

An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti

MARCUS RAINSFORD



Edited and with an Introduction by
PAUL YOUNGQUIST AND GRÉGORIE PIERROT

This Edition, Introduction, Notes, and Bibliography
© 2013 Duke University Press

Frontispiece: Portrait of Toussaint Louverture. Collection of the
New-York Historical Society, accession number 1956.123.

All rights reserved
Printed in the United States of America
on acid-free paper ©
Designed by Cherie Westmoreland
Typeset in Whitman
by Tseng Information Systems, Inc.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Rainsford, Marcus, fl. 1805.

An historical account of the black empire of Hayti / Marcus Rainsford ;
edited and with an introduction by Paul Youngquist and Grégory Pierrot.
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-8223-5278-5 (cloth : alk. paper)

ISBN 978-0-8223-5288-4 (pbk. : alk. paper)

1. Haiti—History—To 1791. 2. Haiti—History—Revolution, 1791–1804.
I. Youngquist, Paul. II. Pierrot, Grégory. III. Title.

F1923.R15 2013

972.94'03—dc23

2012044752

PAUL YOUNGQUIST is a professor of English at the University of Colorado,
Boulder. He is the author of *Cyberfiction: After the Future* (2010), *Monstrosities:
Bodies and British Romanticism* (2003), and *Madness and Blake's Myth* (1989).

GRÉGORY PIERROT is a visiting assistant professor of English at Bucknell University.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments ix
Chronology xi
Introduction xvii
A Note on the Text lvii

An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti 1

Editorial Notes 277
Bibliography 321
Index 331

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This edition of Marcus Rainsford's *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti* is the work of a crew of formidable sleuths and scholars. Grégory Pierrot has been a close friend and collaborator throughout. Without his spirited conversation and relentless curiosity, Rainsford's book may have remained entombed in the mausoleum of history. Annotations by him and Scott Hagle helped resurrect it. Preparing and correcting the typescript required the labor of a spirited team: Dana Van Kooy, John C. Leffel, Krystal McMillen, and Michele Speitz. I received generous support from the Center for Humanities and the Arts at the University of Colorado for travel to collections in Kingston, Jamaica, and London. In both places I benefited from the immense cunning of many archivists, researchers, and activists, among them James Robertson, Julia Gaffield, Kesia Weise, Jillian Pazereckas, Jack and Maren Youngquist, Charles Campbell, Colonel Frank Lumsden, and Evan Williams. Timely historical help came from Roger Norman Buckley, David Patrick Geggus, Carolyn E. Fick, and Laurent Dubois. Sara Arnold of the Gibbes Museum conjured Toussaint Louverture's miniature image from oblivion. Carol Aiken made it permanently visible. Ken Wissoker and Leigh Barnwell at Duke University Press gave this book its lease on life. The press's anonymous reader brought it strength and beauty. Finally, nothing would ever get done without the love and support of a few wondrous people: Jeffrey N. Cox, Frances Botkin, Sajay Samuel, Samar Farage, Erika Polson, Joanne Youngquist, and Caitlin Rose. — PAUL YOUNGQUIST

An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti was the topic of countless conversations with Paul Youngquist before he had the idea to propose this edition. For this and the journey that followed I am very grateful to him. Thanks to Aldon Nielsen for his continual and crucial question, "Why is Haiti always being rediscovered?" Alain Bernheim, Gerard Besson, and Jacques de Cauna provided invaluable information regarding the intriguing life of Philippe-Rose Roume and his descendants, who deserve more attention than we could give them here. Thanks to Marie-Lucie Vendryes for her help in locating the Toussaint Louverture miniature attributed to Rainsford. Sara Marzioli's translation helped us follow Rainsford throughout European news. In my work for this edition I have been supported by several institutions at

the Pennsylvania State University: I received a research grant from the Africana Research Center; a travel grant from the Center for American Literary Studies, and a George and Barbara Kelly Fellowship from the English Department. This book would not have seen the light of day without the help of the librarians of the Rare Books and Manuscripts, Special Collections Library, Pennsylvania State University Libraries, with a special mention to Sandy Stelts, and to Curt Krebs at the Digital Preservation Department. Thanks also to James Capobianco at the Houghton Library, Harvard University, for his assistance and diligence. *Le meilleur pour la fin*: many thanks to Kate and Chloë Pierrot for putting up with this project and supporting me throughout; to Germaine and François Pierrot for indulging for so many years my obsessive and often obnoxious interest in Napoleonic history; and a special dedication to the late André Guillemin, for teaching me a most crucial lesson in history, a long time ago. — GRÉGORIE PIERROT

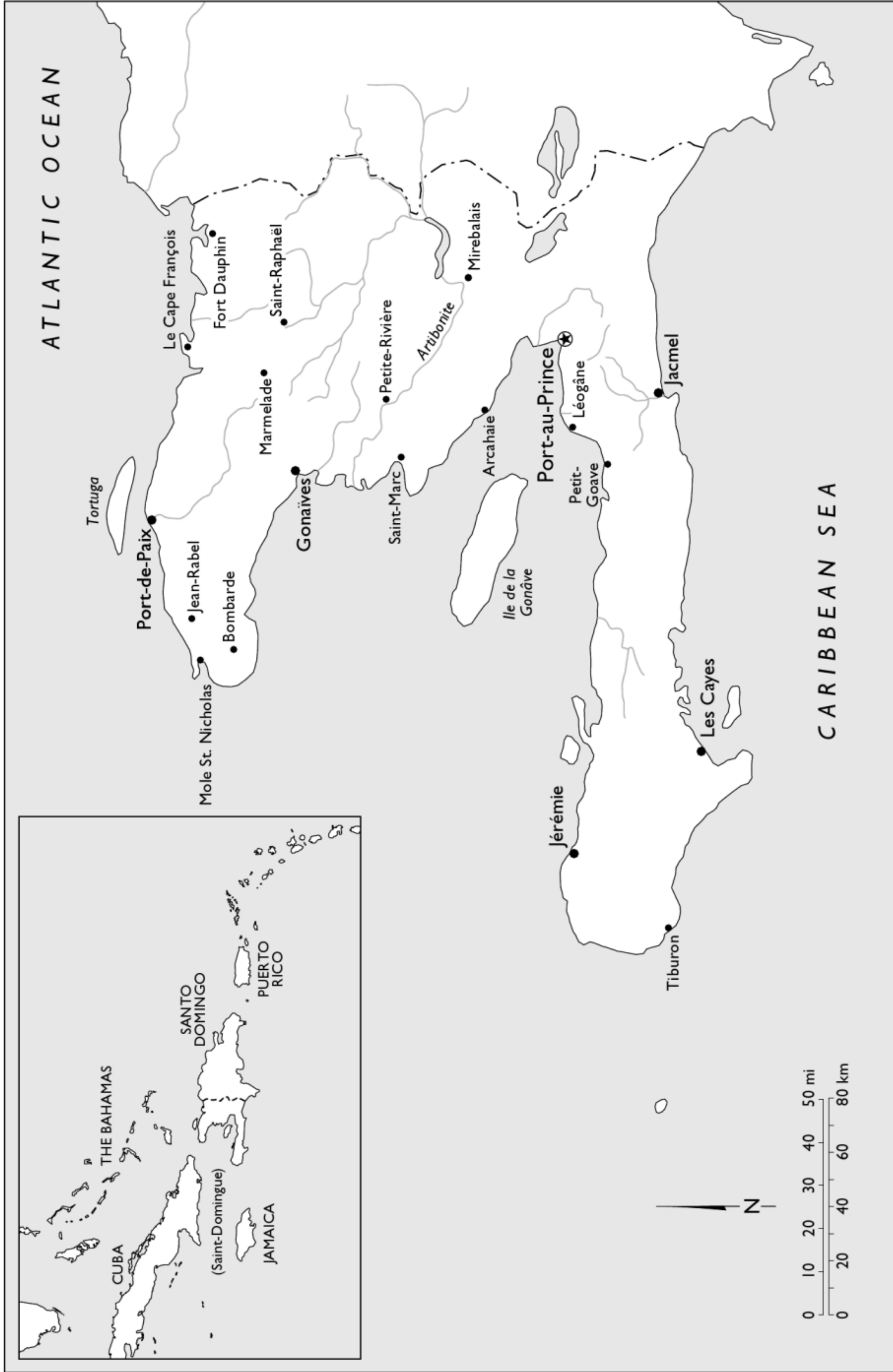
CHRONOLOGY

- 1492 Christopher Columbus lands on the island called Xaymaca by its Taíno and Arawak inhabitants. The Spaniards build the fort La Navidad. Columbus returns a year later to find the fort destroyed and all Spanish occupants dead.
- 1502–9 The Spanish governor Nicolás de Ovando arrives on the island with hundreds of troops and introduces the cultivation of sugar cane from the Canary Islands. A year later under pretense of a friendly meeting he massacres many Taíno.
- 1513 Enslaved Africans are first imported to Jamaica.
- 1625 French and English buccaneers settle on the island of Tortuga off the northern coast of Hispaniola, present-day Haiti.
- 1665 Louis XIV establishes the French colony of Saint-Domingue (St. Domingo), which includes Tortuga and the western half of Hispaniola.
- 1676 The Maroon leader Padrejean incites St. Domingo's first slave rebellion near Port de Paix. He is caught and killed by buccaneers.
- 1697 Spain recognizes French possession of western Hispaniola with the Treaty of Ryswick.
- 1743 François Dominique Toussaint de Bréda is born.
- 1758 Marcus Rainsford is born in Salins, County Kildare, Ireland.
- 1763 The Treaty of Paris settles the Seven Years War. Great Britain gains control of French possessions in North America.
- 1770 The first edition of Guillaume-Thomas Raynal's *Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies* is published.
- 1773 Rainsford graduates with a Master's degree from Trinity University, Dublin.
- 1775 The American Revolution begins.
- 1776 The Second Continental Congress approves the Declaration of Independence.
- 1779 Rainsford joins Lord Francis Rawdon's Volunteers of Ireland to fight in the American War for Independence.
- 1781 Rainsford is shipped to Jamaica in Lord Montagu's Duke of Cumberland Regiment, also known as the South Carolina Rangers. The unit is disbanded two years later, and Rainsford is released on half-pay.

- October 1781 The British surrender at Yorktown, Virginia.
- 1782 William Hayley publishes *An Essay on Epic Poetry*, calling for the revival of epic poetry in Britain.
- 1783 The Treaty of Paris ends the American War for Independence, and Great Britain recognizes the United States of America.
- 1789 Representatives of the clergy and the Third Estate in France meet in assembly and swear not to disband without a constitution.
- July 14, 1789 The people of Paris storm the Bastille.
- 1790 The mulatto planter Vincent Ogé leads a failed revolt in St. Domingo. He is caught, tried by colonial authorities, and executed at Cape François.
- 1791 The first canto of Marcus Rainsford's *The Revolution; Or, Britain Delivered* is published anonymously in Edinburgh and London.
- May 1791 The Constituent Assembly in France gives full political rights to mulattos and free blacks.
- August 14, 1791 A voodoo ceremony at Bois Caïman in St. Domingo, led by Jamaican-born Boukman Dutty, sparks revolution, which ignites in full on August 21. Cape François burns.
- October 1791 Port-au-Prince is burned during the fighting between whites and mulattos. Toussaint Louverture joins the rebellion, siding initially with the Spanish.
- 1792 The French Legislative Assembly grants citizenship to all free men of color. The commissioners Léger-Félicité Sonthonax, Étienne Polverel, and Jean-Antoine Ailhaud arrive in St. Domingo with six thousand troops.
- January 1793 Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette are executed in Paris. Spain joins the coalition against France.
- February 1793 France declares war on Great Britain. Toussaint and his troops side with Spain against the French.
- August 1793 Sonthonax abolishes slavery in the northern province. Abolition is extended to the western and southern provinces by year's end.
- September 1793 British troops land at Jérémie in St. Domingo.
- 1794 Toussaint and the Spanish gain control over the north of St. Domingo except Cape François.
- February 1794 Slavery is officially abolished by the French National Assembly.
- May 1794 Toussaint changes sides and joins France, becoming a general in the French Army.
- June 1794 British troops take Port-au-Prince.
- June 1794 Sonthonax is recalled to France to face trial for treason.

- October 1794 General Étienne Laveaux is appointed the interim governor-general of St. Domingo. Marcus Rainsford joins the Duke of York's expedition in the Netherlands with the Royal York Fusiliers.
- 1795 French troops led by Toussaint and André Rigaud fight the British in the western and southern provinces of St. Domingo.
- 1795 Spain cedes eastern Hispaniola to France.
- 1796 Rainsford arrives in Jamaica with the Third West India Regiment as a recruiting officer. Lieutenant Governor Lord Balcarres detains him and other troops meant for St. Domingo to fight rebellious Maroons.
- March 1796 Governor Laveaux is arrested and temporarily jailed in a failed coup attempt.
- April 1796 Laveaux names Toussaint the lieutenant governor of St. Domingo.
- May 1796 The commissioners Sonthonax, Phillipe-Rose Roume, and Julien Raimond arrive in St. Domingo.
- October 1796 Laveaux returns to France to serve as the representative for St. Domingo.
- January 1797 Rainsford returns to England from St. Domingo to recover from an arm injury and possibly yellow fever.
- May 1797 Sonthonax appoints Toussaint the commander in chief of French colonial forces.
- August 1797 Toussaint forces Sonthonax to return to France.
- October 1797 Rainsford lands in St. Domingo at Mole St. Nicholas.
- 1798 Rainsford visits Cape François disguised as an American sailor. Later he is arrested as a spy, tried, and condemned to death. His sentence is commuted by Toussaint.
- May 1798 The English General Thomas Maitland and Toussaint sign an armistice. British troops begin evacuating, remaining at Mole St. Nicholas until October.
- April 1799 Rainsford rejoins the Third West India Regiment in Martinique.
- May 1799 The War of Knives begins between Toussaint and Rigaud.
- June 1799 Toussaint negotiates a secret convention with Great Britain and the United States.
- November 1799 Napoleon Bonaparte overthrows the Republican government in the Eighteenth Brumaire coup d'état.
- March 1800 Rainsford is released from military service on half-pay. He returns to England and sells his commission.
- July 1800 Toussaint defeats Rigaud, who flees to Guadeloupe.

- 1801 The second edition of Rainsford's *The Revolution: Or; Britain Delivered* is published in London.
- January 1801 Toussaint seizes Spanish Hispaniola and abolishes slavery there.
- July 1801 Toussaint creates a constitution for St. Domingo that proclaims himself governor general for life.
- October 1801 The Treaty of Amiens suspends hostilities between Great Britain and France. Napoleon appoints his brother-in-law Charles Victor Emmanuel Leclerc the chief of an expeditionary force for regaining control of St. Domingo and restoring slavery.
- January 1802 Rainsford's *Memoir of Transactions That Took Place in St. Domingo* is published in London.
- February 1802 Leclerc's troops land in St. Domingo near Cape François. Toussaint leads the resistance.
- March–April 1802 The Battle of Crête à Pierrot.
- May 1802 The generals Jean-Jacques Dessalines and Henry Christophe surrender to Leclerc. Toussaint capitulates and retires to his plantation in Ennery.
- June 1802 Leclerc arrests Toussaint under false pretense and deports him with his family to France. Two months later Toussaint is jailed in the Fort de Joux in the Jura Mountains.
- August 1802 Rainsford's *St. Domingo; Or, an Historical, Political and Military Sketch of the Black Republic* is published in London, a second edition of his memoir. A third, containing a portrait of Toussaint, appears before the end of the year.
- October 1802 As the revolution's final leader, Dessalines renews the fight against the French.
- November 1802 Leclerc dies of yellow fever and is succeeded by General Rochambeau.
- February 1803 William Wordsworth's "To Toussaint Louverture" is published in London's *Morning Post*.
- April 1803 Toussaint dies in his cell in Fort de Joux.
- November 1803 Dessalines and Alexandre Pétion defeat French troops at the Battle of Vertières. Rochambeau capitulates.
- January 1, 1804 Dessalines proclaims independence from France and himself the governor general of the nation of Haiti.
- March–April 1804 Dessalines massacres the white colonists remaining in Haiti.
- July 1804 Rainsford writes *An Hymeneal on the Marriage of the Right Hon. Francis, Earl of Moira, etc., to the Right Hon. Flora, Countess of Loudon; on the 12th Day of July, 1804*.



Map of St. Domingo by Bill Nelson.

INTRODUCTION

Paul Youngquist and Grégory Pierrot

On October 24, 1797, an aging captain of the Third West India Regiment stepped ashore from HMS *Hannibal* at Mole St. Nicholas, the “Gibraltar of the Antilles” and bastion of the British occupation of St. Domingo.¹ A sojourn of several months would change his life and inspire *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti* (1805), the first complete account in English of the Haitian Revolution. Captain Marcus Rainsford had been in St. Domingo before, in 1796. Then he was mustering black troops for the British army, there to prop up and grab the colony. Rainsford returned at a difficult time. The occupation had proven a magnificent waste of soldiers’ lives and British pounds Sterling, and life at the Mole was turning precarious. The “brigands,” as the British called revolutionary blacks, were pounding at the door. “So closely were we surrounded by the Brigands, at all points,” wrote Rainsford, “that it was not possible to move half a mile from the town, without extreme danger while all within was wretchedness of every description!”² A hard destiny came calling. In 1798 those black freedom fighters would evict the British and with them slavery from the French colony of St. Domingo. Five years later they would proclaim to the world the free and independent nation of Haiti.

Occupational Hazards

Rainsford’s account of the Haitian Revolution is the creature of a convulsive period of Atlantic history.³ As the eighteenth century drew to a close Britain was waging war with Republican France to defend its vaunted liberties and to buttress its sagging empire. The loss of its thirteen North American colonies in 1783 had delivered England an economic and moral blow. With the eruption in 1789 of revolution in France, which scattered sparks of insurrection throughout the Atlantic world, the 1790s would become a time of opportunity for both the empire and its enemies. The West Indies would witness a struggle between the forces of slavery and freedom. Europe’s great colonial powers—England, Spain, and France—jockeyed for advantage and superiority. The focus of their rivalry: the sumptuous French colony of St. Domingo on the island of Hispaniola. The insurrection that blazed up there in August

1791 ignited dreams not just of freedom but of colonial dominion, too. During the thirteen years of fighting that followed, England, Spain, and France would all make military bids to possess the richest colony in the Caribbean.⁴

The British bid was driven by economic opportunism. By the late eighteenth century Great Britain seemed to many Britons an island of freedom in a sea of slavery. The Somerset decision of 1772 had declared it a crime to return Africans to slavery in the Caribbean colonies against their will. An insurgent abolitionist movement was gaining popularity, driven by doubts about empire that came with American independence.⁵ In the colonies of the West Indies, however, slavery was still a way of life. In 1791, for instance, one quarter of a million enslaved Africans inhabited Jamaica. Throughout the 1790s their ratio to whites remained just under ten to one.⁶ Sugar production required those numbers. It was labor intensive and uniquely specialized, a harbinger of a coming industrialization. Along with other exotic commodities (coffee, indigo, and cotton), sugar was an engine of Britain's imperial and cultural expansion.⁷ Revolutionary unrest in St. Domingo, only 257 nautical miles east of Jamaica, made the richest sugar colony in the Caribbean seem ripe for the picking. With Republican France's declaration of war in 1793, Britain had the excuse it needed to add this prize to its colonial possessions.

"Rule Britannia! rule the waves: / Britons never will be slaves": the famous lines from the de facto anthem of the British empire proclaim its complicated relationship to African slavery. Britons may never have been slaves, but many a British merchant bought and sold them, trafficking in Africans across the Atlantic with the indifference that comes with habit and huge profits. The years 1793 to 1798 mark a curious interlude in the mythology of British liberty. While abolitionists at home fought to outlaw the slave trade and deal slavery a deathblow, British soldiers in St. Domingo fought even more fiercely to perpetuate them. Such was the Janus face of slavery. However questionable, the slave system appeared too profitable to stop. So when in January of 1793 French planters from St. Domingo, their fields smoldering and their future dim, appealed for relief to William Pitt's government, an opportunity arose that was too promising to resist. Intervene in St. Domingo. Hoist the Union Jack over the charred and stubbled cane fields. Enter its ports to tame a brigand horde bent on destroying property and achieving freedom. Rescue a desolate plantocracy and replace the rule of France.

A prize beyond imagining: French St. Domingo, jewel of the Antilles, by far the most opulent colony of the West Indies. There were of course other motives for intervention: the menace of rebellion in nearby Jamaica, Britain's most profitable slave colony, and the necessity of victory in the war with France. St. Domingo was a chance Pitt and his secretary of state for war

Henry Dundas had to take. When a hundred more French planters joined the call for aid the British government signed a set of propositions authorizing the occupation of St. Domingo. By September 1793 redcoats were disembarking at Jérémie, welcomed ashore by inspiring strains of “Long live the English!”⁸ Britain’s most determined defense of slavery had begun.

At first things went well. Within eight months of landing, the British occupied one-third of the island, securing not only Mole St. Nicholas in the north, but also the port towns of Saint Marc, Port-au-Prince, Léogane, and Tiburon. The French colony of St. Domingo wore a fringe of British invaders. Their hold over this territory was, however, tenuous. In the estimation of J. W. Fortescue, the invasion force itself “never numbered more than nine hundred effective soldiers.”⁹ Lacking the numbers needed to secure the colony, the occupiers played a military shell game, sending troops here and there in groups of varying size to shore up shaky defenses. The arrival of reinforcements swelled the ranks in Port-au-Prince to 3,500, with 1,800 more soldiers, mostly cavalry, distributed up and down the coast. But a promise of 2,000 more troops from England failed to materialize until 1796, bad planning and worse weather hampering their departure.¹⁰ Although the redcoats could boast impressive early success, they remained outnumbered and hemmed in throughout St. Domingo by a patchwork of determined enemies: French revolutionaries, Spanish auxiliaries, and those so-called brigands, formidable black insurgents fighting for a freedom the British had come to deny them.

Events contemporary with the occupation ensured that slavery would be its *raison d’être*. Just weeks before the British arrived, the Jacobin commissioner at Cape François, Léger-Félicité Sonthonax, issued a decree abolishing slavery throughout St. Domingo. In February 1794 the National Convention in Paris followed suit, declaring that “all men, without distinction of color, domiciled in the colonies, are French citizens, and enjoy all the rights assured under the Constitution.”¹¹ Blacks were no longer brigands savagely torching their masters’ property. They were free people fighting for their rights as French citizens. Armed with musket, bayonet, and cannon, the British stood between them and liberty, a fortified line dividing slavery from freedom, black slaves from white masters. That the British government was comfortable defending the white side of that line appears most clearly in the notorious fourth clause of the Capitulation that was required signing for all French who committed themselves to the arms of their protectors: “Men of color will have all the privileges this class enjoys in English colonies” — which is to say no privileges at all.¹² If that could be said of racially mixed people of color, then blacks obviously stood beyond the pale of British citizenship. To defend slavery on St. Domingo was to live or die for white privilege.

The British thus faced a formidably motivated adversary, and it wasn't long before military momentum shifted toward the French revolutionaries with their newly emancipated black troops. Marcus Rainsford played a small but revealing part in this dubious military drama. The book that came out of it, *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti*, is remarkable for acknowledging the intelligence and effectiveness of those black soldiers. A career officer who had been stationed in Jamaica between actions in the American War for Independence and the horrific winter campaign of 1793–94 against France in the Netherlands, Rainsford was appointed captain in June 1795 to the Third West India Regiment, one of six new units destined for action in the West Indies.¹³ A British—which is to say white—officer, he would recruit black rank and file. The fierce resistance of mulatto and black fighters in St. Domingo convinced military leadership to fight fire with fire, blacks with blacks. Rainsford would muster them to the British cause. The scheme was not without precedent. African loyalists fought during the Revolutionary War, drawn to serve by the promise of freedom. Blacks were used in Jamaica as military pioneers, laborers, and artificers attached to white companies. But what the historian Roger Norman Buckley calls “the Africanization of the British military” began in earnest during the occupation of St. Domingo.¹⁴

There were other motives too for mustering black troops: the belief that Africans were better suited than Europeans to the demands of warfare in tropical climes, not to mention the simple need to maximize numbers where the British army was outgunned. Rainsford would help build the black West India Regiments, which military leaders believed would carry the day against seasoned rebels throughout the West Indies. These regiments would be nearly 9,000 strong, trained and equipped like Europeans.¹⁵ They would not of course be paid like Europeans. They would serve according to terms Britain traditionally granted their kind: room, board, and a decent burial. The war secretary Dundas opposed granting blacks freedom for military service. The Africanization of the British military followed, at least initially, plantation logic: the West India Regiments would be mobilized plantations of soldier-slaves, free only to serve and die. Black recruits in St. Domingo, however, so frequently deserted to the freedom-granting French that Dundas was forced grudgingly to offer them freedom for five years of service. His attachment to the plantation model persisted nevertheless. In 1798 he supported a simpler method of mustering than recruitment: “Negroes should be procured at the expense of the Government.”¹⁶ To advance British interests in the West Indies, Dundas was ready to purchase an army of enslaved Africans.

The Third West India Regiment, also known as Keppel's, was destined for St. Domingo. As captain and recruiter, Rainsford would be in regular, direct

contact with black troops.¹⁷ He would also witness the withering of Britain's dream to possess the colony. For every soldier who arrived by ship in St. Domingo, it seemed, another departed—in a coffin. Battle casualties were a secondary cause. Yellow fever stalked unseasoned European recruits implacably, striking quick and fell. Although quiescent during the early months of the occupation, it woke with fury as redcoats took up positions in the miasmatic flats around Port-au-Prince. With the disembarkation in early June 1794 of infected troops from Martinique, an epidemic was in the making. Over 2,000 soldiers died that year in St. Domingo, the majority from disease; in 1795, more than 3,000. Numbers climbed steadily, until by the end of the occupation in 1798, of over 20,500 men sent to St. Domingo, 12,500 were dead, some from bullets and grapeshot, some from fatigue, but over half from yellow fever.¹⁸

It was a nasty death. Thomas Phipps Howard, a lieutenant in the York Hussars stationed in St. Domingo from 1796 to 1798, gives a grisly description in his journal. To redcoats in the vicinity of the port of Saint Marc, death became grimly familiar:

The Dead Carts were constantly employed, & scarcely was one empty, tho' they held from 8 to 12 each, but another was full. Men were taken ill at dinner, who had been in the most apparent Health during the Morn:, & were carried to their long Homes at Night. In short, the putridity of the Disorder at last arose to such an h[e]ight that hundreds, almost, were absolutely drowned in their own Blood, bursting from them at every Pore. Some died raving Mad, others forming Plans for attacking, the others desponding; in fact, Death presented itself under every form an unlimited Imagination could invent. To sum up this Picture of Horror, by a Return made from the 3th [sic] to the 13th, our Regiment alone had lost eight Officers, three Quartermasters, thirteen Serjeants and Corporals, and one hundred & fifty Hussards.¹⁹

The York Hussars numbered 693 men at the beginning of that return, 465 by its bleak finish in July 1796.²⁰ After another year in St. Domingo only 234 Hussars would be alive. Some fell honorably in the field. But like too many of their brothers in arms, many died miserably from disease. Edmund Burke's mordant quip rang true: "it was not an enemy we had to vanquish but a cemetery to conquer."²¹ Yellow fever struck a big blow, but strangely, on behalf of freedom.

It would be wrong, however, to conclude that disease beat the British out of St. Domingo.²² There were other strong reasons to leave. If the British were bleeding men, they were hemorrhaging money. The first eight months of the occupation drained £120,000 pounds from Pitt's coffers.²³ Costs soared

after that. French planters did their best to profit from the presence of their saviors. British hopes of handing them the bill faded fast. They dodged taxes and pocketed the price of outfitting colonial militias. Many of the municipal officials charged with collecting poll and slave taxes did the same. The local economy was a wreck. Exports were scarce, and duties negligible. By 1795 it was becoming clear that planters in St. Domingo might capitulate to British rule, but they weren't about to pay for it.

They were not alone in making colonial adventurism expensive. The occupiers bore responsibility too. Most of the blame fell on Sir Adam Williamson, the governor of St. Domingo from October 1794 to March 1796. He was a generous man with a penchant for fine living. Every war has its refugees. This one drove them into occupied cities in large numbers. Williamson treated them with exorbitant kindness, adding cash to their free rations.²⁴ His delight in good company inspired frequent visits from many guests: five, ten, sometimes twenty at a time for an evening of wine and banter. He lavished similar luxuries on his troops, quartering them in style whenever possible. He created new corps at the drop of a captain's hat. Costs for officer pay, costume, and equipment spiked. In the words of David Patrick Geggus, "Williamson was incapable of saying no to anyone."²⁵ Nor was he alone guilty of such magnanimity. The agent-general for St. Domingo took a whopping 5 percent commission on all expenditures. It made him a rich man, earning him £86,000 in just two and a half years. When Williamson was replaced in 1796 it was reported in the House of Commons that the costs of occupation had reached £4,300,000. It fell to his successors to reduce expenditures to a mere £25,000 per month.²⁶ That never happened. St. Domingo continued to suck money from the British treasury: £5,765,000 all told, not including military pay to rank and file.²⁷ By 1798 evacuation was beginning to make as much economic as military sense.

The redcoats were faring badly. Pitt and Dundas tried desperately to salvage the occupation during 1795–96 with the largest naval expedition hitherto mounted—a projected 30,000 men and an astonishing 100,000 tons of shipping—but bad winds scattered the flotilla and forced a scale-back in the operation.²⁸ Even had the expedition landed in St. Domingo, however, its success remains doubtful. Over the course of the occupation a storm of another kind had been gathering. Blacks were honing their military skills in armies of the French Republic or the Spanish king. Mulattoes were doing the same, sometimes forming armies of their own. British troops provided opportunity for those tenacious soldiers to prove their mettle and improve their tactics. Scattered attacks all across St. Domingo—in Mole St. Nicholas, Saint Marc, Léogane, Tiburon—turned the formerly enslaved into freedom fighters. It is

one of history's happier ironies that an occupier come to preserve slavery advanced its undoing.

Armies of free blacks, not disease or expense, drove the British from St. Domingo. In this the name of Toussaint Louverture serves as a memorial, symbolizing thousands inspired by freedom to take up arms against slavery. "I am Toussaint Louverture. My name is perhaps known to you. I have undertaken vengeance. I want Liberty and Equality to reign in Saint-Domingue. I work to bring them into existence. Unite yourselves to us, brothers, and fight with us for the same cause."²⁹ Toussaint made this declaration on the very day Sonthonax proclaimed slavery abolished in August 1793 and just a month before the British landed. It does not simply announce the emergence of a great leader. It testifies to the readiness of a multitude of men and women—from different plantations and for diverse ends—to fight for freedom. An early measure of their success was the expulsion of one eighteenth-century superpower—Great Britain—from the colony it came to master. Another—France—would follow after five more years and some desperate fighting. The British were equal neither to Toussaint nor the multitude that, in a variety of ways, heeded his call to arms. Buckley's observation remains astute: "The British army's ventures into the once rich heartland of the ravaged colony, against an alert, tough, and at times elusive foe, were little more than puny and indecisive operations which were destined to fail."³⁰ Such are the wages of mastery. The British came to enslave. They left beaten by the free.

Marcus Rainsford had the strange fortune to witness and play a small part in these events. He mustered black troops in St. Domingo and came to admire their prowess. He later met Toussaint and experienced his magnanimity firsthand. Behind *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti* hangs the tattered backdrop of the British occupation. At first Rainsford himself preferred not to notice it. In an earlier pamphlet on St. Domingo, he writes, "Enough has been professionally told of this disastrous enterprize by those so much more adequate to the task than myself, that I shall presume to add nothing more on the subject."³¹ Three years later, however, he unfurled a full history of the Haitian Revolution—including the occupation—from the vantage of a career soldier who witnesses not just the weakness of the power he serves but the strength of its inspired adversaries. This white captain learns to respect the black troops on both sides of the revolutionary struggle. His initial dismissal of the British occupation registers its importance in the annals of embarrassed imperialism. St. Domingo was for a time in the 1790s the desideratum of three colonial powers. That none came to possess the colony proves the indomitable force of the free blacks who would after thirteen years of struggle declare Haiti an independent state on January 1, 1804. Their vic-

tory, the great legacy of the Haitian Revolution, makes Rainsford's history a complex contemporary commentary on the high cost of colonial slavery.

An Officer's Life

Marcus Rainsford, son of Edward Rainsford, was born in 1758 in County Kildare, Ireland.³² The Rainsford family had moved from England to Ireland in the seventeenth century, rising socially when Oliver Cromwell rewarded William Rainsford handsomely for his political allegiance by granting him considerable tracts of land.³³ The family's fortunes did not end with Cromwell: William's son, Sir Mark Rainsford, was made High Sheriff of Dublin in 1690 and Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1700. Among the Rainsford properties was a brewery at St James's Gate in the Irish capital. Its lackluster success led the Rainsfords to lease it in 1759 to a young brewer named Arthur Guinness—at £45 per annum for 9,000 years. The Guinness brewery sits today at the corner of St James's Gate and Rainsford Street.

Marcus was the third of three children, preceded by his sister Frances and his brother Edward. He attended Trinity University in Dublin, receiving a master's degree in 1773.³⁴ The following year, Frances married an officer in the British army, Welbore Ellis Doyle. Edward grew up to be a Dublin barrister who, in his brother's phrase, came to "enjoy the liberal fortune of our ancestors."³⁵ This comment was more than slightly sardonic. As second son, Marcus expected the smaller share of his father's inheritance, but Edward Jr. apparently kept for himself everything bequeathed his siblings.³⁶ Doyle would prove a better brother to Rainsford than Edward, always ready if need be with a place to stay or a few pounds. In the late 1770s, Rainsford followed him to fight against the North American colonies in the American War for Independence.

When Rainsford arrived, his brother-in-law had been serving for several years as an officer in the Fifty-fifth Regiment of Foot, bringing Frances with him to the colonies. Irishmen were heavily represented on both sides of the battlefield, and the British commander in chief, General Henry Clinton, soon thought of creating a regiment out of Irish deserters from American units. He put Francis Hastings, Lord Rawdon, in charge of forming the Volunteers of Ireland in New York and Philadelphia in the winter of 1778. Rawdon was a young Anglo-Irish aristocrat whose courage in battle propelled him swiftly up the military hierarchy. As the colonel of this regiment he chose exclusively officers born in Ireland, appointing Welbore Ellis Doyle as lieutenant-colonel. Marcus Rainsford likely purchased his commission as ensign in the regiment

CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

*A SUCCINCT historical View of the Colonies of Hispaniola and St. Domingo,
from the Discovery of Hayti, by Columbus, to the Height of their
Prosperity in 1789 15–69*

CHAP. II.

*Origin of the Revolutionary Spirit of this Period in
St. Domingo 69–77*

CHAP. III.

*Account of the Progress and Accomplishment of the Independence
of St. Domingo 77–132*

CHAP. IV.

*State of Manners on the Independence of the Blacks in St. Domingo,
with a Memoir of the Circumstances of the Author's Visit to
the Island in 1799 132–148*

CHAP. V.

*View of the Black Army, and of the War between the French Republic and
the independent Blacks of St. Domingo 148–216*

CHAP. VI.

*On the Establishment of a Black Empire, and the probable Effects of
the Colonial Revolution 216–218*

ISLAND of ST DOMINGO.



By direction of the Admiralty, from the latest Discoveries.

by whose king he was employed: from thence he sailed along the northern coast till he found a more convenient harbour, which he named Conception, and where he first had access to the inhabitants, through the means of a female whom his people overtook, and prepossessed in their favor, by the usual means of trifling presents and gentle behaviour.

It is our wish to pursue in this place a sober narrative of fact, rather than to give loose to the fascinations of romantic description, or else the early Spanish writers have handed down such accounts of the aborigines of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Jamaica, as would warrant the most extravagant eulogy on their personal appearance, manners, and ingenuity. It may, however, naturally be supposed possessing the necessaries of life without labour, on a soil the most fertile, and in a benignant climate, in a state of the utmost simplicity, and consequently free from the general enemies to beauty, they would have personal advantages not to be expected in their descendants under the combined evils of slavery in a voluptuous state. Even the rigidity of history has been softened into the most pleasing descriptions of them: "They appeared," says Robertson,* "in the simple innocence of nature, entirely naked, their black hair, long and uncurled, floated upon their shoulders, or was bound in tresses around their heads. — They had no beards, and every part of their bodies was perfectly smooth. Their complexion was of a dusky copper colour; their features singular, rather than disagreeable; their aspect gentle and timid; though not tall, they were well shaped and active." "The industry and ingenuity of this race," says another elegant writer, "must have exceeded the measure of their wants. Placed in a medium between savage life, properly so called, and the refinement of polished society, they were perhaps equally exempt from the bodily distresses and sanguinary passions of the former conditions, and from the artificial necessities and solitudes of the latter." They were unquestionably the most unoffending, gentle, and benevolent of the human race.†

That there were some grounds for a belief in the ingenuity ascribed to them by Peter Martyr‡ and others, as far as it related to their simple agriculture, and some progress in the arts of ornament as well as utility, may, perhaps, be proved by a fact of another nature which tends to illustrate the character of this people, while it may afford a lesson to our own times; — would that we could not say to our own country.

When, among the numerous disasters of Columbus, he was wrecked on the eastern coast of the island, and if he had before impressed the natives with admiration of the superior nature of their visitors, was now placed in a situa-

*Hist. of America, vol. i. 1. 2.

†Hist. Jamaica, Dallas's Hist. vol. i. 23.

‡De Rebus Oceanis, &c.

tion the best calculated to prove their natural equality, and even to tempt by an unlucky opportunity any inclination to their injury, instead of the smallest hostility. Guacanahari, the cazique, or king of this division of their island, of which it appeared to be governed by seven, having been informed of his misfortune, expressed great grief for his loss, and immediately sent aboard all the people in the place in many large canoes; they soon unloaded the ship of every thing that was upon deck, as the king gave them great assistance: "He himself," says Columbus, who records it, "with his brothers and relations, took all possible care that every thing should be properly done both aboard and on shore; and from time to time he sent some of his relations weeping, to beg of me not to be dejected, for he would give me all that he had. I can assure your Highnesses," he adds, "that so much care would not have been taken of securing our effects in any part of Spain; as all our property was put together in one place near his palace, until the houses which he wanted to prepare for the custody of it were emptied; he immediately placed a guard of armed men, who watched during the whole night, and those on shore lamented as much as if they had been interested in our loss.* They are supposed to have migrated originally from the neighbouring continent, and are ascribed by Sir Walter Raleigh to the Arrowauk³² tribe of Guiana.†

Thus far we have preserved the necessary sobriety in collecting a description of the first inhabitants of St. Domingo; but when we come to speak of the territory itself, this caution ceases, for, no description that we have yet seen is adequate to the appearance, even at the present day, of a country which requires all the aid of romance to imagine, much less to describe. — Of fertility, which it requires but the fostering hand of man to guide to all the purposes of life, and of a climate the most salubrious among the Antilles, and in which longevity is general. — "In these delightful countries too," observes Robertson, "Nature seemed to assume another form; every tree and plant, and animal, was different from those of the ancient hemisphere;"³³ — Columbus boasted of having discovered the *original seat of Paradise*. — "In these delightful vales," exclaims the Abbé Raynal,‡ "all the sweets of spring are enjoyed, without either winter or summer. There are but two seasons in the year, and they are

* Letter of Columbus to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. See his Life in Churchill's *Voyages*, as written by his younger son Ferdinand, an ecclesiastic, and founder of the Columbine Library at Seville; also Herrera's *General History*. [Awnsham Churchill (1658–1728) was a leading London publisher. His most famous work was *A Collection of Voyages* (1704).]

† Raleigh's *Voyages*. [Sir Walter Raleigh (c.1552–1618) was an aristocrat, poet, and explorer who twice attempted to establish a colony at Roanoke, Virginia. He later turned his attention to Venezuela and Guyana in search of the legendary El Dorado and recorded his voyage in *The Discovery of Guiana* (1596), the book Rainsford seems to be referring to here.]

‡ *East and West Indies*, vol. iv. 231 [Raynal, *A Philosophical and Political History*].

day,* and divided it into two equal shares; the fierce inhabitants, who had been more favorable to the enemies of the Spaniards than to themselves, retiring from the parts on which they were fixed, telling them nevertheless, with usual Indian acuteness, that “land must be very bad, or very scarce with them, since they had traversed such a distance with so much difficulty, to seek for it among savages.”

The court of Madrid immediately alarmed, at the vicinity of these members of two active and industrious nations, ordered Frederic of Toledo,⁸¹ on his way against the Dutch in Brazil, to attack these newly established powers while they were yet weak in their new establishment; they were soon defeated, and those who were not either killed or taken prisoners, fled for refuge to the neighbouring islands. The greater part, however, returned to their possessions as soon as the danger was over, except a small number who remained on the little barren isle of Tortuga⁸² lying off the north-west coast of Hispaniola, and within a few leagues of Port Paix.⁸³ These, inconsiderable as they were in their outset, were the founders of a race which giving rise to the French colony that is soon to become an important part of this history, and being hitherto but imperfectly described, demands particular attention.

Previously, however, it is but justice to the Spanish colony to say, that after the first surprize at seeing a large English fleet commanded by Admiral Penn,⁸⁴ with nine thousand land forces under Colonel Venables,⁸⁵ (the same which afterwards conquered Jamaica,) who had been dispatched by Oliver Cromwell⁸⁶ to obtain for England a portion of the new world, they compelled the enemy to re-embark with disgrace. A want of unanimity was the apology made on the part of the English, who ill brooking such a reception, determined on no alternative between victory and death on their next and more successful attempt.

By the middle of the seventeenth century these incursors had received some accessions from the French colonies, which had by that time been established, and assumed an appearance as formidable as it was singular. They had gradually obtained notice under the appellation of Buccaniers from their mode of curing animal food, which was derived from the savages, being slowly dried, or rather smoked, over fires of green wood, in places from thence called by the Spanish term, *Buccans*,⁸⁷ a custom yet retained by the Spaniards.⁸⁸ As they were for a time destitute of wives and children, they associated pairs, (as recorded by former historians); property was common, and survivor inherited the residence; theft was unknown amongst them, though

*Some writers state that Mr. Warner had obtained possession two years before, and had suffered the loss of his plantations by an hurricane. [This hurricane occurred in September 1624.]

no precaution was used against it, a virtue they borrowed from the savages. They seldom disputed, but if any were obstinate, they decided with arms; and if any foul appearance occurred in the combat, as a back or side wound, the assassin was put to death. Every member of the fraternity assumed a warlike name on admission into the body, which descended to their several successors. Their dress consisted of a shirt dyed with the blood of the animals they killed in hunting; an apron, or trowsers, yet dirtier; a leathern girdle, containing a short sabre, and other knives; a sort of military cap, and shoes, without stockings. A Buccanier was satisfied if he could supply himself with a small gun, and a pack of dogs, to the number of twenty or thirty. Their employment consisted chiefly in hunting the bulls, with which the Spaniards had furnished the neighbouring island; which they killed chiefly for the skins, regaling, perhaps, on a small part of the flesh, preparing it sometimes with a seasoning of pimento, and the juice of orange.

The remainder of the indolent colonists could not, however, bear with the idea of more active neighbours; which gave rise to several unavailing conflicts, that ended in a determination to destroy all the bulls by a general chase, a scheme which had the effect of turning the attention of the Buccaniers to the more permanent pursuits of agriculture.—Tobacco soon became a profitable culture, which, with the produce of several excursions made by the most intrepid in their cruisers, amply repaid their difficulties. However, another Spanish armament was commissioned for their extirpation, which inspirited them to deeds that will live to future ages—pregnant with bravery and horror.

Possessed of an island eight leagues long and two broad, in a fine air, and with capability of improvement, unshackled by the prescriptions of ancient society, with a vast territory open to their predatory incursions, and numerous channels accessible to their maritime courage, the success of the Buccaniers may be easily supposed to have spread. To this lawless, yet far from unsalutary dominion, those who sought a refuge from the tyranny of creditors, or of want, as well as enterprising spirits without opportunity for action, in their mother-country, (particularly from Normandy,) had a resource, which formed a considerable acquisition to its power. Envious of the establishment, the court of Spain made an attempt to dislodge them, which is worthy of notice, only from its wonted cruelty; the general of the galloons exerted his commission while the greater part were at sea, or hunting on the large island; he put all he found to death, leaving Tortuga as desolate as possible.

The effects of these cruelties, and the sentiments of revenge they inspired, produced a closer combination of the Buccaniers; for which purpose they agreed to sacrifice personal independence, to social safety, and accordingly

tioned to acquaint the reader with the country, from whose rich prospects, and cloudless sky, he is to turn to scenes of conflagration, and the horrors of massacre.

CHAP. II.

Origin of the Revolutionary Spirit of this Period in St. Domingo.

THE origin of principles is not always to be traced to the approximating causes of an event; for, as in nature, so in morality, the seeds of many productions lie dormant through varying seasons, till the moment when an unseen influence calls them into obvious existence: hence, to be capable of discerning the signs of the times, is a power that hath always been duly appreciated,

and these bend with their separate branches immediately down to the earth. It seldom, therefore, rises high. Its leaves are long, terminating in a point, and emitting an agreeable smell. In the pistil of a flower blooming from every part, is contained an husk, in the form of a melon, which grows ordinarily to the length of six inches, and the breadth of four or five, composed of several small inclosures, in which the fruit, comprising a number of small nuts, of the shape of almonds, is found. It is propagated from the seed; is green in the early part of its growth, and becomes yellow at maturity. When it assumes a deep hue, it must be immediately gathered and dried; two crops of equal value are annually formed. It requires shade and moisture, and loves the protection of large trees at a sufficient distance, which must be also regarded with respect to its own plants. It requires rather due care, and a few necessary precautions, than a culture either laborious or expensive, and its returns are of the most profitable kind. Its nutritious, and other advantageous qualities, are too sufficiently known to require a recital, and its commercial value will be better known from other parts of the present account.

Indigo, an article of such general domestic service, as to be used as a beautifier of the finest part of our dress, and an important object of commerce, flourishes nowhere so well as at St. Domingo. It is a shrub with a thick, spreading root, about two feet high, of a faint, but not disagreeable smell. The stem is of a dry appearance, and different shades of colour. The leaves are of an oval form, and connected by a short pedicle. The pistil of its small and scentless flowers changes into a pod, and discloses its seeds, of the appearance of gunpowder. The blue is found adhering to the leaves, which, when gathered on the branches, are thrown into a tub filled with water, and fermented: it is then made to run into another, when it is discovered among the water, in the form of a subtile earth. The water is then agitated by various means, and with the utmost circumspection, to combine the coloured particles, which, when effected, are left to precipitate to the bottom. The liquid, become of a thicker consistence, is drawn off into another vessel to settle, and thence drained through sacks, from which it is removed into chests, where it becomes dry, and fit for sale. It is divided into two sorts, whimsically designated the true and the bastard. The first is finer, but the latter heavier and more profitable, and therefore more generally cultivated.

and an attention to which hath frequently changed the fate of a country, if not of mankind. Yet, it is not often that man can be hoped to distinguish with precision, the approaching evil from the good, particularly in circumstances that affect, perhaps, not only his interest, but his immediate happiness; it is thus, therefore, that surprize is so frequently excited, at the apparent blindness to the future with which principles and practices are so frequently urged in society, diametrically opposite to the dictates of nature and philosophy, and repugnant to the common experience of ages. Collateral circumstances form the general argument in their favor; and it may endure with them a little while; but truth is eternal.

If accuracy of discrimination is not always to be found in philosophers, it is not to be expected in any large mixed body; and still less so, in those who form the population of colonies, particularly of the extent of that which is the subject of the present observations. Though the greatest empires have arisen from the overflow of cities into colonies, it cannot be contended that no feculence¹⁵⁴ mixed with the flood.

To attribute to the general number of colonists any specific character, (where, collected fortuitously, they must necessarily admit of the strongest marks of variety), would be ridiculous; it is, however, certain, that among those, devoted to pursue fortune in distant dependencies upon their native country, may be ranked many who have no peculiar capacity, nor opportunity for employment at home; many of the higher classes without prospects, and of the lower without character; who cannot fail to consider their destination, as intended to supply every want; and to consider those means the best, which have the most facility. To those may, no doubt, be added many of the germs of genius, to whom, it is to be feared, the warmth of a tropical sun does not always prove more genial, than the wintry rays of their own; and, probably, some with qualities fitted for any sphere of life, to whom a spirit of enter-

They are both liable to frequent accidents, among which the most destructive is the effect of the caterpillar, which devours the leaves, and their produce, in a few mornings. It is quickly ripe, and generally cut at intervals of six weeks. At the end of two years it becomes degenerated, and fresh plants are necessary. Moisture and shade are required considerably for this plant, and the principal care is to deprive it of the weeds, which would otherwise immediately choke it. It exhausts the soil considerably, and potatoes, and other similar plants, are cultivated in its place occasionally, for the purpose of burning the leaves as manure.

Those who would enjoy an acute and curious dissertation on sugar, may consult the interesting account of Dr. Moseley, in his volume of *Medical Miscellanies, &c.* [Benjamin Moseley (1742–1819) worked as a surgeon-apothecary in Kingston, Jamaica, beginning in 1768 and later held the post of surgeon-general there. Among other works, he wrote *A Treatise on Sugar* (1800).]

prize alone might dictate the migration. To the self-interested, the term of his own probation will always bound his considerations, and it is not the bulk of mankind who can be, nor who incline to be, legislators, much less moralists. The officers of government may be able and good, but their dominion is too short to conciliate any local affection, and an expedient temporization will and must always supersede even ordinary virtue.

Of the West India colonists from France, the modern writers of that nation have afforded us no reason to think with increased tenderness, since Raynal has imputed to them a viciousness of conduct, beyond the apparent bounds of human actions; and De Charmilly (one of themselves) has described those, of whom the best conduct was to be expected, receiving appointments under the government of the colony, as the rewards of an intriguing court to its meanest dependants, and vilest accessaries! Their character, as displayed on prominent occasions, during that period which is the intent of these sheets to describe, unhappily was not often such as to controvert the assertions made from such good authority.

The man who first contemplated the *purchase* of laborers by thousands,* to be conveyed in close vessels, without the power of rest or exercise, or nourishment proper for any situation, much less for a dreary voyage to a foreign land; and, who knew these men, although little removed from a state of nature, to be susceptible of those impressions which mock the utmost refinements of civilization, to the attainment of some of which, morality often strives in vain; must have been bold to conceive that they would continue always patient of their wrongs, and resigned to compulsory labour, even though it should be in a state of comparative advantage, particularly in the constant converse of annual acquisitions of their countrymen, whose remembrances were not

*The *commencement* of the African slave-trade, like many other objects of importance, seems to have taken place from a very trifling accident. In 1440, Anthony Gonsales, one of the Portuguese navigators, in the prosecution of his discoveries, seized, and carried off some Moors near Cape Bojador, whom prince Henry afterwards ordered him to restore. When again exploring the coast of Africa about two years after, he executed this order, landing them at Rio del Oro, and received from the Moors, in exchange, *ten blacks*, and a quantity of gold dust. His success in this transaction tempted his countrymen to a repetition, till at length they fitted out ships for the purpose, and afterwards formed settlements for the trade in black slaves. Ultimately patents were granted, and the dealers in human flesh were sanctified by a bull from the holy see. [Antão Gonçalves was the first European to buy Africans as slaves. Rainsford's account is rather fanciful. Gonçalves bought an Azengue Berber chieftain and 11 other slaves from black slave traders on the West African coast. He returned a few years later (there is no indication that Prince Henry the Navigator ordered him to return) and traded the chieftain for more slaves, gold dust, and ostrich eggs. In 1452 Pope Nicholas V issued the papal bull *Dum Diversas*, which granted Afonso V of Portugal the right to conquer and enslave Saracens and pagans.]

possible, and always on *jours de fêtes*, his subjects assembled, including on those occasions his three wives. The furniture of this apartment was entirely of his own making, even to the smallest utensil, and with an ingenuity beyond what might be expected from perfect leisure; notwithstanding the artificer, during the process, had been obliged to attend his labor in the fields, and was a considerable time in arms. On a neat shelf, appropriated peculiarly to their use, lay a mass book, and a mutilated volume of Volney's Travels,²⁷⁶ some parts of which he understood more than his visitor. Every thing convenience required was to be found on a small scale, and the whole so compact, and clean, with such an air of *propreté* throughout as was absolutely attractive. His own bed-room was furnished with an improved bedstead, supported by trussels, with a mattress and bedding of equal quality with the other furniture, but that of his children and mother surpassed the whole. One bedstead contained them, yet separated the male from the female, the young from the aged, and was separated or combined in an instant.* — The third was his kitchen and store-house, and might also be called his laboratory, for conveniences were found for chemical experiments, though not of the most scientific kind; but every utensil for culinary purposes were provided in the best manner. The wife of this laborer (for he had submitted to the ceremony of marriage with the female who had borne him the most children, as is the general custom with them) was nearly as ingenious as himself, and equally intelligent. The mode he pursued in the regulation of his domestic economy was excellent; as continence is not a virtue of the blacks, the increase of his family was not confined to his own house; yet, even in his amours he was just; and as the two mothers before-mentioned were less protected than his ostensible wife, the primary object of his consideration was to have the whole of his children under his own care. This was reconciled to all parties from the first, in so mild a way, that no distinction was perceivable but in age, while the mothers held a relationship to their domiciliated offspring similar to that of an aunt or cousin, each exerting herself for the purpose of adding to the comforts of her own child. — On festive occasions, the two mothers sat alternately on the right or left of the mistress of the house, with as much etiquette as might be perceived in a more elevated station, and with the utmost harmony. The master of the family was absolute, but with him it was in theory, not in practice, for all seemed to vie in forbearance. As soon as the children could contribute their little powers to labor, they were employed; the younger (except as regarded their strength) being subject to the inferior offices; and, sin-

*It is a matter of regret to the author, that the plan of this singular bedstead, which might have been adapted to the European cottage with many advantages, was lost.

gular as it may appear, on the festive occasions alluded to, they waited upon their seniors, though but by a few years, and seemed delighted in the office. Agreeable to this rule, in accordance with that reverence for age so remarkable among blacks of every condition, the grandmother received the affection and attention of all; and though often crabbed, infirm, and discontented, no one seemed to consider her failings as such, but as a duty prescribed them to bear.

In fact, the writer considered this numerous family, as he beheld them at their frugal meal a model for domestic life, with a proof that those jarring interests, which, in the smallest connection, as well as in the largest states, creating more embarrassment than the most adverse circumstances, or the greatest crimes, may be avoided by a generous conduct, and reciprocal kindness. He need scarcely add, happy was his humble friend, or that each individual of his family, in their separate capacities, laid up a store of happiness for themselves, and those around them.

From what could be perceived (quitting the confines of the town,) the productive system of the earth seemed to be founded on original principles.— Every individual employed a portion of his time in labour, and received an allotted part of the produce for his reward, while all took the field, from a sense of duty to themselves. A perfect combination appeared in their conduct, and every action came directly from the heart. More than sixty thousand men were frequently exercised together on the plain of the Cape, in excellent discipline, whose united determination against an invading enemy, would be victory or death. Little coercion was necessary, and punishment was chiefly inflicted by a sense of shame produced by slight confinement, or the like. Labour was so much abridged, that no want of leisure was felt; it would be a great gratification to the feeling heart, to see the peasant in other countries with a regulated toil similar to that of the labourer in St. Domingo.

Such is a general sketch of the state of society, as it appeared in the capital of St. Domingo, which spread internally as far as its effects could be expected to reach.— There was no possibility of acquiring correct accounts of the plans of government, which had been submitted to Toussaint, much less of the forms he was disposed to adopt. A regular municipal establishment existed, and martial government, dispensed every where in all its vigour, rendered civil jurisdiction of little avail.

The writer observed, with pleasure, the delay in repairing the vessel, which afforded him an opportunity of examining objects which might never return. For several weeks he continued to amuse himself with observations on the manners of the people, which he had no idea at that time of preserving beyond the information and amusement of his own friends, and by sketching

draughts of the principal posts that were accessible. He enjoyed the habits of a metropolis, and, except the anxiety which would obtrude on account of the delay from his duty, participated in the general happiness.

When the time arrived for the departure of the vessel, at an unexpected moment; such is the human heart, he lingered on a spot which he would have before avoided at the hazard of his life. The ship had been repaired — all was ready — and bidding farewell to new connections which had just begun to engage him, he returned on board with the agreeable hopes of a speedy arrival at St. Thomas's:²⁷⁷ but —

“Heaven from all creatures hides the book of fate!”²⁷⁸

After beating about upon the coast for three days, in the most perilous circumstances, the unfortunate vessel sprung a leak, when they were compelled to put into Fort Dauphin, or, according to the revolutionary nomenclature, Fort Egalité.

In this situation the master of the vessel and the writer apprehended no danger or impropriety in going on shore. Hoisting therefore Danish colours, they came to anchor under a small fort, when in less than half an hour the latter was arrested after landing by four blacks, and a mulatto officer of great ferocity. They returned with him on board, and placed him under the care of two black sentinels. These informed him, in answer to his anxious inquiries, that he was suspected of being a spy, that he would be tried on the morrow, and of course be condemned. Such was the complacent idea attached to the trial of a stranger, who was afterwards to defend the character of their chief.

Apprehensions of different kinds now crowded his imagination: he did not know whether suspicions might not have occurred at Cape François; and the commandant of the district have been prepared for his arrival. He was aware, that, in a few instances, he had ventured farther than he should have done. He had also been allowed access to many of the principal people, and he knew not what might have taken place after his departure. He was, however, left unmolested, and, except his freedom, without any other deprivation; a circumstance of the most fortunate kind, as it afforded him an opportunity of destroying his baggage and papers, including a variety of documents, which must have been dangerous in the highest degree.* These he disposed of, by putting them out of the cabin-window in the middle of the night, with

*Besides his military appointments, they included correct views of Fort Picolet and other works, and several plans, which he hoped to have had the honour of presenting to the Duke of York; his Royal Highness having condescended to regard, with attention, other attempts which he had the honour of presenting to him. [Rainsford addressed a Memorial to the Duke of York in 1795 before leaving for the West Indies, but its contents remain a mystery.]

of one and I heading the other; I climbed in order to encircle them from behind and try to take their pieces, but the first column having been unable to climb on time, the brigands managed to take their cannons with them.

“I could only pursue the enemy in fleet up to the *Gensac* plantation, my men were so weary of fighting for five hours without respite.

“I had about a hundred battle casualties, thirty of them killed on the spot, and a hundred wounded, among which many died; I estimate they have about five hundred men out of commission: a hundred and fifty were found dead on the battlefield; and the paths by which they retreated are so covered with blood, that they must have a considerable amount of wounded.

“The English troops behaved with the courage that characterize them everywhere: Captain Hardiman is worthy of the highest praise; I despair that you may take him from me, his talents and virtues make him difficult to replace.

“Immediately after combat, I wrote all the commanders in the areas of the dependency to send me help; I am waiting for them at every instant, but I am well reinforced by the presence of the frigate *Alligator* that arrived this morning.

“I am respectfully, &c.

(Signed) “CHEVALIER DE SEVRÉ

“*Tiburón*, 7 April, 1794.”³⁹²

NO. VI.

(Referring to p. 123, &c.)

— “*the indefatigable De Charmilly.*”

THE distinguished part this gentleman acted during the troubles in his adopted country, and the familiarity of his name to every description of persons concerned in the arrangement between Great Britain and St. Domingo, render some account of him, if not absolutely necessary, at least highly interesting to the reader. We have the power more readily to gratify this inclination, as M. de Charmilly has himself afforded the principal materials for the purpose, which we have translated from the work before quoted, entitled, “*Lettre à M. Edwards*” &c.

“After,” says he, “concluding my attendance at the University of Paris, and travelling through a considerable part of Europe, I arrived at St. Domingo in the beginning of the American war. A few months residence in the colony made me acquainted with its importance. Born with an activity hardly to be surpassed, and favoured with a strong constitution, I became desirous to make myself acquainted with the affairs of the island. During a residence at different times of fourteen years, in the full sense of the word I travelled over the whole colony, having been engaged in some important suits, administered to several large estates, and having business of great consequence in every part of the island, which made me acquainted with the principal planters in its various districts. If you join to that the ambition of becoming one of the richest of its inhabitants, you may judge if I was not, more than any other person, in the pos-

session of opportunities of information respecting the resources of its different provinces, and the advantages of its different manufactures; besides, my knowing personally almost all the officers of its administration, both military and civil; with the generous hospitality of the *Creoles*, and my independence of every tie. From all these reasons it may be concluded, that scarcely any inhabitant of the colony had a greater opportunity of knowing its affairs than myself.

“Returning to France at the end of the last war, I was grieved to see the baneful effects of those poisonous principles which the French had imbibed in America. I also saw, with deep concern, the establishment of that *philanthropic* sect, created first in Philadelphia, and afterwards transplanted to Europe.³⁹³ I then visited England, where I remained a few months; from thence I went to Jamaica, where I also resided some time.

“Since my return to St. Domingo, having re-established several plantations on my own account, I was under the necessity of acquainting myself with every thing that related to the commercial resources of the colony. I also had, in conjunction with Mr. de Marbois, the arrangement of the affairs of one of the most wealthy contractors of St. Domingo. A long residence at Port-au-Prince and the Cape, enabled me also to judge of every material occurrence that passed in the two principal cities.

“On returning to my plantation, at the moment of the revolution, it will not appear surprising that I was nominated a member of the assembly of my parish, afterwards of that of the province where I resided, and, finally, deputy of the general colonial assembly.

“From the publication of the *Rights of Man*, I foresaw, with the most rational and well-informed inhabitants, the misfortunes that awaited the colony.

“Residing in the south part of the island, which was in a great measure indebted to the English, and particularly the merchants of Jamaica, for its establishment; and being, also, from frequent visits, perfectly acquainted with England, I happily turned my views towards its government, to ensure the safety of St. Domingo. This sentiment never abandoned me an instant from the first moment of the troubles; I constantly manifested it in my parish, in my province, and in the general assembly at St. Marc, where all my thoughts and actions were continually directed to the means of assuring its success.

“The torrent of revolutionary ideas had too much agitated every head, not to force the wisest people to conform to circumstances; and I freely own, that I was one of those who affected to believe in the possibility of an absurd independence; preferring it, for the interests of the island, to the still more absurd idea, of a sugar colony existing with the pretended *rights of man*. Unfortunately, persons of the greatest influence in St. Domingo, dazzled by the remembrance of the great commercial advantages derived, during the American war, from their increasing trade with neutral nations, hoped, and pretended that it might exist independent, under the general protection of the European powers. My opinion was always, that such an independence could not take place, and that it was necessary for the colony to be under the protection of

with a number of his contemporaries, to see all his arguments in favor of subjugating the blacks, refuted, and to be obliged to pass the decline of an active life, in a species of dull and solitary exile, under the protection of the English government.

Notwithstanding his misconceptions M. de Charmilly has offered some sensible advice with regard to the island with which he was so well acquainted, and, it may be said, merited a more dignified fate. It was his ambition to be the legislator, and to become the saviour of his country; and it were to be wished that he had exerted himself in a cause in which, though unsuccessful, he might have enjoyed the merit of

—“Bravely falling with a falling state!”³⁹⁴

But, alas! no such honors awaited him, he was doomed, even in obscurity, to be followed by the suspicious censures of his countrymen, for whom he was so proud to act, while he could expect no other sentiment than contempt from those against whom he vainly ventured his life.

NO. VII.

(Referring to p. 163.)

Documents illustrative of the Character and Manners of Toussaint L'Ouverture.

IT is always pleasing to trace the interchanges of civility in war between two great and benevolent minds; the following letter has been selected as a specimen of Toussaint's familiar intercourse from a variety of other papers of a similar description.

LIBERTY.

EQUALITY.

At Cape François, the 5th January, 7th Year of the French
Republic, one and indivisible.

*Toussaint L'Ouverture, General in Chief of the Army of St. Domingo, to Edward Tyrrel
Smith, Esq.* Captain of his Britannic Majesty's Ship Hannibal.*

SIR,

LIEUTENANT STOVIN³⁹⁵ has performed the commission with which you charged him. As I was at the Cape when he arrived, he was conducted to me, and has brought me your letters of the 3d and 5th January, although addressed to the commandant of this place. I perceive that you have on board sixty-four French prisoners, which you propose to me to exchange, and which I would not have hesitated to do instantly if I had had the same number of prisoners here.

As my principles of humanity correspond perfectly with those you manifest, I shall be obliged to you to release the French prisoners. I shall send you eight English prisoners, the whole that are here, with the exception of one, who, having had his thigh broken, remains at the hospital for it to be set. I will give you letters for Port Paix and

*Now Admiral Smith.

201. Laurent François Lenoir, marquis de Rouvrai, was a military officer and planter who urged the Northern Provincial Assembly to grant mulatto rights.

202. Edwards, *Historical Survey of the French Colony in the Island of St. Domingo*, 78.

203. Phillip Affleck (c. 1725–99) was a naval officer who distinguished himself in the East Indies. He served as commander-in-chief of the Jamaica station from 1790 to 1792.

204. Charles Arnold Ignace Hanus de Jumécourt (1749–98) was captain in a regiment of artillery sent to the West Indies in 1786. He married a local woman whose father owned a sugar factory. As a representative in the colonial assembly, he engineered the September 7, 1791, settlement between the whites of Croix-des-Bouquets and Mirebalais and the *gens de couleur*, which legitimized rights granted the latter in the National Assembly's Decree of May 15, 1791. He fought on the English side during the occupation, left with them for Jamaica in 1798, and apparently died there the same year.

205. Modeled on Jumécourt's peace agreement, another concordat was actually signed by representatives of Port-au-Prince and the *gens de couleur* on September 11, 1791.

206. They would be further placated by the April 4, 1792, decree, which gave equal rights to all *gens de couleur*.

207. Mirbeck (1732–1818), Roume (1743–1805), and Saint-Léger comprised the First Civil Commission. They arrived at Cape François on November 29, 1791. Although these three were first charged with enforcing the Decree of May 15, 1791, they were sent to announce the Decree of September 24, 1791, which would grant amnesty to *gens du couleur* rebels willing to disarm and take a loyalty oath.

208. The French Constitution of 1791 established France as a constitutional monarchy, gave legal existence to the National Assembly, and limited the powers of the sovereign. It was adopted on September 3, 1791, and was effectively terminated with the insurrection of August 10, 1792, against the monarchy and the subsequent foundation of the National Convention.

209. The law granted citizenship and suffrage to landed or taxpaying free men of color.

210. Léger-Félicité Sonthonax (1763–1813), Étienne Polverel (1740–95), and Jean-Antoine Ailhaud actually arrived at Cape François on September 17, 1792. The three commissioners divided the island into thirds: Sonthonax took responsibility for the northern region, Polverel the western, and Ailhaud the southern.

211. Jean-Jacques d'Esparbès de Lussan (1720–1810) served as the governor-general of St. Domingo from June 1792 until October 1792.

212. Edwards, *Historical Survey of the French Colony in the Island of St. Domingo*, 112–13.

213. When Ailhaud returned to France Polverel assumed control over the south as well.

214. François-Thomas Galbaud du Fort (1743–1802) was the governor-general from June 1793 until October 1793. He was an absentee plantation owner and quickly aligned himself with the big whites and the small whites against the mulattoes, Sonthonax, and Polverel.

215. Adrien-Nicolas Piédefer, marquis de La Salle, count d'Offrémont (1735–1818), was a cavalry officer who had fought in the Seven Years War.

216. Edwards writes “The governor [Galbaud] sent a flag proposing to exchange the commissioner’s son for his brother; but Polverel rejected the proposal with indignation; declaring in answer, that his son knew his duty, and was prepared to die in the service of the republick,” *Historical Survey of the French Colony in the Island of St. Domingo*, 116.

217. Born in the African kingdom of Kongo, Macaya was the spiritual and military leader of a group of Maroons living independently in St. Domingo’s mountains. He first fought on the side of the Spanish, then joined Sonthonax, and finally sided with Toussaint. He resisted Toussaint’s agrarian reforms but fought at his side against Leclerc.

218. Sir Adam Williamson (1733–98), an experienced army officer, was sent to Jamaica in anticipation of a possible conflict with Spain in late 1790. He took over as the governor of the colony in 1791 and was well liked by the plantation owners. He ordered British forces to occupy St. Domingo in 1793 and served as governor of the occupied territory from 1795 to 1796.

219. Joaquín García y Moreno (1732–?) was the Spanish governor of Santo Domingo from 1788 until 1801.

220. Most likely Sir Josias Rowley, Baronet (1765–1842). Known as “the Sweeper of the Seas,” he later commanded the fleet responsible for capturing the French islands of La Réunion and Mauritius in 1810.

221. Henry Shirley (1745–1812) was a wealthy British colonist and assemblyman in Jamaica.

222. Pope, “Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady,” l. 14.

223. John Ford commanded the British naval presence at Port-au-Prince during the occupation.

224. Louis Morin Duval was commander of the army of Grand Anse. Jean Kina was among his troops.

225. Colonial troops were made up of local inhabitants recruited to serve with the metropole’s army. One of the most famous examples of colonial troops was the Sepoys in India.

226. Rainsford is referring to Jean Kina. See note 233.

227. Étienne Maynard Bizéfranc, count de Laveaux (1751–1828), served as the governor-general of St. Domingo from 1793 to 1796. He became close friends with Toussaint Louverture.

228. Jean Charles, baron de Montalembert (1747–1810), was a cavalry officer in the royal French army. Coming to St. Domingo in 1792, he formed a legion of émigrés in the service of the British. He became the first Catholic promoted to brigadier general in the British Army. He died in Trinidad.

229. William McKerras of the Royal Engineers. He was promoted to brevet major in 1797 for service in St. Domingo. He was killed in Egypt in 1801.

230. Lieutenant-colonel David Markham (1766–96) of the Twentieth Regiment of Foot was the town commandant of Port-au-Prince. He died while attacking the fort of Bombarde.

231. Lambert Marie Deneux (1761–?) was commandant of the Mole St. Nicholas and surrendered the town to the British. He fled with them to Jamaica.

232. A redoubt is a “fortification; a small work projecting from or within a bastion or ravelin. An entrenched stronghold or refuge” (OED).

233. Jean Kina was a slave from the southern part of St. Domingo who fought for the planters and was later integrated into the British auxiliaries. He became a colonel in British pay and left the island with the British in 1798. He lived for a time in London before being sent to Martinique where he led an aborted rebellion in 1800. He went to France in 1802 and was for a time imprisoned in Fort de Joux with Toussaint. His trail disappears in the south of France in 1804. See Geggus, “Slave, Soldier, Rebel.”

234. The chevalier de Sevré (d. 1796), a Creole, was commander at Tiburon at the time of the British expedition to St. Domingo. He surrendered the city to the British and joined their forces, becoming the commander of the Chasseurs des Irois.

235. Jean-Rabel is a city located west of Port-de-Paix and east of Mole St. Nicholas in the northern province of Haiti.

236. John Whyte replaced Whitelocke as commandant of the British forces in St. Domingo. On June 8, 1794, he issued a proclamation declaring British sovereignty over the colony.

237. Charles Grey, first Earl Grey (1729–1807), a controversial British general during the American Revolutionary War, was appointed commander of the first West Indian expedition in November 1793. With Admiral Sir John Jervis he captured Martinique in 1794.

238. A glacis is “the parapet of the covered way extended in a long slope to meet the natural surface of the ground, so that every part of it shall be swept by the fire of the ramparts’ (Voyle *Mil. Dict.*)” (OED).

239. Loosely quoted from de Charmilly, *Lettre à M. Bryan Edwards*, 153.

240. François-Dominique Toussaint Louverture (1743–1803) was a leader of the Haitian Revolution. He was born on a plantation in Bréda and freed in 1776. He fought long and brilliantly to end slavery on St. Domingo. He initially sided with the Spanish but joined the French in 1794 following the National Convention’s formal abolition of slavery. He expelled the British from the colony, then the Spanish, acting as the de facto governor of St. Domingo until Napoleon sent an expedition against him under the command of Charles Leclerc in 1802. Toussaint battled Leclerc’s French troops fiercely and was only captured through a ruse. He was sent to prison in Fort de Joux in the Jura mountains of France, where he died of pneumonia.

241. Peculation is “the appropriation of money or property held in trust for another by a servant, employee, or official; esp. the embezzlement of public funds belonging to a ruler, state, or government” (OED).

242. Yellow fever is a virus transmitted by mosquitoes. It is believed to have originated in Africa and spread to the Americas through the slave trade. The disease saw several epidemic outbreaks in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Yellow fever gets its name from the jaundice that occurs in its toxic phase.

243. The *Hankey* sailed from England in 1792. Rainsford appears to be drawing on Tytler, *A Treatise on the Plague and Yellow Fever*, 400–402.

INDEX

- abolitionism: British actions in Haiti contrasted with, xviii; campaign against slave trade, 301n155; Clarkson, xxxiii, xli, lii, 286n138, 301n155; Henry I of Haiti appeals to, xxxiii; Rainsford and, lii; Rainsford's *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti* and, xli; Wilberforce, xxxiii, 301n155. *See also* Société des Amis des Noirs
- Acul, 64, 91, 98, 203, 270
L'Acul de Léogane (fortress), 114, 117
Adanson, Michel, 6n
Affleck, Phillip, 96, 98, 305n203
Agé, Pierre, 179, 314n339
Aguado, Juan de, 24, 294n41
Ailhaud, Jean-Antoine, 104–5, 305n210, 305n213
Aime, B., 213, 261
Albemarle, Christopher Monck, second Duke of, 47, 299n113
Albuquerque, Roderigo, 31, 32
Amis des Noirs. *See* Société des Amis des Noirs
Arana, Diego de, 21, 294n35
Archahaye: British occupy, 112, 118, 119; distribution of black force in the French colonies during the Revolution, from official returns, 270; in western province of Haiti, 58, 64
Archenholz, Johann Wilhelm von, xl, 8, 9n, 294n25
Ardouin, Beaubrun, 281n69
Aux Cayes. *See* Cayes
Azua, 52
Baillen, Monsieur and Madame, 93–94
Balboa, Vasco Núñez de, 30–31, 295n55, 295n58
Balcarres, Alexander Lindsay, sixth Earl of, xxvii, 197n, 280n54
Banica, 53, 126, 128, 308n258
Barbé-Marbois, François, marquis de, 68, 301n147
Barbot, Jean, 271
Barcelona Royal Company of Commerce to the Indies, 50
Barlow, Inigo, xlii–xliii
Barnave, Antoine Pierre Joseph Marie, 85, 89, 222, 303n187
Barré, Captain, 207, 210, 258, 259
Baynette, 64
Bayon de Libertas, Antoine-François, 151, 152, 153–54, 310n287, 310n291
Behn, Aphra, 288n155, 291n181
Belair, Charles, 196, 315n358
Benezet, Anthony, 319n434
Benzoni, Girolamo, 28n
Biassou, Georges, 131, 154, 309n263, 309n267, 310n292
Blake, Sir Benjamin, 274, 319n436
Blake, Cotto, 274–75, 319n437
Blake, Sir Patrick, 274, 319n436
Blake, William, xli, xliii
Blanchelande, Philippe (Philibert) François Rouxel, viscount de, 86, 88, 90, 96, 105, 304n188
Bligh, John, 210, 259, 316n375
bloodhounds, xxvii, xlvi, 10–11, 196, 208, 251–56, 288n161
Bobadilla, Francisco de, 25, 295n44
Boisrond Tonnerre, Louis-Félix, 283n91, 288n161
Bombarde, 115–16, 127
Bonaparte, Jérôme, 163, 204, 206n, 312n305

- Bonaparte, Napoleon. *See* Napoleon Bonaparte
- Bonaparte, Pauline, 162, 163, 311n303
- Bonneville, François, xliv, 287n150
- Bosman, William, 271
- Boudet, Jean, 163, 164, 175, 176, 177, 181, 182, 312n308
- Boukman, Dutty “Zamba,” 131, 309n264
- Bowyer, Henry, 127, 308n255
- Boyé, General, 207, 258, 259
- Boyer, Jean Pierre, 184, 314n344
- Boyer, Pierre François Joseph, 200, 201, 315n363
- Brisbane, Thomas Stewart, 123, 124–25, 308n247
- Brissot, Jacques-Pierre, 89, 302n165, 304n191
- Brown, Christopher Leslie, lii
- Bruce, James, 253n
- Brunet, General, 191, 192
- Buccaniers, 7, 8, [38–47](#), 59, 254n, 297n87, 297n88
- Buckley, Roger Norman, xx, xxiii
- Buck-Morss, Susan, 287n147
- Burke, Edmund, xxi, 292n7
- Calenda (dance), 145, 310n282
- Campbell, John, 3, 292n5
- cannibalism, 21n
- Cape François, 58–59; in cession of western Hispaniola, 48; Dessalines sets out from, 215; Edwards on aftermath of uprising around, xl; English attack on, 47; establishment of, 46–48; free blacks at, xxxix, liv, lv–lvi; French commissioners land in, 105; and French invasion of Haiti, xxxi, 164, 166, 178, 184, 189, 192, 203, 204, 206–7; fugitives from Ogé rebellion jailed in, 86; Leclerc in administration of, 247, 248, 250; new Colonial Assembly meets at, 90; in northern province of Haiti, 58; Northern Provincial Assembly meets in, 78; Ogé’s connection to, 84; plan of, xli, 60–61; Port-au-Prince compared with, 50; Rainsford at, xxviii, 10, 133–41; representatives to General Assembly of St. Domingo from, 80; Rochambeau surrenders, 257, 258, 259; as seat of government, 48, 62, 65; slaughters by French near, 196; slave revolt of 1791 around, 91–101; temple to liberty in, xliii, 135–37, 136, 287n147
- Cape St. Nicholas. *See* Mole St. Nicholas
- Castaing (mulatto), 102, 103, 230, 232
- Cauna, Jacques de, 289n168
- Cayes, 63; and British occupation of Haiti, 112; distribution of black force in the French colonies during the Revolution, from official returns, 271; and French invasion of Haiti, 179, 201; Leclerc in administration of, 247, 248, 250; representatives to General Assembly of St. Domingo from, 80; Rigaud as mulatto leader at, 85; in southern province of Haiti, 58; Southern Provincial Assembly meets in, 78; St. Louis in defense of trade of, 64
- Chalmers, James (Charles), xxx, 8, 158n, 277n3, 286n128, 293n24
- Chanlatte, Juste, 267, 268, 318n428
- Chapetones, 56
- Charles III (king of Spain), 50, 300n125
- Charles V (emperor), 33, 296n66
- Charlevoix, Pierre François Xavier de, 7, 293n17
- Charmilly, Pierre-François Venault de, 234–38, 292n2; on blacks, 1, 66; British involvement sought by, 82, 108–9, 110–11, 232; in British occupation of Haiti, 115, 116, 119, 120; on capitulating to Britain, 81–82, 303n180; on Caribs, 21n; letter in reply to Edwards, 7–8, 28n, 286n128, 307n239; on planters in States-General, 76; on population of St. Domingo, 28n, 57; returns to Europe, 123; on two parts of St. Domingo, 20; on West India colonists from France, [71](#)

- Chartrand, René, 287n148
- Chavannes, Jean-Baptiste, 84, 86, 303n184
- Chesterfield, Philip Dormer Stanhope, Lord, 292n3
- children of black laborers, [140–41](#)
- Christophe, Henry (King Henry I of Haiti), 309n280; becomes king, xxxii, 310n280; Britain favored by, xxxii; corresponds with abolitionists, xxxiii; and French plan to retake Haiti, xxxii, 164, 171, 175, 176, 184, 188, 189, 192, 196, 209, 284n96; Haitian independence proclaimed by, 260–61; *Manifest du Roi*, 288n161; presides over Rainsford's trial, xxix, xliii–xliv, 143, 144; and Rainsford's appointment as lieutenant-general, xxxiii, 284n100; and Sutherland, 283n91
- Clarkson, Thomas, xxxiii, xli, lii, 286n138, 301n155
- Clausel, Bertrand, Count, 200, 201, 315n362
- Clements, M., 91
- Clervaux, Augustin, 178, 196, 209, 260–61, 314n337
- Cobbett, William, 9n
- Cockburn, Sir William, 126, 308n251
- cocoa, 36, 47, 48, 50, 57, 64, 67, 68n
- Code Noir*, 84, 301n157
- Coisson, Jean-Baptiste, 167–68, 169–70, 313n319
- Colonial Assembly, 65, 85–86, 90, 94, 96, 104, 105
- Columbus, Bartholomew, 22, 24, 31, 294n40
- Columbus, Christopher, 6, 15–27, 29, 251, 293n11
- Columbus, Diego (brother), 22, 24, 294n38
- Columbus (Colón Moniz), Diego (son), 29–30, 31, 34–35, 295n52
- commission intermediaire*, 105–6
- Concordat, 99, 100
- Condorcet, Nicolas de Caritat, marquis de, 89, 304n194
- constitutions: Constitution of 1801, 157, 160–61, 310n285, 311n298; Constitution of 1804, 211; French Constitution of 1791, 101, 305n208; plan for new constitution of 1790, 80–81
- corvées*, 67
- Council of the Indies, 55
- Coupe-a-Pintade, 176
- Creoles, 56
- Crête-à-Pierrot, 181, 182–83, 314n331, 314n342
- Croix des Bouquets, La, 100, 176, 179, 305n204
- Cromwell, Oliver, [38](#), 297n86
- Cuba: French aided by, 180–81, 209; Maisi, 62; Ocampo explores, 29; Peynier appeals for aid from, 82; Spanish colony established on, 30
- Cul de Sac (plain), 62, 119, 120, 125, 128
- Cul de Sac (town), 64, 100
- Curran, Stuart, 285n114
- Curtis, William, 3, 292n6
- Cuyler, Cornelius, xxix, 148n
- Dallas, Robert Charles, 8, 253n, 255n, 294n26
- Daniel, Captain, 119
- Darwin, Erasmus, xxxi, 283n89
- Daure, Hector (count d'Aure), 198, 315n359
- Debelle, Jean-François Joseph, 175–76, 177, 181, 182, 313n329, 313n330
- Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, 78, [236](#), 302n169
- Decree of April 4, 1792, 104–5, 305n206
- Decree of March 8, 1790, 85, 89, 104
- Decree of May 15, 1791: Civil Commission charged with enforcing, 305n207; Abbé Grégoire on, 221–26; Jumécourt and, 305n204; new Colonial Assembly called for, 85, 89, 303n186, 304n192; Raimond and, 311n298; repeal of, 99–100
- Decree of September 22, 1791, 101
- Decree of September 24, 1791, 104, 305n207