those of the colonies.”⁶⁶ These men actively pursued the establishment and metropolitan approval of a racially inclusive learned society for Saint-Domingue even under the pressures of a revolution and wars with external enemies.

Giroud wrote to the members of the Institute in Paris linking their philanthropy to the republicanism of peoples of African descent in revolutionary Saint-Domingue. In mid-June of 1796, he boasted,

You can announce to the philanthropists of our country that their wishes have been filled, that their efforts to rehabilitate humanity outraged by slavery in these beautiful places are crowned with the happiest success. The black men whose philosophy and our glorious Republic broke their irons, are worthy of the freedom they received and conquered. The Republic does not have more sincere friends, or braver defenders than the men of African origins....They bless all those good whites of France who have written, fought, and suffered for their freedom.⁶⁷

Giroud intended for this to reassure the *philantropes* in France, including those in the Institute, that their efforts had been fruitful, and to encourage them to continue their support of the blacks and people of color. He

sought to show how the whites in France and peoples of African descent in Saint-Domingue shared republican ideals that transcended race. Also, he highlighted how philanthropy made it possible for them to unite as free peoples of all colors to form a French Atlantic World based on revolutionary republican principles.

In a later letter, describing the Free Society's membership, Giroud continued to advocate for liberty and racial equality in the Atlantic World. He wrote to the members of the Institute, "It is composed of citizens of the three colors which qualify the human skin in this country."⁶⁸ Forty-six military officers, civil administrators, and professionals of all colors were members of the Free Society. Among them were Louverture and Sonthonax. The membership list identified the four men of color and four blacks as "men of letters." This was also true for most of the white military officers who were members, such as General Etienne Laveaux and Francois-Marie Perichou Kerversau. Although whites made up the majority of the organization's membership, Giroud emphasized the significance of the black and colored members.⁶⁹ He wrote, "The color black and the color yellow possess here a sufficient number of instructed men worthy to figure in the Republic of Sciences and Letters. Announce this important truth to Europe, deceived on this point by the infamous greed of some colonists and some merchants whose avarice has made cannibals of them."⁷⁰ By integrating the academic society in the colony and ensuring the learned members of the Institute in Paris of the intelligence of black and colored men, Giroud sought to maintain general emancipation after 1794. These two measures had the potential to introduce new ideas, countering racially prejudicial beliefs of the Old Regime, both in the colony and in mainland France.

The regulations for the society proposed by Giroud and Raimond represented a revolutionary political statement. Article one of title one concerning the society's organization explicitly forbade the members from engaging in political or religious discussions.⁷¹ Yet, the interracial makeup and equality of duties across members of all races were political actions. Title three of the regulations explained the distribution of work for the society. The founding members chose to divide the society into three classes along the lines of expertise, not in a hierarchy. The first class included those who specialized in the sciences and mathematics. Members focusing on the "moral sciences"—morals, history, and geography—made up the second class. Lastly, the third class concentrated on literature and the arts. As "men of letters," the black and colored members would belong

to the second and third classes. While the Society would meet three times monthly as an organization, they were to facilitate two public meetings yearly to present their work and distribute prizes.⁷² These public presentations would provide an example of, and promote, interracial collaboration within the colony. The Society fully supported racial equality in Saint-Domingue, and Giroud pursued its establishment in his professional endeavors elsewhere in the following months.

While on mission in the United States from December 1796 to March 1797, Giroud established connections with the abolitionist society in Philadelphia. In his relations with the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery, Giroud referred to himself as representative of the *société des amis des noirs et des colonies* (Society of the Friends of the Blacks and the Colonies) in Paris.⁷³ He explained,

The Philanthropic Society of Paris (of which I am a member) has not forgotten, that the first wishes formed by humanity, and the first acts of virtue exercised for the improvement of the condition of the unhappy blacks have originated with the philanthropists of Pennsylvania & Philadelphia; in consequence of which it has been recommended to those of its members who were sent to St. Domingo by the French government in April, 1796, to embrace all occasions to correspond with the society of the blacks at Philadelphia.⁷⁴

His communication with the American society reveals a complex Atlantic abolitionist network, connecting France and Saint-Domingue, as well as France and the United States. This suggests continuity in the interconnectedness of abolitionist and philanthropic societies from the 1780s.⁷⁵

Through his engagement with the Philadelphia abolitionists, Giroud suggested a plan for restoring order and plantation agriculture in Saint-Domingue without slavery. In two letters from January 1797, translated and reprinted in a Philadelphia newspaper, Giroud explained an approach devised with the French civil commissioners that he had presented to the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery that same month. The proposal involved American abolitionists renting coffee and sugar plantations in French Saint-Domingue that had been sequestered by the commissioners from émigrés or purchasing lands on the portion of the island formerly under Spanish control. Upon securing lands, the abolitionists would hire former slaves as wage laborers. The goal was to rid the colony of all “the enemies of mankind, the partisans of slavery” and establish a

racially equal society in Saint-Domingue called "*Philanthropolis*." Giroud assured the Philadelphia abolitionists that the operational plantations in the colony, "cultivated by free hands" receiving wages, were already generating a surplus for landholders. Further, he boasted his own successes in implementing the plan on his wife's coffee plantation. Regarding his interactions with the free blacks on working there, he wrote, "Five days ago I was amongst them on my own plantation unarmed, and almost the only white man in the place. They gave me a very friendly reception."⁷⁶ Giroud demonstrated his dedication to the plan and to improving the lives of former slaves in his letters to the abolitionist society in Philadelphia.

Giroud's correspondence with the Philadelphian society correlated with letters he sent to U.S. Vice President Thomas Jefferson, a slave owner. The two lines of communication indicated Giroud's understanding of the importance of both abolitionist and agricultural modes to maintain abolition in Saint-Domingue. While he wrote to the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery about the important role of blacks in the French Republic, Giroud communicated to Jefferson about botany and natural history, as well as hinting at the commercial relations between the United States and Saint-Domingue. Upon returning to Saint-Domingue, Giroud wrote excitedly to the Philadelphian society about his arrival in the colony. He reported that he found his friends and family "in good health," and his "good brethren, the Black Republicans" had achieved significant military victories.⁷⁷ On the same day, Giroud wrote to Jefferson explaining how he had been able to visit the United States via the "French frigates commanded by the brave [Joshua] Barney," an American maritime trader who agreed to maintain commercial relations with the Saint-Domingue during the revolution.⁷⁸ Giroud expressed his disappointment in not having been able to meet with Jefferson while in Philadelphia to discuss science. Instead, he attached breadfruit seeds to his letter to Jefferson, hoping the tree would grow as successfully in Virginia as it had in Saint-Domingue.⁷⁹ While reinforcing the agricultural and economic connections between the United States and Saint-Domingue in his letter to Jefferson, Giroud continued to highlight the achievements of liberty and equality to the American abolitionists. Like his predecessors in the *Cercle des Philadelphes*, Giroud recognized Saint-Domingue's agricultural and commercial role within the French Atlantic. At the same time, he wanted to maintain the abolition proclaimed in 1794. Therefore, he attempted to combine the learned pursuits of the *Cercle des Philadelphes*

with freedom and equality through international networking and the *société libre des sciences, des arts et belles lettres* in Saint-Domingue.

The Free Society only operated very briefly due to the tumult of the French Atlantic revolutions. Many of the members noted by Giroud in his letter to the Institute were dispersed by revolutionary events. During his last months in the colony, Giroud undertook a mission in the Spanish part of the island with Colonel Vincent. Unfortunately, he fell ill and died in September 1797.⁸⁰ Already, in the prior month, Sonthonax had returned to France, elected as a representative. In 1798, Louverture and the other officials were occupied with expelling the British from the island, and Louverture soon after went to war with André Rigaud in the South. With the tumultuous conditions of revolutionary Saint-Domingue, Giraud and Raimond's proposed colonial academic society did not come to fruition.⁸¹ Several of the medical professionals who joined the Free Society, such as Trabuc and Bonamy, later served as health officers for the expedition under General Lerclerc. The next efforts to create learned societies came after Bonaparte rose to power in France in 1799, and indicated a return to the racially exclusionary academic pursuits of the Old Regime.

Louis Narcisse Baudry des Lozières, former member of the *Cercle des Philadelphes* made a vague mention of the possible resurrection of the prerevolutionary Royal Society. This would also suggest a return to a racially inclusive learned society—for whites only. In his *Les égarements du nigrophilisme* (The Aberration of Negrophilism), Baudry des Lozières gave a summary of memoirs presented to the ministry in 1800 and 1801. He described, "A memoir on the necessity to form as soon as possible, as soon as we are at peace, the institutions for the youth in the colonies, and to recall the society of the sciences and arts of Cap Français, dormant since the revolution."⁸² Although Baudry des Lozières did not provide the author or title of the proposal, his description reflects metropolitan interests in using the colonies to make a profit for France. For example, the peace mentioned in the description referred to peace in Europe, not Saint-Domingue, and the Peace of Amiens between England and France came in 1801, which allowed the Leclerc Expedition to occur. Even though it would no longer maintain the title of the Royal Society since the regicide in 1792, involvement in learned pursuits would again be restricted to whites within the revived society of sciences and arts. This plan described by Baudry des Lozières was not the only proposal for a learned society in Saint-Domingue in the 1800s.

Physician and naturalist Michel-Etienne Descourtilz proposed a very different type of learned organization than Giroud's Free Society. He made his proposal after the arrival of the Leclerc Expedition in 1802. Descourtilz arrived in Saint-Domingue in April 1799 to study natural history and reclaim a plantation in the Artibonite Valley that belonged to his in-laws.⁸³ Before Leclerc arrived in February 1802 whites like Descourtilz felt that they were safe under Louverture's command. However, when Leclerc and his troops landed and began fighting the insurrectionists, Louverture's lieutenant in charge of the fort and garrison at Crête-à-Pierrot, Jean-Jacques Dessalines captured hundreds of whites, Descourtilz amongst them.⁸⁴ In April 1802, after being rescued by French troops, Descourtilz sent a plan for organizing a *lycée colonial* (colonial lyceum) to General Charles Dugua. Coincidentally, his *lycée colonial* imitated Bonaparte's instructions for Leclerc specifying that public education not be established in the colony.⁸⁵ Descourtilz discussed the issues the group would explore, which did not include public instruction. Instead, he wanted to investigate "causes of fevers at the time," as well as edible fish types and exploitable mining areas.⁸⁶ Perhaps, he hoped to identify alternatives to plantations as a way to maintain the colony for France. Haitian historian Rulx Léon explains that Descourtilz's proposed organization would have been "a sort of circle of studies in the fashion of the *Cercle des Philadelphes* that had done good scientific work in the colony some years earlier."⁸⁷ Similar to Baudry's plan, Decourtilz desired a return to the model of the pre-revolutionary learned society and racial division.

While many of the new military health officers from France arrived in Saint-Domingue without much applicable knowledge, such as how to treat tropical diseases, established colonial practitioners and administrators attempted to provide various modes of instruction and education for them. Two Saint-Dominguans, merchant Bouchard and *commissaire des guerres* (war commissioner) Amiel wrote a proposal in 1801 for an expedition from France to reconquer Saint-Domingue. As a part of their suggested plan, they insisted medical personnel who had served in the colony's hospitals before the revolution should supervise health officers from Europe. They explained that many "young people" were sent to Saint-Domingue without "knowing the nature of the local disease" and soldiers "could have been saved if they had been treated" by established practitioners who had experience there.⁸⁸ Within the colony, the chief physician, surgeon, and pharmacist issued instructions for the new health officers attached to the military. They explained that the information was intended

specifically for those who “had neither the time nor the ability to consult authors and practitioners who are most enlightened on the healing art, medicine, and surgery” in Saint-Domingue.⁸⁹ To further aid the military health officers, in 1803, the colonial administration began to publish the *Journal des Officiers de Santé de Saint-Domingue*. In the first issue, a surgeon named Délorme remarked on the value of the journal. He wrote that it combined “the observations of the healing art” and established “an active correspondence between all the health officers,” allowing them “to enlighten each other and justify their work.”⁹⁰ Late in the revolutions, colonial refugees in France and colonial administrators and medical personnel attempted to better treat the sick by aggressively educating the new health officers in Saint-Domingue.

In Paris, Jean Barré de Saint-Venant, another member of the former *Cercle des Philadelphes*, also proposed a colonial learned society in 1802. He wrote *Des Colonies Modernes sous la Zone Torride* and petitioned the Minister of the Marine to earn a place on the Colonial Committee. In his *Colonies Modernes*, Barré de Saint-Venant noted the number of “savants in all genres, zealous and distinguished artists” needing direction; therefore, he proposed the formation of “a colonial institute” to include “geometricians, physicists, chemists, mechanists, naturalists, botanists, engineers of bridges and carriageways, hydraulic engineers, doctors and distinguished surgeons.” The Colonial Institute would research and perfect agricultural methods, usages of machines, water management, and possibilities of transplantation of vegetation from India and China, which could be “precious for medicine or for the arts.”⁹¹ Similar to Descourtilz, Barré de Saint-Venant sought alternatives to traditional plantation agriculture in Saint-Domingue. His proposal echoed back to the Royal Society of Sciences and Arts to which he belonged before its dissolution in 1793. In his petition to the Minister of the Marine, Barré de Saint-Venant highlighted his membership in the Chamber of Agriculture in 1776 and his role in co-founding the Cercle des Philadelphes in 1784. He noted his voyage to France in 1788 to present the work of the Cercle to the Academy of Sciences and the Minister of the Marine. Further, he explained that his *Colonies Modernes* “merited the approval of the minister and many very recommendable persons.” Based on his extensive experience in colonial institutions and representation, Barré de Saint-Venant suggested himself as a member of the Colonial Committee, which would reestablish agriculture and manufacturing in Saint-Domingue.⁹² His publication and petition demonstrated his desire to return to the prerevolutionary social

structure and reflected his membership in the Club Massiac. He believed the arts and sciences could achieve his agricultural and manufacturing goals without the inclusion of all the races.

The revolutions of the 1790s dramatically transformed how colonists conceived of the relationships between race, colonialism, knowledge, and learned societies in Saint-Domingue. With the tumult of two simultaneous revolutions, many of these plans for learned societies were not formally put into place. However, the proposals are symbols of the ideological transformations initiated in revolutionary Saint-Domingue. Although the learned community united to form an integrated organization during the Haitian Revolution, in the early nineteenth century whites sought to return to the exclusionary origins of the learned societies. The *Cercle des Philadelphes*, a group designed by whites for whites in the 1780s, sought to conserve and improve slavery for the sake of profits. After the Royal Society dissolved in the revolutionary maelstrom, the circumstances of the Haitian Revolution brought about the abolition of slavery in Saint-Domingue. As a racially exclusive learned society no longer had a place in the colony after 1794, therefore, Giroud and Raimond sought to form an integrated society for whites, free people of color, and blacks. The correspondence sent to France explaining the new organization attempted to overturn prejudicial and proslavery sentiments within the French Atlantic in order to maintain emancipation. However, just as discriminatory membership was counterintuitive after general emancipation, a learned society with fraternity and equality across the races was not as widely accepted after the Directory lost power and Bonaparte took power in France.

NOTES

1. Several scholars have explored how knowledge was used as a tool of colonialism. See for example Joyce E. Chaplain, *Subject Matter: Technology, the body, and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier, 1500–1676* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); Jorge-Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002); Londa Schiebinger, *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004); Christopher Iannini, "The Vertigo of Circum-Caribbean Empire: William Bartram's Florida," *Mississippi Quarterly*, vol. 57, no. 1 (2004): pp. 147–155; Neil Safier, *Measuring the New World: Enlightenment Science and*

- South America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); and David Lambert, *Mastering the Niger: James MacQueen's African Geography and the Struggle over Atlantic Slavery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).
2. See for example Michèle Duchet, *Anthropologie et histoire au siècle des lumières: Buffon, Voltaire, Rousseau, Helvétius, Diderot* (Paris: François Maspero, 1971); Robert Darnton, "The High Enlightenment and the Low-Life Literature in Pre-Revolutionary France," *Past & Present*, vol. 51 (1971), pp. 81–115; Hillary Beckles, "Caribbean anti-slavery: the Self-Liberation Ethos of the Enslaved Blacks," *Journal of Caribbean History*, vol. XXII, nos. 1 & 2 (1988), pp. 1–19; Sankar Muthu, *Enlightenment against Empire* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press); Laurent Dubois, "An enslaved Enlightenment: Rethinking the Intellectual History of the French Atlantic," *Social History*, vol. 31, no. 1 (2006), pp. 1–14; Truillot, *Silencing the Past*, pp. 74–89; David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004); Catherine A. Reinhardt, *Claims to Memory: Beyond Slavery and Emancipation in the French Caribbean* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006); Nick Nesbitt, *Universal Emancipation: The Haitian Revolution and the Radical Enlightenment* (Charlottesville: University Virginia Press, 2008); John K. Thornton, "I am the Subject of the King of the Congo": African Political Ideology and the Haitian Revolution," *Journal of World History*, vol. 4, no. 2 (1993), pp. 181–214; and Jeremy L. Caradonna, *The Enlightenment in Practice: Academic Prize Contests and Intellectual Culture in France, 1670–1794* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012).
 3. See, for example, Guillaume Thomas François Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique, des établissements & du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 6 vols. (Amsterdam: n.p., 1770); Jean Antoine Nicolas de Caritat, marquis de Condorcet, *Réflexions sur l'esclavage des nègres, et autres textes abolitionnistes*, David Williams, ed. (Paris: Hartman, 2003). See also "The Enlightenment, Race, and Slavery," in David Geggus, *The Haitian Revolution: A Documentary History* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2014), pp. 39–40; Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *L'An deux mille quatre cent quarante: Rêve s'il en fut jamais* (Paris: Leptit jeune et Gerard, 1802).
 4. George-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon and Louis-Jean-Marie Daubenton, *Histoire naturelle générale et particulière, servant de suite à l'Histoire Naturelle de l'Homme, Supplément*, vol. 4 (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1749–1789), pp. 502–505; Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *A Discourse upon the Origins and Foundation of the Inequality among Mankind* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1761); Bernard R. Boxill, "Rousseau, Natural Man, and Race,"

- Race and Racism in Modern Philosophy*, 159; Muthu, *Enlightenment against Empire*, pp. 39–42.
5. Voltaire, *La philosophie de l'histoire* (Amsterdam: Marc-Michel Rey, 1765), pp. 7–8.
 6. “Commission donnée par le Cardinal de Richelieu aux Sieurs d’Enamuc & de Rossey, pour établir une Colonie dans les Antilles d’Amérique,” 31 October 1626, and “Lettres-Patents du Cardinal de Richelieu, qui donnent octroient au sieur de Caen en propriété les Isles de Inaque, Ibaque et autres situées aux Indes Occidentales, avec pouvoir d’y établir des Colonies de François,” 28 January 1633, in Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions des Colonies Françaises de l’Amérique sous le vent*, vol. 1 (Paris: Moreau de Saint-Méry, n.d.), pp. 20–22, 24–25.
 7. Jean-Baptiste Labat, *Nouveau voyage aux isles de l’Amérique*, (Paris: Chez P. F. Giffart, 1722); James E. McClellan III, *Colonialism and Science: Saint Domingue in the Old Regime* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), pp. 111–112; Dayan, *Haiti, History, and the Gods*, p. 206; and Miller, *The French Atlantic Triangle*, pp. 18–19.
 8. Rév. P. Lepers, *La Tragique Histoire des Flibustiers: Histoire de Saint-Domingue et de l’île de la Tortue, repaires des flibustiers*, Pierre-Bernard Berthelot, ed. (Paris: Les Editions G. Crés, 1922), pp. viii–ix.
 9. Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix, *Histoire de l’isle Espagnole ou de S. Domingue, écrite particulièrement sur des Mémoires Manuscrits du P. Jean-Baptiste le Pers*, 2 vols. (Paris: Guérin, 1730–1731); McClellan, *Colonialism and Science*, p. 112.
 10. McClellan, *Colonialism and Science*, p. 114; J.-C. Dorsainvil, *Manuel d’histoire d’Haïti* (Port-au-Prince: Editions Henri Deschamps, 1958), p. 332.
 11. *Notes Bio-Bibliographiques: Médecins et Naturalistes de l’Ancienne Colonie Française de St.-Domingue* (Port-au-Prince, 1933), pp. 21–26.
 12. P. Nicolson, *Essai sur l’Histoire Naturelle de l’Isle de Saint-Domingue* (Paris: Chez Gobreau, 1776), p. 54.
 13. These academies even had essay contests to allow all members of the public, including women and the lower classes, to share ideas on a variety of topics, including slavery. Caradonna, *The Enlightenment in Practice*.
 14. “Arrêt du Conseil d’Etat, portant établissement de Chambres mi-parties d’Agriculture et de Commerce aux Isles sous le Vent, avec faculté d’avoir un Député à Paris à la suite du Conseil,” 23 July 1759, Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions*, vol. 4, pp. 281–285; Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description*, p. 318, 503–506; Michel René Hillard d’Auberteuil, *Considérations sur L’État Présent de la Colonie Française de Saint-Domingue*, vol. 2 (Paris: Chez Grangé, 1777), pp. 124–125; Céline Mélisson, “Les Chambres d’Agriculture coloniales: entre résistances et

- contestations de l'impérialisme française au XVIIIème siècle," *Etudes canadiennes, Canadian studies*, vol 76 (2014), p. 93.
15. McClellan, *Colonialism and Science*, p. 45; Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description*, p. 505.
 16. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description*, pp. 503–504; Hillard d'Auberteuil, *Considérations sur L'État*, vol. 2, p. 125; Méliçon, "Les Chambres d'Agriculture coloniales," p. 94, 97.
 17. "Arrêt du Conseil d'Etat, portant établissement de Chambres mi-parties d'Agriculture et de Commerce aux Isles sous le Vent" 23 July 1759, Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions*, vol. 4, p. 282; Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description*, p. 503.
 18. Jean Charles Poncelin de la Roche Tilhac, *Almanach Américain, ou Etat physique, politique, ecclésiastique et militaire de l'Amérique* (Paris: Lamy, 1784), p. 61. One source claims that Belin de Villeneuve had a creole slave named Eustache that refused to participate in the slave insurrection in 1791, remaining loyal to his master and saving a considerable amount of sugar and numerous colonists from the revolutionaries. See Philippe Le Bas, "Eustache," *France: Dictionnaire encyclopédique*, vol. 7 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1842), p. 617.
 19. Baron de Vastey, *Le Système colonial dévoilé* (Cap-Henry: Roux, 1814), p. 46.
 20. Some of the information provided by Baron de Vastey can be confirmed in other sources. For instance, Cockburn was a plantation owner in Marmelade and Maribaroux, as well as a chevalier de Saint-Louis. See Poncelin, *Almanach Américain*, p. 61 and "Arrêt qui ordonne...Cockburn et l'abbé de Vauglusan, au sujet de la vente d'une habitation située au quartier de Maribaroux, à Saint-Domingue," A15 160, ANOM.
 21. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description*, p. 504, 506.
 22. "Du Cap, le 1 février," *Gazette de S. Domingue*, 1 February 1764, pp. 4–7; "Suite du Discours de M. le Procureur-Général," 8 February 1764, *Gazette de S. Domingue*, pp. 13–15.
 23. "Avis Divers," 8 February 1764, *Gazette de S. Domingue*, p. 16.
 24. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description*, p. 507; for a list other newspapers, see M. A. Menier and G. Debien, "Journaux de Saint-Domingue," *Revue d'histoire des colonies*, vol. 36, no. 127–128 (1949): pp. 424–475.
 25. Delile, "Lettre à l'Imprimeur," *Avis du Cap*, February 1, p. 37 and February 22, pp. 59–62.
 26. McClellan, *Colonialism and Science*, p. 191.
 27. François Regourd, "Mesmerism in Saint Domingue: Occult knowledge and Voudou on the Eve of the Haitian Revolution," in *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World*, James Delbourgo and Nicholas Dew, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 311–313.

28. Regourd, "Mesmerism in Saint Domingue," p. 316; McClellan, *Colonialism and Science*, p. 183.
29. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description*, pp. 347–348.
30. For more general works on colonial medicine see also M. A. Lefevre, *Histoire du Service de Santé de la Marine Militaire et des Ecoles de Médecine Navale en France* (Paris: Bailliere, 1867); Paul Brau, *Trois siècles de médecine coloniale française* (Paris: Vigot, 1931); Pierre Pluchon, *Histoire des médecins et pharmaciens de marine et des colonies* (Toulous, 1985). There is an extensive body of literature on medicine and medical personnel in France during the Old Regime and revolutionary era, which also forms the base for my research. See for example Laurence Brockliss and Colin Jones *The Medical World of Early Modern France* (Clarendon Press, 1997); David M. Vess, *Medical Revolution in France 1789–96* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1975); Matthew Ramsey, *Professional and Popular Medicine in France 1770–1830* (Cambridge University Press, 2002).
31. McClellan, *Colonialism and Science*, p. 135.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 351.
33. McClellan, *Colonialism and Science*, pp. 195–199.
34. McClellan, *Colonialism and Science*, p. 265; *Affiches Américaines*, 28 May 1785, p. 239.
35. *Almanach de St. Domingue* (Port-au-Prince: Mozard, 1791), 142; Maurel, "Une société de pensée à Saint-Domingue," p. 263.
36. Albert Dépreaux, "Le Commandant Baudry des Lozières et la Phalange de Crête-Dragons (Saint-Domingue, 1789–1792)," *Revue de l'histoire des colonies françaises* (1924), pp. 12–13; *Affiches Américaines*, 28 May 1785, p. 239.
37. Blanche Maurel, "Une société de pensée à Saint-Domingue, le 'Cercle des Philadelphes,' au Cap Français," *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer*, vol. XLVIII (1961), pp. 263–265; *Affiches Américaines*, 28 May 1785, p. 239.
38. Maurel, "Une société de pensée à Saint-Domingue," p. 254.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 262–266.
40. Georges Anglade, "Document: Questions Relatives à l'agriculture de Saint-Domingue, publiée par le Cercle des Philadelphes du Cap-François, 1787," *Les Cahiers du CHISS*, no. 9 (1973), pp. 37–40.
41. Gabriel Debien, "Les colons de Saint-Domingue en face de la Révolution," *Revue de 'La Porte Océan'* (June, 1952), p. 5; Garran, *Rapport sur les troubles*, vol. 1, p. 54, 103–105.
42. Léon Deschamps, *Les Colonies pendant la révolution: La Constituante et la Reforme Coloniale* (Paris: Didier, 1898), pp. 302–304; Maurel, "Une société de pensée à Saint-Domingue," pp. 262–266.
43. Moreau de Saint-Méry and Belin de Villeneuve, *Mémoire sur un nouvel équipage de chaudières à sucre: pour les colonies, avec le plan dudit équipage*

- (Paris: Chez Hardouin et Gattey, 1786); Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description*, pp. 649–650; Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description*, p. 649; McClellan, *Colonialism and Science*, p. 159, 215. One source claims that Belin de Villeneuve had a creole slave named Eustache that refused to participate in the slave insurrection in 1791, remaining loyal to his master and saving a considerable amount of sugar and numerous colonists from the revolutionaries. See Philippe Le Bas, “Eustache,” *France: Dictionnaire encyclopédique*, vol. 7 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1842), p. 617.
44. René Nicolas Joubert de la Motte, médecin et botaniste du Roi à Saint-Domingue (1772/1788), E 232, ANOM; *Mercur de France*, 6 September 1788, pp. 111–112; “Variétés,” *Affiches Américaines*, Port-au-Prince, 20 October 1787, pp. 534–536; Nicolas Joseph Thierry de Menonville, *Traité de la culture du nopal et de l’éducation de la cochenille dans les colonies Françaises de l’Amérique* (Paris: Chez la veuve Herbault, 1787), pp. lix–lxxxiii.
 45. Jean Barré de Saint-Venant, 6 floréal an 10, 7SUPSDOM 6, ANOM; Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description*, vol. 1, p. 347.
 46. McClellan, *Colonialism and Science*, p. 250.
 47. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description*, vol. 1, p. 35.
 48. McClellan, *Colonialism and Science*, p. 274.
 49. Garran, *Rapport sur les Troubles de Saint-Domingue*, vol. 1, p. 108.
 50. Palisot de Beauvois quoted in McClellan, *Colonialism and Science*, p. 275.
 51. McClellan, *Colonialism and Science*, p. 285.
 52. Suire and Davezac, *Extrait du Registre des délibérations de l’Assemblée provinciale provisoirement administrative du Sud*, 4 February 1792 (Cayes: Lemery), DXXV 112, Dossier 891, AN.
 53. Maurice Crosland, “The *Officiers de Santé* of the French Revolution: A Case Study in the Changing Language of Medicine,” *Medical History*, vol. 48 (2004), p. 236.
 54. Crosland, “The *Officiers de Santé* of the French Revolution,” p. 235, 239, 230.
 55. Etienne Polverel, *Ordonnance*, 20 December 1793 (Cayes: Lemery), DXXV 10, AN.
 56. Decout to Polverel, 30 April 1794, DXXV 26, Dossier 270, AN.
 57. Jeremy Popkin, *A Concise History of the Haitian Revolution* (Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, 2012), p. 65.
 58. Decout à Polverel, 27 February 1794, DXXV 6, AN.
 59. Decout, *Apperçu sur les maladies de Saint-Domingue, avec les Remedes qu’il faut y appliquer* (Cayes: Lemery, 1797), p. 4.
 60. Weaver, *Medical Revolutionaries*, p. 113, 3.
 61. McClellan, *Colonialism and Science*, p. 136.
 62. Decout, *Apperçu sur les maladies de Saint-Domingue*, p. 3, 6.

63. Decout, *Apperçu sur les maladies de Saint-Domingue*, pp. 5–6.
64. Cinq cent Onzième Séance, du 1^{er} brumaire an IV (23 octobre 1795), *Collection de Documents Inédits: Procès-verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique à la Convention Nationale*, J. Guillaume, eds., vol. 6 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1907), p. 822.
65. Robert Chagny, “Voyage scientifique et politique coloniale: Alexandre-Benjamin Giroud, un ingénieur des mines à Saint-Domingue sous le Directoire,” *Le comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (2009), p. 77.
66. Société libre des sciences, des arts & belle lettres à l’Institut national de France, 7 messidor an 4, Archives d’Institut de France, carton 4 A 1 [hereafter cited as AIF].
67. Giroud à l’Institut, 27 prairial an 4, *La décade philosophique, littéraire et politique*, 27 August 1796, pp. 401–402.
68. Giroud à l’Institut, 10 messidor an 4, *La décade philosophique, littéraire et politique*, 27 August 1796, p. 405.
69. The organization had thirty-eight whites, four men of color, and four blacks. *Liste des membres composants la Société libres des sciences, des arts & belles lettres résidante au Cap Français Isle St. Domingue*, AIF.
70. Giroud à l’Institut, 10 messidor an 4, *La décade philosophique, littéraire et politique*, 27 August 1796, p. 405.
71. *Règlement de la Société libre des sciences, arts et belles lettres du Cap Français*, AIF.
72. Ibid.
73. For more on the Pennsylvania Abolition Society see for example Dee E. Andrews, “Reconsidering the First Emancipation: Evidence from the Pennsylvania Abolition Society Correspondence, 1785–1810,” *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, vol. 64 (1997): pp. 230–249; Richard S. Newman, “The Pennsylvania Abolition Society: Restoring a Group to Glory,” *Pennsylvania Legacies*, vol. 5, no. 2 (2005): pp. 6–10; Margaret Hope Bacon, “The Pennsylvania Abolition Society’s Mission for Black Education,” *Pennsylvania Legacies*, vol. 5, no. 2 (2005): pp. 21–26; Beverly Tomek, “Seeking ‘An Immutable Pledge from the Slave Holding States’: The Pennsylvania Abolition Society and Black Resettlement,” *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, vol. 75 (2008): pp. 26–53; and Maurice Jackson, *Let This Voice Be Heard: Anthony Benezet, Father of Atlantic Abolitionism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).
74. Giroud to the Friends of Humanity in Philadelphia (17 January 1797), printed in *The Time Piece and Literary Companion*, 19 July 1797.
75. For more on the interconnectedness see James Alexander Dun, “Philadelphia not Philanthropolis: The Limits of Pennsylvania Antislavery in the Era of the Haitian Revolution,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of*

- History and Biography*, vol. 135, no. 1 (2011): pp. 73–102, and Roberty Chagny, “Un Dauphinois chez les Quakers: Lettres d’Alexandre-Benjamin Giroud sur sa mission auprès de la Société de Pennsylvanie pour l’abolition de l’esclavage in 1797,” *La pierre et l’écrit*, vol. 21 (2010): 137–158.
76. *The Philadelphia Gazette and Universal Daily Advertiser*, 15 July 1797, p. 2; Dun, “Philadelphia not Philanthropois,” pp. 75–77.
 77. Giroud to the philanthropists who compose the Society of the Friends of the Blacks at Philadelphia (9 April 1797), printed in *The Time Piece and Literary Companion*, 19 July 1797.
 78. Alexandre Giroud to Thomas Jefferson, 9 April 1797, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, ed. Barbara B. Oberg and J. Jefferson Looney (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008); Chagny, “Voyage scientifique et politique coloniale,” p. 78.
 79. Giroud to Thomas Jefferson, 9 April 1797, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*.
 80. Chagny, “Voyage scientifique et politique coloniale,” pp. 82–83.
 81. McClellan, *Colonialism and Science*, pp. 286–287.
 82. Louis Narcisse Baudry des Lozières, *Les Egarements du nigrophilisme* (Paris: Chez Migneret, 1802), p. 282.
 83. Michel-Etienne Descourtilz, *Voyages d’un naturaliste*, vol. 2 (Paris: Dufart, 1809), pp. 1–2.
 84. Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, pp. 270–271.
 85. Instructions Napoléon pour Leclerc (31 October 1801), in Paul Roussier, *Lettres du General Leclerc* (Paris: Société de l’histoire des colonies françaises, 1937), pp. 263–274.
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 90. Délorme, “Reflexions sur la topographie medicale du Cap,” *Journal des Officiers de Santé de Saint-Domingue*, 1803.
 91. Jean Barré de Saint-Venant, *Des Colonies Modernes sous la Zone Torride, et particulièrement de celle de Saint-Domingue* (Paris: Chez Brochot, 1802), pp. 440–441.
 92. Jean Barré de Saint-Venant, 6 floréal an 10, 7SUPSDOM 6, ANOM.



Revolutionary Instruction: Creating Educational Equality in the Revolutionary French Atlantic

Philanthropists led advances in revolutionary education projects aimed at incorporating former slaves into society and solidifying emancipation and racial equality in Saint-Domingue. While white French officials planned, organized, and reported on these projects, more often it was the philanthropists typically unnamed in the historiography or left unspecified in contemporary sources who actually brought to life and operated the colonial schools. Whites, such as Citizen Binet, opened schools to teach children of all colors about the principles of French republicanism after the emancipation in 1794. Another man dedicated to improving the lives of people of African descent, Jean Alexandre Paulmier left his own plantation to serve as a teacher. Paulmier, a free man of color, demonstrates how philanthropy was not only carried out by whites during the Haitian Revolution.¹ Indeed peoples of all races worked together to establish colonial public instruction. Various other unidentified people sent their children to the mixed-race colonial schools, or educated the new black citizens in improvised schools on plantations. These citizens, by engaging in public instruction projects, helped to advance the revolution in Saint-Domingue by institutionalizing ideas of abolition and racial equality in the colony's citizens of all colors. They sought to integrate former slaves into the French citizenry, just as much as officials sent from France.

Access to literacy was a major theme of the Haitian Revolution, and the philanthropic educational projects in Saint-Domingue often mirrored

those carried out in revolutionary France. Most of the population in Saint-Domingue and France were illiterate prior to the revolutions. In France, nearly two-thirds of the people were unable to read and write before the French Revolution, as education had been not been affordable or practical for the lower classes.² In Saint-Domingue, the enslaved—who constituted over eighty percent of the population—were rarely taught to read and write, as it interfered with work and undermined the plantation system and racial hierarchy.³ Even leader Toussaint Louverture who had been free when the Haitian Revolution began ambitiously worked to become literate in the 1790s.⁴ Literacy allowed French people on both sides of the Atlantic to participate in politics and fulfill their duties as citizens. Further, for those of African descent in Saint-Domingue, literacy also let them enter the world of ideas, through organizations such as the Free Society of Sciences, Arts, and Humanities, proving their equality and transforming racial ideologies in the French Atlantic. Philanthropists undertook public instruction projects in Saint-Domingue to improve the lives of people of African descent, and ensured that the events in the colony became a revolution for peoples of all colors.

When French civil commissioner Sonthonax decreed general emancipation for all slaves in northern Saint-Domingue in 1793, he encouraged the formerly enslaved to prove their worthiness of freedom and aspire to be a people “equal to the nations of Europe.”⁵ However, Sonthonax only provided a limited blueprint for how ex-slaves could accomplish these two immense tasks, focusing primarily on agricultural work. Several years later, Sonthonax returned to Saint-Domingue as a member of a third civil commission sent from France with a plan to combine agricultural labor with education, using Le Cap as the model for the rest of Saint-Domingue. At the same time, Jean-Baptiste Coisson established the Institution Nationale des Colonies in Paris, inviting the black and colored leaders of the Haitian Revolution to send their sons for their education alongside white children.⁶ Educating the former slaves and free children of all colors on both sides of the French Atlantic was an attempt to safeguard general emancipation after the French National Convention decreed abolition in 1794. The unstable political situation in France and British and Spanish intervention in Saint-Domingue threatened the overturn of the emancipation decrees of 1793 and 1794. In the Old Regime, slavery permeated society and ideology in the French Atlantic World. However, public education during the French and Haitian Revolutions offered opportunities to introduce the concepts of abolition and racial equality to the population.

The growing historiography of the Haitian Revolution still needs a detailed study of the origins and implementation of education for Saint Domingans both within the colony and in France. Historians of the Haitian Revolution frequently mention the education of the famous revolutionary leader and former slave Toussaint Louverture's sons Isaac and Placide in France. Often authors focus on the role of their educator, Jean-Baptiste Coisson, in trying to convince Louverture to submit to General Charles Victoire Emmanuel Leclerc upon the arrival of his expedition in 1802.⁷ However, scholars have paid little, if any, attention to projects to establish secondary education within Saint-Domingue or the curriculums for colonial students in the schools in the colony and in France.⁸ What were these various proposals for such education? How were the curriculums different from and similar to those of the Old Regime colonial and metropolitan schools? How did the French revolutionary commissioners sent by the Directory envision the education of the formerly enslaved population of Saint-Domingue? How did schools for colonial youth in Saint-Domingue and France parallel and differ from one another? In exploring answers to these questions, as well as generally examining the social and ideological experiments in secondary education on both sides of the Atlantic for colonial youth of all colors, this segment reveals some of the connections and disconnections between the French and Haitian Revolutions in relation to liberty, equality, and fraternity.

During the Enlightenment, various philanthropic authors in Europe wrote broadly about the importance of education and ways to expand instruction. For instance, eighteenth-century French *philosophe* Claude-Adrien Helvétius, induced by his "love of mankind," wrote a two-volume *Treatise on Man: His Intellectual Faculties and His Education*.⁹ He suggested that education could improve humanity. Like seventeenth-century English philosopher John Locke, Helvétius believed that everyone was born equal and the environment shaped all behavior; therefore, proper instruction could correct anything.¹⁰ However, prominent Enlightenment thinkers in Europe were not the only ones concerned with how education could better their worlds. Colonists in Saint-Domingue also saw instruction as a means to advance their society. French colonists in Saint-Domingue combined European Enlightenment ideas on education with the needs and desires specific to their lives in a racially divided plantation colony.

The concept of racially integrated education was not completely unknown to pre-revolutionary Saint-Domingans. During the Old Regime, the wealthiest free families sent their children to France. Free

people of color believed that education was vital to gaining their citizenship.¹¹ The application of the education shared by whites and free people of color in the Old Regime was not equal. This is especially clear in the way of political participation. While colonial whites assumed their automatic participation in the French revolutionary assemblies, the questions of representation and citizenship for free people of color was a matter of dispute, despite their similar wealth and education.¹² Further, wealthy white and colored Saint-Dominguans preferred to send their children to be educated in France. This was due to the intentionally low numbers and inferior quality of schools in the colony, which forced colonists to study in France, maintaining their loyalty to the homeland. However, Saint-Dominguans increased the availability of and improved colonial schools in the 1780s.¹³

The *Cercle des Philadelphes* made a narrow contribution to public education in Saint-Domingue in the 1780s. In spring 1786, Alexandre Dubourg and Joseph Benoit Peyré, sharing responsibilities for the organization's gardens at the time, offered a free course on botany for the public. The class consisted of twenty sessions scheduled over four months, which would introduce the subject using Carl Linnaeus's system of classification.¹⁴ Obviously not rudimentary education intended for children, this course reflected the intentions of the *Cercle* to promote and improve agriculture in the colony. In response to encouragement by the organization, private citizens pursued secondary education in the 1780s.

In the decade preceding the French Atlantic revolutions, Saint-Domingue's two major cities Le Cap and Port-au-Prince experienced a significant increase in public schools. In the summer of 1786, Charles Arthaud presented a "Plan for Public Education in the Colony of Saint-Domingue" at a meeting of the *Cercle des Philadelphes*. His plan explained the difficulties for colonial children to be separated from their families to go to France for an education. Arthaud argued that the children would make a greater fortune for themselves as adults in Saint-Domingue if they obtained their education in the colony instead of France, because "a longer residence results in a greater knowledge of the country" and "the birth of the arts, taste, and an academic society."¹⁵ Less than one month after Arthaud's presentation, Messieurs Hervé and Legrand announced their establishment of a *maison d'éducation* in Port-au-Prince, directly referencing the publication of Arthaud's plan in the previous issue of the *Affiches Américaines*.¹⁶ In 1787, three new schools opened in Le Cap under Renault, Dorseuil, and Guynemer, all advertising in the *Affiches*

Américaines. Monsieur and Madame Buron opened a boarding school for girls in Le Cap in 1788.¹⁷ Although there seemed to be an obvious gender division in colonial secondary education, none of the newspaper advertisements made any mention of the racial requirements for enrollment in the boys' or girls' schools in the colony.

Each of these new schools established in the 1780s used colonial newspapers to advertise the curriculum and amenities to be offered to students and pensions required for their enrollment. Hervé and Legrand offered courses in Latin, Spanish, mathematics, geography, and history for 1500 *livres* per year.¹⁸ Dorseuil offered similar classes as Hervé and Legrand, but he also incorporated dancing, drawing, fencing, and music into the curriculum at his school for 2000 *livres* per year.¹⁹ The girls' school established by the Burons had a slightly different set of courses, focusing on areas seen as particularly necessary for young women. For 3300 *livres* per year, colonial females, while receiving proper religious instruction, would learn to read and write, as well as study history, geography, dancing, vocal music, and various forms of instrumental music, including pianoforte, harp, and guitar.²⁰ Apparently, these offerings for boys and girls were supposed to be comparable to those in France, but with much cheaper pensions. Revolutionary events in France and Saint-Domingue halted attempts to establish a stable system of colonial secondary public education.

One of the earliest educational endeavors in revolutionary Saint-Domingue was not planned or advertised in colonial newspapers. Just months after the revolution erupted in France, Yves Mialaret departed for the colony, believing it to be a place of hope. Only fifteen years-old, he arrived in Port-au-Prince in 1789 without money or connections. However, he quickly found employment teaching peoples of all colors. According to his daughter Athénaïs Michelet, people of African descent sought education to gain equality, and her father "without racial prejudice...taught them all, white, black, yellow."²¹ Eventually, he chose to teach in the countryside on the plantations of Artibonite. Unlike prerevolutionary institutions of instruction, Mialaret preferred not to teach in a city like Le Cap or Port-au-Prince, likely because his practices were not popular with other whites. As tensions increased between whites and free people of color in 1790, he allied with the men of color who loved "his ardent nature and passion for justice" and "forgot his color" because they sensed that he was a friend that could be trusted.²² Mialaret, a young teacher turned revolutionary, joined the men of color in fighting for their rights in Saint-Domingue.

When the French National Assembly originally granted political rights to free people of color on 15 May 1791, Louis-François Boisrond sought to establish a colonial school in Aquin in the South Province. A free man of color, Boisrond had been a member of Sonthonax and Polverel's Intermediary Commission and was the uncle of Louis Boisrond-Tonnerre, who later wrote and signed the Haitian Declaration of Independence in 1803.²³ Boisrond's nieces and nephews were in France at the time of the National Assembly's May decree, and he asked Julien Raimond, a wealthy free man of color, to send them back to Saint-Domingue in July 1791. In addition, Boisrond requested that Raimond send teachers to start a school in Aquin. He claimed that education would transform the children into French republicans.²⁴ Unfortunately, the National Assembly revoked the May decree, fighting broke out again among the whites and free people of color, and the enslaved revolted, all by August 1791.

The French and Haitian Revolutions disrupted colonial education on both sides of the Atlantic for several years. Many free colonial youths were already in France for their education, similar to Boisrond's nieces and nephews, when the slave uprising began in August 1791. As the enslaved decimated plantations and killed their masters in Saint-Domingue, colonial children in France financially supported by those same masters and plantations were stranded in the metropole.²⁵ In meetings of the Committee of the Marine and Colonies in April and May 1792, the members of the committees for relief and public education discussed the need for "measures to rescue the young Americans who are in a pension in the kingdom....the children of colonists of Saint-Domingue ruined by the disasters of the colony." One member suggested that one hundred livres be paid to those boarding a colonial student in France for three months for "food, service, and instruction."²⁶ These children, indirectly victims of the Haitian Revolution, found temporary refuge under the French Legislative Assembly.

In 1792, Deputy Jean-Adrien Queslin presented a project for education in the French colonies to the Legislative Assembly on behalf of the colonial, agricultural, and public instruction committees. Unlike the colonial schools, Queslin's plan focused on the primary economic functions of the colonies: agriculture and manufacturing. He claimed,

It is easy to see now how the schools of agriculture and manufacturing which we propose to institute, in multiplying and perfecting the colonial commodities, would ensure, by the progress of positive knowledge, the advantages that present to the colonies and France the new resources of wealth and prosperity.²⁷

He proposed the recreation of agricultural societies in the major colonies, including Saint-Domingue. These societies would maintain communication with France and the other colonies, as well as the schools. Although Queslin did not specify the curriculum or which students could attend, he clearly stipulated how the schools would be funded. As a strong supporter of the confiscation of lands abandoned by émigrés from the colonies, he argued for the establishment of the schools on, and with the profits from the sale of, these newly nationalized lands, which often contained a sugar mill.²⁸ Although the Queslin plan was not implemented, its emphasis on the economic purpose of the colonies foreshadowed later educational plans to combine general education with agricultural labor after general emancipation.

In Saint-Domingue, as representatives sent from France dealt with larger issues of citizenship and emancipation, they also gradually addressed the colonial need for public education. The Legislative Assembly sent Sonthonax and Etienne Polverel as members of a second civil commission to Saint-Domingue in 1792 to ensure application of the law of 4 April, which gave free people of color citizenship. Within a year after their arrival in September 1792, Sonthonax proclaimed general emancipation for the enslaved in the North Province in August 1793, and Polverel made similar proclamations in the following months for the West and South Provinces. Article 65 of “Polverel’s Proclamation of General Liberty in the West and the South” called for adequate teachers to provide instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, as well as the rights and duties of French citizens.²⁹ However, at the time of this decree the National Convention had already issued a decree for the arrest and recall of Sonthonax and Polverel, and Polverel died in France in 1795 prior to his exoneration of the charges against him and before he could see his plans for the education of former slaves come to fruition. Plans for education in the colony formulated by the second civil commission were specific to the ex-slave population, and made no specific mention of racially integrated secondary public education.

After Sonthonax and Polverel were taken back to France for trial, French General Etienne Laveaux began to advance the ideas expressed in the proclamations of the second civil commission. Before the recall of the commissioners, in May 1794, Laveaux had secured Louverture’s loyalty to the French cause, inviting him to defect from the Spanish side. Laveaux and Louverture attempted to continue the commissioners’ work after Sonthonax and Polverel returned to France. Over the next few years, with-

out any real help from the metropole, they sought to rebuild the colony without slavery.³⁰ It was in this context that Laveaux established a public school in Le Cap, which would serve as the example for future institutions of secondary education in the colony. Laveaux reported to the Committee of Public Safety that Citizen Binet had also established a “republican school,” and he had assisted with a public examination of students “of all colors.” Laveaux encouraged the Committee to establish national education in the colonies for “all the children of the brave military men” and to send “educated men” from France to instruct the colonial students.³¹ It is important to note that Laveaux only intended to educate soldiers’ children.

Later, in May 1796 members of a third civil commission, also referred to as the agency, reported on Laveaux’s school. In a letter to the Minister of the Marine, one commissioner explained, “A school was established in Cap by the care of General Laveaux, but it was neglected by the misfortunes of the circumstances.” The third commission intended to expand upon this first school and multiply the opportunities within the colony by replicating it throughout Saint-Domingue.³² Another commissioner asserted that Laveaux’s school should be “the example of the generous emulation which should enliven all citizens of a free state.”³³ It was important for philanthropists to develop colonial schools and educate former slaves in order to disprove claims by proslavery advocates that people of African descent were unequal, even beastlike, and required the control of enslavement. Although there is little information available on Laveaux’s school, it was clearly the catalyst for further action.

The population of the South Province, under the leadership of mulatto General André Rigaud, made separate and somewhat different attempts to establish colonial education. Rigaud was both commandant of the South and Colonel of the Legion of Equality of the South. In December 1794, he authorized Father Augustin Outrebon, parish priest of Cavaillon to educate Aquin’s children in the principles and duties of French republicanism, as well as a love of France. Since this came after general emancipation, it is likely the school would be open to children of all colors, but neither Rigaud nor Outrebon specified this. Outrebon purchased a house and several buildings from Aquin’s municipal government and signed a lease for commercial farming.³⁴ These acquisitions suggest that Outrebon envisioned a curriculum that included agriculture, similar to Queslin’s proposal to the Legislative Assembly two years earlier. Both plans sought to educate the colony’s population while maintaining Saint-Domingue’s economic pros-

perity, which would prove that slavery was unnecessary. Outrebon's establishment did not appear to be a government-supported school, and it is unclear if Laveaux or Louverture endorsed it.

Upon his return to Saint-Domingue as a part of the third civil commission, Sonthonax continued to make the ex-slave population his first priority. Less than a month after his arrival, Sonthonax made a proclamation specific to education to the children of former slaves in June 1796. Sonthonax explained, "It is not enough to win freedom, citizens, we must also learn to keep it in all its integrity to pass on to your latest posterity. Believe, citizens, that it is only through education that you will achieve this goal."³⁵ Much like Rigaud and Father Outrebon's plans for Aquin's school, the form of education proposed by Sonthonax was a combination of core courses, republican ideas, and agricultural work. Students would attend school for four and a half hours each day, broken up into two separate sessions with agricultural "work practice" mid-morning and early evening. Every month, students would receive awards publicly for their achievements in the schools. For example, a prize would be awarded to the student who recited the most articles of the declaration of rights and duties of citizens, and another student would earn a prize for producing the most crops from the land they cultivated during "work practice."³⁶ At the outset the Directory instructed that education for former slaves necessarily be combined with agricultural labor, because France valued the colony for its productive capabilities, which had been disrupted by the slave uprising and international warfare.

After Sonthonax's initial proclamation in June 1796, Julien Raimond, a colored member of the third civil commission, took responsibility for the development and supervision of colonial public schools. To begin the substantial task before him, Raimond first visited Laveaux's school and presented his findings to the agency. Based on his findings, the commissioners chose to open new schools through the North Province, and in early 1797, Raimond reported that over 1600 students were attending the northern schools.³⁷ Quendoy, the master of the school established at Gonaïves, wrote to the commission requesting exemption from service in the national guard, because of the potential harm that could come to his students' educations in his absence.³⁸ This appeal suggests a lack of adequate staff for the growing education system in the colony, as well as the conflicting demands for military and civil personnel. To further the expansion of the system, the civil commission established a committee of public instruction in Cap, headed by the Abbé de la Haye, which reported back

to the commission regularly. In June 1797, Sonthonax wrote to the committee of public instruction, "The care of the committee to form the minds and hearts of young people whose education is entrusted to it reproduces perfectly the hope the commission had conceived for this establishment."³⁹ For those students who could not attend the schools, the commissioners sent literate citizens and graduates from the school in Le Cap throughout the rest of the province to informally tutor local children in reading.⁴⁰ Education – particularly literacy – in the North was progressing well.

In the summer of 1796, Alexandre Giroud wrote to the Minister of the Marine on the status and development of education in Saint-Domingue. He explained the efforts to replicate Laveaux's school, and the successes in educating the children of former slaves. He described, "Already in almost all houses and streets one hears children repeat the alphabet from memory," and the people ask "young European children who know how to read and write for instruction."⁴¹ While this may have been an exaggeration, it is clear that the ex-slaves and whites were working together to informally instruct one another. While the children of former slaves were learning to read and write, children of all colors were learning to collaborate across racial lines to preserve general emancipation and move beyond the Old Regime's racial hierarchy. Giroud also inquired on behalf of the newly formed committee of public instruction about obtaining "elementary books of all genres" printed by the National Convention. He asked the Minister of the Interior to send "a collection of good pieces of theater, books of history, philosophy, and natural history." He referenced a conversation he had had with Grégoire before leaving France. Grégoire spoke of an abundance of books in the "depots of the Republic" that could be reserved to create a colonial public library, which Giroud noted would "become increasingly necessary" in Saint-Domingue.⁴² He was obviously confident in the progress of basic education in the colony, enough so to suggest increases in literacy would merit collections of more advanced reading materials to be sent from France.

Giroud also wrote the Institute in Paris about the successes of Raimond's schools and the importance of education in linking Saint-Domingue and France. He explained how the colored commissioner had established schools in Le Cap. He asserted that the schools were "one of the institutions" that bound "most strongly the new citizens of Saint-Domingue to the metropole." He described the excitement and appreciation that former slaves exhibited when they heard that the Republic wants to teach

their children to “read, write, and calculate.” Further, Giroud explained that their enthusiasm increased when they learned that outstanding children would be sent to France for additional instruction. He went on to defend the intelligence of peoples of African descent. He noted that they were “deprived” of literacy, an “instrument of human perfectibility” because of the barbarity of slavery. He insisted that those who claimed that blacks could not acquire to the same level as whites had “insulted the human species.”⁴³ This letter to the Institute was quite different from the one Giroud sent to the Minister of the Marine. Instead of discussing the successes of and additional needs for education, he emphasized the humanity of peoples of African descent and how public instruction could unify peoples of all colors in Saint-Domingue and France.

In the South Province, while some Atlantic philanthropists invested strongly in the project to establish colonial education, others still preferred to send the colony’s children to France for an education. Jean Alexandre Paulmier, a free colored planter from Petit-Goâve, left his plantation under the control of a military officer in March 1797 to become a teacher in Aquin, leasing a house there. This and earlier efforts to set up schools illustrate the changing attitudes toward equality for former slaves in Saint-Domingue. Beyond basic education, the former slaves also needed civic instruction. Julien Raimond’s brother, Guillaume advised ex-slaves on colonial judicial procedures, an important part of citizenship.⁴⁴ Despite the accomplishments of the civil commission and committee of public instruction, Raimond, a native of the South Province who had been educated in Paris himself, suggested students be sent to France after receiving basic instruction in the colony.⁴⁵ Even though Raimond advised the expansion of the colonial schools, at this early stage in development of revolutionary Saint-Dominguan public instruction, he considered colonial schools inferior to the educational institutions in France.

Saint-Dominguan children were able to receive an education in revolutionary France through the philanthropy of François-Alexandre-Frédéric, duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt. In the late 1780s, he founded a school for children of poor soldiers. The colonel of a regiment, Rouchefoucauld wanted to help the children of the soldiers under his command, and he believed education would improve their lives.⁴⁶ In addition to reading, writing, and arithmetic, the school curriculum supported different career paths: military, industry, or agriculture. The school was on a

small farm in the French countryside, allowing students to learn many different skills, including cultivation, carpentry, shoemaking, locksmithing, and tailoring.⁴⁷ Consequently, the school prepared soldiers, artisans, and farmers for the nation, while its students provided for the school's financial administration. This curriculum was similar to that instituted in Saint-Domingue for former slaves, as both included classroom education and an apprenticeship-like work regimen. During the French Revolution, the state assumed control of the *Ecole Liancourt*, and the National Convention incorporated it into the *Institut des Jeunes Français*. The second article of the decree opened the school of children of colonists "who were victims of the Revolution."⁴⁸ Saint-Dominguan students of all colors went to France to attend the school, including Louverture's two sons, Isaac and Placide, as well as Citizen LaCroix, "son of an African cultivator" in Saint-Domingue.⁴⁹ This was not the only school for colonial children of all colors in France.

The Corps Législatif in Paris invited additional outstanding students in the colonial schools to continue their secondary education in institutions established in metropolitan France to solidify Saint-Dominguan loyalty to the homeland. In 1798, the Council of the Five Hundred, part of the *Corps Législatif*, issued a "Law on the Colonies." Title XVIII outlined public education in the colonies, including a provision to transport "six young individuals without distinction of color" to France each year "at the expense of the nation and supported during the time necessary for their education."⁵⁰ The same year, Jean-Baptiste Coisson proposed to the government the establishment of an *Institution Nationale des Colonies* in Paris in the former location of the *collège de Marche*, where he had served as the principal before the French Revolution.⁵¹ Coisson envisioned a "*collège mixte*," or a school for students of all colors. Children of the most prominent black and colored colonial generals eventually attended the school, including those of Louverture and André Rigaud. In 1801, Coisson's school enrolled twenty-seven white, seven mulatto, and eight black students.⁵² While Coisson had philanthropic intentions, the French government expected the school to guarantee loyalty from the colonial children's fathers to France, essentially making the students hostages.

In 1799, another member of the third civil commission Philippe Rouse wrote to the Minister of the Marine concerning both the colonial schools and Coisson's school in Paris. Rouse revealed interracial educational collaboration on the plantations. He described,

The cultivated plantations are run for the most part by black citizens who cannot read; they are obliged to have whites recite books and make responses; and the same whites, when they join together the good will with the knowledge of the reading and the writing, hold school on the plantations, for the children of the place and vicinity.⁵³

While white philanthropists worked across racial lines with former slaves on rural plantations, Roume sought to inspire similar educational equality in Paris. He recommended six creole boys from “worthy and less wealthy parents” to join Toussaint Louverture’s children under Coisson at the *Institution Nationale des Colonies*. He explained how the distribution of prizes to creoles under Coisson had made a significant impact, “by encouraging the fathers of other children to justify the goodness of the republic and enlightening all the minds of the black and colored youth” they no longer see “any difference between them and the whites.”⁵⁴ Like Raimond, Roume saw value in a collaborative system between the colonial schools and schools in France in educating the colonial youth of all colors.

Simultaneous with the development of Coisson’s school and others like it, the Saint-Dominguan deputies to the *Corps Législatif*, determined to establish a stable colonial school system. They submitted a proposal for secondary education in the colony originally formulated by Antoine Didier Villemot, a professor in France. Both Laveaux and Sonthonax had been elected as deputies to the *Corps Législatif*, and they endorsed Villemot’s plan. Villemot sought to go to Saint-Domingue on the next available vessel to serve as the Inspector of Public Schools. He promised to author a “republican catechism,” as well as books on French grammar, Latin, and arithmetic specifically for the colonies.⁵⁵ In addition to French and Latin, Villemot proposed inclusion of English and Spanish in the curriculum, “because of the interest they have for trade relations.”⁵⁶ Villemot planned to establish the first public courses in Le Cap, “where all citizens curious to learn attend freely,” and would teach “the development of republican morality and the constitution,” along with the core courses already noted.⁵⁷ His plan targeted adults, as well as children, as students. Although his proposal may have been strongly backed by the Saint-Dominguan deputies, it was unable to be implemented with the continued international wars within continental Europe and continuing shifts within the French and Haitian revolutionary governments.

After he took power in France, Napoleon Bonaparte sought to end efforts to develop and maintain a public education system for the youth in

Saint-Domingue. Article 86 of the constitution for Saint-Domingue of 1801 contained instructions for developing a system of schools in the colony, which incorporated the earlier revolutionary model.⁵⁸ However, Bonaparte's instructions for Leclerc specified that public education would not be established in the colony and all children would receive instruction only in France.⁵⁹ Coisson's school closed in late September 1802 with no official plan to care for the students. In fact, François-Ferdinand Christophe, son of the future Haitian King Henry I, ended up in a Parisian orphan's hospital, dying in the fall of 1805.⁶⁰ After Louverture submitted to his own arrest and Leclerc died of disease, the Haitian revolutionaries under Jean-Jacques Dessalines defeated the French forces in 1803 and declared independence in 1804. Dessalines reverted back to a system of private education that favored elite children, similar to that of the colonial period. Dessalines detailed a payment scheme for such schools, allowing instructors to charge more if their pupils desired to read and write.⁶¹ All future educational undertakings in Haiti would be based upon the extensive examples of the colonial and revolutionary periods most Haitians witnessed or experienced firsthand.

NOTES

1. Garrigus, *Before Haiti*, pp. 290–291, 293.
2. Robert Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990), p. 298; Charles R. Bailey, *The Old Regime Collèges, 1789–1795: Local Initiatives in Recasting French Secondary Education* (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), pp. 1–2.
3. In 1789, there were almost half a million enslaved blacks, around 40,000 whites, and about 28,000 free people of color. Médéric-Louis-Elie Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description topographique, physique, civile, politique et historique de la partie française de l'isle Saint Domingue* vol. 1 (Paris: Société de l'histoire des colonies françaises, 1797), p. 5; Garran, *Rapport sur les Troubles de Saint-Domingue*, vol. I, pp. 15–18.
4. Athénaïs Michelet, *Mémoires d'une enfant* (Paris: Marpon et Flammarion, 1888), p. 196; Philippe Girard, "Quelle langue parlait Toussaint Louverture? Le mémoire du Fort de Joux et les origines du kreyòl Haïtien," *Annales*, vol. 68, no. 1 (2013), pp. 109–132.
5. Léger Félicité Sonthonax, "Decree for General Liberty," 29 August 1793, reprinted and translated in *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean, 1789–1804: A Brief History with Documents*, Dubois and Garrigus, eds., p. 123.

6. Michel Roussier, "L'Education des enfants de Toussaint Louverture et l'Institution nationale des colonies," *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer*, vol. 64, no. 236 (1977), pp. 308–349.
7. Roussier, "L'Education des enfants de Toussaint Louverture," pp. 308–349; Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, p. 267; and Madison Smartt Bell, *Toussaint Louverture: A Biography* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2007), pp. 231–233. The encounter in February 1802 failed to convince Toussaint Louverture. See Antoine Métral, *Histoire de l'Expédition des Français à Saint-Domingue, sous les consulat de Napoléon Bonaparte, suivie des mémoires et notes d'Isaac Louverture, sur la même expédition, et sur la vie de son père* (Paris: Fanjat Aîné et Antoine-Augustin Renouard, 1825), pp. 55–62.
8. For example, in his biography of Sonthonax, Robert Louis Stein only discusses the school in Le Cap in a single paragraph. Stein, *Léger Félicité Sonthonax*, p. 153. Further, Dubois mentions in a single sentence. Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, p. 203. For some broad studies on education in Saint-Domingue and Haiti, see for example Jean Fouchard, *Les Marrons du Syllabire* (Port-au-Prince: Editions Henri Deschamps, 1953); Silvio Zavala and John B. Clement, "History of Education in Haiti (1804–1915) (First Part)," *Revisita de historia de América*, vol. 87 (1979): pp. 141–182; and Zavala and Clement, "History of Education in Haiti (1804–1915)," *Revisita de historia de América*, vol. 88 (1979): pp. 33–74.
9. Helvétius, *Treatise on Man: His Intellectual Faculties and His Education*, vol. 1 (London: Albion, 1810), p. iii.
10. John Locke, "An Essay Concerning Human Understanding," *The Works of John Lock in Nine Volumes*, vol. 1 (London: Rivington, 1824); R. R. Palmer, *The Improvement of Humanity: Education and the French Revolution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), p. 3.
11. Michelet, *Mémoires d'une enfant*, p. 192; Garrigus, *Before Haiti*, p. 290.
12. For a concise explanation of the free colored question see the introduction to *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean*, Dubois and Garrigus, pp. 21–22.
13. In addition to public schools, the colonial ecclesiastics educated the youth in religious schools or as private tutors. Jean Fouchard, *Les Marrons du Syllabaire: Quelque aspects du problème de l'instruction et de l'éducation des esclaves et affranchis de Saint-Domingue* (Port-au-Prince: Editions Henri Deschamps, 1953), pp. 79–80.
14. "Avis Divers," *Supplément aux Affiches Américaines*, no. 3, 17 January 1786; McClellan, *Colonialism and Science*, p. 221.
15. *Supplément aux Affiches Américaines, Feuille du Port-au-Prince*, no. 27, 8 July 1786; McClellan, *Colonialism and Science*, p. 225.
16. *Affiches Américaines, Feuille du Port-au-Prince*, no. 28, 15 July 1786.

17. McClellan, *Colonialism and Science*, p. 103; *Affiches Américaines*, no. 43, 8 July 1789.
18. *Affiches Américaines, Feuille du Port-au-Prince*, no. 28, 15 July 1786.
19. *Moniteur Colonial*, no. 84, 24 January 1791; McClellan, *Colonialism and Science*, p. 103.
20. *Affiches Américaines*, no. 43, 8 July 1789.
21. Michelet, *Mémoires d'une enfant*, pp. 186–188.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 188–193.
23. For more on Boisrond-Tonnerre, see Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon*, pp. 313–316, 319; “The Declaration of Independence,” translated and printed in Geggus, *The Haitian Revolution: A Documentary History*, pp. 179–180; and John Garrigus, “‘Victims of Our Own Credulity and Indulgence’: The Life of Louis Félix Boisrond-Tonnerre,” in *The Haitian Declaration of Independence: Creation, Context, and Legacy*, Julia Gaffield, ed. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016), pp. 42–57.
24. Garrigus, *Before Haiti*, p. 309, 290.
25. *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean*, Dubois and Garrigus, p. 24.
26. Procès-verbaux des séances du comité de la Marine et des Colonies, 25 April and 3 May 1792, D XVI 1, AN.
27. Jean-Adrien Queslin, *Rapport et Projet de Décret, sur l'organisation générale de l'Instruction publique Colonial, d'Agriculture et d'Instruction publique* (Paris: n.p., circa 1792), p. 13.
28. Queslin, *Rapport et Projet de Décret*, p. 10, 12.
29. Fouchard, *Les Marrons du Syllabaire*, p. 162, n172.
30. Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, p. 180.
31. “Article 18: Education,” Laveaux to the Committee of Public Safety, 29 frimaire an 4, CC9A 12, ANOM.
32. Giraud to the Minister of the Marine, 17 Messidor an 4 (5 June 1796), F2C 13, ANOM.
33. “Proclamation à tous les Citoyens de la Colonie,” 15 Prairial an IV (3 June 1796), CC9A 12–13, ANOM.
34. Garrigus, *Before Haiti*, p. 290.
35. “Proclamation à tous les Citoyens de la Colonie,” 15 Prairial an IV (3 June 1796), CC9A 12–13, ANOM.
36. “Organisation de l'école primaire à établi au cap-Français et qui servira de base aux autres établissements de cette nature,” 15 Prairial an IV (3 June 1796), CC9A 12–13, ANOM.
37. “Au comité d'instruction publique au Cap,” 18 brumaire an 4, Français 8986, BNF; Stein, *Léger Félicité Sonthonax*, p. 153.
38. Quendoy to Sonthonax, 7 pluviôse an 5 (25 January 1797), Français 8987, BNF.

39. Roume to the Minister of the Marine, 8 Germinal an 7, F 2C 13, ANOM; Sonthonax to the committee of public instruction in Cap, 27 Prairial an 5 (15 June 1797), Français 8987, BNF.
40. Stein, *Léger Félicité Sonthonax*, p. 153.
41. Giroud to the Minister of the Marine, 17 Messidor an 4 (5 June 1796), F2C 13, ANOM.
42. Ibid.
43. Giroud à l'Institut, 27 prairial an 4, *La décade philosophique, littéraire et politique*, 27 August 1796, p. 403.
44. Garrigus, *Before Haiti*, pp. 290–291.
45. George Le Gorgeu, *Etude sur Jean-Baptiste Coisson: Toussaint Louverture et Jean-Baptiste Coisson* (Paris, Librairie Pedone-Lauriel, 1881), p. 13.
46. A. Guettier, *Histoire des écoles impériales d'arts et métiers* (Paris: E. Lacroix, 1865), p. 25; Jacques Ferdinand-Dreyfus, *Un Philanthrope d'Autrefois: La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, 1747–1827* (Paris: Plon-Nourbit, 1903), pp. 36–40; and Shelby T. McCloy, *The Negro in France* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1961), p. 100; Roussier, “L’Education en France des enfants de Toussaint Louverture et l’Institution nationale des colonies,” p. 311.
47. “Séance du 28 floréal an III (18 May 1795),” *Procès-verbaux du Comité d’Instruction Publique*, vol. 6 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1907), pp. 218–219.
48. National Convention, “Séance du 30 floréal an III,” printed in *Procès-verbaux du Comité d’Instruction Publique*, vol. 6, p. 220.
49. McCloy, *The Negro in France*, p. 101; Roussier, “L’Education en France des enfants de Toussaint Louverture et l’Institution nationale des colonies,” p. 310; Lagarde to the Directory, 9 Prairial an 4, F2C 13, ANOM.
50. Council of the Five Hundred, “Law on the Colonies,” 1798, reprinted and translated in *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean*, Garrigus and Dubois, p. 155.
51. Le Gorgeu, *Etude sur Jean-Baptiste Coisson*, pp. 12–13; Roussier, “L’Education en France des enfants de Toussaint Louverture et l’Institution nationale des colonies,” pp. 312–314.
52. Coisson to the Minister, 15 Germinal an 11 and “Tableau des élèves des l’Institution nationale des Colonies,” an 9, F2C 13, ANOM.
53. Roume to the Minister of the Marine, 28 Germinal an 7, F2C 13, ANOM.
54. Ibid.
55. Antoine Didier Villemot to the Corps Législatif, 26 Brumaire an 7 (16 November 1798), F2C 13, ANOM.
56. Villemot, “Esquisse d’un plan d’éducation publique, pour St. Domingue,” 26 Brumaire an 7 (16 November 1798), F2C 13, ANOM.
57. Ibid.

58. Fouchard, *Les Marrons du Syllabaire*, pp. 163–164, note 179; Zavala and Clement, “History of Education in Haiti (1804–1915) (First Part),” p. 157.
59. Instructions Napoléon pour Leclerc (31 October 1801), in Paul Roussier, *Lettres du General Leclerc* (Paris: Société de l’histoire des colonies françaises, 1937).
60. Roussier, “L’Education en France des enfants de Toussaint Louverture et l’Institution nationale des colonies,” p. 328; Philippe R. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon: Toussaint Louverture and the Haitian War of Independence, 1801–1804* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011), pp. 214–215.
61. Edner Brutus, *Instruction Publique en Haïti, 1492–1945* (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie de l’Etat, 1948), pp. 28–29; Zavala and Clement, “History of Education in Haiti (1804–1915) (First Part),” pp. 159–163.



Liberating Public Opinion: The Press and a Saint-Dominguan Public Sphere

The colonial press engaged peoples of all colors on many revolutionary issues. As the revolution unfolded in Saint-Domingue, colonial newspapers reported on significant even—from the March decrees of 1790 and the struggles for the rights of free people of color to the slave insurrection and the declarations of emancipation.¹ White men dominated the printing and editing of newspapers before and during the Haitian Revolution, and different presses presented the news and engaged readers through the political lenses of the printers and editors. For example, in 1792, Batilliot and company encouraged readers of all colors the *Moniteur Général de la Partie Française de Saint-Domingue* to contribute to a patriotic subscription intended to aid in suppressing the slave rebellion. Further, philanthropists used some newspapers to drive public opinion on issues of liberty and racial equality. In July 1793, Catineau and Picquenard directly addressed the enslaved as a part of their readership, suggesting their equality to free persons. Roux and company, a printing house present before the revolutions, served as the government press from the third civil commission through Henry Christophe's monarchy. Together, the disparate newspapers of Saint-Domingue, mainly edited and printed by whites, reported on and influenced the changing sentiments in the colony during the French Atlantic revolutions.

Although many of the scholars of the Haitian Revolution utilize newspapers in drafting their narratives, they do not examine the implications of

the press itself. In *Colonialism and Science*, James E. McClellan III briefly traces the history of the press, including books, magazines, and newspapers, in Saint-Domingue during the Old Regime. McClellan writes, “The press was a key institution in the development and character of the colony.”² However, McClellan does not discuss the importance of the press during the revolutionary period, since his work is restricted to the progress of all science in Saint-Domingue in the time before the French Revolution in 1789. Therefore, this chapter adds an analysis of the racial and revolutionary concerns of Saint-Domingue to the historiography of the colony’s press, which warrants more exploration.³ Not only does a history of the press in revolutionary Saint-Domingue contribute to the general Haitian Revolution historiography, but it also engages other bodies of literature, such as that of the Enlightenment.⁴ The Saint-Dominguan revolutionary press did more than just report on the revolution; it allowed for an opening up of public opinion and the exchange of ideas.

Through the press, Saint-Domingue developed a public sphere, a concept first explored and defined by historian Jürgen Habermas in the 1960s.⁵ During the eighteenth century, a separation emerged between public and private spheres within society. According to Habermas, the public sphere was open to all citizens, who “behave[d] as a public body” to confer “about matters of general interest.”⁶ Private individuals could express their opinions in these discussions through newspapers. The following section will demonstrate how colonial newspapers made it possible for all citizens in Saint-Domingue to participate in a public sphere. Habermas also discussed the emergence of literary journalism in place of traditional forms of news during the late eighteenth century. This transformation created the need for an editorial staff and made printers “dealer[s] in public opinion.”⁷ Habermas explained, “The press remained an institution of the public itself, effective in the manner of mediator and intensifier of public discussion, no longer a mere organ for the spreading of news.”⁸ The printers and editors of colonial newspapers actively encouraged citizens in Saint-Domingue to engage in the public sphere through their daily publication, by printing letters to the editors, responses to the minutes of the legislative and governing bodies, and thought-provoking questions.

Freeing the presses in France and Saint-Domingue followed similar trajectories during the respective revolutions at the end of the eighteenth century. In 1789, French revolutionaries began to deregulate and liberate the press, formerly royally censored and regulated during the Old Regime.⁹

In Saint-Domingue, despite efforts by planters and colonial officials to contain potentially inflammatory revolutionary content, editors and printers unshackled the presses. By 1793, France and its most prized Caribbean colony engaged an active exchange of ideas through varied publications, including numerous newspapers. For a brief period, amidst revolution, peoples on both sides of the French Atlantic experienced a much freer press than during the Old Regime. However, the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte in France and Toussaint Louverture in Saint-Domingue returned a relatively democratized world of publishing to prerevolutionary censorship and regulation.¹⁰ The early political climates of the French Atlantic revolutions encouraged freedom of the press.

Saint-Domingue's demographics fostered a multifaceted exchange of information, including the printed word and oral communication. Before the Haitian Revolution, the enslaved comprised over eighty percent of the population.¹¹ Typically, masters did not want their slaves to be literate. However, all peoples in Saint-Domingue communicated orally. Even if a slave was unable to directly access information in print, literate whites and free people of color read newspapers out loud to those who were unable. In fact, planters feared the enslaved might act upon ideas—printed and orally communicated—coming from the French Revolution.¹² Ultimately, slaves organized and launched a revolution that overthrew slavery in the French colony—regardless of literacy. The first issue of the *Moniteur Général*, dated 15 November 1791, blamed Enlightenment philanthropy for causing the slave uprising, an indication of slaves' access to and sophisticated interpretation of ideas coming from Europe. M. Chaud, a deputy to the colony's general assembly, authored the poem published on the first page of the newspaper. His "Ode à la Philantropie" suggested that "an invisible and perfidious arm" called "philosophy" guided the rebels in carrying out their "carnage."¹³ While he did not indicate the direct involvement of any particular enlightened individuals, the author attributed the ideology and motives driving the slave uprising to someone, or something—philanthropy, other than the enslaved themselves. Though Chaud could not conceive of the slaves thinking of a rebellion on their own, he unwittingly acknowledged that the enslaved population, literate or not, accessed and applied Enlightenment concepts to their own circumstances before the revolution.

During the Haitian Revolution, white leaders, such as civil commissioner and philanthropist Sonthonax, acknowledged the need to communicate with illiterate audiences, as they printed proclamations translated

from French to Creole to be read out loud to former slaves.¹⁴ While most slaves likely remained illiterate because of their masters' work demands and social controls, some managed to learn to read and write before the Haitian Revolution, often with the help of philanthropists. In 1802, pro-slavery author Felix Carteau explained that "all it took among the enslaved of a plantation was one who could read to the others."¹⁵ During the revolution, access to literacy was central to revolutionary policies, as seen through the development of colonial schools and learned societies. The nature of Saint-Dominguan slave society necessitated various modes of communication, and revolutionaries of all colors exchanged ideas and news orally and in print.

Colonial newspapers opened up a public sphere for citizens of all colors and economic situations within the colony during the Haitian Revolution.¹⁶ Free citizens were able to express their opinions in an unrestricted form through the freedom of the press in Saint-Domingue. While the government did not censor the press, colonists of all colors attempted to silence one another through street violence.¹⁷ Notwithstanding the threat of physical aggression, at times, differing views existed on the same page of any given colonial newspaper. Despite the racial strife in the colony, the public sphere in Saint-Domingue managed somewhat to unify people of different colors against a common enemy, which varied over time, from counter-revolutionaries and slaves to the English and Spanish. Philanthropists used newspapers to guide the public discourse on issues of slavery and racial equality. This chapter employs a three-part process, identifying the audience, the voices of the editors and printers, and the messages and implications of a selection of newspapers through a close examination of their respective contents, revealing some of the racial and revolutionary concerns of Saint-Domingue published in the colony's press.

Colonists printed at least fifty different newspapers in Saint-Domingue from 1764 to 1803.¹⁸ Prior to the revolution, only about five published papers and each targeted specific readerships with information of particular interest. For instance, Jean Monceaux printed *La Gazette de Saint-Domingue* for the Chamber to Commerce to inform colonists of news specific to colonial agriculture and trade. Similarly, royal physician Julien François Duchemin de l'Etang published the *Gazette de médecine pour les colonies* to share medical knowledge with professionals throughout Saint-Domingue and other French colonies.¹⁹ *Les Affiches Américaines*, the longest running colonial newspaper printed from 1766 to 1789, changed editors four times and remained closely associated with the colonial govern-

ment, relocating according to the governor's residence. It was in Le Cap during times of war and Port-au-Prince during peace.²⁰ In contrast, there was an explosion in newspaper publications after 1789, reaching nearly twenty simultaneously printed titles at the height and the majority printed between 1789 and 1794. Some of the newspapers only lasted a few months and printed a few issues, and many underwent frequent name changes. During this brief period, free colonists engaged in the French Revolution, white colonists sought autonomy, free people of color fought for rights, slaves rose up against slavery, neighboring colonial powers invaded Saint-Domingue, and the French declared general emancipation. While a few publications primarily printed the minutes of colonial assemblies, others printed various types of information from all sides of these events, allowing colonists to engage in a public sphere through their local press.

During the end of 1791, while the slave insurrection erupted in the Northern Province of Saint-Domingue, Le Cap, the colony's capital, did not have a newspaper in print. The *Moniteur Colonial*, the city's newspaper at the time, ceased publication on 20 August 1791, because the printer died of unknown reasons. The very next night, the enslaved began rising up across the northern plain. By 23 August 1791, landowners fled the rural plantation lands for Le Cap.²¹ Immediately, the whites on the island blamed the French Revolution for the insurrection. Following the uprising, Saint-Domingue's Colonial Assembly issued a "provisional decree, prohibiting the sale, impression, or distribution of any pieces relative to the politics and revolution of France."²² Plantation owners wanted to censor materials from France, because they believed slaves were able to access the information—through their own literacy or literate intermediaries. Despite these restrictions, Batilliot and company printed the first issue of the *Moniteur Général de la Partie Française de Saint-Domingue* in Le Cap on 15 November 1791, three months after the slave insurrection began.²³

Batilliot and company recognized the importance of print in the colony before the French Atlantic Revolutions. In the 1780s, the book trade was already of great importance and developed across the Atlantic. An ordinance of 31 July 1777 defended the sale of all books and the establishment of *cabinets littéraires*, "commercial establishments offering newspapers, periodicals, and literary works for a rental fee."²⁴ Following the death of a Monsieur Herbeau, the Batilliot brothers took over a bookstore, *cabinet littéraire*, and print shop at the Place d'Armes in Le Cap, purchasing books wholesale from metropolitan France.²⁵ However, colonists and administrators in Saint-Domingue hotly debated what materials could be

introduced into the colony from France, fearing free people of color and the enslaved would access them as inspiration to overthrow slavery and the racial hierarchy.²⁶ Nonetheless, in 1790, the Batilliot brothers purchased various political works and copies of legislation of the Constituent Assembly from a trader in Bordeaux, Jean Ducot.²⁷ With the outbreak of the French Revolution and instability in Saint-Domingue, the book trade collapsed in mid-1791, causing many booksellers to file for bankruptcy. No longer able to obtain printed materials as easily from France and the death of the printer of the *Moniteur Colonial*, Batilliot and company found an economic and occupational opportunity and filled a necessary role in the communicative practices of Le Cap in the fall of 1791.

The initial issue of the *Moniteur Général de la Partie Française de Saint-Domingue* contained a prospectus filled with Enlightenment ideas. The prospectus proclaimed freedom of the press as the safeguard against the terrors of despotism, citing the successes of England, Holland, and Switzerland with this liberty. Most likely, this choice of opening commentary directly engaged the provisional decree of the Colonial Assembly that censored information relating to France. The contents included all that would be of interest in the colony, such as news from France, the whole of Europe, the greater Caribbean, and the United States. In addition to the cosmopolitan news, the *Moniteur Général* printed edicts of the French king, decrees and minutes of the Colonial Assembly and Intermediary Assembly, and proclamations of the civil commissioners.

The *Moniteur Général* had a competitor in Le Cap, the *Journal Politique de Saint-Domingue*, giving readers more options and expanding the opportunities for a public sphere in the North Province. Printed by Gabriel Decombaz and company, the *Journal Politique* also appeared in 1791. Similar to Batilliot and company, Decombaz and his associate owned a *cabinet littéraire*. However, Decombaz and company also engaged in the trade of pornographic materials in Saint-Domingue, even advertising their services publicly.²⁸ Editorship of the newspaper was not explicitly indicated, the byline simply reading “written by a member of the Colonial Assembly.” Despite the scandalous dealings of the printers and the mysterious identity of the editor, the publication’s epigraph was “to devote one’s life to truth.” In this regard, the *Journal Politique* printed similar contents as the *Moniteur Général*. While Batilliot and company seemed to be defying the Colonial Assembly’s censoring of print materials in 1791, the *Journal Politique* proudly printed the full minutes of the Assembly’s meeting regarding freedom of the press in 1792.²⁹ The shifting political

situations of the French Atlantic revolutions presented various competing presses the opportunity to open a colonial public sphere.

In Port-au-Prince, the capital city of the West Province, *L'Ami de l'Égalité ou Annales républicaines*, a truly unique publication for the colony, appeared in December 1792. The prospectus and first issue of the newspaper indicated its support of free people of color, with an epigraph reading "Equality between free men, or DEATH."³⁰ As supporters of the second civil commission and the law of 4 April 1792, the publishers of the newspaper showed their support for all free men, white or colored. Port-au-Prince had a substantial population of radical *petits blancs* who were at odds with the free colored population.³¹ Therefore, the *petit blancs* perceived the philanthropic printer and editor of the newspaper as dangerous for appearing to favor the free people of color. In addition, support of the free colored population aligned the newspaper personnel with the civil commissioners sent from France to enforce the Law of 4 April, Sonthonax and Polverel. Originally titled *L'Ami de la paix et de l'union*, the newspaper was quickly censored and the printer, Pierre Marie Sébastien Catineau-Laroche, was imprisoned and tried. With the arrival of the civil commissioners in Port-au-Prince in April 1793, Catineau avoided execution and resumed printing his newspaper under the title *L'Ami de l'Égalité*.³² With the new title and official support of the civil commissioners, Catineau printed his paper with confidence in the freedom of his press, a concern shared by the Batilliot brothers.

The *Bulletin Officiel de Saint-Domingue* was the official press of the group or individual governing Saint-Domingue at a given time. In 1797, Roux and company printed the *Bulletin Officiel de Saint-Domingue* to replace *L'Impartial de Saint-Domingue*. During the mission of the third civil commissioners, Roux was the printer of the commission, as indicated in the prospectus and at the end of each issue. As printer of the commission, Roux's prospectus clearly tied Saint-Domingue to France. The epigraph was Article 6 of the French Constitution of 1795, which read: "The French Colonies are integral parts of the Republic, and are subject to the same constitutional law." The prospectus promised the issues would provide news from France, Saint-Domingue, and foreign countries, just as guaranteed in the *Moniteur Général*. Roux explained, "One will not stop proving the utility of such an enterprise; this would assume that French citizens can remain indifferent in the middle of great interests that occupy their fatherland."³³ In this, Roux implied no separation between colonists

and French citizens living in France; there were no colonists, only French citizens. He clearly disapproved of colonial autonomy or independence.

Interspersed with articles on local official activities were excerpts from mainland French newspapers, so the residents of Saint-Domingue were informed of all the relevant French Atlantic events. The *Bulletin Officiel* contained both official proclamations and the records of the deliberations of the civil commissioners. On 3 January 1797, Roux printed the discussions between Leblanc, Sonthonax, and Raimond regarding the colonial judiciary, as well as a proclamation concerning Dájabon, a “petit bourg” of the Spanish part of the island, which had been ceded to France in the Treaty of Basel in 1795.³⁴ Two months later, he printed a letter from the Laurent Francois Lenoir, Marquis de Rouvray to his son about the military campaigns against the English, who occupied a portion of the island until 1798.³⁵ Roux published Sonthonax’s letter praising Besson, Tough, and Lahaye, members of the committee of public instruction in July 1797.³⁶ The journal also included items of interest for “the public servant and private citizen.” For example, “The Warrior will follow our victorious armies. The Sailor and Merchant will have on hand the movements of the ports of the Colony.” In concluding, Roux guaranteed, much like Picquenard and Catineau years before him, “all the antisocial prejudices will be fought. The most severe impartiality will govern the account of the facts.”³⁷ Although he sought to remain unbiased in publishing materials, Roux only printed items of an official nature, such as military correspondence and declarations from the governing power in the colony at the time. Beyond advertisement, unlike *l’Ami de l’Égalité*, he did not include submissions from independent citizens in the *Bulletin Officiel*, representing a recession of the public sphere and freedom of the press late in the French Atlantic revolutions.

Before the slave uprising in Saint-Domingue, colonists used newspapers to debate the implications of the French Revolution in the colony. Before ceasing print in August 1791, the *Moniteur Colonial* included letters to the editor. Poignantly, the section for letters to the editor had its own epigraph, a quotation from Nicolas Boileau’s *Art Poétique*. It read: “All what one overstates, is bland and repulsive; the satiated spirit rejects it instantly.” A particular letter to editor in July 1791 was in regards to freedom of the press and its implications for a slave society.³⁸ Written anonymously and signed only “by a patriot,” the author questioned why the editor published the “dangerous” words of certain writers, accusing

the editor of abusing the press. Without providing specific names, the author claimed that “several” subscribers wished that the writers would be “more reserved than ever” and not “sully” the newspaper. This “patriot,” and most Saint-Dominguan planters, feared the enslaved would access the “dangerous” ideas of the French Revolution if printed in the *Moniteur Colonial*. The editor published his reply following the citizen’s letter. Instead of composing his own response, he cited the eleventh article of the Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen, approved by the National Assembly of France on 26 August 1789. He quoted, “The free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man. Every citizen may, accordingly, speak, write, and print with freedom, but shall be responsible for such abuses of this freedom as shall be defined by law.” The letter to the editor may have been fabricated in order to express the publisher’s revolutionary opinions and embrace the Rights of Man of the metropole in the French colony. The printer of the *Moniteur Colonial* died before the slave insurrection and the Colonial Assembly’s subsequent censoring of the press.

The colonial press also provides evidence of the division of whites in Saint-Domingue over issues of class and colonial autonomy before the slave revolt. They expressed their tensions, heightened by the French Revolution, in the *Moniteur Général*. Prior to the slave insurrection in 1791, the *petits blancs* responded positively to the equality amongst whites boasted by the French Revolution.³⁹ As many of the *grands blancs* feared, the landless whites recognized the opportunity in the French Revolution to criticize and rise up against the wealthy whites on the island. The voice of the *petits blancs* was not subtle in the *Moniteur Général*; these whites used the publication for launching some of their grievances.

A clear illustration of this is in regards to the decrees of 8 and 28 March 1790 by the National Assembly. Known as the “Instructions” to the colonists, the decrees of 8 and 28 March explained the organization of colonial elections. The colonists had already held elections for an assembly in Saint Marc in February 1790, and they granted suffrage to all white males on the island, regardless of property.⁴⁰ On 20 December 1791, the *Moniteur Général* dedicated the entire issue to the March decrees. Members of the assembly in Saint Marc, the Colonial Assembly, returned from Paris earlier that month, and they presented a report on 14 December. According to minutes of the meeting of the Colonial Assembly, printed in the *Moniteur Général*,

The effects that the news of the revolution operated in France produced in Saint-Domingue, are succinctly and clearly detailed there [in the report]. There was there, said this report, a lot enthusiasm, but in reflection on the colonial system, one soon sensed that the new principles of France were not convenient in the colonies.⁴¹

The French principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity were not compatible with Saint-Dominguan slave society. The minutes continued, referencing the March decrees directly later on the same page. The members asserted that the actions of the Constituent Assembly undermined the rights and concerns of the colonists, especially the *petits blancs*.⁴² Ironically, the 20 December 1791 issue failed to discuss what issue pushed for the need for white solidarity.

Polarization over the rights and citizenship of the free people of color encouraged whites to unify in Saint-Domingue. The *petits blancs* were especially threatened by the potential of the citizenship of the free colored population, and they used the *Moniteur Général* to confront the issue.⁴³ On 15 May 1791, the fears of whites became a reality when the National Assembly in Paris granted rights to free people of color. After news of violence in Saint-Domingue between whites and the free coloreds and the eruption of the slave insurrection reached Paris, the Constituent Assembly revoked the rights of free people of color on 24 September 1791.⁴⁴ In addition, the September decree reiterated the constitutional project of the Colonial Assembly in Saint-Domingue. Thomas Millet, secretary and vice president of the Colonial Assembly in Saint Marc, spoke out about the 24 September decree in a letter to the editors of the *Moniteur Général* on 26 November 1791. Millet placed the Colonial Assembly's plan for a constitution next to the decree for reader comparison. In contrast to the decree, the constitution would give the colonial assembly power "to decide on its interior and domestic laws, all that concerns the state of the people will be decided deliberately and definitively by the assembly of representatives of Saint-Domingue, and sanctioned by the king." In other words, the National Assembly could not determine the status of people of color in Saint-Domingue; only the colonial assembly could make decisions regarding the colony's population, especially the rights of free people of color. The editors of the *Moniteur Général* obviously supported Millet, because they devoted an entire page of the publication to his cause, including a flattering preface to Millet's words. Batilliot and company claimed that they were "impressed to put it under the eyes of the public," describing

Millet as a “generous and respectable citizen, part of the compatriots,” and believing that he wrote his letter out of “his love of the glory and the prosperity of the French part of Saint-Domingue.”⁴⁵ The whites used the *Moniteur Général* to voice the need for whites to unify in opposing rights for free people of color.

In contrast, the printer and editor of *l'Ami de l'Egalité* had similar backgrounds, strong ties with the civil commissioners, and both supported rights for free people of color. Catineau came from a family of French printers from Saint-Brieuc in Brittany, who relocated to Poitiers, where he was educated. When he was only nineteen years old, he fled from the French Revolution. In 1791, Catineau moved to Saint-Domingue, married a woman of color, and decided to publish a newspaper. He believed he could unite the warring parties of Port-au-Prince, the radical whites and free people of color, but the tone and style of his newspaper agitated the city's leaders. Unfortunately, his beliefs and decisions led to his arrest.⁴⁶ However, the civil commissioners supported freedom of the press, the public sphere, and Catineau. Picquenard had similarly dramatic experience in allying with the civil commissioners. Born in Paris, Picquenard arrived in Saint-Domingue in 1786.⁴⁷ He first worked “in the offices of the first civil commissioners: Mirbec[k], Roume, & St. Leger.”⁴⁸ After the second civil commission arrived in the colony in September 1792, it was only months before Picquenard, at about twenty years old, was a secretary for Polverel in Port-au-Prince, and sent to Sonthonax in Le Cap. In January 1793, upon returning to the West Province, some colonists met Picquenard in Port-au-Prince. They were whites, angry about his association with the civil commissioners and their continued efforts to grant rights for free people of color.⁴⁹ Both Catineau and Picquenard arrived in Saint-Domingue as young men, and quickly became involved in the struggles between whites and free people of color in the West Province, either because of or leading to their connection with the civil commissioners. Their backgrounds, beliefs about peoples of African descent, and relationships with Sonthonax and Polverel influenced *l'Ami de l'Egalité* during its brief run.

On 28 April 1793, in its first issue as *l'Ami de l'Egalité*, the newspaper clarified the perspective of its personnel on why it had been censored, their support of the civil commissioners, and the intent of the newspaper. The issue began, “The law triumphs; the plots are foiled; the factious are on the run, and *l'Ami de l'Egalité*, now safe from any arbitrary act, and under the protection of the laws, sets out bravely with the pen of truth.” The

laws protecting the press were enforced by the civil commissioners. Catineau and Picquenard identified “Borel” as one of their enemies, calling him “an imp, a strong-arm, a devil incarnate.”⁵⁰ Claude Borel was a patriot and former member of the Colonial Assembly who sought to turn the public against the civil commissioners and remove French Revolutionary authority from Saint-Domingue.⁵¹ Catineau and Picquenard claimed, “Blind citizens, if you had not” censored *l’Ami de l’Égalité*, “you would have been spared many evils: for it was about to unmask the perfidious man you praise slavishly.” The population of Port-au-Prince, especially those who opposed the civil commission and the newspaper, could not have accepted this lightly. After praising Louis Jacques Beauvais, a free colored Captain General of the National Guard, and advertising for a new dentist in Port-au-Prince, the newspaper ended with a brief explanation of the intent of the publication, a shortened prospectus. Picquenard warned that *l’Ami de l’Égalité* would “not neglect either one side of politics and literature.” He explained that he had established correspondence throughout the colony to assure inclusion of all important events in addition to pieces of poetry. Above all, the newspaper would annihilate prejudices, submit to the laws, and wage war against the “enemies of the press and equality” for free persons.⁵²

To aid in the fight against the slave insurrection, Batilliot and company advertised a *souscription patriotique* (patriotic subscription) in the *Moniteur Général*, allowing all free citizens within the Northern Province to engage in a public sphere. On 18 July 1792, the initial advertisement for the subscription specifically addressed the civilian population of Le Cap, the various military personnel and militia members in the colony, and the citizens of color of the Northern Province. The article explained the obligation of each group to the cause, whether it be a donation or service, stating, “Each one will contribute according to their means.” For instance, it pleaded that the “brave youth...go to fight the vile brigands.” The *Moniteur Général* claimed the people of color owed their “just titles” to the white citizens of the colony; the Legislative Assembly in Paris again granted political rights to free people of color on 4 April 1792. Despite earlier complaints against rights for free people of color made by *petits blancs* in the *Moniteur Général*, the slave revolution pushed the whites to unify with the colored population. In return for contributions, the *Moniteur Général* committed to printing the names of the subscribers within its pages.⁵³ Through the *souscription patriotique*, citizens in Saint-Domingue engaged in a public sphere by having their

names and contributions printed in the *Moniteur Général* for the viewing of the entire colony.

Demonstrating the significant opposition to the slave insurrection, free Saint-Dominguans instantly responded to the *souscription patriotique*. Beginning on 19 July 1792, the *Moniteur Général* printed the names of the subscribers, alongside the amount of their contributions. As mentioned in the original advertisement, the printers believed all free people were obligated to help the cause, and varied individuals responded to the call. Among those listed was a plantation owner, the fire chief, the Major General of the *Troupes Patriotiques* (patriotic troops), and the printer of the Provincial Assembly.⁵⁴ An anonymous subscriber appeared in the 20 July 1792 issue.⁵⁵ The following day's list included a barkeeper and a cutler.⁵⁶ Despite the specification of occupations of the subscribers, the *Moniteur Général* did not indicate their races. With the growing number of participants in the subscription, a group of subscribers—including Batilliot and an editor for the *Moniteur Général*, Saint-Maurice—decided to nominate a treasurer on 23 July 1792, less than a week after its inception.⁵⁷ Already, the participants of the *souscription patriotique*, established by the *Moniteur Général*, were funding and governing its own involvement in the Haitian Revolution.

In the *Moniteur Général*, Batilliot and company linked suppressing the slave rebellion and French patriotism. On 25 July 1792, the newspaper proposed two questions to its readers: "What constitutes true patriotism in France? What constitutes true patriotism in Saint-Domingue?"⁵⁸ Julien Bouvier, an entrepreneur of the hospital in Le Cap, offered his commentary in an issue two days later.⁵⁹ He stated, "Patriotism is the sincere attachment to one's homeland, with the strong will to sacrifice oneself to its conservation and to its happiness. This attachment, or love of one's country, presumes a public spirit which differs according to the people."⁶⁰ These opening remarks expressed Bouvier's general sentiments toward patriotism. In regards to France and Saint-Domingue, he believed one thing constituted true patriotism: "Obedience to the law."⁶¹ Batilliot and company most likely believed that Bouvier's column would encourage subscriptions, because the subscribers list only contained a few names each issue. However, on 30 July 1792, the *Moniteur Général* printed more dissatisfaction. The issue asserted, "We see with pain...that this sentiment [patriotism] is quite sterile in the colony, since it could report only 66 liv. in three days, for a subscription whose sacred employment should stimulate all the citizens."⁶²

Decombaz and company also opened a *souscription patriotique* in the summer of 1792, likely in competition with subscription advertised by the *Moniteur Général*. Neither newspaper specified the amount that a subscriber should give. Batilliot and company suggested subscribers give based on their means, and Decombaz and company simply indicated a “light sacrifice.” While the *Journal Politique* also printed the names and contributions of subscribers daily, their advertisement differed significantly from that in the *Moniteur Général*. Foremost, Decombaz and company’s call was one of solidarity with the troops fighting in “a scorching climate” and enduring hardships for France, “the homeland.”⁶³ Unlike its competitor, the *Journal Politique* did not identify any particular segments of the population, such as free people of color, in their appeal for subscriptions. The subscribers listed included several companies but fewer individuals. One exception was Dumas, the President of the Colonial Assembly, not surprising considering the editor of the newspapers was also a member of that Assembly.⁶⁴ Together, the two newspapers offered citizens of the North Province a way to voice support for fighting the slave insurrectionists through whichever publication best represented their political opinions.

Letters to the editor also allowed citizens to engage in the public sphere through colonial newspapers. In August 1792, the *Journal Politique* published successive letters to the editor regarding disputes over material published in the *Moniteur Général*. The first letter to the editor, written by Gernier, claimed that information printed in the *Moniteur Général* a few days earlier about M. Casamajor, a *grand blanc* of the colony, was “not only inaccurate, but contrary to all truth.” By writing to the editor, Gernier contributed to public opinion surrounding this prominent member of colonial society. The second letter to the editor was directed at the editor of the *Moniteur Général*, not the editor of the *Journal Politique*. Gerbier directly addressed the *Moniteur Général*’s editor, claiming that he had forced him to call him out in another publication, in this case the *Journal Politique*, because the editor refused to print his retraction in the *Moniteur Général*. According to Gerbier, he did not want to appear to be stealing the ideas of another man, M. Nectoux, and that the *Moniteur Général* portrayed him in this manner in a previous issue. Perhaps out of professional courtesy, the *Journal Politique* also printed a response to Gerbier’s accusations from the editor of the *Moniteur Général*. The editor of the *Moniteur Général* explained that he was not “a puppet” and that no one should “interfere in the drafting” of his newspaper, clearly displeased by

Gerbier's insistence that he print his retraction.⁶⁵ Citizens in the North Province actively engaged in the public sphere through letters to the editor in their local newspapers.

Batilliot and company was able to distribute the *Moniteur Général* throughout more of the colony, expanding the potential of the newspaper to shape public opinion. Batilliot advertised in an issue on 28 August 1792 for other publishers that would reprint the *Moniteur Général* in other areas of Saint-Domingue. This would extend the *souscription patriotique* to more subscribers outside of the Northern Province. Batilliot shared ownership with a businessperson, Goulay, in Jérémie in the southern province. He also had connections in Catineau in Saint Marc and Chaidron Port-au-Prince.⁶⁶ Again, in September 1792, Batilliot advertised the newspaper to the newly arriving troops from France. The "Notice of the Printer" promised the soldiers "impartiality and verity."⁶⁷ The *Moniteur Général* continued their printed support of the troops throughout the duration of the publication. Batilliot and company used their newspapers to influence the discourse on the slave uprising by expanding to other parts of the colony and appealing to the French troops sent to restore order to the colony.

Just before the arrival of the second civil commission in September 1792, the *Moniteur Général* printed another impassioned call for subscribers, this time indicating a decline in interest. A column headlined "Citizens of Saint-Domingue, of all classes and all colors," declared, "The ingratitude and indifference [of the citizens] will thus be the price of so much sacrifice, and thus this burning climate is only living by hearts of ice!" In other words, the cold-hearted apathy of the colonists toward the *souscription patriotique* cost the sacrifice of the lives of thousands of Frenchmen in fighting the slave insurrection. According to the article, those that subscribed did so out of patriotism, even against the attraction of conforming to popular opinion. In concluding, the column referred to the legacy that would be left to the descendants of the colony, portraying two contrasting images, apathy and action. The newspaper claimed that those who subscribed would be remembered for their selflessness in aiding the defenders of the colony: "They made all the possible sacrifices, and have arrived to reestablish the good order and peace, only by founding the empire of virtues there!"⁶⁸ Unfortunately, the arrival of the commissioners ended any publications regarding the *souscription patriotique*. However, the initial advertisement claimed the subscription would last until the turmoil on the island ended, and the publication of the newspaper ended, with the burning of Le Cap in June 1793.

Despite the end of reports on the *souscription patriotique*, other information printed in the *Moniteur Général* indicated the continued life of the public sphere on the island. In October 1792, some citizens in Le Cap established a *club patriotique* (patriotic club), specifically a chapter of the Society of the Friends of the National Convention, and began publishing the minutes of their sessions in the *Moniteur Général*. By this time, the National Convention had declared France a republic. The organization in Saint-Domingue claimed it intended “to form the colonial public spirit,” aligned with the revolution—the French Revolution—and purged of any “aristocratic frenzy, innate in Saint-Domingue.”⁶⁹ The first order of business, after establishing the rules for the members and meetings, was to challenge the municipality and civil commissioners to “take the necessary measures” to improve the conditions of the hospitals and care for the defenders of the colony. Ironically, the article concerning the new *club patriotique* appeared in a column adjacent to a decree from Sonthonax to the colony.

The final issue of the *Moniteur Général*, 20 June 1793, commented on festivities attended by the civil commissioners and free people of color on the previous night. The publication stated, “The mix of colors and of the diverse classes of male and female citizens formed a happy group that presided over the harmony and the equality. Could this small civic party be the sample of the general sentiment!”⁷⁰ Unfortunately, the excitement expressed by the newspaper dulled with discussion of a “particular quarrel” and a notice to the sailors in Le Cap to remain off land in the evening. Little did they know, the next day Batilliot and company would be printing an emergency proclamation attempting to put down an attack on the city by the sailors, led by white governor-general, Galbaud, who was a captive of the civil commissioners and had been scheduled to be deported. The civil commissioners allied with the enslaved, offering them freedom for military service, to defeat Galbaud and his supporters. Saint-Maurice, editor of the *Moniteur Général*, recorded a detailed account of the events that followed, but it was not printed in Saint-Domingue because the city was set aflame. Although the *Moniteur Général* only ran for two years, this particular newspaper represented the evolution of the ideas of a certain sect of the population in the Northern Province of Saint-Domingue. Whites had opposed rights for free people of color in early issues of the newspaper, but later editions showed how the whites came to concede these rights to unify with the free coloreds in the face of the slave uprising.

In the West, a white printer and editor printed *l'Ami de l'Egalité*, a newspaper that demonstrated even more changes in public opinion as the Haitian Revolution progressed. In vowing to print the truth, from either side of politics, Catineau and Picquenard went to great lengths to confirm the validity of items submitted by citizens for publication, including the racial identity of the author. In an editor's note at the end of the 16 May 1793 issue, Picquenard defended why he had not yet published a submission from a citizen. He wrote,

When Aléaume, CITIZEN OF PORT-AU-PRINCE, I have proved that the letter sent by a black to my printer is not an unknown man covered with an assumed name, I will hasten to give him publicity. He can count that I will have the courage to print all civic notices that one addresses to me, without any distinction, and even against the civil commissioners. But I will take all kinds of precautions, so that my paper is not the theater of lies.⁷¹

The editorial does not indicate the contents of the submission made by the black man, only focusing on the importance of the authenticity of authorship. Significantly, Picquenard does not identify the author as a *négre libre* (free black) but as a *négre*, suggesting the possibility that the man was enslaved. With the importance of racial categories in identifying the colonial population, the questionability of authorship in this instance suggests several scenarios where the color lines may have been blurred or manipulated before and during the revolution. Many whites and free people of color used their slaves for their own purposes, such as those who armed their slaves to bolster their numbers in fighting one another.⁷² In a similar vein, it is possible a white or free colored wrote a submission and claimed their slave authored it. Alternatively, if a slave wrote a submission independently, authorship would raise questions about the education of slaves. Although they were not permitted to attend schools in the colonies or France, slaves may have received an unconventional education through sympathetic whites on plantations or in Catholic Churches. Even without the original submission, this editor's note was indicative of the tensions that already existed and potentially provoked more.

The attitude of *L'Ami de l'Egalité* toward abolition changed over the course of three months from gradual to immediate. The most subtle alteration of the newspaper was its epigraph. In April, the epigraph still read, "Equality between free men, or DEATH."⁷³ On 5 May 1793, the civil commissioners reissued "Louis XIV's edict of 1685," known as the *Code*

noir, which banned severe and extrajudicial punishment of slaves.⁷⁴ Picquenard responded in *l'Ami de l'Egalité* by reassuring the colonists that abolition was not behind the commissioner's May decree. He explained that the commission knew that the slaves were "not ready for freedom," believing "that freedom granted to these would be as dangerous as a dagger in the hands of a child."⁷⁵ After the clash between the governor general François Thomas Galbaud and the civil commissioners in Le Cap in June 1793, *l'Ami de l'Egalité* shifted its position regarding abolition. In order to defeat Galbaud and his white followers the civil commissioners granted "freedom and citizenship to any rebel slaves willing to fight on behalf of them and the Republic," who would become known as the "Citizens of 21 June."⁷⁶ In July, the epigraph to *L'Ami de l'Egalité* had been revised to "Equality or DEATH."⁷⁷ Picquenard and Catineau omitted the qualifier of *free*. They addressed the slaves specifically, "The smallest portion of the white population...would see all men free and happy....These are the whites that you must be careful not to confuse with the others."⁷⁸ *L'Ami de l'Egalité* included the slaves in their readership speaking directly to and reassuring them in this July issue. In doing so, the editor and printer suggested a degree of literacy among the slaves, or at least their ability to access information through literate white and free colored intermediaries. More importantly, they acknowledged equality of all peoples in the colony, enslaved or free. Further, Picquenard's article revealed a philanthropic element, to which he belonged, within the colony before the declaration of general emancipation, and served to encourage the free population through the public sphere to consider an alternative to slavery and to be confident in voicing those sentiments. In the way in which both newspapers publicized a unifying opinion, such as patriotism or abolitionism, this column also echoed back to the *souscription patriotique* of the *Moniteur Général*. From this point, Picquenard and Catineau no longer only supported rights for free people of color; they openly embraced abolition as well.

In his private correspondence, Catineau expressed his excitement regarding abolition in a letter dated 19 August 1793 that appears to have been written to his brother. He explained, "Now the chains of colonial despotism are broken, and now I see for the Africans, my brothers, a happy future that promises them the enjoyment of freedom; today my heart is content." It is significant that he wrote these words ten days before Sonthonax's declaration of general emancipation in the North Province, because it demonstrated how Catineau and Picquenard were driving the

colonial debate over abolition with their newspaper. Based on the events of June 1793, Catineau anticipated general emancipation to follow. Having not written to his brother for "two years," he reflected on his arrival in 1791, claiming he had attached his fate with that of the slaves and looked at them as brothers. He asserted that the "aristocrats" in Saint-Marc first disliked him, because he took a woman of color as his wife and adopted her child. He did not recount any details of the events in the colony, including his newspaper or relationship with the civil commissioners, assuming his brother already read about them in "the papers published in Paris." He ended by returning to the freedom of the slaves. He claimed that the colonists who could not defend "liberty, equality, [and] the Republic" fled; since he remained, he set himself apart from those colonists.⁷⁹ He let his brother in mainland France know where he positioned himself in both the French and Haitian Revolutions, as a republican and an abolitionist.

In August 1793, before Sonthonax's declaration of general emancipation, the civil commissioner had Picquenard arrested, the reasons still unknown. While Picquenard and Sonthonax remained in Le Cap after the events in June 1793, Polverel returned to the West Province. Sonthonax ordered Picquenard removed from his job and prevented from holding an official position in the future for his "failure to be a good citizen." When Picquenard returned to France upon his deportation, accompanied by his pregnant partner of color, he was imprisoned in Brest, "Sonthonax's accusation of corruption having followed him across the Atlantic." Picquenard wrote to the Colonial Commission pleading for his return to Paris. He explained, "I request by your authority and your justice my prompt transfer to Paris. I declared I have been deported from St. Domingue by the most infamously arbitrary...Sonthonax, in the absence of his colleague and at which time I filled the functions of Secretary of the Civil Commission." He was eventually released in April 1795. When Sonthonax and Polverel returned to France to face accusations against them, Picquenard did not participate on either side of the proceedings.⁸⁰ Although he supported the actions of the commissioners regarding free people of color and slaves, he could not side with the slave-owners accusing Sonthonax and Polverel. However, Picquenard could not support the civil commissioners in the trial either, because of his dealings with Sonthonax.

L'Ami de l'Égalité and Catineau were discussed during the trial of the civil commissioners, which was analyzed in print by Citizen Guillois in his

Analyse des débats.⁸¹ In his analysis, Catineau was addressed as a part of the ex-commissioners' "club." The accusers claimed, "The author of the journal of equality was prosecuted for the dangerous principles that he published, principles only intended to pervert the public spirit and bring it to a revolt, a crime."⁸² The accusers referred to his original arrest in Port-au-Prince in 1792, which only concerned his paper when it merely voiced support for the free people of color, not the slaves. Catineau responded that "he was only prosecuted because he had printed the official account of the events in Cap" in December 1792.⁸³ It was during this month that Sonthonax attempted to integrate free men of color into the Regiment of Cap, but violence erupted in Le Cap when the white members of the Regiment refused to accept the colored service members. After the trial ended and the accused were acquitted, Catineau traveled to the United States and England, only to return to Paris in 1797. When he returned, he published a French language dictionary and began working for the Minister of the Interior.⁸⁴ Despite his revolutionary fervor as a young man, in his adulthood, Catineau took a more conservative approach to printing and politics. However, his newspaper *L'Ami de l'Égalité* remains valuable to the history of the press and abolition during the Haitian Revolution.

As political power in the colony shifted from the civil commissioners to Louverture and eventually to Leclerc and Rochambeau, Roux's newspaper, the *Bulletin Officiel de Saint-Domingue* continued to print the official communications of the governing power. In addition to the newspaper, Roux published Louverture's report to the Directory recounting an alleged conversation between the black general and Sonthonax.⁸⁵ In August 1797, after his election as representative in Paris and growing conflict with Louverture, Sonthonax left Saint-Domingue in response to a forceful letter from Louverture and his generals.⁸⁶ Gabriel Marie Theodore Joseph d'Hédouville became the next French representative in Saint-Domingue. In 1798, the *Bulletin Officiel* printed official correspondence from Hédouville. For instance, Roux printed Hédouville's letter announcing Louverture's success in expelling the English from the island to the "civil and military authorities, and all the citizens of Saint-Domingue."⁸⁷ However, Hédouville did not last long in the colony, because he could not wrest power from Louverture. After his departure, the *Bulletin Officiel* focused on printing materials produced by Louverture. One of the few times Roux included less formal materials, on the occasion of Louverture's announcement about his Constitution, the *Bulletin Officiel* published an account of the pomp.⁸⁸ Significantly, this event involved a ceremonial

showing of the interracial collaboration involved in drafting the Constitution of 1801, with whites and former slaves standing side by side in front of the citizenry of Le Cap. The following year, the Leclerc Expedition arrested Louverture and sent him to France, leaving Roux to find another official to serve under as printer.

As the colony moved toward independence in opposition to Leclerc, Roux proved to be quite flexible in printing for each successive governing power, regardless of race. In 1802, he served as the printer for Leclerc, if only briefly. Still operating out of Le Cap, he printed Leclerc's official declarations. From 1802 to 1803, Roux printed the *Affiches Américaines*, resuming the title of the publication he printed before the revolution. In 1803, his business signature became generic, simply as printer of the government. After Haitian Independence in 1804 and the assassination of Jean-Jacques Dessalines in 1806, Alexandre Pétion and Henry Christophe divided Haiti into a republic made up of the south and west provinces and a northern monarchy, respectively.⁸⁹ Under the monarchy, Roux printed Christophe's Code Henry, and became the royal printer. During the monarchy, Roux primarily printed materials written by Pompée Valentine, Baron de Vastey, the prince's private tutor and propagandist writer for the Haitian kingdom.⁹⁰ In Cap-Henry, from 1814 to 1816, Roux printed numerous titles authored by Baron de Vastey, such as *Le Cri de la patrie*, *Le Cri de la conscience*, and *Réflexions politiques sur quelques ouvrages et journaux français concernant Hayti*. Roux's newspaper indicated a return to the prerevolutionary type of newspaper, less about creating a public sphere and more about reporting for the government. However, Roux printed for men of all races in Saint-Domingue and Haiti.

Philanthropists changed the public discourse on the French Atlantic revolutions through the colonial press. Different presses presented the news through the political lenses of the printers and editors and engaged readers. While whites operated the colonial newspapers, peoples of all colors and economic situations were able to express their opinions in an unrestricted form through the freedom of the press in Saint-Domingue. Differing views sometimes existed on the same page, particularly with letters to the editor. The colonial public sphere existed only during a brief period of the Haitian Revolution, from 1789 to 1794, as freedom of the press waned under Louverture and Leclerc. Together, the disparate newspapers of Saint-Domingue, edited and printed by whites, reported on and influenced the changing sentiments in the colony early during the French and Haitian Revolutions.

NOTES

1. Beyond newspapers, there was also an active print culture in pamphlets, published in France and Saint-Domingue, often dominated by the *gens de couleur*. See for example Catherine A. Reinhardt, "Forgotten Claims to Liberty: Free Coloreds in St. Domingue on the Eve of the First Abolition of Slavery," *Colonial Latin American Review*, vol. 10, no. 1 (2001), pp. 105–124; Malick W. Ghachem, "The 'Trap' of Representation: Sovereignty, Slavery and the Road to the Haitian Revolution," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques*, vol. 29, no. 1 (2003): pp. 128–130; Mercer Cook, "The Literary Contribution of the French West Indian," *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 25, no. 4 (1940): pp. 521–523; Laurent Dubois, "'Our Three Colors': The King, the Republic and the Political Culture of Slave Revolution in Saint-Domingue," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques*, vol. 29, no. 1 (2003), p. 90; and Tessie P. Liu, "The Secret beyond White Patriarchal Power: Race, Gender, and Freedom in the Last Days of Colonial Saint-Domingue," *French Historical Studies*, vol. 33, no. 3 (2010): pp. 388–389.
2. McClellan, *Colonialism and Science*, p. 102.
3. For the historiography on the press in Saint-Domingue, see for example David Geggus, "Print Culture and the Haitian Revolution: The Written and Spoken Word," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* vol. 116, no. 2 (2000), 299–316; Jean Fouchard, *Artistes et repertoire des scenes de Saint-Domingue* (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie de l'État, 1955); Marie-Antoinette Menier and Gabriel Debien, *Journaux de Saint-Domingue* (Paris: n.p., n.d.).
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6. Jürgen Habermas, “The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article (1964),” *New German Critique* no. 3 (Autumn, 1974), p. 49.
 7. Karl Bücher quoted in Jürgen Habermas, “The Public Sphere,” p. 53.
 8. Jürgen Habermas, “The Public Sphere,” p. 53.
 9. Jeremy D. Popkin, *Revolutionary News: The Press in France, 1789–1799* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990), pp. 1–15; Carla Hesse, *Publishing and Cultural Politics in Revolutionary Paris, 1789–1810* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 1–4.
 10. Hesse, *Publishing and Cultural Politics in Revolutionary Paris*, p. 4, 205–210; See Article 39 in “Toussaint Louverture’s Constitution, July 1801,” translated and printed in David P. Geggus, *The Haitian Revolution: A Documentary History* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2014), p. 163.
 11. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description*, vol. 1, p. 5; Garrañ, *Rapport sur les Troubles de Saint-Domingue* vol. I, pp. 15–18.
 12. Laurent Dubois, “An enslaved Enlightenment: Rethinking the Intellectual History of the French Atlantic,” *Social History*, vol. 31, no. 1 (2006), p. 9. For more on oral communication and literate intermediaries, see for example Varin d’Ainville, *La Presse en France: Genèse et évolution des fonctions psycho-sociales* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965), p. 5; Justin Emmanuel Castera, *Bref coup d’œil sur les Origines de la Presse Haïtienne (1764–1850)* (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie Henri Deschamps, 1986), pp. 13–15; Julius Sherrard Scott, III, “The Common Wind: Currents of Afro-American Communication in the Era of the Haitian Revolution” (doctoral dissertation, Duke University, 1986); Roger Chartier and Daniel Roche, “Les livres ont-ils fait la révolution?” in *Livre et révolution*, Frédéric Barbier, Claude Jolly, and Sabine Juratic, eds. (Paris, 1988), pp. 15–20; Popkin, *Revolutionary News*, pp. 78–83; David P. Geggus, “Print Culture and the Haitian Revolution: The Written and the Spoken Word,” *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* vol. 116, part 2 (2006): pp. 299–316; Popkin *You Are All Free: The Haitian Revolution and the Abolition of Slavery* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 40.

13. *Le Moniteur Général*, 15 November 1791, pp. 1–2.
14. Jean Bernabé, “Les Proclamations en créole de Sonthonax et Bonaparte: graphie, histoire, et glottopolitique,” in *De la Révolution française aux révolutions créoles et nègres*, Michael L. Martin and Alain Yacou, eds. (Paris: Editions Carbéences, 1989), pp. 135–150; Aletha Stahl, “‘Enfants de l’Amérique’: Configuring Creole Citizenship in the Press, 1793,” *Journal of Haitian Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1 & 3 (2010): pp. 171–172; Geggus, “Print Culture and the Haitian Revolution,” pp. 302–303; Deborah Jenson, *Beyond the Slave Narrative: Politics, Sex, and Manuscripts in the Haitian Revolution* (Liverpool University Press, 2011), p. 51; and Annette K. Joseph-Gabriel, “Creolizing Freedom: French-Creole Translations of Liberty and Equality in the Haitian Revolution,” *Slavery & Abolition*, vol. 36, no. 1 (2015): pp. 111–123; Popkin *You Are All Free*, p. 143.
15. For literacy among slaves, see Jean Fouchard, *Les Marrons du Syllabaire*: Quelques aspects du problème de l’instruction et de l’éducation des esclaves et affranchis de Saint-Domingue (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie d l’Etat, 1953, p. 97, 119; Christopher L. Miller, *The French Atlantic Triangle: Literature and Culture of the Slave Trade* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), pp. 35–36; and Jenson, *Beyond the Slave Narrative*, pp. 49–52. Félix Carteau, *Soirées Bermudiennes, ou entretiens sur les événements qui ont opéré la ruine de la partie française de l’isle Saint-Domingue* (Bordeaux: Pellier-Lawalle, 1802), p. 76.
16. For more on the public sphere see Jürgen Habermas, “The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article (1964),” *New German Critique* no. 3 (Autumn, 1974): pp. 49–55. For more on the public sphere in the French Revolution see Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, Lydi G. Cochrane, ed. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), pp. 20–37. For more on the public sphere in the French Empire see Gene E. Ogle, “The Trans-Atlantic King and Imperial Public Spheres: Everyday Politics in Pre-Revolutionary Saint-Domingue,” in *The World of the Haitian Revolution*, David P. Geggus and Norman Fiering, eds. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), pp. 79–96. For information on the public sphere in Spanish Latin America, see Victor M. Uribe-Uran, “The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America during the Age of Revolution,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* vol. 42, no. 2 (April, 2000): pp. 425–457.
17. Jeremy D. Popkin provides accounts of such violence early in the revolution in *You Are All Free*. See for example pp. 24–25, 69–70, 73–75, 82–83, 91, 111, 114–115; See also Laurent Dubois, “Avenging America: The Politics of Violence in the Haitian Revolution,” in *The World of the Haitian Revolution*, pp. 111–124.

18. Moreau de Saint-Méry provides information about several of the newspapers. See *Description*, vol. 1, pp. 506–511. Various issues of each remain scattered throughout Atlantic archives and libraries. While many are held in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Archives Nationale de France, and the Bibliothèque Moreau du Saint-Méry at the Archives Nationales d’Outre Mer, repositories in Haiti, England, and the United States also possess issues. For example, the John Carter Brown Library has issues of three Saint-Dominguan newspapers. The American Antiquarian Society, the Wisconsin Historical Society, the British Museum, and the Bibliothèque Petit-Séminaire-Collège Saint-Martial hold others. For a more detailed list of holdings see M.A. Menier and G. Debien, “Journaux de Saint-Domingue,” *Revue d’histoire des colonies*, vol. 36, no. 127–128 (1949): pp. 424–475.
19. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description* vol. 1, p. 506, 510. For more on Duchemin de l’Etang see E 144, ANOM.
20. Menier and Debien, “Journaux de Saint-Domingue,” p. 429.
21. Jeremy Popkin, “Facing Racial Revolution: Captivity Narratives and Identity in the Saint-Domingue Insurrection,” *Eighteenth Century Studies*, vol. 36, no. 4 (2003), p. 530, n16; Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, p. 94.
22. Garran, *Rapport sur les troubles*, vol. 2, pp. 246–247.
23. Batilliot is also spelled Batillot in some sources. It is not clear if both brothers undertook printing the newspaper in Saint-Domingue. Each paper contained the business name “Batilliot le jeune et co.” It is reasonable to believe that only one of the brothers, the younger, produced the *Moniteur Général*.
24. Ordinance cited in Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description*, vol. 1, p. 323. Definition of *cabinets littéraires* in Jane McLeod, “A Bookseller in Revolutionary Bordeaux,” *French Historical Studies*, vol. 16, no. 2 (Autumn, 1989), p. 264.
25. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description*, vol. 1, p. 323.
26. For instance, Abbé Guillaume-Thomas-François Raynal’s *Histoire philosophique des Deux Indes* was officially banned in the French colonies, because it critiqued colonialism and plantation slavery. Popkin *You Are All Free*, p. 30; Geggus, “Print Culture and the Haitian Revolution,” p. 304.
27. McLeod, “A Bookseller in Revolutionary Bordeaux,” pp. 271–272.
28. McClellan, *Colonialism and Science*, p. 102.
29. *Journal politique de Saint-Domingue*, 6 February 1792, p. 657.
30. Chris Bongie, *Friends and Enemies: The Scribal Politics of Post/Colonial Literature* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), p. 77.
31. Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, pp. 119–122.

32. Garran, *Rapport sur les troubles*, vol. 3, pp. 304–305; P. Levot, “Catineau-Laroche,” *Biographie Bretonne, Recueil de notices sur tous les Bretons* (Paris: Doyen et Giret, 1852), pp. 265–266; Bongie, *Friends and Enemies*, p. 77.
33. “Prospectus,” *Bulletin Officiel de Saint-Domingue*, 1797.
34. *Bulletin Officiel de Saint-Domingue*, 3 January 1797.
35. *Bulletin Officiel de Saint-Domingue*, 4 March 1797.
36. *Bulletin Officiel de Saint-Domingue*, 2 July 1797.
37. “Prospectus,” *Bulletin Officiel de Saint-Domingue*, 1797.
38. Letter to the editor, *Moniteur Colonial*, 7 July 1791, p. 991.
39. Fick, *The Making of Haiti*, p. 18.
40. Garran, *Rapport sur les troubles*, vol. 1, pp. 132–135, 137–138; Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, p. 78.
41. *Le Moniteur Général*, 20 December 1791, p. 146.
42. *Ibid.*
43. Aletha Stahl has shown how colonists used *Le Moniteur Général* to establish Creole citizenship. See “Enfants de l’Amérique? Configuring Creole Citizenship in the Press, 1793,” *Journal of Haitian Studies*, vol. 15, no. 1 & 2 (2010), pp. 168–179.
44. Dubois and Garrigus, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean*, p. 25.
45. *Le Moniteur Général*, 26 November 1791, p. 48. For more on the Colonial Assembly’s constitution, see Garran, *Rapport sur les troubles*, vol. 1, pp. 170–175.
46. Levot, “Catineau-Laroche,” *Biographie Bretonne*, p. 265; Garran, *Rapport sur les troubles*, vol. 3, pp. 305–306. His support for free people of color was not the only decision to put him in jeopardy. Many white colonists vehemently opposed marriages between white men and women of color. For example, the assembly in Saint-Marc banned white men in such “misalliances” from participating in politics in 1790. See Garran, *Rapport sur les troubles*, vol. 2, p. 29.
47. Jean Charles Benzaken, “Autour des commissaires nationaux civils Sonthonax et Polverel, Jean-Baptiste Picquenard, secrétaire et journaliste et Pierre Catineau, imprimeur,” *Généalogie et Histoire de la Caraïbe* (January 2008), 5427.
48. Picquenard to Marec, 10 October 1794, printed in Jean-Baptiste Picquenard, *Adonis suivi de Zoflora et de document inédits*, Chris Bongie, ed. (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2006), pp. 255–256.
49. Garran, *Rapport sur les troubles*, vol. 3, p. 304.
50. *L’Ami de l’Égalité*, 28 April 1793, printed in Picquenard, *Adonis suivi de Zoflora*, p. 231.
51. Fick, *The Making of Haiti*, pp. 157–158.
52. *L’Ami de l’Égalité*, 28 April 1793, printed in Picquenard, *Adonis suivi de Zoflora*, p. 232, 236–237.

53. *Moniteur Général*, 18 July 1792, p. 162.
54. *Moniteur Général*, 19 July 1792, p. 166.
55. Asterisks and dashes indicated the anonymous subscriber. *Moniteur Général*, 20 July 1792, p. 170.
56. *Moniteur Général*, 22 July 1792, p. 187.
57. *Moniteur Général*, 23 July 1792, p. 192.
58. *Moniteur Général*, 25 July 1792, p. 200.
59. Identity of Julien Bouvier found in Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description*, p. 437.
60. *Moniteur Général*, 27 July 1792, p. 206.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 207.
62. *Moniteur Général*, 30 July 1792, p. 219.
63. *Journal politique de Saint-Domingue*, 26 July 1792, p. 1379.
64. *Journal politique de Saint-Domingue*, 27 July 1792, p. 1383.
65. The *Moniteur Colonial* ceased publication in 1791, replaced by the *Moniteur Général*. Therefore, while the authors of the letters to the editor mention the *Moniteur Colonial* in 1792, they meant the *Moniteur Général*. *Journal politique de Saint-Domingue*, 5 August, 1792, p. 1422.
66. *Moniteur Général*, 28 August 1792, p. 332.
67. *Moniteur Général*, 17 September 1792, p. 412.
68. *Moniteur Général*, 8 September 1792, p. 375.
69. *Moniteur Général*, 16 October 1792, p. 527.
70. *Moniteur Général*, 20 June 1793, p. 147.
71. *L'Ami de l'Egalité*, 16 May 1793.
72. See for example Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, pp. 136–138.
73. Bongie, *Friends and Enemies*, p. 77.
74. Popkin, *You Are All Free*, p. 142; “Code noir,” in Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions*, vol. 1, pp. 414–424.
75. *L'Ami de l'Egalité*, 9 May 1793, quoted in Popkin, *You Are All Free*, p. 144.
76. Bongie, *Friends and Enemies*, p. 78.
77. *L'Ami de l'Egalité*, 17 July 1793.
78. *L'Ami de l'Egalité*, 17 July 1793.
79. Catineau to Catineau, 19 August 1793, *Manuscrits Amérique*, vol. 14, Archives des Affaires Etrangères.
80. Bongie, *Friends and Enemies*, pp. 79–81.
81. Jean-Charles Benzaken, “Le tour de force du citoyen Guillois ou l’analyse des débats entre les accusateurs et les accusés dans l’affaire de la colonie de Saint-Domingue,” *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, no. 327 (2002), pp. 83–97.
82. Marc François Guillois, *Analyse des débats, entre les accusateurs et les accusés, dans l’affaire de la colonie de Saint-Domingue, conformément aux décrets de la Convention Nationale* (Paris: Chevet, 1795), p. 95.

83. Guillois, *Analyse des débats*, p. 99.
84. Levot, "Catineau-Laroche," *Biographie Bretonne*, p. 266.
85. *Extrait du rapport adressé au Directoire exécutif par le citoyen Toussaint Louverture, général en chef des Forces de la République française à Saint-Domingue* (Cap-Français: Chez P. Roux, 1797).
86. Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, p. 206.
87. "Extrait du bulletin officiel de Saint-Domingue du 18 flor. 8 mai," *Gazette Française*, 11 June 1798.
88. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon*, pp. 11–12.
89. Dubois and Garrigus, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean*, p. 191. Julia Gaffield has studied the transition from Louverture to Dessalines and to Pétion and Christophe, as well as the national constitutions of under each. See "Complexities of Imagining Haiti: A Study of National Constitutions, 1801–1807," *Journal of Social History*, vol. 41, no. 1 (2007): pp. 81–103.
90. David Nicholls, "Pompée Valentin Vastey: Royalist and Revolutionary," *Revista de Historia de América* (June, 1990), p. 129.



Brothers in Arms: Racial Equality in the Saint-Dominguan Colonial Forces

White men of all ranks within the armed forces played important roles in the Haitian Revolution, advancing varying philanthropic causes over time, from the rights of free people of color to Haitian independence. These white men worked together with, and even sometimes under the command of, blacks and men of color. This chapter examines racial integration and equality within the colonial armed services, culminating in the formation of the Legions of Equality in 1793, which scholars have largely overlooked. In colonial Saint-Domingue, some of the racially integrated military institutions originated in the Old Regime providing blacks and men of color a means to prove their allegiance to France. Later, these black and colored men used armed service to advance political and racial equality in the Haitian Revolution. Although men of all colors served in the armed forces of colonial Saint-Domingue throughout the Old Regime, the French Atlantic revolutions brought new meaning to their service. White soldiers and officers were instrumental in the military achievements of the Haitian Revolution, leading, as well as fighting alongside and under the command of, their black and colored brothers in arms.

Jan Pachonski and Reurl K. Wilson's research on Polish soldiers in the Haitian War of Independence reveals the unwilling participation of a particular group of white men. Polish soldiers, part of legions created through an agreement signed by a Polish general and Napoleon Bonaparte, landed in Saint-Domingue with the Leclerc Expedition in 1802. The Poles sympathized with the peoples of African descent in Saint-Domingue, sharing

a desire for liberty, so much so that some of them deserted the French and remained in independent Haiti after 1804.¹ My research expands this emphasis on white soldiers to include French and creole men who willingly served with men of African descent before and during the Haitian Revolution.

My work builds upon and connects with the historiography of the pre-revolutionary period of Saint-Domingue, especially the work of Stewart R. King and John D. Garrigus. While King limits his study to the colonial period, Garrigus concludes his monograph with a chapter on the revolutionary period, including some references to the Legions of Equality.² Both of these authors focus on a particular province of the colony, instead of providing a comprehensive examination of all three provinces. However, King and Garrigus demonstrate how armed service offered an avenue for freedom for enslaved men and access to modest social advancement for free men of color and blacks in colonial Saint-Domingue before 1789.

Blacks fought on behalf of France in the Caribbean even before Saint-Domingue officially became a French colony. Saint-Domingue eventually comprised the western portion of the island of Hispaniola. The Spanish claimed all of Hispaniola since Christopher Columbus's voyages in the 1490s. However, in the seventeenth century, French *flibustiers* and *boucaniers* settled on the island of Tortuga and along the northern coast of what would become Saint-Domingue. In 1689, France battled against much of Europe, including Spain, in the War of the Grand Alliance, and the war expanded to include Caribbean colonies. Near the end of the war, in 1697, French forces planned a raid on the Spanish port of Cartagena, calling upon blacks to join them.³ According to Moreau de Saint-Méry, "a company of free blacks from Cap" took part in the "siege of Cartagena" under the command of "Pierre d'Imba," who was black.⁴ In addition to free blacks, Vincent Olivier was one of many the enslaved to participate in the raid on Cartagena. Many of these slaves, including Olivier, earned their freedom and pensions from the colonial governor after France acquired Saint-Domingue from the Spanish through the Treaty of Ryswick.⁵ Blacks took part in securing the French colony of Saint-Domingue and continued to aid in its defense until Haitian independence.

In addition to the colonial military, there were two other forms of armed service in colonial Saint-Domingue: the colonial militia and the *maréchaussée* (rural slave-hunting police force). In the Old Regime, armed slaves fought for whites in the interest of slavery. Evolving over time from its establishment in the 1720s, the *maréchaussée* was the organization

responsible for capturing runaway slaves, searching slave quarters for weaponry, policing religious gatherings, providing private guard duties, and arresting deserting soldiers, unauthorized individuals crossing from the Spanish side of the island, and Spanish emissaries seeking to foment rebellion among the enslaved.⁶ This suggests they could have potentially detained individuals of all colors, social statuses, and nationalities within the colony—with the exception of *grand blancs*, of course. Administrators hoped that poor whites would join the *maréchaussée*, and they included a provision that free blacks were only to be accepted if there were not enough whites. However, colonial authorities had to expand its recruitment in the 1730s to include free blacks due to low white enrollments.⁷ Slaves enlisted or their masters enrolled them in the *maréchaussée* in order to earn their freedom, because it made tax-free manumission possible. The organization had a hierarchy, beginning with unpaid *surnuméraires* (supernumeraries) at the bottom, beneath archers, officers, and ultimately a brigadier. Slaves earning their freedom would be supernumeraries, rarely advancing through the ranks, where officers were *supposed* to be white *habitants* (slave and plantation owners).⁸ Allowing slaves to serve in the *maréchaussée* provided enslaved peoples of African descent with an opportunity to improve their lives through manumission. In turn, the colonists ensured the loyalty of *some* blacks and people of color by offering liberty and social advancement for service in the *maréchaussée*, all the while protecting the institution of slavery by policing slaves and potential agitations to colonial society.

From its origins as a colony, the militia defended Saint-Domingue from any outside aggression. However, some white colonists contested militia service in the eighteenth century, because plantation owners argued that they did not have time for militia duty. In other words, planters believed that they were socially above such service as *grand blancs* and considered it an inconvenient distraction from business.⁹ In the 1720s and 1730s, free blacks and men of color formed their own racially segregated units to avoid any discrimination from whites, as even the officers were men of color.¹⁰ During the Seven Years' War, Saint-Domingue faced possible invasion by the British, and the duty of protecting the colony fell on the militias of all colors. Governor Gabriel de Bory explained that defending the colony against its enemies was one of most important duties and greatest honors bestowed on the militias by the king. He also recognized that the militias “always” observed the differences between the “three classes” established by “nature”: “les Blancs, les Sang-mêlés, et les Mulâtres ou Nègres libres.”¹¹

After the war ended in 1763, the militias dispersed. However, Governor Charles d'Estaing sought to reestablish the colonial militia the next year. His "*troupes nationales*" were to be driven by patriotism. While still divided into companies according to estates and colors, only whites could serve as officers.¹² Requiring that only whites be officers reflected desires for racial dominance, as well as acknowledge the potential power of arming men of color. Resentment over militia service was so great that the colonists eventually forced d'Estaing to repeal his ordinances in 1765.

The colonial militia experienced another period of reform and crisis in the late 1760s. White planters in the South Province of Saint-Domingue allied with free men of color in their struggle against the reestablishment of the colonial militia in the 1760s. Both whites and men of color owned slaves and plantations, so their alliance across racial lines was economically based. In 1766, Prince de Rohan-Montabazon became governor of Saint-Domingue, and he immediately pursued the reestablishment of the colonial militia, despite opposition from whites and free people of color. In January 1769, Robert d'Argout, the South Province's commander, arrested free colored planter Jacques Delaunay for distributing seditious publications and not appearing for the militia muster in Torbec parish.¹³ In April, the Council of War condemned planter René Duvineau, Joseph Ally, and a black man named Jean to death. In response to the arrests and convictions, Destrées, Laulany, and Jean-Pierre and François Mallet organized white and colored men in protest. After forces from the West and South Provinces returned the peace, the Conseil du Port-au-Prince began criminal proceedings against those involved. In 1771, the Conseil du Port-au-Prince condemned eight men, including the Mallet brothers, to death for sedition and raising a rebellion.¹⁴ In 1776, Jean-Pierre and François pleaded with the French king for their lives. They sought to be considered under the ruling annulling the charges against Duvineau, Ally, and Jean from March 1773, claiming that Destrées had been the leader of the revolt, making him "the most culpable," and Laulany had "excited" a number of planters. Further, they suggested that the troubles in the South Province could not be considered "an open rebellion."¹⁵ The crisis in the 1760s did not put an end to reforms within the colonial militias, but it illustrated how some whites sought to improve the lives of free people of color.

Colonial military service appealed to those men of color who already possessed wealth and elite status in Saint-Domingue. The most well known example of this was the *Chasseurs-Volontaires de Saint-Domingue* that served as one-third of an expeditionary corps sent to Savannah, Georgia under former governor Comte d'Estaing in 1779 during the American

Revolutionary War. For some elite free men of color, volunteering for overseas expeditionary corps was a way to demonstrate their loyalty to France and to challenge the racial prejudices against them within the colony. Yet, the very racial prejudices they sought to overcome were what required them to prove their loyalty through armed service. Although only intended to provide auxiliary services—manual labor—the *Chasseurs-Volontaires* fought against the British during the siege of Savannah, allowing French forces to withdraw to their ships safely.¹⁶ A few members of the unit received some recognition, but their efforts did not enhance the free colored collective in the colony or France, as evidenced in the culmination of their struggles for equality in the uprising of Vincent Ogé in October 1790 and the debates in the National Assembly over the rights of free people of color. Necessity, due to a lack of white participation, pushed these colonial endeavors at integrating the armed services.

The regular colonial regiments in Saint-Domingue relied upon racially mixed militias to support them in case of war. Near Port-au-Prince, Louis Narcisse Baudry des Lozières commanded one such militia, *La Phalange de Crête-Dragons*. A founding member of the *Cercle des Philadelphes*, lawyer, and planter, Baudry petitioned and received permission from the Conseil du Cap to form his militia in 1790. He intended the wealthy western planters to fund the *Phalange de Crête* in exchange for maintaining order. While Baudry recruited men of color in his militia, he required whites, men of color, and blacks to wear differing uniforms.¹⁷ He recognized the need for men of all colors to fight together, but he still upheld the racial hierarchy through their dress. However, it is possible that he believed in racial equality but recognized that many whites would not have shared his sentiments. At the same time that Baudry was forming his integrated militia, the Colonel of the Regiment of Port-au-Prince called for *sang-mêlé* militias.

Thomas-Antoine Mauduit du Plessis, Colonel of the Regiment of Port-au-Prince, supported free blacks and people of color in the West. Mauduit adopted a strategy of collaborating with free people of color to restore order in Saint-Domingue, aligning with a group of white planters known as the *pompons blancs*. Similar to the alliances formed in the militia revolts in the 1760s, whites and men of color worked across racial lines due to shared financial interests. While the *pompons blancs* were willing to concede rights to their fellow planters of color, the *pompons rouges*, a group of non-landholding whites and the opponents of the *pompons blancs*, refused to grant any equality to the free population of color. Unlike the planters, the *petits blancs* wanted to maintain solidarity amongst whites. The *pompons rouges*, or patriots, controlled the assembly in the West. As Governor

General Louis Antoine Thomassin, comte de Peinier ordered the dissolution of the Saint Marc Colonial Assembly in July 1790, a royalist, Mauduit organized an integrated volunteer military unit—based on the Old Regime models—to “counterbalance” the power of the *pompons rouges*.¹⁸ Mauduit issued the following order: “The free mulattoes and blacks, forming the ancient militias of mixed-bloods, are invited, on behalf of the Nation, the Law & the King, to reunite the Citizens faithful to their oath, and who have sworn to recognize the decrees approved by the King, or temporarily by the general, his representative.”¹⁹ By September, the Saint Marc Colonial Assembly adjourned, and its members fled to France.²⁰ Putting finances before race, the alliance between Mauduit, the *pompons blancs*, and free people of color had found temporary success against the *pompons rouges*.

In March 1791, the Battalions of Artois and Normandy arrived in Port-au-Prince and allied with the *pompons rouges*, National Guard, and members of the Regiment of Port-au-Prince against Mauduit and the *pompons blancs*. The Battalions of Artois and Normandy arrived in the colony from France, radicalized by the French Revolution against monarchy and aristocracy and well-known for their mutinous behavior.²¹ Upon the battalions’ entrance to the town, Mauduit’s opponents assassinated him as he attempted to appease them. Mauduit arranged to peacefully return the flag of the *pompons rouges*, but members of the Regiment of Port-au-Prince turned on him during the meeting. The mob paraded his mutilated body through the streets of Port-au-Prince, and placed his head on a stake.²² His white attackers treated Mauduit as they would have an enslaved rebel. For defying whiteness, they used his corpse as a warning, setting an example for other philanthropists. Members of the second battalion later reported to the National Convention in Paris that “the day after our arrival...an unfortunate and distressing event, the assassination of Colonel Mauduit” occurred, but they experienced joy “on the same day...in entering in a town where we were desired with an ardor as great.”²³ In the North, the Battalions of Artois and Normandy supported the *pompons rouges*, National Guard, and members of the Regiment of Port-au-Prince in killing Mauduit because he represented the Old Regime. The *pompons rouges* assassinated and dehumanized Mauduit for his alliance with the free people of color, because it went against sentiments of white solidarity.

In the months following the 1791 slave uprising in Saint-Domingue, the whites in the North allied with free people of color to try to quell the rebellion. Laurent François Lenoir, Marquis de Rouvray, was a white officer who suggested fighting with free men of color. Previously, Rouvray had argued for the inclusion of free men of color in the Saint-Dominguan

forces sent to fight in the American Revolution. In 1779, he led Saint-Dominguan colored volunteers in fighting at Savannah.²⁴ When faced with the internal threat of a slave uprising, Rouvray insisted that enlisting free colored troops was the only solution, because they were greatly outnumbered. Another white officer, Anne-Louis de Tousard, also a veteran of the American Revolution, echoed Rouvray's calls to ally with the free men of color. Tousard headed troops near Le Cap in August 1791, and he and Rouvray both fought the insurgents early in the revolution.²⁵ In December 1791, the *Journal des Colonies* reported that Rouvray attacked the slave insurgents with a force of 300 "mulattos." In addition, Tousard had rescued a white surgeon from among the insurgents.²⁶ Prior to the arrival of additional troops from France, the northern white Saint-Dominguans allied with free men of color to fight the slave rebels.

Similarly, the governor and other whites of Saint-Domingue allied with free colored troops in the South Province. In May 1792, Governor General Philibert François Rouxel de Blanchelande announced the Law of 4 April, which granted equal political rights for free people of color.²⁷ Then, when the black insurgents attacked plantations near Les Cayes, governor Blanchelande deployed white troops and a free colored regiment under the command of André Rigaud to fight the insurrectionists. Although the white and colored troops were defeated by the blacks, a free man of color, Rigaud, served as an intermediary between the rebel leaders and the white officials at Les Cayes.²⁸ French representatives in the colony later deported Blanchelande as a counterrevolutionary and blamed him for the 1791 slave revolt.²⁹ The French representatives exaggerated their accusations against Blanchelande, conflating support for free people of color with wanting to end slavery, two wholly different issues that both went against whiteness. However, Blanchelande already had significantly contributed to the alliance between white and free colored troops, especially Rigaud, who would play an important role in the rest of the Haitian Revolution.

One white commander took part in bringing some of the colored revolutionaries over to the French side. While negotiating with the first civil commission in 1792, the men of color of Sainte-Suzanne chose the white creole François Marie Sébastien Pageot as their military leader.³⁰ His race was likely just as significant as his competence as a leader, and the free men of color understood the importance of whiteness in this situation. The civil commissioners responded positively to the choice of Pageot as a leader for the men of color in fighting for "the cause of the whites." They wrote that they were glad that the men of color chose a leader "that everyone praises," and their choice of Pageot was evidence of "good judgment."³¹

Pageot had already earned a good reputation as the second lieutenant of a company of men of color in Le Cap 1789. Pageot's experience commanding colored troops made him an ideal choice for both the men of color and the civil commissioners. When the commission agreed to this choice, the rebels deserted the uprising and joined the French in fighting against the slave revolutionaries.³² The colored men, under the leadership of Candi, met Pageot in the town of Trou. Pageot named Candi commander of Trou, and they formed the men of color into a garrison.³³ Afterwards, the revolutionaries of color gratefully wrote the civil commissioners in agreeing to their negotiated choice of Pageot, "commander of our hearts."³⁴ Pageot had secured colored allies for France.

While not all whites supported rights for free people of color *and* the abolition of slavery, Pageot defended both causes. In addition to commanding troops of color, becoming their "comrade," he fought for general emancipation. Another white officer declared that Pageot was the "first creole in the colony to defend the cause of freedom," and claimed that "his example...made many friends for the Republic."³⁵ As a creole proprietor in Saint-Domingue, Pageot sacrificed everything to support the revolutionaries. In an emotional speech before the *Conseil des Anciens*, a deputy from Saint-Domingue described him as a "brave republican who preferred death to the shame of giving in to the enemy."³⁶ While the deputy may have exaggerated, the members of the 106th Regiment also praised Pageot's commitment to the causes. Officers and soldiers from the regiment attested to his "patriotism" and defense of "liberty and equality."³⁷ For his service, Pageot became the first creole to reach "the rank of general officer."³⁸ In 1793, he became the provisional commander of the North and West, and the civil commissioners promoted him to brigadier general in 1796.³⁹ Pageot advanced through the military ranks as a white creole supporter of abolition and rights for free people of color.

Accompanied by a pro-French Revolution military force of 6000 troops, the second civil commission—Léger Félicité Sonthonax and Etienne Polverel—arrived in Saint-Domingue to grant rights to free people of color through the Law of 4 April. White officer Philippe Andre François Montesquiou-Fezensac was among the troops, and he commanded both the West and South Provinces.⁴⁰ In the South Province, he oversaw the organization of companies of whites and free people of color. In October 1792, Fezensac wrote to the Minister of War regarding their progress. He reported that "a very small part" of the free coloreds had joined with the whites, and that he was satisfied with "the zeal and cour-

age of all those who marched.” He claimed that the national volunteers, colonial *gendarmerie*, men of color, and *affranchise* all presented themselves “with enthusiasm.” In addition to his observations of the armed forces, Fezensac noted how the Law of 4 April had been received among the civilian population. He wrote that most of the proprietors in the region had submitted to the law before his arrival, though prejudice had not been “entirely destroyed.” Fezensac explained that the prejudice of the *petits blancs* toward the “citizens of color” was “more strongly rooted.”⁴¹ He quit his command upon hearing of the regicide.⁴² However, during his short-lived service in Saint-Domingue, Fezensac aided the civil commissioners in granting rights to free people of color within the military.

Another white officer who arrived with the second civil commission also played a significant role in the early efforts of the commissioners to enforce the Law of 4 April. Etienne Maynaud Bizefranc de Laveaux landed in Saint-Domingue as a part of the *Dragons d'Orléans*. Sonthonax, the civil commissioner in charge in the North Province, attempted to racially integrate the Regiment du Cap on 1 December 1792. With Laveaux's support, Sonthonax incorporated colored officers in the units in Le Cap, at least one in each. Members of the regiment refused to accept colored officers and the town became chaotic. Again, with Laveaux's help, the commissioner regained control.⁴³ Sonthonax eventually arrested the uncooperative members of the regiment and threatened to deport them to France. Sonthonax declared, “Considering that the soldiers who refused the oath to the Law of April 4, are unworthy to serve their country; they deserve instead the censure of the French people, and they must be regarded as criminals.”⁴⁴ After regaining his authority, Sonthonax formed six new *compagnies franches*, companies of fifty free men of color each, on 16 December 1792.⁴⁵ Free men of color had volunteered for armed service in the colonial era with only a hope for an improvement of their collective status. However, allying with the civil commissioners—backed by white officers from France like Laveaux and creoles like Pageot—promised citizenship and equality.

Laveaux also secured Toussaint Louverture's loyalty to France, a turning point of the Haitian Revolution. Louverture, a free black before the revolution and one of the most well-known revolutionary leaders, first allied with the Spanish in Santo Domingo. However, after fighting against one another for nearly a year, Laveaux and Louverture began to correspond about the possibility of reconciliation. In the summer 1794, Louverture first wrote to Laveaux while the white general was in Le Cap.

Laveaux responded by inviting the black general to desert the Spanish and join the French, to which Louverture agreed.⁴⁶ Over time, Louverture and Laveaux's relationship progressively became more affectionate, reflecting the revolutionary element of fraternity, this time across racial lines. Louverture even referred to Laveaux as "papa" and himself as "your son Toussaint."⁴⁷ Years later in 1796, when colored officer Jean-Louis Villatte led a rebellion against Laveaux in Le Cap, Louverture rescued the white general.⁴⁸ To show his appreciation, Laveaux, who was Governor General at the time, named Louverture Lieutenant Governor General.⁴⁹ Also responsible for some of his advances through the ranks, Laveaux successfully gained Louverture as an ally for France in Saint-Domingue.

The formation of the Legions of Equality in Saint-Domingue predated general emancipation by about four months; therefore, the initial members of the Legions were colored and black men who were already free before the Haitian Revolution. The formation of the Legions of Equality was a culmination of an increasingly racially integrated colonial force before 1789 that continued throughout the Haitian Revolution.⁵⁰ Two factors influenced Sonthonax and Polverel's decision to create the Legions. First, many of the whites in the colony openly, and sometimes violently, opposed citizenship for free people of color. Without white cooperation, the commissioners sought the support of the free people of color in ensuring tranquility in the colony amidst the slave insurrection, especially in the North Province. The different Provinces had contrasting demographics, with wealthy whites more numerous in the North and elite free people of color controlling much of the West and South. Secondly, as the free people of color and whites in the West fought over the Law of 4 April, they often armed their slaves to bolster their numbers in the battles. The civil commissioners recognized the need to grant freedom to these armed slaves, especially in an attempt to gain their loyalty to the commission and to France. The commissioners feared they would join the slave revolutionaries or the Spanish in Santo Domingo. In both instances, the commissioners sought to use armed service to offer freedom and obtain loyalty, similar to the pre-revolutionary era.

On 19 April 1793, Sonthonax and Polverel established Legions of Equality that incorporated *free* men of all colors within the colony into a united military force.⁵¹ Knowing they could not return them to their previous status, the civil commissioners offered freedom to slaves who had been armed by their white and colored masters prior to April 1793, with the condition that they join the Legion in their province. Dominated by

nonwhite troops and placed under the leadership of free men of color, the Legions were divided along the lines of the three provinces of the colony: North, West, and South. Jean-Louis Villate, Antoine Chanlatte, and André Rigaud took leadership in their respective provinces. Initially, the *légionnaires* were charged with defending the colony against Spanish and English invasions, as well as the enslaved insurrectionists fighting for their own freedom. After the National Convention in Paris abolished slavery in 1794, the civil commissioners made the *légionnaires* responsible for delivering work orders to the newly freed slaves and assuring the ex-slaves fulfilled those orders. Racial equality was far from achieved for former slaves, as the leadership still associated plantation labor with blackness. Over this particular responsibility, the loyalty of the *légionnaires* to the French government was split. Some sabotaged the resumption of plantation labor, harbored runaway plantation workers, or deserted themselves, while others proved their allegiance as inspectors on the plantations.

In the West, the commission had to resolve peace between whites and free people of color and decide what to do with the enslaved both sides had armed in their warring. As white planter Claude Isaac Borel recruited a successful white force on his plantation in the West, the free people of color in the region recruited slaves from the workshops and plantations, promoting liberty and often killing those who “persisted in their refusal.” In Port-au-Prince, a white planter Jean-Baptiste Caradeux recruited slaves within the city to form a “Company of Africans” to attack the free people of color in the western plains in March 1792.⁵² The civil commissioners eventually brokered a peace between the groups, favoring the free people of color and deporting many whites from the area. After Sonthonax freed five hundred of the enslaved who had fought on the western plain on 14 April, the commissioners formed the Legion of Equality of the West, comprised of almost four thousand men under the command of a free man of color, Antoine Chanlatte. Later, the commissioners established Legions in the North in May under Jean-Louis Villate and South in July under André Rigaud.⁵³ In June 1793, Polverel decided to free all the slaves in the West and South “who had been armed by their masters” to resist the commission in order to enroll in the Legion of Equality.⁵⁴ It was expected that the newly freed slaves would serve in the Legion in exchange for their freedom, similar to the expectations associated with service in the *maréchaussée* in the prerevolutionary era.

L'Ami de l'Égalité, a newspaper appearing in Saint-Domingue in May 1793, just one month after the formation of the Legion in the West, aggressively promoted service in the new armed force. On 16 May 1793,

the newspaper encouraged free men of color to join the Legion. The article exclaimed,

Citizens of color, creoles, I address you! You have all the qualities needed for war: you are agile, patient, courageous, and sober....Never a more favorable occasion presented itself for your fearlessness: THE WAR WITH SPAIN!.... Why is THE LEGION OF EQUALITY not yet complete?....Imitate your brothers in France: they are already in Spain.⁵⁵

Foremost, this recruitment article attempted to appeal to the patriotic sense of free coloreds, motivation for service in the colonial military before the revolution. Where the *Chasseurs-Volontaires* went to fight in the American Revolutionary War, the wars of the French and Haitian Revolutions offered an opportunity for creoles of color to defend France in their homeland of Saint-Domingue in an Atlantic fraternity with the French soldiers fighting in the continental Europe. In promoting a patriotic connection between citizen soldiers within the French Atlantic community, *L'Ami de l'Egalité* reaffirmed the colony's attachment to France.

A white officer in the Legion of Equality of the West, Antoine Gajacq worked closely with the civil commission and utilized the *L'Ami de l'Egalité* to promote republicanism. His service in the Legion of Equality, combined with his ardent political views, demonstrated the incorporation of rights of free people of color into what it meant to be a French revolutionary in Saint-Domingue. On 26 May 1793, *L'Ami de l'Egalité* published an editorial Gajacq had written. He warned the publisher that he witnessed a man begging commander Edme Etienne Borne Desfourneaux to "ban the newspaper," but Desfourneaux insisted "in the sense of the [French] revolution" that he would "die rather than not support freedom of the press."⁵⁶ The day after his editorial appeared, Gajacq reported to the civil commission about enemies of the French Republic in the colony. He explained that he witnessed a gathering of colonists where one man spoke out against "the revolution of France." While the other attendees protested the man's comments, he continued to insist that he did not have to adhere to any decisions made by the civil commissioners, such as enforcing the Law of April 4.⁵⁷ As a ranking white officer in the Legion of Equality of the West, Gajacq provided valuable intelligence to the commissioners, as well as revealed enemies of the French revolution in the *L'Ami de l'Egalité*.

Sonthonax proclaimed general liberty for slaves in the North Province in August 1793, and Polverel made similar proclamations in the following months for the West and South Provinces. After general emancipation,

the Legions of Equality became responsible not only for defending the colony against Spanish and British invasions but also for enforcing the new agricultural labor system in Saint-Domingue. *Légionnaires* were charged with delivering work orders to former slaves, and a select number were promoted to positions of surveillance over numerous plantations. Unfortunately, the interactions between *légionnaires* and agricultural laborers resisted the new system. While some *légionnaires* aided fugitive workers in hiding, others openly agitated the plantation laborers, some even deserting their Legion. In one such instance, Jacques Formon was court-martialed and executed for attempting to arouse rebellion and not following orders from his leader, Rigaud. However, not all of the *légionnaires* sided with the plantation laborers, but instead fully embraced their new duties as leaders of the Legions. For example, Armand and Bernard were captains in the legion and promoted to inspectors over plantations.⁵⁸ The Legions offered mixed results in the relations between blacks after general liberty due to the new agricultural system.

The Legions of Equality, if only on a minuscule scale due to imbalanced demographics, affirmed French revolutionary decisions to give free people of color citizenship and to free all the enslaved. This was demonstrated by the experiences of two white officers in the Legions. *Petit blanc* Louis Claudot, a plantation bookkeeper and father of a mixed daughter, whom he purchased and freed in 1792, supported the rights of free people of color. After becoming a Captain in a Legion of Equality, Claudot bequeathed all his property to his free mulatto colleague Louis Beutier, although Claudot was only forty-eight years old and in good health. Further, Claudot and Beutier conducted numerous transactions after Claudot composed his testament in June 1798.⁵⁹ Their parallel military service and financial ties, as well as Claudot's own familial story, portray a positive application of the commissioners' and French legislatures' decisions regarding free people of color and racial fluidity during the Haitian Revolution.

On the other hand, Lamotte, white Artillery Captain of the Legion of Equality of the West, led a "company of blacks." He pleaded for more "brave brothers republicans of France" to come to Saint-Domingue to help ensure the freedom of the blacks, "still shaky in many minds." He acknowledged that the declaration of general liberty was not definitive, as many colonists still opposed abolition and the revolutionary climates was shaky. In reference to his black soldiers, he described: "They fear no danger; they will sacrifice all rather than abandon their posts; they know what they owe to France, to all our worthy fathers of the Convention." Though

he credited France with emancipating the slaves, he believed the blacks merited their liberty through their heroism. Lamotte's troops may have been exempt from such duties as an artillery unit and their proximity to Spanish and British threats to the colony. Finally, Lamotte wanted his men to obtain a military education, and he offered half of his salary for that purpose.⁶⁰ While paternalistic, Lamotte's philanthropic desire to see his company educated indicates a possible connection in his mind between education and equality. He obviously developed a strong bond with his company, and his account affirmed the declarations of the commissioners and Convention to abolish slavery.

In July 1794, a decree from the National Convention arrived in Saint-Domingue ordering the arrest of Sonthonax and Polverel, recalled to France to stand trial for their actions, including the formation of the Legions of Equality. In 1795, French writer Marc François Guillois published the accusations and rebuttals of the trial in *Analyse des débats*.⁶¹ Declaring the second civil commission a failure, the opposing colonists cited the intended mission of the commissioners to "get rid of the demarcation line between men of color and whites." Indeed, the Legislative Assembly in Paris sent Sonthonax and Polverel to Saint-Domingue in 1792 to ensure application of the Law of 4 April, giving free people of color citizenship, which challenged white domination. In the tenth corollary, the accusers claimed that the civil commissioners "organized companies of men of color and blacks, with the exclusion of whites."⁶² According to the accusers, by creating separate companies based on race the commissioners did not achieve their mission. It is unclear if the accusers actually favored racial integration of the armed forces, because they ignored the racial specifics of the assignment, focusing rather on the technical achievement of the mission. Further, the accusers opposed the commissioners' creation of the Legions of Equality. They explained, "It also created...a colonial legion...given the name of Equality. In this, it again usurped legislative power."⁶³ Therefore, the colonists opposed the commissioners' actions because they failed their mission and exceeded their authoritative bounds. The colonists did not directly address racial equality, despite the overt issues of race in each of the accusations. Instead, they focused on the legality of the commissioners' actions. In response, the accused acknowledged their creation of separate companies and the Legions of Equality, but denied any exclusion of whites, citing the specific language of their original ordinances. They explained the need for such actions based upon necessity because of the "reduced armies from France" and "increased

need for military forces.” In regard to their legislative authority, they assured their accusers they were within the limitations of a decree issued by the legislature on 5 March 1792.⁶⁴

The Directory returned Sonthonax to Saint-Domingue as part of a third civil commission in 1796, and he met resistance from members of the Legion of Equality. The commissioners believed that Rigaud may have been involved, even if indirectly, in Villatte’s rebellion against Laveaux that same year. Therefore, Sonthonax sought to wrest control of the South from the colored general by convincing the plantation laborers there that they would receive better treatment under the civil commissioners. In return, Rigaud and his supporters circulated rumors that the commissioners intended to restore slavery.⁶⁵ An anonymous writer published a lengthy essay to clarify the situation. He set the tone in the opening by suggesting that if Sonthonax knew his identity, “in his philanthropic fury” the civil commissioner would seek any reason to persecute him.⁶⁶ Men of all colors wrote letters in support of Rigaud to be published as appendices. In their letter, the members of the garrison in Tiburon noted that civil commissioners formed the Legion of Equality in the South under Rigaud’s command, and that the general had proven his love of country while they served under him. They claimed that his enemies covered “themselves with the mantle of patriotism and philanthropy,” but his actions spoke for him, as they were always victorious under his leadership.⁶⁷ The white members of the garrison of Petit-Goâve specified their support for Rigaud. They explained how they were “imbued with the same feelings as our black and colored brothers and comrades” and also deeply hurt by the calumnious rumors spread against their “friends in the department.” They were referring to claims made by Sonthonax’s representatives that Rigaud’s agricultural system was tyrannical. Garrison members of all colors insisted, “Whites, blacks and men of color of this department, we form a family.”⁶⁸ While Sonthonax’s philanthropy had once been celebrated, in the South Province, men of all colors collaborated against him with Rigaud.

During the War of the South, while Louverture fought again Rigaud, three white officers aided the black general by securing control over Santo Domingo. Along with Pierre Agé and Adjutant-General d’Hébecourt, Brigadier General Pageot participated in taking possession of Santo Domingo.⁶⁹ In 1795, Spain had ceded Santo Domingo to France, but the Revolutionary Wars in Europe and the revolution in Saint-Domingue prevented official occupation by French forces. While Louverture was fighting Rigaud in the War of the South in 1800, the black general sent white

officer Agé to secure Santo Domingo for the French. While Louverture likely expected the Spanish to be receptive of a white representative, both the Spanish Governor and French colored officer Antoine Chanlatte resisted Agé. The Spanish Governor refused to recognize Agé's authority, and sent him back to Saint-Domingue with an armed escort.⁷⁰ However, Chanlatte encouraged a group of Spaniards in attacking Agé. Though delayed by this initial rejection, Louverture sent troops to Santo Domingo under his nephew Moïse after defeating Rigaud in the War of the South. The armed invasion of Spanish Santo Domingo was an expeditious success.⁷¹ These white officers aided Louverture in consolidating his authority over the entire island.

One of Louverture's most loyal white military officers, General Charles-Humbert-Marie de Vincent, openly expressed his support of both rights for free people of color and the abolition of slavery. Vincent had been an officer and planter in the Old Regime, but the revolution in Saint-Domingue changed his perspective. In 1824, he published an extensive rebuttal to a memoir written by General Pamphile-Lacroix. Lacroix had accused Vincent of showing the blacks preference. In his refutation, Vincent explained that he did not show preference for blacks, because "only merit, without distinction of epidermis, determined his affections."⁷² As proof, he listed his black and colored brothers in arms. He identified Louverture and Christophe among his black comrades and Bonnet, Rigaud, and Morel as colored members of his "crowd" with which he continued to correspond. Vincent also outlined his sentiments on issues of racial equality and slavery. He exclaimed that the whites should have expected the enslaved and free people of color to rise up "when the words liberty and equality" were being "pronounced without measure" at the same time that "five hundred thousand blacks and coloreds were subjected to a severe slavery" and thirty thousand men of color, were "held, although free, in the most abject condition by forty thousand whites."⁷³ Although Vincent published his observations years after the Haitian Independence, his writings in 1824 reflected his actions during the Haitian Revolution.

Vincent had an extensive military career in Saint-Domingue, and he was particularly active under Louverture during the Haitian Revolution. In 1786, Vincent arrived in the colony to serve as a military engineer.⁷⁴ In 1790, he aided the *pompons blancs* and Mauduit, advocate of integrating free men of color into the armed forces, in dispersing the *pompons rouges* at the Assembly at Saint-Marc.⁷⁵ After 1794, he served under Louverture as his director of fortifications. While Louverture typically employed black

officers, he recognized the value of technical expertise in white men, as well as the importance of their skin color in negotiations with Europeans. Throughout his service, Vincent made several voyages between France and Saint-Domingue.⁷⁶ In these journeys, he mediated on Louverture's behalf, frequently justifying the black general's conduct, and convincing the French government not to use force against the Haitian revolutionaries.⁷⁷ Most significantly, Vincent was the white officer who delivered Louverture's colonial constitution to France.

Vincent was not alone in playing a crucial role under Louverture. As Louverture's agent, white general Christophe Huin successfully negotiated the British military withdrawal from Saint-Domingue in 1798. The British had occupied parts of the West and South Provinces of Saint-Domingue since 1793, but in 1798, Huin secured agreements for the British evacuation of both areas. On 30 April 1798, Huin concluded negotiations for the British withdrawal from the West.⁷⁸ While the British evacuated the West, they maintained bases at Jérémie and Môle Saint-Nicolas until August, after Huin negotiated the British departure from the South. Although the French civil representative in Saint-Domingue, Gabriel Marie Theodore Joseph d'Hédouville sent his own emissary to negotiate the evacuation, British General Thomas Maitland chose to work again with Louverture's agent, Huin. After a summer of discussions, Huin signed an agreement in mid-August for the British evacuation of the South. In early September, Huin reported that the *pavillon tricolore* (French tricolored flag) flew over Jérémie again.⁷⁹ Huin, Louverture's white agent, was instrumental in removing the British occupiers from Saint-Domingue.

After the evacuation, Louverture sent Huin to negotiate with the British during the War of the South. Despite a secret non-aggression agreement signed between Louverture and Maitland in August 1798, the British had continued to blockade Jacmel. At that time, the British were preventing the U. S. Navy from aiding Louverture in capturing Jacmel and defeating his mulatto rival André Rigaud. The British had even seized four ships and taken them to Jamaica. Recognizing the intervention of the U. S. Navy was necessary to take Jacmel, Louverture sent Huin to Jamaica to negotiate with Maitland. Huin successfully convinced the British to back off and permit the U. S. ships in the South.⁸⁰ Huin's negotiations secured an end to the British blockade, as well as the British support of Rigaud in the War of the South.

In Paris, Huin was one of two white officers suspected of plotting to kidnap Louverture's sons for the black general. Some may have suspected Louverture would want to retrieve his sons so he could declare independence from France. At the time of the supposed plot, Louverture's two sons, Placide and Isaac, were in Paris attending the National Institution of the Colonies. Louverture had sent emissaries to check on his sons, but there is no evidence of any plots to kidnap the boys.⁸¹ In fall 1801, Huin and Augustin d'Hébécourt arrived in Paris "under the general designation of" Louverture's envoys. The Minister of the Marine alerted the Minister of the Police of his suspicions regarding Huin and d'Hébécourt. He claimed that he knew "that the English general, Maitland, planned to remove Toussaint's children...to London," and that it was "possible that Huin and d'Hébécourt were secretly charged" with taking the boys. Louverture wrongly assumed that two white men could move about Paris more easily than men of African descent purely because of their race. However, the Minister of the Marine, to be sure, knew of Huin's negotiations with Maitland years earlier. Being prudent, he advised the police to closely survey Louverture's two envoys, investigating "their movements and their connections in Paris."⁸² While Huin and d'Hébécourt did not seize Louverture's sons, their well-known association with the black general made them suspicious to the government and authorities in Paris.

Another of Louverture's white officers aided in shaping the black general's image in the metropole, seeking to put to rest any suspicions that Louverture would seek independence from France. *Chef de Brigade* Caze Jeune, or Cases Jeune, served as Louverture's *aide-de-camp*. One contemporary observer described him as a "perpetual sycophant of his master."⁸³ A pair of letters written by Caze Jeune and Louverture appeared in Paris in an issue of the *Amis des Lois*. Louverture's letter was to Caze Jeune, and his *aide-de-camp* forwarded the black general's letter to the editor of the *Amis des Lois* for publication. In his letter to the editor, Caze Jeune explained that while in France on mission for Louverture, he had received correspondence from the black general. To counter "vile slanders against" the "brave man," Caze Jeune asked the *Amis des Lois* to print Louverture's letter to show the "happiness and tranquility in Saint-Domingue" since the English had departed. In this letter printed in the newspaper, Louverture claimed that "one day they [the French] will know that the republic did not have a more zealous defender" than himself. Louverture also alluded to the difficulties experienced by Saint-Dominguan deputies in Paris. He faulted his "personal enemies" for the deputation's troubles.

Finally, Louverture asked Caze Jeune to meet with his sons to discuss religion and their studies.⁸⁴ This could potentially demonstrate the black general's trust in France and his appreciation for French revolutionary efforts at equality. In sharing Louverture's letter with a Parisian press, Caze Jeune helped the black general present himself to the citizenry of the city.

Some whites supported Louverture's regime through fighting against his opponents. For example, white officer Barada was loyal to Louverture, especially in attempting to suppress the northern uprisings led by Moïse in October 1801. Moïse, Louverture's nephew, disagreed with his uncle about maintaining the plantations, the 1801 Constitution, and plans to import more Africans to Saint-Domingue.⁸⁵ Therefore, he organized multiple uprisings in the North Province, killing around three hundred whites. The rebels still saw whites as representative of slavery and racial oppression. Louverture sent two black generals, Jean-Jacques Dessalines and Henry Christophe, to put down the rebellions. Barada assisted Christophe in fighting the rebels near Marmelade and Le Cap. Together they confronted the rebels, and eventually Louverture and Dessalines arrived to aid in putting down the uprising.⁸⁶ Although Barada and Christophe were not successful, the white officer showed his solidarity with Louverture by serving under his command and with his supporters in fighting alongside them.

In further opposition to Moïse, the white creole officer Pageot also defended Louverture's authority within the island. After Louverture published his Constitution in 1801, an uprising broke out in the North Province, led by Louverture's nephew and commander in the region, Moïse. Foremost, the rebels disagreed with Louverture's new labor policy because they believed it benefited the returning white proprietors.⁸⁷ When Louverture arrested Moïse, Pageot presided over his military tribunal. Moïse denied any involvement in the uprising. Pageot initially wanted to give Moïse the opportunity to defend himself.⁸⁸ However, pressured by Louverture, Pageot and the rest of the military tribunal found Moïse guilty based on the testimony of his own men who had already been executed. Moïse gave the order to the firing squad that shot him.⁸⁹ Loyal following the orders of Louverture, Pageot played an important role in protecting the black general's authority by condemning Louverture's opponent to death.

Upon his arrival in Saint-Domingue, Leclerc deported white military leaders who worked with the slave revolutionaries, even serving under black and colored officers. D'Hébecourt, who had been suspected of plotting to kidnap Louverture's sons and had aided in taking Santo Domingo,

was one of Leclerc's deportees. According to contemporary sources, d'Hébécourt and Louverture maintained a mutually trusting relationship. White officer Vincent claimed that d'Hébécourt had "the greatest confidence of Toussaint." D'Hébécourt was so loyal that "he had been nicknamed the 'black-white.'"⁹⁰ Although he still had white skin, he did not represent whiteness. Further, a white administrator in Saint-Domingue reported that d'Hébécourt was entirely devoted to his master, Louverture.⁹¹ He demonstrated his devotion as Leclerc expedition arrived in Saint-Domingue, fleeing to Cuba with "a considerable sum of money" that Louverture had "asked him to convey."⁹² Authorities in Santiago de Cuba returned d'Hébécourt to Le Cap, and Leclerc deported him to France.

Barada was another of the white soldiers deported by Leclerc. White officer Vincent did not hold Barada in very high esteem, although they both supported Louverture. Vincent claimed that Barada had offended whites.⁹³ Vincent saw a difference between his own actions and those of Barada. Commissioner Périès also thought poorly of Barada. In a letter to the Minister of the Marine in August 1801, Périès described the white officer as "of a crass ignorance, but able to obey his master."⁹⁴ He claimed that Barada was a "shameless villain persecuting with atrocity, to please his master, all the French who arrived" in Saint-Domingue.⁹⁵ Barada's "master" was Louverture; they portrayed a black man as the master of a white slave. The commissioner looked down upon Barada for having loyally and violently served under a black military leader. Leclerc agreed with the sentiments of Vincent and Périès, and he deported Barada along with other civilian and military employees of Louverture's regime.

Guillemon was among the white military personnel deported by Leclerc for allying with Louverture's regime. Guillemon served as an artillery commander under Louverture. According to Vincent, Guillemon was "elevated by Toussaint," but was disappointed he had only advanced to become an artillery commander; however, "in his position, he must grovel: which he does very well."⁹⁶ From Vincent's description, it seems that Guillemon rose through the military ranks in Saint-Domingue during the Haitian Revolution and under Louverture's command. Yet he had desired further advancement than the black leader had offered, obviously seeing the revolution as an opportunity. Therefore, the white artillery officer resorted to humbly begging Louverture. This degrading submission before a black leader likely led Leclerc to deport Guillemon to France in 1802.

Upon the arrival of Leclerc's forces, Pierre Agé remained in service of the French, but his alliances across racial lines eventually led one of Leclerc's generals Jean Boudet to arrest and deport him. Boudet employed Agé in organizing and leading troops in the West Province. Like Agé, Boudet upheld equality within the armed forces in Saint-Domingue. The day after his arrival, he ordered the police commander in Port Républicain, formerly called Port-au-Prince, to form a unit of *français de couleur* (French colored) troops in the town.⁹⁷ In the same month, Boudet offered Agé anything "necessary for the organization of the national guard" at Port Républicain.⁹⁸ However, Agé's service with the expeditionary forces was cut short when Leclerc deported him for his "weakness vis-à-vis the blacks."⁹⁹ Upon arriving in France, Agé wrote to the government in confusion as to why he had been deported. He claimed that he "received the order to return to France without knowing why." He explained how he had always tried to serve France through the French military during his stay in Saint-Domingue. He even took credit for saving Port Républicain from being burned, which he attributed to conserving the South Province. Agé also added that he and another white officer had become the targets of "assassins" because of their skin color, and that they only survived "by some miracle."¹⁰⁰

Some of the French troops who landed in Saint-Domingue with the Leclerc Expedition carried with them some of the "color-blind rhetoric" of the French Revolution. Leclerc described that upon arriving, the French troops "were assaulted by black troops who shot at them, saying that they did not want whites," but the soldiers continued landing, without shooting, while shouting to the blacks that "they were their brothers, their friends, and that they were bringing their freedom."¹⁰¹ While this may have been an exaggerated description of the events by Leclerc, it demonstrated that the troops were willing to reject the dominant racial prejudices within the French Atlantic. Some of these troops even deserted the French to join the rebels. For example, only one month after the expedition arrived in Saint-Domingue, a battalion leader at Petit-Goâve reported arresting "a colonel and a grenadier" who had joined the insurgents.¹⁰² Another battalion chief at Ravine-à-Couleuvres recounted fighting against one of Louverture's personal guards who was from La Rochelle. Lacosse, a white officer, commanded Léogâne under Dessalines after Louverture's capture.¹⁰³ These white troops represented the changing racial attitudes in the French Atlantic as a result of the revolutions, which they brought with them as a part of the Leclerc Expedition.

One white French officer, Bertrand Clauzel, worked with black *marrons* leaders. Already well-experienced from the French Revolutionary Wars, Clauzel had arrived in Saint-Domingue with the Leclerc Expedition, and he continued to serve under Rochambeau after Leclerc died. With the help of a black French officer Louis Labelinais as an intermediary, Clauzel negotiated the aid of the *marrons* leaders Cagnet and Jacques Tellier.¹⁰⁴ These leaders had not joined the forces of the black Haitian revolutionary leader Jean-Jacques Dessalines, because they believed he intended to exterminate the *marrons*. Therefore, Cagnet and Tellier persuaded their followers to join the French expeditionary forces near Le Cap instead.¹⁰⁵ Through the interracial alliance with the *marrons* leaders, Clauzel protected the capitol city. The runaway slaves broke up surrounding rebel camps, intercepted deserters and provided food for the city.¹⁰⁶ Clauzel's strategy to work across racial lines with the *marrons* leaders successfully delayed Dessalines' troops from taking Le Cap for several months.

The Haitian Revolution dramatically affected the racial and colonial ideologies of white officer Pierre Thouvenot. Before joining the Leclerc Expedition, Thouvenot ardently supported the restoration of slavery in Saint-Domingue, even writing to Bonaparte calling for it.¹⁰⁷ He quickly rose through the military ranks while serving in Saint-Domingue, ultimately charged with protecting Môle-Saint-Nicolas.¹⁰⁸ After Leclerc died and Rochambeau replaced him, Thouvenot began to object to the expedition and spoke out against slavery in Saint-Domingue. Thouvenot strongly disagreed with Rochambeau's tactics, seeing them as far too aggressive and inhumane. In his official reports, Thouvenot explained how expensive and immoral attempting to exterminate Saint-Dominguans would be, suggesting that France redirect its resources elsewhere and let Saint-Domingue become a free black nation.¹⁰⁹ Within only a few years, Thouvenot transitioned from an enthusiastic supporter of slavery to a disillusioned white officer in favor of Haitian independence.

Clauzel and Thouvenot conspired against Rochambeau, because both white officers disagreed with Rochambeau's conduct. They claimed that Rochambeau was "the only author of the disasters of the colony and the only obstacle to a better order of things."¹¹⁰ In plotting against Rochambeau, Clauzel and Thouvenot enlisted other white leaders in Saint-Domingue, such as the new colonial prefect, Magnytot. Meeting via a Masonic lodge, the conspirators initially discussed influencing Rochambeau's policies through his mistresses.¹¹¹ However, they eventually devised a plan to seek his recall.¹¹² After Rochambeau found out about

the plot, he ordered the arrest of Clauzel and Thouvenot. He deported the two generals on separate vessels; Clauzel returned to France via the United States, and Thouvenot stopped in Cuba in his route to France. Despite their scheme and subsequent deportation, Bonaparte did not punish either of them.¹¹³

Although not all whites who disagreed with Rochambeau plotted to oust him, Clauzel and Thouvenot were not alone in their discontent. Rochambeau also deported another of his opponents, Charles Desbureaux. Desbureaux was instrumental in commanding and reorganizing the military in the South in 1802. In the summer of that year, he reported that Jérémie was the only location in the South with any colonial or European troops. Therefore, he took the necessary steps “to assure the arrival of reorganized colonial troops.” He also took measures to identify and arrest deserters so he could send them for trial. For this, he required the southern inhabitants to obtain a permit for quartering soldiers to prevent the harboring of deserters. He also directed his policing at inhabitants who supported the rebels. In August, he arrested a citizen who “harbored a rebel,” and sent him to Rochambeau.¹¹⁴ Despite his significant military contributions in the South, Desbureaux made use of free coloreds and refused to help Rochambeau carry out his plan for racial extermination. Desbureaux supported French colonial control of Saint-Domingue, but not racialized violence. As a result, Rochambeau deported Desbureaux back to France.¹¹⁵ Similar to Clauzel and Thouvenot, Bonaparte did not punish Desbureaux. Instead he continued to employ him in the administration of the imperial army.¹¹⁶ Without Bonaparte’s support, Rochambeau successfully alienated several white officers who had played important roles in the Haitian Revolution.

White, creole slave owner Nicolas Pierre Mallet fought to maintain abolition and achieve Haitian Independence. Nicknamed Mallet *bon blanc* (good white) by the black revolutionaries, he was the brother of Jean-Pierre, Charles, and François Mallet who took part in the militia rebellion in the South in the 1760s.¹¹⁷ As an officer in the *armée indigène* (indigenous army) in the South under Dessalines, Mallet *bon blanc* commanded slaves that he had freed on and recruited from all of the Mallet family plantations.¹¹⁸ In January 1804, Mallet—the only white who did so—signed the Haitian Act of Independence, alongside blacks and men of color in Gonaïves.¹¹⁹ Commissioned by Dessalines in November 1803 and written by his free colored secretary Louis Boisrond-Tonnerre, the declaration of independence passionately defended general emancipation and repeatedly voiced hatred for France. Dessalines’ declaration demanded of Haitians’

Generals and you, leaders, collected here close to me for the good of our land, the day has come, the day which must make our glory, our independence, eternal. If there could exist among us a lukewarm heart, let him distance himself and tremble to take the oath which must unite us. Let us vow to ourselves, to posterity, to the entire universe, to forever renounce France, and to die rather than live under its domination....Vow before me to live free and independent and to prefer death to anything that will try to place you back in chains.¹²⁰

A Haitian citizen, Mallet *bon blanc* supported abolition and independence, as he had demonstrated militarily and politically.

Mallet was a white creole leader in the Haitian Revolution, and his contributions had a lasting impact on his family and the Haitian nation. Mallet's death remains a matter of historiographical dispute. It is still unclear if Dessalines ordered another black officer Bazalais to kill Mallet in 1805 or if Mallet died naturally in 1846, still residing in Haiti.¹²¹ The name Mallet appears in Haitian military and administrative sources after independence, suggesting he may have survived and served the black nation beyond 1805. Or perhaps he fathered children—white or mixed-race—who remained in Haiti.¹²² In France, while other members of the Mallet family petitioned for an indemnity in 1826, Mallet *bon blanc* did not participate. However, in the estate information recorded in the indemnity request, his son, Romain, was identified as *Mallet d'Haiti*, although he resided in Bordeaux.¹²³

Another white soldier, who fought for independence, remained in Haiti after independence. Jélikens was an artilleryman from Alsace. His fellow servicemen nicknamed him *Cassé-Cases* (Broken-Boxes) for his quality with artillery. In addition to his moniker, the Haitians granted Jélikens citizenship for his military services.¹²⁴ Jélikens earned his Haitian citizenship in a similar manner to men of color who showed loyalty to France through military in the Old Regime. He survived after 1804, likely because of his connection with General Magny. By the end of the Haitian Revolution, the white and black officers had come to appreciate each other's military abilities.¹²⁵ Magny was a black officer in Port-au-Prince under Louverture, and he signed the Haitian Declaration of Independence in 1804 and the Haitian Constitution of 1805.¹²⁶ It is likely that this was the same Magny who continued his military career in Haiti, serving under Christophe and Boyer.¹²⁷ Even though becoming a citizen of Haiti meant turning away from France and his racial identity, Jélikens fought in the war for independence and died a Haitian.

In each phase of the Haitian Revolution, white men of all ranks played important roles in within the military, fighting to improve the lives of peoples of African descent. These white men worked together with, and even sometimes under the command of, blacks and men of color. Their efforts aided in gaining rights for free people of color, the abolition of slavery, and Haitian independence. In 1789, royalist Mauduit risked and lost his life after integrating men of color into his regiment, because some white citizens disagreed with his actions. The Legions of Equality, racially integrated military units established by the second civil commission, used the prerevolutionary framework to advance racial equality and abolition in the Haitian Revolution. This often overlooked military force demonstrated the changing racial sentiments within the French Atlantic. Through their service in the Legions, Claudot and Lamotte embraced the causes of the free people of color and the former slaves, respectively. Present from the beginning of the Haitian Revolution, Pageot, Laveaux, and Vincent supported rights for free people of color, abolition, and Louverture, as seen at different moments in their military careers. Fighting internal and external enemies, adapting to revolutionary changes, and negotiating across racial and geographic lines, white soldiers and officers were instrumental in the achievements of the Haitian Revolution.

NOTES

1. Jan Pachonski and Reuel K. Wilson, *Poland's Caribbean Tragedy: A Study of Polish Legions in the Haitian War of Independence, 1802–1803* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).
2. Stewart King, *Blue Coat or Powdered Wig: Free People of Color in Pre-Revolutionary Saint-Domingue* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011); Garrigus does not discuss the formation or evolution of the Legions. Garrigus, *Before Haiti*, p. 274, 275, 286–287, 294, 295.
3. Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, p. 17.
4. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description*, p. 500.
5. Garrigus, “Catalyst or Catastrophe? Saint-Domingue’s Free Men of Color and the Battle of Savannah, 1179–1782,” *Revisita/Review Interamericana*, vol. 22, no. 1–2 (1992), p. 109; Garrigus, *Before Haiti*, p. 25, 43, 95, 205.
6. “Ordonnance des Administrateurs, pour l’établissement d’une Maréchaussée,” in Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions*, vol. 2, pp. 720–733; Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description*, p. 449.
7. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description*, p. 449; “Ordonnance des Administrateurs, portant rétablissement de la Maréchaussée, and “Arrête

- en Règlement du Conseil du Cap, pour l'établissement d'une nouvelle Maréchaussée," in Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions*, vol. 3, pp. 344–349, 568–571.
8. King, *Blue Coat or Powdered Wig*, pp. 56–58; Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description*, p. 450.
 9. Pierre de Vaissière, *Saint-Domingue: la société et la vie créoles sous l'ancien régime (1629–1789)* (Paris: Perrin, 1909), pp. 57–61; Charles Frostin, "Les 'enfants perdus de l'Etat' ou la condition militaire à Saint-Domingue au XVIII^e siècle," *Annales de Bretagne*, vol. 80, no. 2 (1973), pp. 317–343.
 10. Garrigus, "Catalyst or Catastrophe? p. 113; Garrigus, Vincent Ogé 'jeune' (1751–91): Social Class and Free Colored Mobilization on the Eve of the Haitian Revolution," *The Americas*, vol. 68, no. 1 (2011), p. 38; Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description*, p. 498; "Règlement du Roi, sur les Milices de Saint-Domingue," 16 July 1762 and "Ordre du Roi, portant exemption en faveur des Officiers des Compagnies de Milices de Gens de Couleur," 2 August 1743 in Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions*, vol. 3, pp. 324–327, 761; *Précis historique des annales de la révolution à St. Domingue*, Vol. 1, (s.l., s.n., n.d.), p. 7. This typewritten manuscript held in the Bibliothèque nationale (fr. 14878–14879) is attributed to Pélage-Marie Duboys. I accessed it via the Center for Research Libraries, Record Number b2862287. David P. Geggus identifies Duboys as a white lawyer living in Port-au-Prince. See "The War of the South," in *The Haitian Revolution: A Documentary History*, p. 148.
 11. "Ordonnance du Gouverneur Général, concernant les Milices," 30 June 1762, pp. 471–476.
 12. Vaissière, *Saint-Domingue: la société et la vie créoles sous l'ancien régime*, p. 144; Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description*, p. 499; "Lettre du Roi à M. le Comte d'Estaing, pour former les Habitans de Saint-Domingue en Compagnie, sous les nom de Troupes Nationales," 2 January 1764 and "Ordonnance générale des Milices," 15 January 1765 in *Loix et Constitutions*, vol. 4, pp. 637–368, 812–824.
 13. Garrigus, *Before Haiti*, p. 109, 132.
 14. Some sources spell Duveineau alternatively as Devineau or Duvigneau. *Devineau, René, condamné à être pendu comme coupable dans l'affaire du rétablissement des milices, à Saint-Domingue en 1768, on demande sa réhabilitation* 1(1773), E 133, ANOM; Conseil des Dépêches, "Les frères Mallet," *Lettres de Grace*, 6 July 1776, E 299, ANOM; "Arrêt du Conseil du Port-au-Prince, qui condamne les Auteurs des Troubles de la Colonie," 18 February 1771 in Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions*, vol. 5, pp. 337–340.
 15. Conseil des Dépêches, "Les frères Mallet," *Lettres de Grace*, 6 July 1776, E 299, ANOM. For the reversal of the charges against Devineau, Ally,

- and Jean, see "Lettres patentes qui innocentent les anciens officiers du conseil supérieur de Port-au-Prince des soupçons que leurs arrêtés avaient fait naître, au moment des troubles qui se sont élevés au sujet du rétablissement des milices, qui leur permettent de prendre en tous actes la qualité que leur donnent leurs offices et qui les déclarent capables de posséder toutes charges," March 1773, A 14 F 56, ANOM.
16. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description*, p. 70, 447; "Ordonnance du Gouverneur-Général, portant formation d'un Corps de Chasseurs-Volontaires de Gens de couleur de Saint-Domingue," 12 March 1779, "Règlement du Gouverneur-Général, sur les appointements, solde, administration et récompenses de deux Corps créés par Ordonnance de ce jour, sous la dénomination de Grenadiers et Chasseurs-Volontaires de Saint-Domingue," 12 March 1779, and "Ordonnance du Gouverneur-Général, portant augmentation dans le Corps des Chasseurs-Volontaires," 21 August 1779, in Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions*, vol. 5, pp. 861–862, 863–869, 876–877; Garrigus, "Catalyst or Catastrophe?" pp. 109–125; King, *Blue Coat or Powdered Wig*, pp. xiii–xiv, 66.
 17. Tarbé, *Rapport sur les troubles*, pp. 19–20; *Almanach de St. Domingue* (Port-au-Prince: Mozard, 1791); and Albert Depréaux, "Le Commandant Baudry des Lozières et la Phalange de Crête-Dragons (Saint-Domingue, 1789–1792)," *Revue de l'histoire des colonies française* (1924), p. 2, 13–14, 20–21.
 18. Clément Manuscript, p. 186; Tarbé, *Rapport sur les troubles*, p. 14; Garran, *Rapport sur les Troubles de Saint-Domingue*, vol. I, pp. 221–226; *Précis historique des annales de la révolution à St. Domingue*, vol. 1, p. 31; "Mauduit du Plessis, Thomas-Antoine," *Histoire et dictionnaire de la Révolution et de l'Indépendance d'Haïti, 1789–1804* (Port-au-Prince: Fondation pour la Recherche Iconographique et Documentaire et Michèle Oriol, 2002), p. 223.
 19. "Copie des Ordres de M. de Mauduit," *Nouvelles de Saint-Domingue*, 19 August 1790, p. 2.
 20. Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, p. 86.
 21. Clément Manuscript, p. 419; "Extrait du discours prononcé à l'assemblée nationale par MM. Germain et Gallerot, officiers du régiment du Port-au-Prince, sur l'horrible assassinat de M. Mauduit, colonel de ce régiment," *Journal des Colonies*, no. 1, 1791, p. 9; Garran, *Rapport sur les Troubles de Saint-Domingue*, vol. I, pp. 334–335; J.-C. Dorsainvil, *Manuel d'histoire d'Haïti* (Port-au-Prince: Editions Henri Deschamps, 1958), p. 57; *Précis historique des annales de la révolution à St. Domingue*, vol. 1, p. 39.

22. Tarbé, *Rapport sur les troubles*, pp. 25–26; “Séance du lundi 25 avril 1791,” *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860 recueil complet des débats*, vol. 25 (Paris: Dupont, 1792–1894), pp. 336–338; and Garran, *Rapport sur les Troubles de Saint-Domingue*, vol. 1, pp. 341–343; Michelet, *Mémoires d’une enfant*, p. 191.
23. *Mémoire du second bataillon du neuvième régiment d’infanterie, arrivant de Saint-Domingue, présenté à la Convention Nationale, par les citoyens COETIVY, capitaine; BELLET, sergent-major; & LEGOIST, caporal-fourrier, députés de ce bataillon* (Paris: Imprimerie de L. Potier de Lille, n.d.), p. 8.
24. Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, p. 67; Gilbert Bodinier, “Le Noir ‘marquis’ de Rouvray,” *Dictionnaire des officiers de l’Armée royale qui ont combattu aux Etats-Unis pendant la guerre d’Indépendance, 1776–1783* (Vincennes: Service Historique de l’Armée de Terre, 1983), p. 308. For more on Rouvray see E358bis, ANOM.
25. In the American Revolutionary War, Tousard fought at Brandywine, Germantown, Valley, Monmouth, and Rhode Island from 1776 to 1779. Bodinier, “Tousard,” *Dictionnaire des officiers de l’Armée royale*, p. 461; Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, p. 118, 115.
26. *Journal des colonies*, 1 December 1791, no. xv, pp. 13–14.
27. *Proclamation au nom de la nation, de la loi et du roi*, Philibert François Rouxel de Blanchelande, 29 May 1792 (Cap-Français: Imprimerie Royale, 1792), pp. 1–4.
28. Garran, *Rapport sur les troubles de Saint-Domingue*, vol. 2, p. 587; Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, p. 139.
29. Garran, *Rapport sur les troubles de Saint-Domingue*, vol. 2, pp. 590–591; Jeremy D. Popkin, “The French Revolution’s Royal Governor: General Blanchelande and Saint-Domingue, 1790–92,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 71, no. 2 (2014): pp. 203–228.
30. Candy et al. to the civil commissioners, 10 January 1792, DXXV 1, AN; Garran, *Rapport sur les troubles*, vol. 2, p. 327.
31. Civil commissioners to Candy et al., 12 January 1792, DXXV 1, AN.
32. Civil commissioner Roume, 12 April 1792, DXXV 1, AN.
33. Althéa de Puech Parham, ed. and trans., *My Odyssey* printed in Popkin, *Facing Racial Revolution*, pp. 91–92.
34. Candy et al., 16 February 1792, DXXV 1, AN.
35. Rapport présenté au Ministre, 12 thermidor an 7, 7Yd802, Service historique de la défense [hereafter cited as SHD].
36. *Discours prononcé par C. Lavaux, député de Saint-Domingue*, Conseil des Anciens, an 6, p. 10.

37. Nous officiers, sous officiers et soldats du 106^e régiment assemblés au logement des citoyens le Febvre et Dalban dont deux chefs de bataillon audit régiment, 3 brumaire an 4, 7Yd802, SHD.
38. Rapport présenté au Ministre, 12 thermidor an 7, 7Yd802, SHD. For more on Candi, also spelled Candy, see Garran, *Rapport sur les Troubles de Saint-Domingue*, vol. 4, p. 294.
39. Pierre Pluchon, ed., "Biographical index," Pamphile de Lacroix, *La Révolution de Haïti* (Paris: Karthala, 1995), p. 498.
40. André Lasseray, "Montesquiou-Fezensac," *Dictionnaire biographique des généraux & amiraux français de la révolution et de l'empire (1792–1814)*, vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie historique, 1934), p. 218.
41. M. Fezenac to the Minister of War, 28 October 1792, Dossier 1792, Carton 1, B7, SHD.
42. Polverel to the Minister of the Marine, 17 October 1792, Dossier 102 and Polverel to the National Convention, 15 January 1793, Dossier 104, DXXV 11, AN; Lasseray, "Montesquiou-Fezensac," *Dictionnaire biographique des généraux & amiraux français de la révolution et de l'empire*, p. 218.
43. Garran, *Rapport sur les Troubles de Saint-Domingue*, vol. 3, pp. 221–230.
44. Léger Félicité Sonthonax, untitled declaration, 8 December 1792, F 3 198, ANOM.
45. Sonthonax, Proclamation No. 13, 16 October 1792, Dossier 957, DXXV 110, AN; Garran, *Rapport sur les Troubles de Saint-Domingue*, Vol. 3, pp. 390–395; Guillois, *Analyse des débats*, p. 64.
46. Garran, *Rapport sur les Troubles de Saint-Domingue*, vol. 4, p. 299; Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, pp. 177–179.
47. Louverture to Laveaux, 28 ventôse IV, and Louverture to Laveaux, 21 germinal IV printed and translated in *The Haitian Revolution*, pp. 128–129. For more on this filial relationship see John Patrick Walsh, *Free and French in the Caribbean: Toussaint Louverture, Aimé Césaire and Narratives of Loyal Opposition* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013).
48. *Observations du général du génie Vincent, sur les deux premières notes rapportées dans une collection de mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France sous Napoléon, réfutation de ces deux premières notes relatives à l'ouvrage intitulé: Mémoire pour servir à l'histoire de la Révolution de Saint-Domingue, par le General Pamphile-Lacroix* (Paris: Chez Pelicier, 1824), p. vi.
49. Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, pp. 200–203.
50. Though various historians incorporate some discussion of the Legions of Equality into their studies, the growing historiography of the Haitian Revolution still needs a detailed study of the origins and evolution of this

integrated military force. Well-known author of the Haitian Revolution, Carolyn Fick utilizes the Legions to demonstrate “the development of the Saint Domingue revolution from below” in her *The Making of Haiti*, focusing primarily on the duties of the *légionnaires* after the declaration of general emancipation in the fall of 1793. However, she does not make any comparisons to the armed services of the prerevolutionary era or examine the evolution of the Legions. More recently, Jeremy Popkin makes a brief mention of the Legions in relation to the affair between the governor-general François Galbaud and the second civil commission in June 1793, but *You are All Free* does not extend beyond the National Convention’s decree of general emancipation in 1794. Although historians composing monographs on various aspects of the Haitian Revolution have given the Legions only tangential consideration, the *Dictionnaire de la Révolution Haïtienne* includes an entry detailing the most basic information on the armed force. The author of this reference publication, François Roc, explains his aim in providing a “diversified” collection of essays on people, battles, and institutions. He accounts for the significant inclusion of the armed forces in the work by emphasizing the “considerable place” of its “unprecedented development” within the history of Saint-Domingue, “from the formation of the ‘Légions de l’Egalité’ in 1793 to the creation of the ‘armée indigène’ in 1803.” Roc, *Dictionnaire de la Révolution Haïtienne, 1789–1804* (Montréal: Les Editions Guildives, 2006), p. 7.

51. Article X: Formation of the Légion de l’égalité, Proclamation au nom de la république, 19 April 1793, DXXV 9, AN; *Précis historique des annales de la révolution à St. Domingue*, vol. 1, p. 104.
52. Garran, *Rapport sur les Troubles de Saint-Domingue*, Vol. 2, pp. 550–551; Garran, *Rapport sur les troubles de Saint-Domingue*, Vol. 3, pp. 65–66; *Précis historique des annales de la révolution à St. Domingue*, vol. 1, p. 70; Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, p. 136.
53. Thomas Madiou, *Histoire d’Haïti*, vol. 1 (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie de Jh. Courtois, 1847), p. 131; Roc, *Dictionnaire de la Révolution Haïtienne*, p. 274.
54. Garran, *Rapport sur les troubles de Saint-Domingue*, vol. 4, pp. 30–31.
55. “Légion de l’égalité,” *L’ami de l’Egalité*, no. 5, 16 May 1793, pp. 7–8.
56. Gajacq, aîné to the editor, *L’ami de l’Egalité*, no. 8, 26 May 1793, p. 4.
57. Antoine Gajacq, aîné, 27 May 1793, DXXV 14, AN.
58. Fick, *The Making of Haiti*, pp. 177–178.
59. Garrigus, *Before Haiti*, pp. 287–288.
60. Lamotte, 14 October 1794, F 3197, ANOM.
61. The accusers were Page, Brulley, Verneuil, Thomas Millet, Duny, Clausson, Fondeviolle, Deubouneau, Senac, Larchevesque-Thibault, and Galbaud. The accused were Sonthonax, Polverel, Raymond, Leborgne, Dufay, Garnot, Mils, Belley, and Boisson.

62. Marc François Guillois, *Analyse des débats, entre les accusateurs et les accusés, dans l'affaire de la colonie de Saint-Domingue, conformément aux décrets de la Convention Nationale* (Paris: Chevet, 1795), p. 55.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid., p. 64.
65. Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, pp. 203–204.
66. “Court Avertissement,” *Quelques éclaircissements sur les troubles survenus dans le département du Sud de Saint Domingue* (Hambourg: Imprimerie de P. F. Fauche, 1797).
67. “Les citoyens de toutes les couleurs et de tous les grades, composant les 1er et 2d bataillons de la troisième demi-brigade d’infanterie du département, en garnison à Tiburon au général André Rigaud,” 8 Vendémiaire an 5, *Pièces à l’appui des éclaircissements*, pp. 53–54.
68. “Les militaires de toutes armes & de tous grades en garnison au Petit-Goâve, au général André Rigaud,” 11 Vendémiaire an 5, *Pièces à l’appui des éclaircissements*, pp. 58–59.
69. Pluchon, “Biographical index,” *La Révolution de Haïti*, p. 498; “Magloire Ambroise, héros de Jacmel, mort en 1807,” *Revue de la Société Haïtienne d’Histoire, de Géographie et de Géologie*, vol. 22, no. 80 (1951), p. 19. Périès to Minister of the Marine and Colonies, 28 August 1801, printed in Debien and Pluchon, “Avant l’Expédition Leclerc,” p. 35.
70. *Précis historique des annales de la révolution à St. Domingue*, Vol. 2, p. 167, 182–183; Nessler, *An Islandwide Struggle for Freedom*, pp. 108–109.
71. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon*, p. 39.
72. *Observations du général du génie Vincent*, p. 15.
73. Ibid., p. v.
74. Philippe R. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon: Toussaint Louverture and the Haitian War of Independence, 1801–1804* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011), p. 14.
75. “Mauduit du Plessis,” *Histoire et dictionnaire de la Révolution*, p. 223.
76. Services of Citizen Vincent, 8Yd1825, SHD.
77. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon*, 28; Pluchon, “Biographical index,” *La Révolution de Haïti*, p. 514.
78. B. Ardouin, *Etudes sur l’Histoire d’Haïti*, vol. 3 (Paris: Dezobry et E. Magdeleine, 1853), p. 415.
79. Ibid., pp. 433–435, 455–458, 464–468, 472.
80. *Précis historique des annales de la révolution à St. Domingue*, vol. 2, pp. 146–152.
81. Philippe R. Girard, “Black Talleyrand: Toussaint Louverture’s Diplomacy, 1798–1802,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. LXVI, no. 1 (2009), p. 117.

82. Minister of the Marine to the Minister of the General Police, 21 vendémiaire an 9, F7 6266, AN.
83. Périès to Minister of the Marine and Colonies, 28 August 1801, printed in Gabriel Debien and Pierre Pluchon, "Avant l'Expédition Leclerc (1789–1801): Les Lettres de Péricz," *Revue de la Société haïtienne d'histoire et de géographie*, vol. 44, no. 151 (1986), p. 35.
84. "Correspondance Intérieure," *Amis des Lois*, 24 thermidor an 7, p. 2.
85. Dubois, *Avengeurs of the New World*, p. 247.
86. H. Castonnet des Fosses, *La perte d'une colonie, la révolution de Saint-Domingue* (Paris: Librairie Africaine et Coloniale, 1893), p. 261.
87. *Précis historique des annales de la révolution à St. Domingue*, Vol. 2, p. 208; Claude Moïse, *Le Projet National de Toussaint Louverture et la Constitution de 1801*, (Montréal: Editions du CIDIHCA, 2001), p. 72, 74.
88. "Insurrection in St. Domingo," *Philadelphia Gazette and Universal Daily Advertiser*, 28 November 1801, p. 3; Pluchon, "Biographical index," *La Révolution in Haïti*, p. 498; Philippe R Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon: Toussaint Louverture and the Haitian War of Independence, 1801–1804* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2011), p. 78.
89. *Précis historique des annales de la révolution à St. Domingue*, vol. 2, p. 219; Smartt Bell, *Toussaint Louverture*, p. 209; Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon*, p. 78.
90. Vincent, "Notice sur un grand nombre d'hommes civils et militaires," Annexe I in Auguste, Claude Bonaparte, *Les déportés de Saint-Domingue: Contribution à l'histoire de l'expédition française de Saint-Domingue, 1802–1803* (Sherbrooke, Quebec: Editions Naaman, 1979), p. 139.
91. Périès to Minister of the Marine and Colonies, 28 August 1801, in Debien and Pluchon, "Avant l'Expédition Leclerc," p. 35.
92. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon*, p. 152, 108.
93. Vincent, "Notice sur un grand nombre d'hommes civils et militaires," Bonaparte, *Les déportés de Saint-Domingue*, p. 139.
94. Périès to Minister of the Marine and Colonies, 28 August 1801, in Debien and Pluchon, "Avant l'Expédition Leclerc," p. 35.
95. Périès cited in Jacques de Cauna, "La face cache de Toussaint Louverture," *Saint-Domingue espagnol et la révolution nègre d'Haïti (1790–1822)*, Alain Yacou, ed. (Paris: Karthala, 2007), p. 310.
96. Vincent, "Notice sur un grand nombre d'hommes civils et militaires," p. 139.
97. Boudet to the Commander of the Police, 6 February 1802, Port Républicain, carton 2, B7, SHD.
98. Boudet to the City of Port Républicain, 14 February 1802, carton 2, B7, SHD.

99. Lasseray, "Agé," *Dictionnaire biographique des généraux & amiraux français de la révolution et de l'empire*, p. 5.
100. Agé to Berthier, 27 fructidor an 10, 20Yd1, SHD.
101. Leclerc to Decrès, 20 pluviôse, an 10, printed in *Lettres du général Leclerc, commandant en chef de l'armée de Saint-Domingue en 1802*, Paul Roussier, ed. (Paris: Société de l'histoire des colonies françaises et E. Leroux, 1937), pp. 67–68.
102. Delpech, 2 March 1802, carton 2, B7, SHD.
103. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon*, p. 121, 265.
104. "Clausel," *Biographie des hommes du jour*, Germain Sarrut and B. Saint-Edme (Paris: Chez H. Krabbe, 1838), p. 300; Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon*, p. 305.
105. Franklin Midy, "Les Congos à Saint-Domingue: de l'imaginaire au réel," *Ethnologies*, vol. 28, no. 1 (2006), p. 194.
106. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon*, p. 305.
107. *Ibid.*, p. 300.
108. Lasseray, "Thouvenot," *Dictionnaire biographique des généraux & amiraux français de la révolution et de l'empire*, p. 499.
109. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon*, p. 300.
110. Magnytot to Bonaparte, 13 August 1803, printed in Colonel H. de Poyen, *Histoire Militaire de la Révolution de Saint-Domingue* (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1899), pp. 440–442.
111. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon*, p. 300.
112. Magnytot to Bonaparte, 13 August 1803, printed in de Poyen, *Histoire Militaire de la Révolution de Saint-Domingue*, p. 441.
113. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon*, p. 301.
114. Charles François Desbureaux to Rochambeau, 12 July, 17 July, and 17 August, 1802, *Calendar of the Rochambeau Papers*, ed. Laura V. Monti (Gainesville: University of Florida Libraries, 1972), p. 88, 93, 114.
115. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon*, p. 251.
116. Darius Alexander Spieth, *Napoleon's Sorcerers: The Sophisians* (Associated University Press, 2007), p. 159.
117. Mangones, "Le colon Mallet," p. 22.
118. Cauna, *Haïti: L'Eternelle Révolution*, p. 147.
119. François Blancpain, *La condition des paysans haïtien: du code noir aux codes ruraux* (Paris: Karthala, 2003), p. 114.
120. The Commander in Chief to the People of Haiti, "The Haitian Declaration of Independence," 1 January 1804 in Dubois and Garrigus, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean*, pp. 190–191. For more on the Declaration, see *The Haitian Declaration of Independence: Creation, Context, and Legacy*, Julia Gaffield, ed. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016).

121. See, for example, Rulx Leon, *Propos d'Histoire d'Haïti* (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie de l'Etat, 1945), p. 144; Roc, *Dictionnaire de la Révolution Haïtienne, 1789-1804*, p. 284; Cauna, *Haïti: L'Eternelle Révolution*, p. 147.
122. There was a Captain Mallet cited in 1807, and a Colonel Mallet documented under Pétion in 1818. There was also a justice of the peace, officer of the civil state, and a notary with the name Mallet. Mangones, "Le colon Mallet," p. 29.
123. Mangones, "Le colon Mallet," p. 22.
124. Cauna, *Haïti: L'Eternelle Révolution*, p. 147.
125. Bonaparte, *Les déportés de Saint-Domingue*, p. 34.
126. Bonaparte, *Les déportés de Saint-Domingue*, p. 34; Jacques Nicolas Léger, *Haiti, Her History and Her Detractors* (Westport, Connecticut: Negro Universities Press, 1970), p. 153.
127. *Columbian Centinel*, 16 May 1821, no. 3871, p. 2.



Representatives of Each Race: Abolishing Inequalities in Colonial Politics

White involvement in politics in the Haitian Revolution contributed significantly to the progress and outcome of the revolution in colonial Saint-Domingue. Some whites had an impact at critical junctures, while others had a more subtle long-term effect on the revolution through their continued political presence in colonial Saint-Domingue before and during the Revolution. Through their participation in revolutionary politics, all these *philantropes* contributed to the end of slavery. While whites in France did the politics of abolition in the colony and metropole, a small portion of the colonial white population also made a vital contribution in abolishing slavery and establishing racial equality in colonial Saint-Domingue. Time and again, representatives from France were willing to seek accommodations in order to maintain the colony. The secondary literature has emphasized one civil commissioner in particular, Leger Felicité Sonthonax, as the most prominent white advocate on behalf of people of color and blacks in the Saint-Domingue.¹ Sonthonax indeed played a crucial role by pressuring the Convention to approve emancipation in 1794, after making a similar proclamation in the colony in August 1793. In addition to whites from France, such as the civil commissioners, there were other philanthropists—generally longtime residents of the colony—who participated in the revolutionary legislative and judicial administrations alongside former slaves and men of color to achieve and maintain abolition and racial equality.

Early in the Haitian Revolution tensions became heightened over rights for free people of color in colonial Saint-Domingue. In December 1789, white people of the parish of Petit-Goâve massacred Joseph Alexandre Ferrand de Baudières for his support of free men of color. An aged *sénéchal*, he had drafted a petition for the free people of color to present to the local assembly of whites. The petition “did not request equality of rights, but only some improvements” to their social conditions and political representation in the provincial assembly. While not a radical petition, it threatened some white colonists enough to provoke a drastic reaction. His support of people of color defied what it meant to be white in Petit-Goâve, because racial inequality guaranteed the power of whiteness. Local authorities arrested Ferrand de Baudières along with the free men of color who presented the petition, and an executioner decapitated him and carried his head around the city on a spike.² The parish leaders deposited the corpse of Ferrand de Baudières in the same location where traders disposed of the carcasses of the enslaved.³ By desecrating his body, the parish not only took the life of the former *sénéchal* (bailiff), but also his humanity and whiteness.⁴ In his *Rapport sur les troubles*, Garran described Ferrand de Baudières as “the first defender of human rights in Saint-Domingue,” and claimed that “the friends of humanity” would long mourn his “unfortunate death.” Later, colonist Léonard Leblois, in defending abolition and racial equality, called him a martyr for freedom, referring to his death as an assassination.⁵ These two contemporaries of Ferrand de Baudières portrayed him as a true *philantrope* who sought to improve the lives of people of African descent.⁶ He was only one of many white men to ally with the free people of color within the French Atlantic during the revolutionary era.

After attempting to persuade French officials in Paris to give equal rights to free people of color in the colony, Vincent Ogé led the first of many revolts by enslaved and free people in colonial Saint-Domingue, but it failed and the rebels were arrested. Two whites were among the accused and executed in Le Cap in February 1791, and four other whites suffered eternal banishment for not having condemned the abortive rebellion.⁷ Although the few whites who fought with Ogé may have made only a minor contribution to the struggle for the rights of free people of color, they aided in launching the failed rebellion. In his *Rapport sur les troubles*, Garran associated the successive breakthroughs in rights for people of African descent with, from the Law of April 4 to the end of slavery, with the progress of philanthropic ideas in France. He suggested that the French people would not allow for “local deviations

from the principles of liberty.”⁸ However, he overlooked the roles of colonial philanthropists in Saint-Domingue, like those whites punished for their parts in the Ogé plot, who fought for and with people of African descent early in the revolution.

After the enslaved in the North revolted in August 1791, the French Legislative Assembly sent the first of three civil commissions to colonial Saint-Domingue to restore order. Their actions set the precedent for future interactions between officials and revolutionaries. Philippe Roume de Saint-Laurent, Edmond de Saint-Léger, and Frédéric Ignace de Mirbeck made up the first group of commissioners, who arrived in the colony to restore order and with a proclamation from the king granting general amnesty for revolutionary acts. However, it was unclear who could receive the amnesty. Members of the Colonial Assembly immediately spoke out against granting the amnesty to the slave insurrectionists, claiming it would establish racial equality and legitimize the violent uprising.⁹ But, while the free white colonists believed the amnesty would threaten the institution of slavery, the civil commissioners were even prepared to apply the amnesty decree to enslaved Saint-Dominguans if it could return the colony to peace. Moreover, the commissioners were also willing to negotiate with the slave insurgents, but they intended to maintain slavery in the colony. Overall, the commissioners’ agenda was relatively ambiguous at this early point in the revolution.

The rebel leaders Jean-François Papillon, Georges Biassou, and Toussaint Louverture reached out to the commissioners seeking amnesty and offering to negotiate an end to the rebellion. Jean-François and Biassou claimed the “principal chiefs” of the uprising were the only ones who could return the “multitude of *nègres* from Africa” back to the plantations without requiring “many troops and great difficulty.” However, these chiefs would need to be granted their freedom in order to pursue the insurgent slaves.¹⁰ Just over a week later, Jean-François Papillon and Biassou wrote to the commissioners again. In their second letter, they encouraged the commission to improve the conditions of the enslaved. They pleaded, “In the name of humanity, deign to look favorably on these unfortunates by clearly outlawing such harsh treatment...and trying to improve the condition of this class of men so necessary to the colony, and we dare assure you that they will take up their work once again and will return to order.”¹¹ While the insurgents suggested how to end the rebellion, the members of the Colonial Assembly refused to negotiate with them. Despite their efforts at diplomacy, the commissioners could not reach a settlement that satisfied

the rebels, the commission, and the Colonial Assembly in 1791. Although negotiations failed, the commissioners' willingness to negotiate with the insurrectionists set an irreversible precedent.

Efforts to quell the slave rebellion continued in 1792, but by then the situation had become further complicated by the issue of rights for free people of color in Saint-Domingue. In early 1792, whites and free people of color had come to blows. Although the majority of people on both sides of the struggle sought to maintain slavery, whites and free people of color began to arm the enslaved in their fight against one another, offering freedom for service.¹² In April 1792, the National Assembly granted free people of color civil and political rights. News of the decree arrived in colonial Saint-Domingue the next month.¹³ The second civil commission, comprised of Léger Félicité Sonthonax and Etienne Polverel, sought to enforce the new law and protect the rights of free people of color.

Soon after their arrival, the second civil commission dissolved the Colonial Assembly and replaced it with a racially integrated Intermediary Commission. Their proclamation of 12 October 1792 detailed the mode of its formation. To choose the twelve members of the Commission, the Colonial Assembly would elect six members and the civil commissioners would appoint six others. The only criterion specified for selecting these representatives was that there was to be equal representation for the North, West, and South Provinces of the colony.¹⁴ In practice, however, racial politics motivated the selections of both the Colonial Assembly and civil commissioners. While the Colonial Assembly elected six whites, the commissioners appointed six free men of color. This unprecedented racially integrated commission reflected the commissioners' mission to enforce the Law of 4 April.¹⁵ The civil commissioners had granted political rights to free people of color.

The members of the Intermediary Commission were already politically active in the colony before the arrival of the civil commissioners, and many of the original twelve would maintain involvement in Saint-Dominguan politics throughout the Haitian Revolution. To serve on the Intermediary Commission the Colonial Assembly selected from its members d'Augy and Gerbier from the North, Pierre-Jean Raboteau and Chotard aîné from the West, and de Laval and Jean Couturier des Flottes from the South.¹⁶ D'Augy, President of the Colonial Assembly in 1792, was one of the original petitioners to the Minister of the Marine for the convocation of a general assembly for the colony as a part of the French Revolution in 1789.¹⁷ Stationed in Saint-Marc, Raboteau was a merchant, dealing

primarily with La Rochelle.¹⁸ Chotard had been a member of the Provincial Assembly of the West before serving on the Colonial Assembly.¹⁹ For their part, the civil commissioners selected reputable and politically active free men of color for the Intermediary Commission: Louis-François Boisrond and François Raimond from the South; Jacques Borno and Pierre Pinchinat from the West; and Castaing and Latortue from the North.²⁰ Boisrond was the leader of the municipality of Saint Louis, and Pinchinat was president of the Mirabalais' political assembly organized by the free men of color.²¹ Racially integrated, the Intermediary Commission was composed of politically experienced white and free colored men.

The members of the newly formed Intermediary Commission addressed the colony for the first time on 25 October 1792. Their first action was to dissolve the Colonial Assembly, because autonomists and racists had nominated its members. Their communiqué on the subject read: "The Colonial Assembly has just filled the last of its public duties.... Its career is over." It continued by assuring the free population of its "infinite value" in regenerating the colony. The members explained that only two groups existed in the colony, free and enslaved. Embracing the actions of the civil commissioners, the Intermediary Commission encouraged "all citizens, without distinction, to rally to the authority of the French National representatives that the colony had in its midst."²² Although the Commission was responsible for the Colonial Assembly's former "jurisdiction," all of its decisions required the final approval of the civil commissioners.²³ In other words, despite the symbolic integration of the Intermediary Commission, the civil commissioners granted it only limited power. However, it was an important model for the future political equality of all free men, which would come to include former slaves after 1794.

Efforts of the civil commissioners to enlist the active support of free people of color and sympathetic whites did not end with the formation of the Intermediary Commission. The civil commissioners also assembled of a group of trusted whites and free people of color to serve as a sort of local council. In June 1793, Sonthonax and Polverel formed "a small council of their white and free colored loyalists," including whites Guillaume-Henri Vergniaud, Pierre Charles Eléonore Robquin, Pierre Nicolas Garnot, and Louis Pierre Dufay, as well as free men of color Charles Guillaume Castaing and Boisrond.²⁴ In 1791, Castaing had served a spokesperson for the free people of color in Le Cap as they battled to gain political rights from the French National Assembly. After the arrival of the second civil commission, Castaing and Boisrond were made members of the Intermediary

Commission. Castaing's white brothers-in-law, Robquin and Garnot were both open supporters of free people of color. Robquin married a free woman of color, Laure Castaing, in July 1793. He wrote to his father, "It may surprise you that in the midst of such afflicting scenes, I was able to choose a worthy and respectable companion."²⁵ The white members of the commissioners' council—especially Garnot and Dufay—embraced both equality for free people of color and the abolition of slavery. Garnot was *greffier en chef* (chief clerk) of the Admiralty Court of Le Cap, and Dufay owned a plantation and served as *greffier* in Le Cap. In recognition of their role, the citizens of colonial Saint-Domingue elected Garnot, and Dufay to carry the proclamations of abolition issued by Sonthonax and Polverel in 1793 to the Convention in Paris. The members of the commissioners' council all became advocates of the political struggle for abolition and racial equality for people of color.

In August 1793, the free citizens of all colors of Le Cap met and drafted petitions requesting a declaration of general emancipation. One of the whites involved in this popular political mobilization was Guillaume-Henri Vergniaud. Sonthonax had appointed Vergniaud, the seneschal of Le Cap and "judge of the extraordinary criminal tribunal" in February 1793, but the convocation of the tribunal was delayed until November 1793 by "the most important works, such as emancipation, the civilization of the blacks."²⁶ Taking advantage of this delay to work for rights, Vergniaud rallied support for emancipation among his fellow white citizens of Le Cap. Just after celebrating the anniversary of July 14, he sent two letters to Sonthonax requesting general liberty, "in the name of humanity." Then, the city of Le Cap presented the civil commissioner with a petition "in the name of the cultivators of Saint-Domingue," signed by over eight hundred citizens, demanding immediate abolition. The petitioners believed that granting freedom, the "Rights of Man," and French citizenship to the enslaved would save the colony and provide France with soldiers and cultivators.²⁷ In a letter to Polverel, Sonthonax described the requests as "philanthropic."²⁸ At this critical juncture in the Haitian Revolution, Vergniaud stood up for abolition and effectively organized the citizenry to pressure the commissioners to free the enslaved. With him as their leader, free citizens openly and democratically campaigned for abolition and racial equality for the enslaved in the North. The example of Vergniaud shows that whites played a critical role in the political demand for emancipation.

A similar mobilization took place in Port-au-Prince. At a celebration of the anniversary of the founding of the French republic in September 1793, Polverel delivered a speech before the citizenry of the town inviting loyal republicans to sign the act of emancipation. He had also sent out invitations to the civil and military corps and public functionaries in the days prior to his oration. In his address, Polverel outlined the details of the emancipation decree. The act began, "We the undersigned, and each of us individually, well know that general liberty of the Africans and the descendants of Africans is the only means to reestablish order and peace in the Colony, penetrated by the principles of liberty and equality that form the base of the French Republic." This echoed the petitions from the North Province in August 1793. Polverel's decree also provided a formula for free labor and nourishment of the former slaves. In the final publication of the official account of the anniversary celebration, Polverel appended the record with his sentiments. He wrote, "The large number of citizens who at this time present themselves, at the close of my speech to sign the act of emancipation, and provoke general freedom, makes me augur that this great revolution will be a blessing from the masters, rather than an act of authority of the delegates of the republic."²⁹ In this, Polverel acknowledged, at the time of decreeing general emancipation, that abolition in the colony was achieved by Saint-Dominguans. The revolution came from within. He recognized that it was the colonists of all colors who were shaping the course of the Haitian Revolution.

After Sonthonax and Polverel declared general emancipation in 1793, Sonthonax sent representatives to France to get the National Convention to approve the decisions of the colonists and civil commissioners in 1794. In September 1793, Sonthonax ordered assemblies to meet in Le Cap to elect deputies from the North. Again, the people of Le Cap were able to voice themselves politically, and this time some former slaves of the North were also eligible—likely only males, particularly soldiers. Late in the month, the citizens of Le Cap selected two blacks, Jean Baptiste Mars Belley and Joseph Georges Boisson, two mulattoes, Jean Baptiste Mills and Réchin, and two whites, Louis Pierre Dufay and Garnot. While the civil commissioners deliberately chose men of color, the citizenry elected representatives from varied backgrounds and all three races to the Convention. Garnot and Dufay had been members of the commissioners' private council. Mills served as the *huissier* (bailiff) in the admiralty. Boisson was a merchant, while Belley, supposedly an African-born ex-slave freed in the 1760s, was an infantry captain and slave-owner.³⁰ Réchin was unable to fulfill his

position as a representative, because the English, who occupied part of colonial Saint-Domingue from 1793 to 1798, blocked his departure from Port-de-Paix; Réchin was later replaced by Etienne Bussière Laforest, a coachbuilder and saddle maker.³¹ This tricolored deputation, some of its members already allied with the civil commissioners, represented the new racial and republican sentiments within the citizenry of Le Cap.

In early October 1793, Garnot, Dufay, Mills, Boisson, and Belley embarked for France, but with a stopover in the United States along the way. Saint-Dominguan exiles from the Galbaud Affair were on board ships bound for the same destination, Philadelphia, arriving at the same time as the deputation in November 1793. French sailors loyal to governor-general Galbaud and enemies of the commissioners boarded one of the deputies' ships, making "the most insulting remarks against the deputation, against France, and all the authorities constituted by it." The sailors broke into Dufay's quarters, shouting, "These are the whites who take the side of the blacks, who are the most culpable; they are the ones that should be punished." Dufay was not in his room, so the sailors took all of his belongings, including his money, clothing, and papers related to Saint-Dominguan affairs. Garnot was on another ship, which wrecked, preventing him from completing the voyage to France until later.³² Unable to confront the white philanthropists, the sailors and outraged colonists harassed Belley. A man with a dagger forced Belley to remove his national cockade and stole his watch and money, while another armed man verbally accosted Belley for being an infantry officer and having "the insolence to want to command whites."³³

Before departing from Philadelphia, Dufay wrote to the civil commissioners recounting the deputation's experiences. He attached to his official correspondence a letter for the commissioners to read publicly and to print for distribution to the citizenry. The public letter recounted the "persecutions" the men suffered on their journey and upon their initial arrival. Dufay explained, "We desire that it be public so that everyone knows our troubles, our feelings; who are our friends, our enemies." The deputies hoped to reassure and encourage the supporters of emancipation in Saint-Domingue by sharing the hardships they endured for the abolitionist cause, as well as identifying proponents and opponents of general emancipation outside of the colony. Of course, Dufay may have exaggerated the deputation's harassment by governor-general Galbaud's supporters to garner support for abolition and Sonthonax and Polverel, as well justify the commissioners' actions. However, it is just as likely that the sailors and refugees were actually enraged and thirsty for vengeance after their defeat by slave insurgents armed by the civil commission.³⁴

Three of the deputies, Dufay, Mills, and Belley, arrived in Paris in January 1794, only to encounter more adversity before getting the opportunity to appear before the National Convention. Days after arriving in France, police officers acting on the authority of the Committee of General Security arrested and interrogated the three deputies.³⁵ From prison, the deputies wrote to the Convention, and the Committee of Public Safety intervened to have them released. Upon their discharge, the deputation wrote to the Committee of Public Safety again. They expressed, "You know they [Page and Brulley] made us stop in the early days of our arrival, to stifle our voice....We must wait until we know our constituents...learn with sorrow the persecutions which we have endured."³⁶ The deputation understood that an opposing faction had attempted to prevent them from presenting on behalf of emancipation, and they sought the aid of the committee to suppress their opponents so the Parisian officials could hear their message of abolition and racial equality.

Finally, in February 1794, the tricolored deputation was able to present itself to the Convention. Their appearance started a debate on emancipation. One member announced, "Equality is established; a black man, a yellow man, and a white man will sit among you representing the free citizens of Saint-Domingue." Amongst the debates, the president delivered fraternal kisses to the deputies and the members of the Convention repeatedly applauded. Another deputy stated, "We are working for future generations; let us launch liberty into the colonies."³⁷ Dufay also made a lengthy speech recounting the "civil war" between "counter-revolutionaries" under governor-general Galbaud and the civil commissioners. He explained that male slave insurrectionists offered to fight for France in exchange for this liberty, but that women and children also contributed to the effort in noncombat capacities. Therefore, "wise and enlightened politics to create new citizens of the republic" were needed, and general emancipation prevented the loss of the colony while profiting from "humanity." He claimed that he had seen the "distinction of castes" disappear and that "Europeans, Creoles, Africans, today know no other colors, no other name than French."³⁸ In the end, the Convention decreed abolition. However, abolition was still fragile. The many tribulations endured by the deputies were evidence of the continued need for abolitionists to take actions to safeguard the tenuous abolition of slavery achieved in colonial Saint-Domingue and France. In France, that meant campaigning for the cause in the Parisian assemblies, while in Saint-Domingue, abolitionists continued to ally with the civil commissioners.

In the South Province of Saint-Domingue, white Pierre Benonime Dormenon worked alongside free men of color in enforcing republican decrees from France and the civil commissioners in colonial Saint-Domingue. Dormenon served as a municipal officer under Polverel from 1793 to 1794. In August 1793, Polverel required the newly freed slaves in the West Province to remain on the plantations, and declared that abandoned habitations would become property of the provincial government. In October 1793, when Polverel liberated all the enslaved in the South Province, the August decree became applicable to areas in the South that were not occupied by the British, as well. Dormenon played a role in implanting these regulations. He worked with mulatto René François Borno-Déléard, military commander of the parish of Cayes de Jacmel. On 3 March 1794, the two men explained to the “Africans” on a plantation located in the heights of Fêlé the need for them to continue working on the estate even though freed by the National Convention. The ex-slaves assured Dormenon and Borna-Déléard of their intention to work six days of the week on the plantation as decreed by Polverel.³⁹ However, while carrying out Polverel’s orders in Sale-Trou, other Saint-Dominguan colonists claimed that Dormenon ordered the insurrectionists to massacre whites.⁴⁰ The courts eventually acquitted Dormenon of such crimes, but his support of abolition and racial equality was strong enough to have provoked such accusations. His work on plantations encouraged the return of former slaves to work, advancing the success of the Haitian Revolution in returning to agriculture.

Dormenon suffered further for his work with Polverel. Polverel had had some negative encounters with free men of color in the South Province. For example, Polverel strongly disliked the mulatto Colonel Hugues Montbrun, denouncing him as a traitor after the loss of Port-au-Prince to the British.⁴¹ In 1794, the National Convention recalled the commissioners from colonial Saint-Domingue. Without Polverel on the island, Montbrun took out his anger on Dormenon, a representative of Polverel whom he must have seen as a threat to his leadership. In March, Montbrun imprisoned Dormenon for two to three months. Expelled from Saint-Domingue by colored general André Rigaud, Montbrun departed for France in June 1794. Rigaud had Dormenon released, and Dormenon returned to his position as the Clerk of Court. By 1799, he returned to the practice of law as a defense attorney in Aquin Parish and the Superior Court of the South under Rigaud. In 1800, Toussaint Louverture captured Jacmel from Rigaud, and Dormenon departed for the United States.

He had served eight years under the French republic. Although Dormenon found favor under Polverel and Rigaud, he was unable to form amenable associations with Montbrun and Louverture.

In 1796, Saint-Dominguans elected deputies to the Legislative Corps in accordance with the Constitution of the Year III. These did not go smoothly. Adhering to a decree from 10 July 1791 forming colonial Saint-Domingue into a single department, electors met at only one electoral assembly, held in Le Cap, in September 1796.⁴² Due to the British occupation of parts of the colony, “the deputies to be elected” would only “represent the central part of the North, the Artibonite area, and the Southeast.” While geography and international warfare limited representation and voter participation, censitary eligibility requirements also restricted the number of voters. To participate in the elections, the Constitution of Year III required voters to pay “an ‘electoral contribution,’ a stipulation that excluded most ex-slaves from participation; only 5 to 10 percent of the residents voted.”⁴³ Despite the various limitations, the electors voted to maintain four of their current representatives, Belley, Dufay, Mills, and Laforest, and elected six new deputies, the whites Laveaux, Sonthonax, and Martin-Noël Brothier and the mulattoes Boisrond, Pierre Thomany, and Jean-François Pétiniaud.⁴⁴ The newly elected deputation’s composition echoed back to the formation of the Intermediary Assembly in 1792. The white and colored members of both were chosen by a margin of the population and the colonial leadership.

Toussaint Louverture, a general in the French Army and lieutenant governor of colonial Saint-Domingue, used his influence in the elections of 1796 to send abolitionists to France to defend the revolution. Two of these were Governor General Etienne Laveaux and the civil commissioner Sonthonax. Laveaux had been a military leader under the second civil commission, initially opposed by Louverture. Yet Laveaux secured Louverture’s allegiance to France in 1794. After the civil commissioners returned to France, Laveaux and Louverture became more and more closely allied. In April 1796, after allying with Louverture against a colored faction in Le Cap, Laveaux appointed Louverture lieutenant governor.⁴⁵ Only four months later, Louverture wrote to Laveaux, addressing him as “my father” and requesting he go to Paris to represent the colony and defend the black cause; Laveaux agreed.⁴⁶ Louverture instructed Henry Christophe, one of his lieutenants and a member of the “electoral college” to “elect, by all means, Sonthonax and Laveaux” in September 1796.⁴⁷ In August 1797,

Sonthonax left for France. In sending Laveaux and Sonthonax to France, Louverture rid himself of a rival in Sonthonax and ensured representation on behalf of the revolution in the Parisian assembly.

In the spring of 1797, the colonial citizenry elected additional deputies for the Legislative Corps, according to the law of 15 February 1797, which increased Saint-Domingue's representation to thirteen deputies. Again, the same geographic restraints applied, as the English continued to occupy parts of colonial Saint-Domingue. To supplement the deputies elected in 1796, electors in Le Cap chose as their representatives the whites Claude Pierre Joseph Leborgne de Boigne and Vergniaud; the blacks Etienne Victor Mentor, Jean Louis Annecy, and Pierre Antoine; and free men of color Jacques Tonnelier and Antoine Chanlatte.⁴⁸ Leborgne, Vergniaud, and Mentor had been closely linked to Sonthonax. Leborgne served as a *commissaire-ordonnateur* (public spending director) for the third civil commission under Sonthonax, and Mentor, a native of Saint-Pierre in Martinique, was an adjutant-general attached to the same commission.⁴⁹

After the seven newly elected deputies and Sonthonax arrived in Paris in the fall of 1797, they met opposition directed at the entire deputation. The Parisian political climate was no longer as favorable to colonial Saint-Domingue and abolitionist policies as it had been years earlier. In 1795, Boissy d'Anglas "headed the Directory's commission charged with defining the new relationship between metropolis and colony," proposing the colonies were "incapable of self-government and self-determination," and, therefore, "should be governed by the central authority of the metropolis." Boissy's stance contradicted the Constitution of Year III, which integrated the colonies into the nation, making them equally subject to French laws and the Constitution. Boissy was the leader of the Clichyens, a group of moderate republicans and constitutional royalists. By 1797, "the majority of the Legislative Body were advocates of the reactionary theses of the Clichy Club."⁵⁰ Opposition to the colonial policies of 1795 was part of the platform of the Clichy Club, attracting proslavery Saint-Dominguan émigrés including Vincent Viénot de Vaublanc, François Barbé-Marbois, Louis Villaret de Joyeuse, and François Bourdon de l'Oise.⁵¹ Vaublanc and Bourdon were also members of the Legislative Corps in 1797, likely influenced by their fellow Clichyen representatives.

In the spring of 1797, a commission in the Council of 500 investigated the validity of the Saint-Dominguan elections of 1796, and ultimately recommended nullifying the results. The members of the five-person com-

mission included two confirmed Clichyens, François Antoine de Boissy d'Anglas and Joseph Vincent Dumolard; two suspected royalists Louis Gustave le Doulcet, comte de Pontécoulant and Claude Antoine Augustin Blad; and Jean-François-Auguste Izoard, who had initiated the nullification of the colonial elections in Guiana in the fall of 1796.⁵² In his report on Guianese civic order, Izoard directly linked the violence of the Haitian Revolution to the inapplicability of the Constitution of 1795 to the Caribbean colonies. He saw bloody slave rebellion as the eventual fate of all the colonies and the “undomiciled” and “unsuitable candidates for public life” with all colonial populations.⁵³

In February 1797, the commission, led by Doulcet, submitted its report and recommendation for the nullification of the 1796 elections. Overall, they deemed the elections unconstitutional, because they violated the law of 13 Fructidor, which cancelled Saint-Dominguan elections for 1796.⁵⁴ In addition to the objectionable constitutionality of the elections, the commission exposed various other reasons to declare them nullified. They explained,

The existence of Europeans in the colony is extremely precarious and painful; when the blacks are rising up, it is always against the Europeans who are in charge....The commission, reduced to make proclamations in a country where ninety-nine percent of the individuals do not know how to read, seeing in each instant the decrees badly interpreted, sometimes censured with bitterness, rarely executed. I ask you, citizen representatives, is this not the picture of the most complete anarchy?⁵⁵

The commission did not regard the ex-slaves as equal citizens to Europeans. They grossly exaggerated the illiteracy rates of the Saint-Dominguan population, assuming former slaves, free people of color, and even white creoles could not read, and, therefore, could not participate in electoral politics. The commission also emphasized the inability of citizens from the West and South to participate in the elections, because of international interference and the dangers of travel to Le Cap to vote. They further claimed that Sonthonax had orchestrated the elections from the North as a “colonial dictator,” resulting in a small number of voters in the “pretend” electoral assemblies and “excesses of violence.”⁵⁶ A law in March 1797 officially nullified the elections of 1796.

By purging many Clichyens from the Legislative Corps in Paris, the 18 Fructidor Coup shaped politics in a way that favored Saint-Domingue.

Seeing this opposition, the Saint-Dominguan representatives elected in 1796 petitioned the Legislative Corps to reinvestigate the previously nullified elections. The Council of 500 formed a commission to reconsider the nullification. Joseph Eschasseriaux delivered the report of the commission to the Council of 500. The commission determined that the nullification of the elections of 1796 had been “a clear violation of the Constitution,” and the “result of the system of conspirators, whose aim, by attacking the most precious right of the colonies, was to bring them to separate from the mother country.” Therefore, the commission recommended that the legislature deem the elections valid and admit the multi-racial colonial deputation.⁵⁷ The Legislative Corps finally adopted the recommendation of the commission on 16 June 1798.

During the months between the initial investigation of the elections and the final decision of the Legislative Corps, the colonial delegation engaged in French Atlantic politics through the *société des amis des noirs et des colonies* (Society of the Friends of the Blacks and the Colonies). The institution was a revised form of the *Amis des Noirs*, established by Jacques Pierre Brissot de Warville in 1788. The original organization had been “constituted in Paris in response to an appeal from Britain” to fight for abolition; however, the transformed group of 1797 sought to *protect* the general emancipation of 1794 within the French Atlantic.⁵⁸ This was an agenda more advanced than that of the *Amis des Noirs* from 1788 to 1793, which sought gradual abolition of slavery, and contemporaneous English abolitionists, who had yet to achieve an end to the slave trade, let alone general emancipation.

The *Amis des Noirs et des Colonies* was vigorous in its short existence, meeting every two weeks for almost two years, with members of all colors taking part in the organization, discussions, and actions of the institution. While both groups had approximately one hundred members, Brissot’s *Amis des Noirs* was “composed of an elite with good connections,” but the *Amis des Noirs et des Colonies* had a more diverse membership.⁵⁹ Although the renewed organization incorporated eleven of the members from the *Amis des Noirs*, the *Amis des Noirs et des Colonies* included white, black, and mixed members, as well as representatives from Saint-Domingue, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Cayenne, England, Italy, and Holland. These affiliates ranged from the former French Minister of War Joseph Servan de Gerbey, English poetess Helene-Marie Williams, and French economist Jean-Baptiste Say, to the Guadeloupean notary Louis Elias Dupuch, the free colored planter Louis-François Boisrond, and the

former slave Jean Louis Annecy.⁶⁰ Dufay, Belley, and Boisson, members of the first deputation sent by to France by the second civil commission, also participated in the society. In all, eleven of the thirteen Saint-Dominguan deputies elected in the fall 1796 and spring 1797 were members or attended the meetings of the revived abolitionary organization from November 1797 through March 1799.

Saint-Dominguans were not the majority in the *Amis des Noirs et des Colonies*, but they were a constant, spirited, and vital presence in the organization. Five of the Saint-Dominguan deputies attended the first meeting of the society on 30 November 1797. Accompanied by Thomany, Tonnelier, Leborgne, and Petiniaud, Laveaux encouraged all the deputies to join the society.⁶¹ In January 1798, Saint-Dominguan representation increased with the attendance of Boisrond, Mentor, Annecy, Pierre Antoine, Boisson, and free black proprietor Jean-Louis Larose, as well as former civil commissioner Saint-Léger.⁶² The next month, Sonthonax began to attend the society's meetings, eventually serving as the president of the society in February 1799. In these first meetings, the members discussed possibilities for agriculture and public instruction in the French colonies, institutions in colonial society which Sonthonax had direct experience during his service on the second and third civil commissions.⁶³ In January 1799, the *Amis des Noirs et des Colonies* admitted Jean-Baptiste Deville, a free black from Le Cap elected to represent Saint-Domingue in 1798, just months before the organization again dissolved in April 1799.⁶⁴ Another free black, Belley, who joined the society the month before, presented his fellow representative from the Convention, Dufay, for membership in February 1799. Of the Saint-Dominguan representatives, Leborgne, Tonnelier, Thomany, Annecy, and Mentor appeared at the most meetings, with the three black delegates far exceeding the attendance record of their white and colored colleagues. Likely earned by their regular participation, Thomany served as organization president, and Mentor was the secretary in late 1798. However, Napoleon Bonaparte's rise to power would put an end to the *Amis des Noirs et des Colonies* in 1799.

After a successful revolutionary career in the French military, Bonaparte took power through a coup in November 1799. He immediately expressed his interest in the French colonies in the Caribbean. On 25 December 1799, Bonaparte sent a proclamation to the citizens of Saint Domingue, stating, "Article 91 [of the French Constitution of the Year Eight] lays down that the French colonies will be governed by special laws."⁶⁵ He assured inhabitants of color that the new laws would protect their free-

dom. In a meeting of the Council of the State on 16 August 1800, Bonaparte expressed his sentiments regarding the colonies and slavery. He stated, "The question is not to know if it is good to abolish slavery, but if it is good to abolish the freedom in the free part of Saint-Domingue. I am convinced that this island would become English, if the blacks were not attached to us by the interest of their freedom."⁶⁶ He seemed most concerned with geopolitics. Along these lines, Bonaparte planned for the legislative body in metropolitan France to draft laws or a Constitution for Saint-Domingue and the other French Caribbean colonies. Yet not all Saint-Dominguans interpreted Bonaparte's proclamation as he intended, especially Louverture.

In the short period (1800–1801) before disrupted by troops sent by Bonaparte, various whites took part in Louverture's regime, notably by drafting and promoting his Saint-Dominguan Constitution. These whites, in supporting and bolstering Louverture's leadership, further advanced the Haitian Revolution. Bernard Borgella, Philippe André Collet, and Gaston Nogérée aided in drafting the Constitution of 1801, and Nogérée was one of the whites sent to deliver the document to Bonaparte. These whites sat on the Constituent Assembly that authored a colonial Constitution crystallizing the achievements of the Haitian Revolution, especially emancipation. The Constitution represented a significant stage in revolutionary politics, where colonists of all colors came together to forge a document that would encompass the political desires of each group since the beginning of the French and Haitian Revolutions in colonial Saint-Domingue. It is likely that Louverture recognized the importance of having whites in the Constituent Assembly, both for their advice and to represent his regime to other whites in France. As representatives for the Constitution and Louverture's regime, the whites would signify both the colonial connection to France, as well as the racial unification of Saint-Domingue since 1794. While these whites made a significant contribution to this segment of the Haitian Revolution, their participation in French Atlantic politics was not well-received by France's new leader.

In March 1801, Louverture called for the election of a group of colonists—dominated by whites—to draft a constitution for the island. After municipal nominations and departmental elections, Louverture's Constituent Assembly comprised of himself, mulattos Lacour, Julien Raimond, and Etienne Viart, and six white men. The Assembly did not include a representative who had been enslaved.⁶⁷ Three of the white men represented Spanish Santo Domingo; a fourth died before the Assembly

met. Bernard Borgella, Philippe André Collet, and Gaston Nogérée comprised the white contingent for colonial Saint-Domingue.⁶⁸ It is likely that the white colonists who closely allied themselves with Louverture in 1801 had sought autonomy from France in 1790. However, “the objectives, the circumstances, [and] the issues” had changed throughout the course of a revolutionary decade, especially with the abolition of slavery.⁶⁹ If these men hoped for independence in 1801, it would have to be under a black leader and in a free society. That they were willing to adapt shows how far things had come.

The Constitution of 1801 incorporated the ideas of men of all colors who authored it and was uniquely Saint-Dominguan. However, it also adhered to French culture and commitment to the Republic. In the absence of French authority, the Assembly creatively interpreted the various constitutions of revolutionary France, because the various governments issued contradictory policies.⁷⁰ Although the Saint-Dominguan constitution did not call for independence, there was an air of separation between the island and the metropole. Title 1, Article 1 asserted, “Saint-Domingue in its entirety...and other adjacent islands, form the territory of a single colony, which is part of the French empire, but submitted to particular laws.”⁷¹ The last phrase echoed the words of Bonaparte, who intended to decide all particular laws for Saint-Domingue and the other French colonies from France. Here, the autonomist desires of the whites emerged most prominently, as it complemented Louverture’s desire to maintain his power in the colony. Title 2, Article 3 stated, “There can be no slaves in this territory; servitude is abolished within it forever. All men who are born here live and die free and French.”⁷² The Constitution clearly maintained abolition. However, similar to the Louverture’s proclamation of October 1800, all people involved in agricultural production remained bound to their duty to the commerce of the colony. Finally, Louverture, a black former slave, became governor for life and given the right to name his successor. While this hearkened back to the monarchical system of the Old Regime and the consulate under Bonaparte, it was unprecedented in the Atlantic World. Despite the specification in the Constitution of 1801 that the governor had to maintain correspondence with the metropole, Bonaparte saw all that made it uniquely Saint-Dominguan as an act of defiance. The example of the Constitution revealed the complex attitude of race in the French Atlantic.

Louverture selected two white men to deliver the Constitution of 1801 to France, probably in the hope that Bonaparte and other French politi-

cians would be more open to receiving the document from other whites. Initially, he sent Colonel Charles-Humbert-Marie Vincent. This was not unusual, as Vincent had served as Louverture's representative in France in the past. However, before his departure for France, Vincent confronted Louverture about the constitution, warning him about the consequences of such a document.⁷³ Vincent feared it would be interpreted as a declaration of independence, which Vincent did not support. Louverture decided to send a second representative to deliver the constitution, believing that "citizen Vincent may not fulfill its views." Louverture considered Gaston Nogérée, a member of Louverture's Constituent Assembly, "best calculated to defend the Constitution and organic laws they nimbly fabricated."⁷⁴ As Nogérée was one of the Constitution's authors, he had contributed to its contents and Louverture had had an opportunity to assess his political character through the meetings of the Constituent Assembly. Despite Louverture's hopes that Nogérée would counter any opposition harbored by Vincent, in the end, Vincent presented the Constitution to Bonaparte, who already knew about the document and its contents.

Before delivering the Constitution, authorities in Paris became suspicious of Louverture's white envoys, believing they had been sent to collect the black general's sons. Louverture's son, Isaac and Placide, were in Paris for their education in 1801. Fearing a plot to take the boys, the police in Paris paid particular attention to one of Louverture's white representatives, Claude-Honoré Guérin. Before the Haitian Revolution, Guérin served as a deputy to the Colonial Assembly, representing Port-au-Prince.⁷⁵ While working as a merchant in Le Cap during the revolution, Louverture sent Guérin to France to "transact business." In addition, Guérin requested to meet with top governing officials in Paris, even Bonaparte, though it does not appear he was granted an audience. Suspecting the white merchant planned to kidnap Louverture's children, the police closely monitored Louverture's sons and Guérin. Though he did not take the boys, Guérin attended to somewhat mysterious matters on behalf of some colonists.⁷⁶ French citizens in Paris suspected Louverture's white collaborators even more after the arrival of the colonial Constitution.

The authorities in France met both Vincent and Nogérée with suspicion. Bonaparte ordered Nogérée's arrest in January 1802. Jailed in the Temple, Bonaparte's representatives interrogated him and searched his papers. The arresting officer reported to Bonaparte that although the interrogations and review of Nogérée's papers revealed that he had collaborated with Louverture, Nogérée insisted he was "far from the enemy

of the Government.” Therefore, the officer suggested Bonaparte release Nogérée, but to continue general surveillance of him.⁷⁷ Vincent did not receive as favorable a judgment as Nogérée. The Parisian police drafted a detailed report on Vincent’s career and service, concluding that it was necessary to monitor “this villain.”⁷⁸ Despite Vincent’s attempts to aid the French expedition by providing valuable intelligence and encouraging Louverture via correspondence to submit to French forces, the Minister of the Marine denied him his salary for serving under Louverture and Bonaparte banished him to Elba.⁷⁹

A strong colonial lobby closely pressured Bonaparte to crack down on Louverture after receiving the new Saint-Dominguan Constitution, but some colonists, such as Paul Alliot-Vauneuf, offered contradictory advice. Vauneuf, a Saint-Dominguan slave owner, recounted his tumultuous experiences during the Haitian Revolution. He advised the government that the troops sent from France had to “punish the guilty” immediately upon arrival, because the blacks would not return to their duties if too much time passed.⁸⁰ Eight years later, while still residing in France, a refugee of the revolution, he again wrote to the government. Believing too much time had lapsed, he discouraged an expedition to reinstitute slavery in colonial Saint-Domingue. He asserted, “The great proprietors argue that to cultivate the lands of the colonies, it is necessary to reestablish slavery. That reasoning is absurd!” Vauneuf explained that such an expedition would cost the lives of thousands of soldiers, as well as result in the extermination of the entire black population. He contended, “In the end there would not remain a single black living in the islands where liberty exists.”⁸¹ He understood that they would fight to the death before being re-enslaved. He believed it necessary to maintain abolition where it had been established, even while calling for it to be maintained where it existed. Vauneuf believed general emancipation could not be reversed in Saint-Domingue, and he opposed any efforts to pursue such a policy, despite his own history as a slave owner and proprietor.

Similar opinions were voiced by another planter, Pierre François Page. He proved to be one of the most unexpected proponents of maintaining abolition in colonial Saint-Domingue. Page had been one of two colonial lobbyists named by the proslavery Saint-Dominguan Colonial Assembly to go to Paris in the summer of 1792. Page and his colleague Brulley had adamantly opposed the French civil commissioners Sonthonax and Polverel, the decree of emancipation, and even attempted to have the tri-colored deputation of Dufay, Mills, and Belley arrested.⁸² However, Page

changed his approach to the issues of race and slavery as the French and Haitian revolutions progressed, especially after Sonthonax and Polverel were acquitted. By the time Bonaparte came to power, Page no longer opposed general emancipation in Saint-Domingue. In 1801, Page claimed it was best to maintain “slavery, whenever it is possible and freedom, whenever it is necessary.”⁸³ He believed freedom could not be curtailed in Saint-Domingue, because they would not be able to compel armed blacks to return to slavery.⁸⁴ He knew the determination of the formerly enslaved was much greater than that of the commissioners and their multiracial deputation, which he had been unable to defeat. Despite Alliot-Vauneuf and Page’s advice, Bonaparte went ahead with plans for an expedition under his brother-in-law, Leclerc’s leadership.

Conceding that Bonaparte and Leclerc could be persuaded not to mount an expedition, Colonel Charles Marie François Malenfant attempted to inform Leclerc how colonial Saint-Domingue and some Saint-Dominguans had changed through the revolution. During the Old Regime, Malenfant had been a colonial proprietor, and he served as an inspector of agriculture and vacant lands with the third civil commission. As a part of Louverture’s staff, Malenfant claimed to have consulted with the black leader about a proposal for an agricultural code for the island in 1796. He remarked that Louverture was impressed with his ability, as a white, “to reconcile the interests of owners with those of cultivators.”⁸⁵ Though Malenfant may have exaggerated or fabricated the encounter with Louverture, he attempted to demonstrate his adaptation to and acceptance of Saint-Domingue without slavery. Upon returning to France from colonial Saint-Domingue, Malenfant joined the Society of the Friends of the Blacks and the Colonies in 1798. He attended meetings of the group in the spring of 1798 alongside the Abbé Grégoire and Sonthonax, as well as Mentor and Thomany.⁸⁶ As Leclerc prepared to depart for Saint-Domingue in 1801, Malenfant explained how the blacks had changed during the last few decades, but Leclerc seemed too proud to accept Malenfant’s warnings.⁸⁷ Malenfant, whose own perspective had been dramatically altered by the Haitian Revolution, was unable to convince Leclerc of the realities of the mission assigned to him by Bonaparte.

Bonaparte himself implicitly recognized the importance of whites to Louverture’s regime in his instructions to Leclerc. In a memorandum of October 1801, among the many instructions for the expedition to colonial Saint-Domingue, Bonaparte commanded Leclerc to deport the whites who worked across racial lines with Louverture. Louverture’s

regime centered on the preservation of abolition, and that whites who worked with Louverture served that cause through their administrative functions. Although in the first phase of Bonaparte's plan Leclerc was to "indiscriminately" confirm them in their ranks, in the final phase, "all whites who served under Toussaint, and covered themselves with crimes in the tragic scenes" were to be deported.⁸⁸ Because they were easily identified by their participation in authoring and signing the constitution, Leclerc wasted no time in deporting two white members of the Central Assembly: Borgella and Collet. He also deported numerous other whites within Louverture's administration based on reports provided by French representatives from Saint-Domingue. Commissioner Périès and Colonel Vincent advised the Minister of the Marine on the conduct of certain whites, specifically identifying those who worked suspiciously close to Louverture and other black and colored Haitian revolutionaries. Périès drafted a list of whites who he believed did not deserve to be called French, because they contributed daily to the loss of colonial Saint-Domingue for France by serving under a black man and pushing for the revolt.⁸⁹ Both of these informants agreed that Joseph Bunel de Blancamp, Joseph-Antoine Idlinger, Foucaud, Bignon, Denaire, Pascal, Allier, and Vollée were dangerous whites; Leclerc only deported half of them, carefully considering both their service and "crimes."

As the Constitution of 1801 had caused heated debate in France between the colonial lobby and abolitionists before the expedition, Leclerc also sought to arrest the two remaining white members of Louverture's Constituent Assembly, Borgella and Collet. The two men had similar histories as planters and in civil administration leading to their shared service on the constitutional project. Borgella, a planter and former mayor of Port-au-Prince, fled Saint-Domingue for the United States in the early years of the revolution, but returned when Louverture called on émigrés to go back to the colony in September 1798.⁹⁰ He served as the President of Louverture's Constituent Assembly, and took the position of seneschal of Cayes after the signing.⁹¹ Collet had been the seneschal of Cayes before the revolutions, as well as the lieutenant at the headquarters of the Admiralty of Cayes. Collet also sought refuge in the United States before 1794, and returned upon Louverture's call.⁹² However, Vincent described Borgella and Collet in strikingly different ways. He depicted Borgella as a white man seeking to regain his fortune, but portrayed Collet as "a man of surprisingly wordy chicanery and not at all solid."⁹³ Vincent's differing opinions of the two men, notwithstanding both had worked under

Louverture. French commander Jean Lavalette arrested both men in June 1802.⁹⁴ The next month, Leclerc informed the Minister of the Marine that he was sending Borgella and Collet on the *Conquérant* to be imprisoned in Brest.⁹⁵ Both men were tried and acquitted in France.⁹⁶

A white man, Joseph Bunel de Blancamp was a diplomatic representative of Louverture. He facilitated intervention by the U.S. Navy in the War of the South which aided Louverture in taking complete control of Saint-Domingue. Both Périès and Vincent identified Bunel as one of Louverture's most significant collaborators. Vincent went as far as to describe Bunel as "the most dangerous councilor of Toussaint," because Louverture trusted Bunel more than anyone, making Bunel's "false ideas" even more threatening to France.⁹⁷ Both Périès and Vincent emphasized Bunel's position as *payeur général de la colonie* (colonial paymaster) and his marriage to a black woman in their brief explanations. During the French Atlantic revolutions, his influence on colonial Saint-Domingue's treasury and choice of spouse were the outstanding elements of his threat to France.⁹⁸ It was this colonial racial complexity that facilitated Bunel's close association with Louverture—and also made inevitable his arrest and deportation to France.⁹⁹ In his correspondence with the Minister of the Marine, Périès warned about Bunel's diplomatic capacities under Louverture, communicating with England in case of a French attack and visiting Jamaica seeking African laborers. He also alluded to Bunel's commercial connection to the United States through his secretary Edward Coursault, a French-born West Indian trader with residency in Philadelphia.¹⁰⁰ Bunel's diplomatic relations with the United States, intended to protect trade, significantly contributed to Louverture's victory in the War of the South. Thanks to arrangements he made with the Adams administration, the U.S. Navy on several occasions intercepted supply ships sent from France to aid Louverture's opponent, mulatto "French loyalist" André Rigaud. At a decisive naval moment in the campaign, American naval forces even engaged Rigaud's forces at Jacmel, forcing them to evacuate their strongest fort. Following that battle, another American vessel captured a ship carrying Rigaud.¹⁰¹ Bunel's negotiations in the United States were most crucial in securing the support of the American Navy in Louverture's struggle against Rigaud, which allowed the black leader to consolidate his control over the Haitian Revolution and the entire island.

Leclerc suspected a white merchant and commercial liaison for Louverture of sending the colony's treasury holdings to the United States. Jean-Paul Caze, nicknamed *Gros-Cazes*, was a rich trader in Gonaïves.

Louverture took advantage of Caze's expertise. Caze served as the black general's intermediary in his dealings with America's first millionaire, Stephen Girard.¹⁰² General Leclerc hoped to finance his expedition using Saint-Domingue's treasury funds. As Leclerc arrived in Saint-Domingue, Caze sent an unknown sum of money to Philadelphia. It is unclear if he sent his own money or six million francs from the colonial treasury. While the money—possibly sent to Girard—was not recovered, Leclerc arrested Caze and confiscated all of his personal finances.¹⁰³ Although Leclerc did not obtain Saint-Domingue's treasury from Caze, the white merchant was not the only Frenchman with access to Louverture's funds.

Jean-Baptiste Vollée, Louverture's director of finances, was another white man identified as an interracial collaborator by Vincent and Périès, but Vollée died before Leclerc could arrest him for deportation. Vincent described Vollée as "hardworking" and "rigid" in his position as *ordonnateur* (public spending director) of the West.¹⁰⁴ In this position, Vollée took an active part in Louverture's new agricultural system through its financial administration. His reports boasted of the return of economic prosperity under Louverture after 1800.¹⁰⁵ Périès grouped Vollée with Bunel, claiming both men were in Louverture's confidence and knew the location of the colony's hidden funds.¹⁰⁶ Being Louverture's financier, Vollée was at least partially responsible for the accumulation of those funds, which Leclerc hoped to recover for France and use to finance his expedition. Vollée's aid demonstrated that colonial Saint-Domingue could prosper without slavery. He also concealed the amounts within and locations of the colonial treasuries. Former colonists and leaders in France who feared the loss of the colony could have perceived Vollée's actions as threats to France. However, Leclerc did not rid France of this potential threat; instead, Louverture ordered Vollée's death. After Leclerc landed in Saint-Domingue, Louverture may have ordered his execution, "possibly so that he could not reveal the whereabouts of the colonial treasury."¹⁰⁷ The role of Bunel, Vollée, and Caze indicated the level of trust between Louverture and his white administrators, as well as the indispensability of money.

Some whites, such as Bignon, another *ordonnateur* (public spending director) for the colony, not only allied across racial lines, but followed the orders of black and colored revolutionaries. Bignon earned a reputation as a sort of monster, as described by Vincent and Périès. Vincent claimed Bignon was a "wicked man, without integrity, despicable, obliging to the blacks."¹⁰⁸ Vincent perceived Bignon's relationship with blacks not as one of equality, rather as the white Bignon submitting to the will of black

Saint-Dominguan rebels. Bignon supported the emancipation, and he was willing to follow the orders of leaders of any race to preserve it. Though he used strong language in describing Bignon, Vincent did not provide any examples of his wickedness, only implying it was associated with his service for the blacks. Périès was also vague, but alluded more insistently to Bignon's wickedness. He explained that Bignon was "doomed to public execration by the horrors he committed and he would be willing to commit again, if one orders him."¹⁰⁹ Périès was not clear on who constituted the public but, within the context of his other correspondence, he likely referred only to whites and possibly people of color who were free before the Haitian Revolution began. According to Périès the horrors Bignon committed made him unworthy of being called French, perhaps because French whites were the victims. Although they may have been exaggerating, the two accounts of Bignon suggest that he carried out violent crimes for Louverture and other Haitian revolutionary leaders.

Two of Louverture's secretaries, Pascal and Allier, were among the whites reported as suspicious by Vincent and Périès and ousted under the Leclerc expedition. The latter had a stronger opinion about Pascal than Allier, even suggesting Pascal was the more important of the two. Pascal was Louverture's secretary, as well as his counsel. Pascal's advisory capacity worried Périès, because he believed Pascal held "ingratitude towards France," seeing France as "a bad stepmother" and believed that it was time to give Saint-Domingue "another mother and another plan."¹¹⁰ Périès associated Pascal with Raimond, because Pascal was Raimond's son-in-law, meaning Pascal married a free woman of color. Further, Pascal was also the former secretary to the third commission, which included Raimond and Sonthonax, both of whom strove to maintain general emancipation.¹¹¹ Pascal, if he upheld his father-in-law's supposed views, threatened France if he advised Louverture to form an independent nation of former slaves. Bonaparte also believed Raimond was a threat, having "lost the confidence of the government," and ordered that Leclerc arrest him.¹¹² Vincent believed both secretaries were equally important to Louverture, and he hoped they could be used to influence the black leader to remain with France. Vincent wrote to Pascal encouraging him to "unite" with Allier "to prevent Toussaint from straying" and to peacefully receive the Leclerc expedition. Vincent's hopes were lost on Allier, who wrote to his family proclaiming his eternal allegiance to Louverture.¹¹³ Leclerc deported both Pascal and Allier after he landed in colonial Saint-Domingue.

Some whites with revolutionary politics were not deported because they were not perceived as enough of a threat. Two of these were Foucaud and Denayre. Foucaud, though “in the confidence of Toussaint,” was the tribunal president in Saint-Marc in the West Province.¹¹⁴ Although Périès also claimed Foucaud shared Raimond’s opinions, neither Vincent nor Périès attributed any irregular judicial actions taken by Foucaud, suggesting his opinions and interracial alliances did not interfere enough with his legal profession to make him a threat.¹¹⁵ Further, he had less influence on the financial and agricultural administration of the island than Bunel and Vollée, for example. In August 1802, Leclerc even appointed Foucaud as a judge in Port-de-Paix in the North Province.¹¹⁶ Denayre was *administrateur en chef de la marine* (chief navy administrator) in Jérémie in the South Province. Périès identified Denayre as female, as Raimond’s sister-in-law. While Périès associated Denayre with Raimond’s opinions, Vincent described her as “absent-minded.”¹¹⁷ Périès, Vincent, and Leclerc disregarded her ability to have any sway on revolutionary politics or society in the French Atlantic.

Some whites escaped deportation because their political indecisiveness, particularly on issues of race, made them seem less dangerous to metropolitan interests in the colony. For example, Joseph-Antoine Idlinger was negatively portrayed by both Vincent and Périès, but Leclerc did not deport him. Instead, he incorporated Idlinger into the expeditionary administration for France—and in spite of his long revolutionary participation in the 1790s. Idlinger arrived in Saint-Domingue with Sonthonax in 1796 as an *ordonnateur* (public spending director). After there, he married a woman of color, Rose Harang.¹¹⁸ During his brief service in the colony, Gabriel Marie Joseph, comte d’Hédouville advised the French to rid colonial Saint-Domingue of “the contemptible man.”¹¹⁹ Regarding Idlinger, Vincent asserted, “This vicious and low man, black adulator is always prostrating before the black leaders. He is usually abused but they can never get rid of him. He must be handled carefully.”¹²⁰ Similar to Bignon, Vincent claimed Idlinger submitted to the will of the revolutionaries. Périès depicted Idlinger as a man vacillating between leaders. He wrote, “Idlinger, once persecuted, today his confidant, holds nonetheless with France.”¹²¹ Perhaps Leclerc maintained Idlinger in his position while deporting others because of Idlinger’s irresolute relationship across racial lines with Haitian revolutionaries. While Idlinger may have supported emancipation and was willing to collaborate with blacks, his imperfect history with obtaining their trust and respect made him less of a threat and more of a potential asset in trying to reestablish French control over the colony.

Like Sonthonax, Leclerc formed a multiracial consultative council. In June 1802, Leclerc convened the council in Le Cap to discuss how to reorganize the colony and devise an agricultural and labor code. The richest colonial landowners from each of the six departments, regardless of color, joined the council. Although Leclerc sought to wrest power from Louverture, he incorporated some of the black general's former supporters into his own advisory council. General Henry Christophe was among the black and colored deputies. Like Christophe, some members of Leclerc's council "had enjoyed all kinds of favors under Toussaint Louverture."¹²² The colonial prefect Pierre Bénézech, "a citizen of a gentle humor, full of humanity, very devoted to general liberty," initially presided over the council's meetings.¹²³ Bénézech's leadership was fitting, as his sentiments mirrored those of Leclerc, whose "commitment to emancipation [was] well known."¹²⁴ In addition to the military and administrative representation of Leclerc and Bénézech respectively, the grand judge Despeyroux also sat on the council. Both Bénézech and Despeyroux died of yellow fever.¹²⁵ However, yellow fever was not the only contributing factor in the demise of the council. As the councilors began to complain about taxes to fund the expedition, Leclerc disbanded its members to avoid "a colonial council claim quasi-sovereign powers as previous ones had done in 1790 and 1801."¹²⁶ He dissolved his colonial committee, because he suspected it desired for Saint-Dominguan independence, not because of issues of race or slavery.

Leclerc thus collaborated across racial lines in Saint-Domingue. This willingness extended beyond his colonial committee. One black official with whom he worked was César Télémaque, or Thélémaque. Born enslaved in Martinique, Télémaque spent most of his life in Paris, where he achieved his freedom as a teenager and married a French woman. He accompanied the third civil commission to Saint-Domingue as the *ordonnateur* (public spending director) for Port-de-Paix, later becoming a justice of the peace in 1798 and mayor of Le Cap in 1801.¹²⁷ Before the departure of the Leclerc Expedition, Vincent reported to the government that Télémaque "particularly likes Europeans," implying his willingness to work with whites, likely due to extensive residence in Paris and his French spouse.¹²⁸ Upon Leclerc's arrival, Télémaque joined other leaders of Le Cap in rallying the population to negotiate a favorable reception of the expedition, proving that his ultimate loyalty lay with France.¹²⁹ Defying Bonaparte's 15–20 day instructions, Leclerc did not divest Télémaque of any power; instead, he confirmed him in his position as mayor of Le

Cap.¹³⁰ Despite the confidence Vincent and Leclerc had in Télémaque's loyalty to France, he remained in colonial Saint-Domingue after the revolutionaries defeated the French forces, embracing his new Haitian citizenship and the preservation of general emancipation. He was active in the Haitian government until his death in 1808.¹³¹ Even after independence, however, Télémaque maintained respect for the French, as he opposed the famous massacres of French whites ordered by Dessalines in 1804.¹³² Just as officers of color supported the massacres to obtain the assets of French planters, not because they were white, Télémaque likely opposed their executions because they were French, as he considered himself their French brother. Télémaque's Frenchness was the main reason Leclerc collaborated with him across racial lines.

Even late in the Haitian Revolution, whites continued to ally with free people of color. One was Germain Charles Verger. Verger was a white Frenchman who had taken revolutionary positions since the 1790s—and would continue to support revolutionaries after Haitian independence. At the beginning of the revolution, Verger had allied with the free men of color in Saint-Domingue. In 1791, whites and free people of color in Croix-des-Bouquets attempted to sign peace agreements. However, most of the disputes resulted in violent altercations. The free people of color offered rebel slaves in the West Province freedom for fighting on their behalf against the whites, while whites armed their own slaves to bolster their forces.¹³³ During this tumultuous time, Verger served as the secretary for the men of color in Croix-des-Bouquets. Unlike earlier allies of the free people of color, such as Ferrand de Baudière, Verger's philanthropy did not endanger his life until late in the revolution. During the War of the South between the people of color under André Rigaud and the blacks under Toussaint Louverture, Verger escaped Louverture's troops, who were victorious. Again, after the arrival of the Leclerc Expedition, Verger evaded being drowned by French forces. In 1803, he escaped the island with other whites with the help of the mixed-raced son of Bernard Borgella, who allied with Louverture.¹³⁴ He did not return to Haiti until after the death of Dessalines, fearing he would be massacred along with other whites still on the island. Under Pétion, signer of the Haitian Declaration of Independence and President, he became a notary in Port-au-Prince, and became a citizen of Haiti, where slavery no longer existed. In 1812, he died in a clash between Christophe and Pétion.¹³⁵ Verger's collaboration extended beyond the revolution, only ending with his death as a Haitian fighting alongside his free black and colored countrymen.

It is unclear if Louis Pierre Dufay, member of the tricolored deputation who delivered the emancipation decrees to the National Convention in 1794, survived the massacres of whites under Dessalines. Despite their support of abolition, Dufay and his black colleague Belley “advocated the use of force” to regain full control of the colony under Bonaparte.¹³⁶ In 1801, Dufay petitioned Bonaparte, requesting to be employed in Saint-Domingue or Guadeloupe, insisting on “his devotion to the consular government and desire to serve” France’s “overseas possessions.” In drafting a report on Dufay’s career, a member of Bonaparte’s staff strongly urged his employment.¹³⁷ While Dufay’s colleagues, Belley and Mills, were being deported and persecuted under Leclerc, the white politician received “permission to return to Saint-Domingue,” employed by Bonaparte.¹³⁸ When the insurgents pushed the French out of the island, Dufay made contact with both sides. He portrayed himself in one way to the French and another to the rebels, hoping one or the other could guard his life. As he waited along the old Spanish border, he assured the French commander of Santiago of his patriotism. However, at the same time, he corresponded with the rebel generals reminding them of his role in delivering the emancipation decree to France. The sources are unclear about his ultimate fate.¹³⁹ Nonetheless, we know he supported abolition, but also desired for colonial Saint-Domingue to remain a part of France.

The question of motive for the white philanthropists lingers throughout this chapter’s discussion of white contributions to Haitian Revolutionary politics. Why did they do it? It is difficult to conclude. While most of these whites never directly stated their motivations for participation, it is possible to suggest a few possibilities based upon their actions. For example, Guillaume-Henri Vergniaud seemed to participate on behalf of abolition for ideological reasons. As a close ally of the civil commissioners, he was a French revolutionary and also an abolitionist. In contrast, Bernard Borgella, a prerevolutionary planter and politician, likely participated in Louverture’s regime for financial and political reasons. By doing so, he hoped to protect his landholdings in Saint-Domingue, while also achieving his long-desired goal of political autonomy from France. It is also possible Borgella, as well as other whites, took part in Haitian Revolutionary politics under Louverture, because his colonial regime filled the legal void of the 1790s and offered a return to an ordered civil society.¹⁴⁰ Overall, it seems each white participating in the Haitian Revolution had his own, vague set of reasons for doing so, but ideology and money seem most common.

Philanthropic activity in colonial Saint-Domingue preceded and followed the Haitian Revolution, and whites were involved in all phases of the revolution in Saint-Domingue. Within the political sphere, Saint-Dominguan philanthropists operated both in the colony and the metropole, developing ideas in the Caribbean and carrying them with them across the Atlantic to France. Their sentiments often appeared in their political actions, as they worked across racial lines and worked to achieve abolition and racial equality. Whites served in all capacities of colonial government, from mayors and seneschals to colonial deputies to France and members of Louverture's constitutional committee. Working and living as citizens under the colonial government, some whites also took an active role in the abolition movement within the political sphere, voting on the issue of emancipation and electing representatives of the colony to go to France. Some whites fought for the rights of free people of color, achieved general emancipation, and continued to strive for the maintenance of abolition after 1794.

In their struggle for the abolition of racial inequalities and slavery, white *philantropes* participating in Saint-Dominguan politics influenced the Haitian Revolution. While collaborating across racial lines, whites played crucial roles at important moments in the revolution. The first civil commission unlocked the possibilities of the revolution by granting amnesty to and negotiating with the slave insurgents. Vergniaud actively campaigned among the citizens of Le Cap on behalf of abolition, rallying them to vote for a decree of general emancipation decree and presented to the French National Convention by another white political activist and abolitionist, Dufay. Other examples included the racially-mixed Intermediary Commission, Louverture's Constituent Assembly, and Louverture's diplomatic agent, Bunel. Further, the continual presence of whites in colonial politics contributed to the progress of the Haitian Revolution, perhaps more subtly. Despite the tumultuous political climate during the French Atlantic revolutions, there were always whites visibly participating in Saint-Dominguan politics, from advising French representatives in the colony and representing Saint-Domingue in France, to coauthoring a colonial constitution and engaging in diplomacy.

NOTES

1. Stein, *Leger Felicite Sonthonax*; Anna Julia Cooper, *Slavery and the French Revolutionists (1788–1805)* Frances Richardson Keller, trans. (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellon Press, 1988); Roger G. Kennedy, *Orders from France: The Americans and the French in a Revolutionary World, 1780–1820* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989).

2. For his personnel file, see E182, ANOM; Lieutenant-Général Baron Pamphile de Lacroix, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la révolution de Saint-Domingue* (Paris: Pillet Ainé, 1820), p. 20; Garran, *Rapport sur les troubles*, vol. I, p. 110.
3. John D. Garrigus, *Before Haiti: Race and Citizenship in French Saint-Domingue* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 231.
4. They treated this formerly prominent white colonist just as they would have an enslaved leader of a rebellion, such as Boukman Dutty in 1791.
5. Garran, *Rapport sur les troubles*, vol. I, p. 110; Léonard Leblois, *au calomniateur THEROU, et à ses complices, tous colons blancs, ennemis nés de la liberté et de l'égalité*, F 6 4, ANOM. See also Michelet, *Mémoires d'un enfant*, p. 191. Michelet explained that Ferrand de Baudières acted against his own interests and paid with his life.
6. Thomas Madiou, in writing about Ferrand des Baudières, claimed that "the first martyr for liberty in Saint-Domingue was a white whose philanthropic sentiments distinguished him from others." See *Histoire d'Haïti*, vol. 1 (Port-au-Prince: Courtois, 1847), p. 37. Further, one nineteenth-century encyclopedia of France labeled Ferrand des Baudières "the first of the philanthropes who died in the colonies in defense of the rights of man." See M. Ph. le Bas, *France: Dictionnaire Encyclopédique*, vol. 7 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1842), p. 782.
7. Cauna, *Haïti: L'Eternelle Révolution*, p. 75.
8. Garran, *Rapport sur les troubles*, pp. 21–23.
9. "Séance 28 September 1791, au matin," *Archives parlementaire*, vol. 31, p. 438; Garran, *Rapport sur les troubles*, vol. 2, pp. 306–311.
10. Jean-François and Biassou to the Commissioners, 12 December 1791, translated and transcribed in Laurent Dubois and John D. Garrigus, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean, 1789–1804: A Brief History with Documents* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 100–101.
11. Jean-François and Biassou to the Commission, 21 December 1791, in Dubois and Garrigus, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean*, p. 102.
12. Garran, *Rapport sur les troubles*, vol. 2, pp. 550–552.
13. Garran, *Rapport sur les troubles*, vol. 3, pp. 25–29; Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, 137.
14. Proclamation of 12 October 1792 in Jean-Philippe Garran de Coulon, *Débats entre les accusateurs et les accusés, dans l'affaire des colonies*, vol. 1 (Paris: Imprimeur nationale, 1795), pp. 42–47; Garran, *Rapport sur les troubles*, vol. 3, p. 167, 173–175; *Précis historique des annales de la révolution à St. Domingue*, vol. 1, p. 86.
15. Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, p. 146.
16. Garran, *Rapport sur les troubles*, vo. 1, p. 162; Joseph Saint-Rémy, *Pétion et Haïti: Etude monographique et historique* (Paris: Librairie Berger-Levrault, 1956), p. 71.

17. Larchevesque-Thibaud and d'Augy, "Lettre de l'Assemblée provinciale de la partie du Nord de St-Domingue, à Messieurs des comités de l'Ouest et du Sud, sur le projet d'ordonnance pour la convocation d'une assemblée générale de la colonie," 24 Décembre 1789 (s.i.: n.p., 1790). D'Augy, one of the heads of "the colonial party," fled for France in December 1792, having disagreed with Sonthonax's attempts to integrate the Regiment of Le Cap. H. Castonnet des Fosses, *La perte d'une colonie, la révolution de Saint-Domingue* (Paris: Librairie Africaine et Coloniale, 1893), p. 116.
18. "Réponses, 96–80 Raboteau (Antilles, Guyane, Louisiane)," *Généalogie et Histoire de la Caraïbe*, no. 87 (1996), pp. 1794–1795.
19. Chotard published several books related to revolutionary events after fleeing Saint-Domingue. See Chotard, *Précis de la révolution de Saint-Domingue, depuis la fin de 1789, jusqu'au 18 juin 1794* (Philadelphia: Parent, 1795), *Quelle peut être la garantie de la République française dans ses colonies des Antilles?* (Paris: Courcier, 1800), and *Origine des malheurs de Saint-Domingue développement du système colonial, et moyens de restauration* (Bordeaux: Dubois et Coudert, an XIII [1805?]). After returning to Paris, he also printed a newspaper in 1796, the *Journal historique de la marine et des colonies*.
20. Saint-Rémy, *Pétion et Haïti*, p. 71.
21. Garrigus, *Before Haiti*, p. 289; Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, p. 119.
22. Only nine members of the Commission signed the proclamation, and the missing signatories were three men of color. Commission intermédiaire, 25 Octobre 1792, DXXV 112, AN.
23. Proclamation of 12 Octobre 1792 in Garran de Coulon, *Débats entre les accusateurs et les accusés*, pp. 46–47.
24. Popkin, *You Are All Free*, pp. 258–259. For more on Robquin, see his Legion of Honor dossier, LH/2357/17, AN.
25. Robquin quoted in Elizabeth Colwill, "'Fêtes de l'Hymen, Fêtes de la Liberté': Marriage, Manhood, and Emancipation in Revolutionary Saint-Domingue," in *The World of the Haitian Revolution*, p. 125.
26. Vergniaud to the Commission of the Marine, 26 nivôse an 3, EE 1761 1, ANOM.
27. Garran, *Rapport sur les troubles*, pp. 54–55; Stein, *Léger Félicité Sonthonax*, pp. 88–89.
28. Sonthonax to Polverel, 25 August 1793, DXXV 44, AN quoted in Stein, *Léger Félicité Sonthonax*, p. 89.
29. Etienne Polverel, 21 September 1793, DXXV 10, AN.
30. While the commissioners could have had a strong influence over the elections, the session of the electoral assembly was open to the public, ensur-

- ing at least the appearance of a democratic process. Stein, *Léger Félicité Sonthonax*, p. 95. For brief biographies of each representative, see Adolph Robert, Edgar Bourlonton, and Gaston Cougny, *Dictionnaire des parlementaires français de 1789 à 1889* (Paris: Bourlonton, 1891). Belley, vol. 1, p. 245; Boisson, vol. 1, p. 366; Dufay, vol. 2, p. 456; Garnot, vol. 3, p. 118; and Mills, vol. 4, p. 376.
31. "Décret d'ordre du jour sur la demande du citoyen Laforest aîné, premier suppléant de la partie du Nord de Saint-Domingue," 2 Thermidor an 2, *Collection des lois et décrets: Approuvée et encouragée par le comité de salut public de la Convention Nationale*, vol. 2 (Douai: Lagarde, 1794–1795), p. 53.
 32. *Lettre écrite de New-York par les députés de Saint-Domingue, à leurs commettans. Imprimée par ordre de la Convention Nationale*, 14 December 1793; Robert, Bourlonton, and Cougny, *Dictionnaire des parlementaires français*, vol. 3, p. 118.
 33. "Discours d'un des députés de Saint-Domingue prononcé dans la séance du 16 pluviôse, promis dans le numéro d'hier," *Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur, depuis la réunion des états-généraux jusqu'au consulat*, vol. 19 (Paris: Bureau Central, 1941), p. 393.
 34. Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, 157. During their stopover in the United States, the deputies encountered some French citizens who shared their ideas. Dufay detailed the positive treatment he and his colleagues received from Edmond Charles Genet and their "brothers, the true French." Dufay to the civil commissioners, 4 October 1793, Dxxv 6, Dossier 54, AN.
 35. The proslavery lobbyists Pierre François Page and Augustin-Jean Brulley pressured the Committee of General Security to arrest the deputies. Garran, *Rapport sur les troubles*, vol. 4, pp. 556–560.
 36. Florence Gauthier, "Inédits de Belley, Mills et Dufay, députés de Saint-Domingue, de Roume et du Comité de Salut public," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, no. 302 (1995), p. 607.
 37. The National Convention, "The Abolition of Slavery," 4 February 1794 translated and transcribed in Dubois and Garrigus, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean*, pp. 129–132.
 38. "Discours d'un des députés de Saint-Domingue prononcé dans la séance du 16 pluviôse," pp. 389–391, 394.
 39. Letter from René François Borno-Déléard, 3 March 1794, Dxxv 28, Dossier 288, AN.
 40. *Recueil des dépositions faites pour et contre le Sr. P. Dormenon*, pp. 7–8.
 41. Jacques Nicolas Léger, *Haiti, Her History and Her Detractors* (Westport, Connecticut: Negro Universities Press, 1970), p. 71.

42. *Motion d'ordre faite par Dufay, député de Saint-Domingue, sur les moyens de rétablir l'ordre dans les colonies*, Conseil des Cinq-Cents, 3 Vendémiaire an 6 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, an 6), p. 2.
43. Dubois, *Avengeurs of the New World*, p. 205.
44. Stein, *Leger Félicité Sonthonax*, p. 161.
45. Madison Smartt Bell, *Toussaint Louverture: A Biography* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2007), pp. 132–134.
46. Dubois, *Avengeurs of the New World*, p. 205.
47. J.-C. Dorsainvil, *Manuel d'histoire d'Haïti* (Port-au-Prince: Editions Henri Deschamps, 1958), p. 91.
48. Beaubrun Ardouin, *Etudes sur l'histoire d'Haïti suivies de la vie du général J.-M. Borgella*, vol. 3 (Paris: Dezobry et E. Magdeleine, 1853), p. 310.
49. Bernard Gainot, "La société des amis des noirs et des colonies, 1796–1799," *La Société des Amis des Noirs, 1788–1799: Contribution à l'histoire de l'abolition de l'esclavage*, Marcel Dorigny and Bernard Gainot (Paris: UNESCO, 1998), p. 340, 337.
50. Bernard Gainot, "The Constitutionalization of General Freedom under the Directory," *The Abolitions of Slavery: From L. F. Sonthonax to Victor Schoelcher, 1793, 1794, 1848* (Paris: UNESCO, 2003), p. 183.
51. Carolyn E. Fick, "The Saint-Domingue Slave Revolution and the Unfolding of Independence, 1791–1804," *The World of the Haitian Revolution*, Geggus and Fiering, eds., p. 179.
52. *Rapport fait par Doulcet...sur les élections de Saint-Domingue*, 5 Ventôse, an V (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1797); Gainot, "The Constitutionalization of General Freedom under the Directory," pp. 180–196. For brief biographies of each representative see Robert, Bourlonton, and Cougny, *Dictionnaire des parlementaires français*.
53. Miranda Frances Spieler, *Empire and Underworld: Captivity in French Guiana* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), p. 55.
54. *Rapport fait par Doulcet*, p. 2.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 6–7.
57. Auguste Kuscinski, *Les députés au corps législative, conseil des cinq-cents, conseil des anciens, de l'an iv à l'an vii* (Paris: Société de l'histoire de la révolution française, 1905), pp. 178–179.
58. Seymour Drescher, *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 151; Nelly Schmidt, *Abolitionnistes de l'esclavage et réformateurs des colonies: 1820–1851: analyse et documents* (Karthala, 2000), p. 56; and Lawrence C. Jennings, *French Anti-Slavery: The Movement for the Abolition of Slavery in France, 1802–1848* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 3. See also Dorigny and Gainot, *La Société des Amis des Noirs, 1788–1799*.

59. Drescher, *Abolition*, p. 151.
60. Bernard Gainot, "La société des amis des noirs et des colonies," pp. 329–367.
61. *Ibid.*, pp. 329–330.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 332–334.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 336, 359.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 355.
65. Napoleon Bonaparte, "Proclamation to the Citizens of Saint-Domingue," in Laura Mason and Tracey Rizzo, *The French Revolution: A Document Collection* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin), p. 348.
66. Napoleon Bonaparte, "Meeting of the Council of the State on the Subject of the Colonies," 16 August 1880, in *Autour de Bonaparte. Journal de comte P.-L. Roederer, ministre et conseiller d'état*, (Paris: Daragon, 1909), 16.
67. *Précis historique des annales de la révolution à St. Domingue*, Vol. 2, p. 144; Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, p. 242.
68. Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, p. 242; Moïse, *Le Projet National de Toussaint Louverture*, pp. 31–32, 35.
69. Moïse, *Le Projet National de Toussaint Louverture*, pp. 31–32, 35, 37.
70. *Ibid.*, pp. 38–39.
71. *Constitution of the French Colony of Saint-Domingue*, in Dubois and Garrigus, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean*, p. 168.
72. *Ibid.*
73. Philippe Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon: Toussaint Louverture and the Haitian War of Independence, 1801–1804* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011), p. 28.
74. Périès to Minister of the Marine and Colonies, 28 August 1801, and Périès to Lagarde, 29 August 1801, printed in Gabriel Debien and Pierre Pluchon, "Avant l'Expédition Leclerc (1789–1801): Les Lettres de Périès," *Revue de la Société haïtienne d'histoire et de géographie*, vol. 44, no. 151 (1986), p. 35.
75. Dufay to the civil commissioners, 4 October 1793, Dossier 54, DXXV 6, ANOM.
76. Police prefect to the Minister of the General Police, 28 prairial an 9, F7 6266, AN.
77. "Rapport au Premier Consul sur Gaston de Nogérée envoyé de Toussaint-Louverture," 15 Nivose an 10, F7 6266, AN.
78. "Notes sur Vincent de St. Domingue," F7 6266, AN.
79. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon*, p. 49.
80. Vauneuf to the Minister of the Marine, 26 July 1792, E 384, ANOM.
81. Vauneuf to the Minister of the Marine, 8 June 1800, quoted in François Blancpain, *La condition des paysans haïtiens: du code noir aux codes ruraux* (Paris: Editions Karthala, 2003), p. 107.

82. Popkin, *You Are All Free*, p. 329, 341–344, 352–354.
83. Paul François Page, *Traité d'économie politique et de commerce des colonies*, vol. 2, quoted in Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoléon*, p. 186.
84. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoléon*, p. 35.
85. Colonel Malenfant, *Des Colonies, et particulièrement de celle de Saint-Domingue* (Paris: Chez Audibert, 1814), p. 128.
86. Bernard Gainot, "La société des amis des noirs et des colonies," pp. 341–344, 366.
87. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoléon*, p. 61.
88. Carl Ludwig Lokke, "The Leclerc Instructions," *The Journal of Negro History* vol. 10, no. 1 (1925), pp. 94–95.
89. Périès to Minister of the Marine and Colonies, 28 August 1801, printed in Gabriel Debien and Pierre Pluchon, "Avant l'Expédition Leclerc (1789–1801): Les Lettres de Périès," *Revue de la Société haïtienne d'histoire et de géographie*, vol. 44, no. 151 (1986), p. 35.
90. Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, p. 227.
91. Périès to Minister of the Marine and Colonies, 28 August 1801, printed in Debien and Pluchon, "Avant l'Expédition Leclerc," p. 33.
92. Moreau de Saint Méry, *Description topographique, physique, civile, politique et historique de la partie française de Saint-Domingue*, Blanche Maurel and Etienne Taillemite, eds., vol. 3 (Paris: Société de l'histoire des colonies françaises, 1958), p. 1369.
93. Vincent, "Notice sur un grand nombre d'hommes civils et militaires," Annexe I in Auguste, Claude Bonaparte, *Les déportés de Saint-Domingue: Contribution à l'histoire de l'expédition française de Saint-Domingue, 1802–1803* (Sherbrooke, Québec: Editions Naaman, 1979), p. 140, 141.
94. Jean Lavalatte to Rochambeau, 24 June 1802, *Calendar of the Rochambeau Papers*, ed. Laura V. Monti (Gainesville: University of Florida Libraries, 1972), p. 80.
95. Leclerc to the Minister of the Marine, 18 July 1802, *Lettres du General Leclerc*, Paul Roussier, ed. (Paris: Société de l'histoire des colonies françaises, 1937), p. 194.
96. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoléon*, p. 152.
97. Vincent, "Notice sur un grand nombre d'hommes civils et militaires," in *Les déportés de Saint-Domingue*, p. 138.
98. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon*, p. 152. Bunel has "often" been "described as mixed race in the English-language literature." This may be unintentional, as an eighteenth-century white Frenchman's political and familial collaboration across racial lines may seem inconceivable for some modern authors. Girard explains the mistaken racial characterization of Bunel as "a logical shortcut that overlooked the considerable racial complexity prevailing in Dominguan society." See Girard, "Trading

- Races: Joseph and Marie Bunel, a Diplomat and a Merchant in Revolutionary Saint-Domingue and Philadelphia,” *Journal of the Early Republic*, vol. 30, no. 3 (2010), p. 361.
99. It was also this complexity that brought Bunel back to Haiti after its independence, welcomed by Dessalines and Christophe. See Girard, “Trading Races,” pp. 369–373.
 100. Périès to Minister of the Marine and Colonies, 28 August 1801, printed in Debien and Pluchon, “Avant l’Expédition Leclerc,” p. 35.
 101. Garry Willis, *‘Negro President’: Jefferson and the Slave Power* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2003), p. 41.
 102. Jacques de Cauna, “La face cache de Toussaint Louverture,” *Saint-Domingue espagnol et la révolution nègre d’Haïti (1790–1822)*, Alain Yacou, ed. (Paris: Karthala, 2007), p. 311.
 103. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoléon*, p. 108.
 104. Vincent, “Notice sur un grand nombre d’hommes civils et militaires,” in *Les déportés de Saint-Domingue*, p. 140.
 105. Jacques Nicolas Léger, *Haiti, her history and her detractors* (New York: Neale, 1907), p. 293.
 106. Périès to Minister of the Marine and Colonies, 28 August 1801, printed in Debien and Pluchon, “Avant l’Expédition Leclerc,” p. 35.
 107. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoléon*, p. 125.
 108. Vincent, “Notice sur un grand nombre d’hommes civils et militaires,” in *Les déportés de Saint-Domingue*, p. 138.
 109. Périès to Minister of the Marine and Colonies, 28 August 1801, printed in Debien and Pluchon, “Avant l’Expédition Leclerc,” p. 35.
 110. *Ibid.*, p. 35, 33.
 111. “Biographical index,” *La révolution de Haïti*, ed. Pierre Pluchon (Paris: Karthala, 1995), p. 499.
 112. Lokke, “The Leclerc Instructions,” p. 94.
 113. Madison Smartt Bell, *Toussaint Louverture: A Biography* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2007), p. 225.
 114. Vincent, “Notice sur un grand nombre d’hommes civils et militaires,” in *Les déportés de Saint-Domingue*, p. 139.
 115. Périès to Minister of the Marine and Colonies, 28 August 1801, printed in Debien and Pluchon, “Avant l’Expédition Leclerc,” p. 35.
 116. Victor Emmanuel Leclerc, Decree, 26 August 1802, *Calendar of the Rochambeau Papers*, p. 122.
 117. Périès to Minister of the Marine and Colonies, 28 August 1801, printed in Debien and Pluchon, “Avant l’Expédition Leclerc,” p. 35. Vincent, “Notice sur un grand nombre d’hommes civils et militaires,” in *Les déportés de Saint-Domingue*, p. 140. Périès spelled her name Denayre, while Vincent spelled it Danire. Within the Rochambeau Papers, her name is

- spelled Denaire and Denayre. See for example record numbers 102 and 545, *Calendar of the Rochambeau Papers*, ed. Laura V. Monti, p. 21, 79.
118. "Biographical index," *La révolution de Haïti*, ed. Pierre Pluchon (Paris: Karthala, 1995), p. 481.
119. Antoine Michel, *La Mission du General Hédouville à Saint-Domingue* (Port-au-Prince: La Presse, 1929), p. 85.
120. Vincent, "Notice sur un grand nombre d'hommes civils et militaires," in *Les déportés de Saint-Domingue*, p. 138.
121. Périès to Minister of the Marine and Colonies, 28 August 1801, printed in Debien and Pluchon, "Avant l'Expédition Leclerc," p. 35.
122. Thomas Madiou, *Histoire d'Haïti*, vol. II (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie de Jh. Courtois, 1847), p. 268.
123. Ibid.
124. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon*, p. 147.
125. Adolphe Cabon, *Histoire d'Haïti: La Révolution, 1798-1804*, vol. iv (Brest: Imprimerie de la Presse libérale, 1937), 270. In his elegy before the Agricultural Society of the Department of Seine et Oise, Antoine Challan expressed, "The disastrous circumstances which followed and accompanied their arrival, did not permit the Colonial Prefect to engage in the philanthropy of his character." Antoine-D.-J.-B. Challan, *Eloge historique de Pierre Benezech, Conseiller d'état* (Versailles: Jacob, 1803), p. 25.
126. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon*, p. 147.
127. Michèle Oriol, "Télémaque, César," *Histoire et dictionnaire de la Révolution et de l'Indépendance d'Haïti, 1789-1804* (Port-au-Prince: Fondation pour la Recherche Iconographique et Documentaire et Michèle Oriol, 2002), p. 245.
128. Vincent, "Notice sur un grand nombre d'hommes civils et militaires," in *Les déportés de Saint-Domingue*, p. 138.
129. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon*, p. 89.
130. Leclerc to the Minister of the Marine, 9 February 1802, *Lettres du General Leclerc*, p. 72.
131. Oriol, "Télémaque, César," p. 245.
132. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon*, p. 324.
133. Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, pp. 136-137, 119.
134. Ardouin, *Etudes sur l'histoire d'Haïti*, vol. 5, 1853-1860), pp. 492-493.
135. Ardouin, *Etudes sur l'histoire d'Haïti*, vol. 7, pp. 519-520.
136. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon*, p. 35.
137. Rapport du Premier Consul, 23 April 1801, EE760 33, ANOM.
138. Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, p. 285; Gainot, "La société des amis des noirs et des colonies," p. 360.
139. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon*, p. 312.

140. Miranda Frances Spieler explains how Saint-Domingue lacked a constitutional framework for most of the 1790s. For example, the colony lacked an official court system, and most of the legal responsibilities were handled by the remaining notaries. See Spieler, "The Legal Structure of Colonial Rule during the French Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly* vol. LXVI, no. 2 (2009), pp. 365–408.



Conclusion: Atlantic Philanthropists in Revolutionary Saint-Domingue

Atlantic philanthropists made important contributions to the Haitian Revolution through the Catholic Church, learned societies, educational institutions, the press, the military, and direct political action. The revolutionary upheaval upended any assumed racial hierarchies, and colonists of all colors and levels of society chose to work across racial lines. Some whites openly challenged the dominant racial divisions in the Old Regime French Atlantic. Among these were Catholic clergy, educators, newspapermen, military servicemen, and politicians who put aside their racial ideologies to collaborate with blacks and people of color. These whites, many of whom were long-term residents of the colony, led, worked alongside, and even served under blacks and people of color. With various motives, approaches, and outcomes, a small group of white philanthropists strove to improve the lives of peoples of African descent.

To bring the stories in each thematically focused chapter together, I will outline the involvement of philanthropists in the Haitian Revolution chronologically. While both thematic and chronological structures have benefits for writing history, dividing these chapters thematically was more effective for showing the continuities and changes over time in white participation in various areas of society. The involvement of whites through the Catholic Church, social institutions, armed service, and politics followed differing trajectories throughout the revolution. For example, the religious seemed to make a consistent progression from the humane

treatment of the enslaved to abolition. In contrast, learned societies and institutions of education dramatically shifted from proslavery and antislavery positions from the Old Regime to the mid-1790s. Further, thematic divisions allow for clearer dialogue with other scholars, as seen in my research on the religious. The chapter on that subject directly challenges the historiographical contention that the Catholic Church disappeared after 1791. Therefore, it was vital to address the benevolent actions of the white religious as a cohesive whole. After providing a thematic account in the five chapters, now I can show the concerted efforts of white involvement through a chronological narrative.

In the Old Regime in Saint-Domingue, two white-dominated institutions, the Catholic Church and armed services, offered possibilities of humane treatment for slaves, avenues to freedom, and improved social status for people of color. Catholic missionaries accompanied the earliest settlers of colonial Saint-Domingue, and Catholicism greatly influenced the *Code noir*, which regulated relations between masters and the enslaved. The religious tried to be good examples as paternalist slave owners, keeping families together, referring to slaves as servants, and frequently practicing manumission.¹ By embracing the Catholic faith and trusting the religious, some slaves received better treatment and even obtained their freedom. Similarly, whites emancipated slaves who served in the Saint-Dominguan *maréchaussée*. Armed service also offered free people of color opportunities to improve their social conditions by proving their loyalty to France and challenging racial prejudices. Men of color served in the colonial militia and military, even fighting in the American Revolutionary War.² Protecting colonial Saint-Domingue from internal and external threats presented the enslaved and free people of color with possibilities for achieving freedom and confronting racial stereotypes. In the Old Regime, Saint-Dominguan whites helped some slaves and free coloreds overcome the racial challenges in the colony through the Catholic Church and armed services.

In contrast, colonial institutions and political administration reinforced slavery and racial inequalities in prerevolutionary Saint-Domingue. Learned societies, education, and the press were racially exclusive and served to maintain slavery and white solidarity. Saint-Domingue's learned society, the *Cercle des Philadelphes*, did not have any members of color, and its most significant project was a survey to improve the commercial benefits of slavery.³ The organization represented the close relationship between knowledge and colonialism. While colonial education was somewhat

racially integrated in the Old Regime, free people of color did not have the same social or political rights as whites who had a similar education.⁴ Both the *Cercle* and colonial schools used newspapers to advertise their racially exclusive institutions. Politicians also sought to maintain the racial hierarchy, as well as slavery. This was particularly visible in relations between the religious and the enslaved. For example, the Council of Le Cap expelled the Jesuits from colonial Saint-Domingue for having the enslaved participate in religious conversion.⁵ In the Old Regime, Saint-Dominguan social and political institutions embodied inequality, resulting from and supporting the institution of slavery.

The French Revolution forced white Saint-Dominguans to choose sides on important issues. While whites had been socioeconomically divided before 1789, the French Revolution offered *petits blancs* hope for political equality among all whites. The *petits blancs* used the *Moniteur Général de la Partie Française de Saint-Domingue* to voice their grievances against the *grands blancs* and the Constituent Assembly in Paris.⁶ The French Revolution further divided the Catholic clergy in colonial Saint-Domingue as well. Before 1789, the orders divided religious authority over the colony. In 1790, the Constituent Assembly issued the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and required the clergy members to swear an oath to it. In Saint-Domingue, most of the Capuchins took the oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, but many Dominicans refused, representing approximately half of the clergy.⁷ The arrival of the French Revolution in Saint-Domingue created multiple rifts within the white population, revealing individuals who challenged presumed definitions of whiteness.

Rights for free people of color were the second revolutionary issue to confront Saint-Dominguan whites. Various whites used their positions in society to voice their support of the free colored population, with differing consequences. Olivier, a white church warden in Port-au-Prince, sang a Te Deum to celebrate decrees from France giving free people of color citizenship. Whites who opposed the decrees labeled Olivier a “fanatic aristocrat” for his support of free coloreds and the French Revolution.⁸ Another white man, Pierre Marie Sébastien Catineau-Laroche decided to publish *l'Ami de l'Egalité* to unite the whites and free people of color in Port-au-Prince. His decision led to his arrest and censorship of his newspaper.⁹ While some colonists stigmatized Olivier and Catineau, other colonists killed whites who supported rights for free people of color. During warring between free people of color and whites in the West, Colonel Thomas-Antoine Mauduit de Plessis organized a racially integrated military unit to

restore order. After calling upon men of color and free blacks to serve under him, angry white residents publicly executed him, paraded his mutilated body throughout town, and placed his head on a stake.¹⁰ Ferrand de Baudière suffered a similar fate for drafting a petition for free men of color in Petit-Goâve. Local whites decapitated him and forced his white co-conspirator to ride a donkey through the parish carrying Ferrand de Baudière's head.¹¹ Opposing colonists treated these men as though they were of African descent because they forfeited their claims to whiteness through philanthropic actions. Despite consequences as grave as these, a minority of whites chose to support rights for free people of color, whether in politics, the military, the press, or the Catholic Church.

The clergy reacted publicly in support of the slave insurrection in the North Province in 1791. Fathers Sulpice, Cachetan, and Philemon publicly demonstrated their sympathy and antislavery sentiments. After the execution and mutilation of Boukman Dutty, a leader of the initial slave uprising, Father Sulpice traveled throughout the parishes signing masses for Dutty's soul, using Catholicism to contest the brutality employed against the slave insurrectionists.¹² Similarly, Father Cachetan supported the slave uprising through his Catholic duties, serving as a chaplain among the rebels. He had not been taken prisoner; he lived amongst the slave insurrectionists willingly and referred to them as his parishioners.¹³ More dramatically, Father Philemon supposedly joined the slave insurgents, engaging in revolutionary violence. He allegedly instructed them in barricading a distillery, and led them in raping captive white females.¹⁴ Both Cachetan and Philemon were arrested for joining the slave revolutionaries, something the majority of whites in the colony found unthinkable. From signing masses and ministering to alleged physical and sexual violence, some benevolent members of the clergy of colonial Saint-Domingue supported the slave uprising in 1791.

Whites from both sides of the French Atlantic worked simultaneously to quell the slave uprising in 1791. To restore order and offer an amnesty, the French Legislative Assembly sent the first civil commission, comprised of Philippe Roume de Saint-Laurent, Edmond de Saint-Léger, and Frédéric Ignace de Mirbeck.¹⁵ These white men sent from France were willing to negotiate with the insurrectionists, setting an irreversible precedent. They recognized the humanity of peoples of African descent. Fathers Sulpice and Guillaume Sylvestre de la Haye aided the civil commissioners in their negotiations. Sulpice explained the royal decree of amnesty to the rebel leaders Jean-François Papillon and Biassou, which was offered to the

insurrectionists by the civil commissioners.¹⁶ De la Haye, while living in Jean-François Papillon's rebel camp, provided counsel to the black leader and drafted proposals to present to the civil commission.¹⁷ Together, the civil commissioners sent from France and the Capuchin priests already living in Saint-Domingue attempted to negotiate an end to the slave rebellion and perhaps improve the lives of peoples of African descent.

Some Atlantic philanthropists closely allied with the second civil commission in granting rights to free people of color and achieving and protecting general emancipation. Soon after arriving in the colonial Saint-Domingue, civil commissioners Léger Félicité Sonthonax and Etienne Polverel dissolved the Colonial Assembly and replaced it with a racially integrated Intermediary Commission. Father Boucher served as President of the Intermediary Commission, and became a member of the commissioners' advisory council.¹⁸ Father de la Haye also participated in this advisory council, while publishing the *Feuille de Jour*, which advocated abolition.¹⁹ De la Haye's was not the only newspaper to support the end of slavery. After the clash between the governor general François Thomas Galbaud and the civil commissioners in Le Cap in June 1793, Catineau shifted the position of the *l'Ami de l'Egalité* to include abolition as well.²⁰ Simultaneously, Guillaume-Henri Vergniaud, former member of the Intermediary Commission and a part of the advisory council to the civil commissioners, rallied some of the citizenry of Le Cap to vote for a general emancipation decree.²¹ After the emancipation decree, some whites continued to work to safeguard abolition. One of these was Lamotte, a white artillery captain of the Legion of Equality of the West, created by the second civil commission. As the leader of a "company of blacks," he pleaded for more "brave brothers republicans of France" to come to Saint-Domingue to help ensure the freedom of the blacks, "still shaky in many minds."²² White residents of Saint-Domingue advised the civil commissioners, supported free people of color, and aided in achieving and protected general emancipation.

After the emancipation declaration, a white priest and a military officer convinced Toussaint Louverture to abandon his allegiance to the Spanish and join the French. To this end, French General Etienne Maynaud Bizefranc de Laveaux corresponded with Louverture in the spring of 1794.²³ Father de la Haye was the intermediary in—and possibly even initiated—secret negotiations between Louverture and Laveaux regarding Louverture's change of alliances from the Spanish to the French.²⁴ After Louverture joined the French, Laveaux and de la Haye remained a part of

the black leader's inner circle. In fact, Louverture's "relationship with Laveaux" developed over time into "a genuinely affectionate friendship and partnership."²⁵ After general emancipation, definitions of whiteness were evolving to include racial equality, or perhaps, whiteness was becoming irrelevant as revolutionaries worked to eradicate racial inequalities. This important alliance between Louverture and the French, facilitated by two white men, was a turning point in the Haitian Revolution.

In the years following the emancipation decree, whites continued to collaborate across racial lines in colonial Saint-Domingue and Paris. After the recall of the second civil commission, the French legislature sent a third set of commissioners in 1796. This third commission included members of the first two commissions, particularly Roume and Sonthonax. Two pressing matters faced these new commissioners: colonial elections to the Legislative Corps and social institutions. In 1796 and 1797, Saint-Dominguans elected deputies to send to Paris, including the whites Laveaux, Sonthonax, Martin-Noël Brothier, Claude Pierre Joseph Leborgne de Boigne and Vergniaud. From Paris, the deputies sought to protect general emancipation within the French Atlantic through service in the Legislative Corps and membership in the *Amis des Noirs et des Colonies*.²⁶ Across the Atlantic, whites in Saint-Domingue continued to safeguard abolition using learned societies and public instruction. Alexandre-Benjamin Giroud organized the *société libre des sciences, des arts et belles lettres*, a racially integrated organization modeled on the National Institute of Sciences and Arts in Paris. The learned society promoted racial equality by highlighting the intelligence of black and colored men.²⁷ Under the direction of the civil commission, whites and people of color in colonial Saint-Domingue also established interracial institutions of education. Philanthropists, such as Quendoy and Jean Alexandre Paulmier, served as school masters and teachers.²⁸ Also, whites on plantations shared their knowledge of reading and writing with illiterate blacks.²⁹ Through social institutions, peoples of all colors advanced the education and knowledge of Saint-Domingue's citizenry. In Paris, whites represented Saint-Dominguans and politically protected abolition and racial equality.

Many whites helped expand Louverture's regime militarily and politically. In the War of the South, which allowed the black general to consolidate his power over the colony, Joseph Bunel de Blancamp and Christophe Huin were instrumental. Bunel facilitated intervention by the U.S. Navy, which engaged Louverture's enemies' forces at Jacmel and took the enemy leader André Rigaud hostage.³⁰ Huin, who had negotiated the British

withdrawal from the South, also convinced the British to end a blockade on Jacmel that was preventing the U.S. Navy from aiding Louverture.³¹ While Bunel secured the support of American naval vessels, Huin assured those ships could help by negotiating an end to the British blockage. The concerted efforts of Bunel and Huin were crucial for Louverture's success in the War of the South.

Other white politicians and military officers supported Louverture's leadership and the Constitution of 1801 in colonial Saint-Domingue and France. Alongside Louverture and men of color, whites Bernard Borgella, Philippe André Collet, and Gaston Nogérée aided in drafting the Constitution of 1801.³² The Constitution was another turning point in the Haitian Revolution, as citizens of all colors came together to forge a legal system that would restore order and fulfill the political desires of each race. After proclaiming the Constitution in Saint-Domingue, Louverture sent Colonel Charles-Humbert-Marie Vincent and Nogérée to deliver the document to Napoleon Bonaparte in France. Vincent was an ardent supporter of abolition, and he had served under Louverture since 1794. He also represented the black general in France on several occasions.³³ In Saint-Domingue, white creole officer François Marie Sébastien Pageot defended the Constitution. Louverture's nephew, Moïse, had led an uprising in the North Province, protesting against the new labor policy under the Constitution of 1801.³⁴ When Louverture arrested Moïse, Pageot presided over his military tribunal and found him guilty.³⁵ Both in the colony and the metropole, whites loyally supported and protected the Constitution of 1801.

After receiving colonial Saint-Domingue's Constitution, Bonaparte sent an expedition to Saint-Domingue under his brother-in-law, Charles Leclerc's leadership, who deported whites who had collaborated with black and colored Haitian revolutionaries. Bonaparte sought to restore the prerevolutionary racial hierarchy, with whites dominating Saint-Domingue. Leclerc sent Borgella and Collet—two of the white authors of the Constitution of 1801—back to France. He also deported a priest, Father Julien, who Leclerc suspected as Louverture's agent. This priest returned to Saint-Domingue from France in 1801, and he announced himself to Leclerc and Louverture upon arriving. He also ministered to the former slaves, though he maintained that none of them were rebels.³⁶ While Father Julien denied his connection to the revolution, Augustin d'Hébécourt and Pierre Agé had openly and actively aided the military efforts of the Haitian Revolution. The slave insurgents even nicknamed d'Hébécourt the "black-white."³⁷ He defied concepts of whiteness and blackness. Agé had served under

Louverture since 1796 and helped the black general take control of Spanish Santo Domingo.³⁸ From proprietors and politicians to priests and military officers, Leclerc deported many whites who participated on behalf of the Haitian Revolution.

Whites even lived on the island as citizens of Haiti after 1804. Nicolas Pierre Mallet was white man who fought for Haitian Independence, leading his own slaves into battle. He also signed the Haitian Declaration of Independence. Jéliens was a white artilleryman, who earned Haitian citizenship through his military abilities. He served the black and colored leaders of Haiti until his death. Germain Charles Verger, a secretary for free men of color in 1791, was a notary in Port-au-Prince and Haitian citizen until his death in 1812.³⁹ Roux was a white printer during the Old Regime who served the various revolutionary governments in colonial Saint-Domingue until 1804. After Haitian independence, he continued to be the government printer, and was named royal printer under Henry Christophe. Throughout his career, Roux published materials for men of all colors. As a confessor and adviser, Father Corneille Brelle served several Haitian leaders, including Louverture, Dessalines, and Christophe. White men helped Saint-Dominguans gain independence and continued to help build a Haitian nation beyond 1804.

Some of the whites who contributed to the Haitian Revolution seemed to follow a family tradition of promoting liberty and racial equality. The Mallet brothers—white, creole, slave owners—represented this most.⁴⁰ In 1760s, Jean-Pierre, Charles, and François Mallet collaborated with men of color in the South to fight against colonial militia reforms. They protested the arrest of a man of color, organized a rebellion, and occupied a plantation alongside other whites and free people of color.⁴¹ Through violent means, three of the Mallet brothers demonstrated their alliance with the free colored population of colonial Saint-Domingue. Decades later, another Mallet brother, Nicolas Pierre fought to maintain abolition and achieve Haitian Independence. Nicknamed Mallet *bon blanc* by the black revolutionaries, he commanded slaves—that he had freed on and recruited from all of the Mallet family plantations—as an officer in the *armée indigène* in the South under Jean-Jacques Dessalines. In January 1804, Mallet—the only white who did so—signed the Haitian Act of Independence, alongside blacks and men of color in Gonaïves.⁴² While separated by years and within dramatically different contexts, the Mallet brothers actively supported racial equality, abolition, and Haitian Independence.

The Caze brothers were another example of a white family participating in the Haitian Revolution. Two brothers, Jean-Paul Caze and Caze Jeune loyally served Louverture. In Paris, Caze Jeune, Louverture's *aide-de-camp*, contributed to the black general's image in the metropole. He requested that a Parisian newspaper publish a letter from Louverture depicting the former slave and Haitian revolutionary as a brave leader who had restored order to Saint-Domingue and as an ardent French republican.⁴³ Caze Jeune's brother, Jean-Paul, also represented Louverture outside of the colony. He was Louverture's intermediary in dealing with American merchants, particularly Stephen Girard. With the arrival of the Leclerc expedition, Jean-Paul attempted to safeguard the colonial treasury by sending a large sum to Philadelphia.⁴⁴ As a supporter of Louverture, Leclerc arrested Jean-Paul Caze. The Caze brothers supported Louverture's regime through their respective positions in the military and commercial politics.

Placing family before race, some white men who participated in the Haitian Revolution militarily and politically had married interracially. In many cases, whites who publicly supported rights for free people of color were related to a family of color through marriage. Pierre Charles Robquin and Pierre Nicolas Garnot were brothers-in-law of Charles Guillaume Castaing, their free colored colleague on the Intermediary Commission. In other cases, white men had fathered children of color with black or colored women. A Captain in a Legion of Equality, Louis Claudot was the father of a mixed daughter, whom he purchased and freed.⁴⁵ Under Louverture's regime, several whites were interracially married. One of Louverture's secretaries, Pascal, was the son-in-law of a free man of color, Julien Raimond. The white female administrator in Jérémie, Denayre, was Raimond's sister-in-law.⁴⁶ *Ordonnateur* under Louverture, Joseph-Antoine Idlinger also married a woman of color.⁴⁷ César Télémaque represented a rare instance where a free black man married a white French woman, who he met while living in Paris before the Haitian revolution.⁴⁸ While these interracial relationships were not a guarantee of support for rights for free people of color or abolition, there is a significant connection in the number of mixed marriages and offspring and support for these causes.

It is equally important to note the involvement of white creoles in the Haitian Revolution. Creoles did not live in isolation from the surrounding slave societies. They were born and raised in a world shaped by the institution of slavery and within a society built on racial hierarchy. Nonetheless, they took great economic and social risks to support rights for free people of color and the abolition of slavery. White creole Pageot supported both

causes. Before the revolution, he had been a proprietor. Yet, he led troops of color, fought for emancipation, and supported Louverture's regime during the Haitian Revolution. Similarly, creole Nicolas Pierre Mallet liberated the slaves on his family's plantations and led them into battle for Haitian independence. He was also the only white man to sign the Haitian declaration of independence. While Pageot and Mallet were both Saint-Dominguan creoles, Philippe Roume de Saint-Laurent was a white creole from Grenada. Although he was not born in Saint-Domingue, he had a similar background as a creole proprietor in the Caribbean. Roume served on the first and third civil commissions sent from France. He was the primary civil commissioner to negotiate with the rebel leaders Jean-François Papillon and Georges Biassou in 1791.⁴⁹ These examples of white creole philanthropists reflect how liberty and equality came from within the colony and the greater Caribbean.

White female philanthropists make a marginal appearance in this book, as their roles in the event were not always obvious or even mentioned in the primary sources. However, white women were not completely absent from the archives or printed primary sources of the Haitian Revolution. The nuns of Le Cap figured into the first chapter through their experiences with the slave uprising and their decision to stay in the colony despite the dangers. In the final chapter, Leclerc decided against deporting Denayre, a female administrator in Jérémie. While the sources revealed the active presence of these white women in Saint-Domingue during the revolution, it is difficult to discern if they made contributions to the causes of free people of color or abolition. Further, it is unclear how representative these women were of all white colonial women—a group with a low population during the Old Regime, which only decreased during the revolution. Although historians have begun to examine women's roles in colonial slave societies, the focus in the majority of the secondary literature on colored and black women in the Atlantic World during the Old Regime or after the revolution.⁵⁰ However, Philippe Girard recently emphasized the importance of women in the Haitian Revolution from 1802 to 1804 in an article in *Gender & History*, suggesting gender may have mattered as much as or more than race in the tumultuous atmosphere.⁵¹ Examining three issues for women in the colony—sexual desire, direct combat, and simultaneous identity—Girard devotes little attention to white women in his article. It is likely more work will emerge on the roles of white women in the Haitian Revolution as more scholarly research takes place.

What is certain is that philanthropists played integral parts in the Haitian Revolution. Clergy members, intellectuals, educators, newspapermen, military personnel, and politicians worked to gain rights for free people of color, end slavery, and gain Haitian independence. These contributions have been largely overlooked in the historiography of the revolution in Saint-Domingue, as well as the scholarly works on race and abolition. Most often, historians associate movements toward racial equality in colonial Saint-Domingue with the enslaved or free people of color, but they have overlooked an active white segment of the population in the colony. However, white participation is evident in the archival and printed primary sources. Tracing the contributions of whites does not degrade the centrality of the enslaved and free people of color in the revolution. Instead, it adds complexity to our historical understanding of an event typically defined by a stark contrast between black and white. Saint-Dominguan racial ideologies were far more fluid than has been assumed, and the Haitian Revolution further challenged racially constructed identities within the French Atlantic World. The Haitian Revolution was not just a revolution of slaves or even free people of color, but rather a broader phenomenon that touched all aspects of Saint-Dominguan society and included peoples of all colors.

NOTES

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3. McClellan, *Colonialism and Science*, pp. 238–239.
4. Garrigus, *Before Haiti*, p. 290.
5. Breathett, "Jesuits in Colonial Haiti," p. 170.
6. *Le Moniteur Général*, 20 December 1791, p. 146.
7. Janin, *La religion aux antilles françaises sous l'Ancien régime*, pp. 225–226; Peabody, "'A Dangerous Zeal,'" p. 73.
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16. Pamphile de Lacroix, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la révolution de Saint-Domingue*, p. 147.
17. Benot, *Les lumières, l'esclavage, la colonization*, p. 240.
18. Carteau, *Soirées Bermudiennes*, p. 82; Popkin, *You Are All Free*, pp. 258–259.
19. Popkin, *You Are All Free*, p. 259; Carteau, *Soirées Bermudiennes*, p. 82.
20. *L'Ami de l'Egalité*, 17 July 1793.
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22. Lamotte, 14 October 1794, F 3197, ANOM.
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24. Pamphile de Lacroix, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la révolution*, p. 299; Castonnet des Fosses, *Perte d'une colonie, la révolution de Saint-Domingue*, p. 159.
25. Smartt Bell, *Toussaint Louverture*, p. 108.
26. Drescher, *Abolition*, p. 151.
27. Chagny, "Voyage scientifique et politique coloniale," p. 77.
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40. Mangonès, "Le Colon Mallet," pp. 19–45.
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50. See for example, *More than Chattel: Black Women and Slavery in the Americas*, David Gaspar Barry and Darlene Clark Hine, eds. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996); *Gender and Slave Emancipation in the Atlantic World*, Pamela Scully and Diana Paton, eds. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Doris Garraway, *The Libertine Colony: Creolization in the Early French Caribbean* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); *The Devil's Lane: Sex and Race in the South* Catherine Clinton and Michele Gillespie, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Marli F. Weiner, *Mistress and Slaves: Plantation Women in South Carolina, 1830–80* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998); John D. Garrigus, "Redrawing the Colour Line: Gender and the Social Construction of Race in Pre-Revolutionary Haiti," *The Journal of Caribbean History* vol. 30, nos. 1 & 2 (1996), pp. 29–50; David Barry Gaspar and Darlene Clark Hine, eds., *Beyond Bondage: Free Women of Color in the Americas*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004).
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CHRONOLOGY

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- 1626 The French established colonies in the Antilles
1636 Louis XIII authorized slavery in French colonies
1685 Louis XIV issued the *Code noir*
1697 Spain ceded the western half of Hispaniola to the French through the Treaty of Ryswick
1721 The Conseil du Cap established the *maréchaussée*
1756 Seven Years' War began
1757 François Makandal conspired to poison all whites in the North Province of Saint-Domingue
1763 Colonial authorities expelled the Jesuits from Saint Domingue; Seven Years' War ended
1769 White and colored colonists in Saint-Domingue revolted against reforms to the colonial militia
1772 A Catholic priest founded a convent in Le Cap
1775 American colonists founded the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery
1776 The American Revolution began
1778 France entered the American War of Independence
1779 The *Chasseurs-Volontaires de Saint-Domingue* served in the expeditionary corps sent to Savannah, Georgia
1783 Peace of Paris signed, ending the American Revolution
1784 Colonists in Saint-Domingue founded the *Cercle des Philadelphes*
1787 Louis XVI called for a meeting of the Estates General
1788 Philanthropists founded the *Société des Amis des Noirs* in Paris
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- 1789 May: The Estates General convened in Versailles
 June: Members of the Estates General formed the National Assembly in France
 July: The Estates General admitted six deputies from Saint-Domingue
 August 26: The National Assembly approved the *Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen*
 November: The National Assembly nationalized Church property
- 1790 February: The National Assembly forbade monastic vows; colonists held elections for an assembly in Saint Marc
 March 8 & 28: The National Assembly passed the Laws on the Colonies
 July 12: The National Constituent Assembly passed the Civil Constitution of the Clergy
 September: The Saint Marc Colonial Assembly adjourned, and its members fled to France
 October: Vincent Ogé led a revolt in Saint-Domingue
 November 27: The National Constituent Assembly began to require clergy to swear an oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy
- 1791 February: Colonial officials executed Vincent Ogé in Le Cap
 May 15: The National Assembly in France granted political rights to free people of color
 April 13: The Pope condemned the Civil Constitution of the Clergy
 August: Slaves in the Northern Plain of Saint-Domingue revolted
 September: Louis XVI proclaimed amnesty for acts of revolution; the National Assembly in France annulled decree granting political rights to free people of color; colonial authorities censored the press in Saint-Domingue
 October 1: Legislative Assembly convened
 November: Authorities execute Boukman Dutty for leading the slave revolt; civil commissioners sent by the Legislative Assembly arrived in Saint-Domingue
- 1792 April 4: The National Assembly in France granted political rights to free people of color
 September: The National Convention established the first French Republic; members of the second civil commission arrived in Saint-Domingue
 October: Civil commissioners established the Intermediary Commission
 December: Felicité Léger Sonthonax formed six new *compagnies franches*
- 1793 January 21: Revolutionaries executed Louis XVI for treason
 May 5: The civil commissioners reissued the *Code noir*
 June: Fighting between the civil commissioners and the governor resulted in the burning of Le Cap; civil commissioners emancipated slaves who supported them in the struggle
 April: The civil commissioners established the Legions of Equality
 August: The French National Convention suppressed all patented societies; Felicité Léger Sonthonax abolished slavery in the North Province of Saint-Domingue
 September: Etienne Polverel abolished slavery in the West Province of Saint-Domingue; British troops invaded Saint-Domingue
 October: Etienne Polverel abolished slavery in the South Province of Saint-Domingue
 November: The Spanish organized the Black Auxiliaries of Carlos IV
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- 1794** February 4: The National Convention abolished slavery through the French empire
 May: Toussaint Louverture joined the French Army in Saint-Domingue
 June: The National Convention recalled the civil commissioners
- 1795** July: Spain ceded Santo Domingo to France through the Treaty of Basel
 August: The National Convention approved the Constitution of Year III
 October: National Institute of Sciences and Arts founded in Paris
 November: Directory took power in France
- 1796** March: Toussaint Louverture became deputy-governor of Saint-Domingue
 May: Third civil commission sent from France arrived in Saint-Domingue
 June: *société libre des sciences, des arts et belles lettres* founded in Saint-Domingue
 August: Saint-Dominguans elected deputies to the Legislative Corps in France
- 1797** February: New law increased Saint-Domingue's representation in the Legislative Corps to thirteen deputies
 November: The *société des amis des noirs et des colonies* first met in Paris
- 1798** March: The Directory sent Gabriel Marie Theodore Joseph d'Hédouville to Saint-Domingue to replace the third civil commission
 May: British troops withdrew from Saint-Domingue
- 1799** June: Forces under Toussaint Louverture and André Rigaud began fighting in the War of the South
 November 9–10: Napoleon Bonaparte seized power in France
 December 25: Napoleon Bonaparte proclaimed that the colonies would be governed by particular laws
- 1800** July: Toussaint Louverture's forces defeated André Rigaud's forces in the War of the South; Toussaint Louverture became Saint-Domingue's Supreme Commander-in-Chief
- 1801** March: Toussaint Louverture convened seven men to write a new constitution for Saint-Domingue
 July 16: Napoleon Bonaparte signed the Concordat with the Pope
 October: General Moïse led a rebellion against the new colonial constitution
- 1802** February: General Charles Leclerc's expedition arrived in Saint-Domingue
 March: France, England, and Spain sign the Treaty of Amiens
 June: General Charles Leclerc deported Toussaint Louverture from Saint-Domingue
 July: Napoleon Bonaparte declared the reestablishment of slavery
 November: General Charles Leclerc died of yellow fever; General Donatien Rochambeau took command of French troops in Saint-Domingue
- 1803** April: Toussaint Louverture died in France; Napoleon Bonaparte sold Louisiana to the United States
 November: French troops surrendered in Saint-Domingue
- 1804** January: Jean-Jacques Dessalines declared Haitian Independence
 May: Napoleon Bonaparte became emperor of France
 April: Jean-Jacques Dessalines ordered a massacre of most whites in Haiti
 October: Jean-Jacques Dessalines became emperor of Haiti
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- 1805** May: Jean-Jacques Dessalines signed the first Haitian Constitution
- 1806** Alexandre Pétion led a rebellion against Jean-Jacques Dessalines, who was assassinated
- 1807** Alexandre Pétion defeated rival forces under Henry Christophe; Pétion became president of southern Haiti, and Christophe took control of northern Haiti
- 1811** Henry Christophe declared himself king of northern Haiti.
- 1818** Alexandre Pétion died
- 1820** Faced with rebellions, Henry Christophe shot himself in his palace; Jean-Pierre Boyer became president of a unified Haiti
- 1821** Santo Domingo declared independence from Spain; Jean-Pierre Boyer took control of Santo Domingo
- 1825** France recognized independent Haiti, demanding an indemnity of 150 million francs
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