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THE HOUR AND THE MAN

A Historical Romance

BY

HARRIET MARTINEAU.

"Now there was found in it a poor wise man, and he by his wisdom delivered the city; yet no man remembered that same poor man."—ECCLESIASTICUS, ix. 15.

"Thou hast led captivity captive."—PSALM lxxviii. 18.

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APPENDIX.

THOSE who feel interest enough in the extraordinary fortunes of Toussaint L'Ouverture to inquire concerning him from the Biographical Dictionaries and Popular Histories of the day, will find in them all the same brief and peremptory decision concerning his character. They all pronounce him to have been a man of wonderful sagacity, endowed with a native genius for both war and government; but savage in warfare; hypocritical in religion,—using piety as a political mask; and, in all his affairs, the very prince of dissemblers. It is true that this account consists neither with the facts of his life, the opinions of the people he delivered, nor the state documents of the island he governed. Yet it is easy to account for. The first notices of him were French, reported by the discomfited invaders of St. Domingo to writers imbued with the philosophy of the days of the Revolution; and later

accounts are copies of these earlier ones. From the time when my attention was first fixed on this hero, I have been struck with the inconsistencies contained in all reports of his character which ascribe to him cruelty and hypocrisy; and, after a long and careful comparison of such views with his words and deeds, with the evidence obtainable from St. Domingo, and with the temper of his times in France, I have arrived at the conclusion that his character was, in sober truth, such as I have endeavoured to represent it in the foregoing work.

I do not mean to say that I am the first who has formed an opinion that Toussaint was an honest, a religious, and a mild and merciful man. In an article in the Quarterly Review (No. XLII.) on the "Past and Present State of Hayti," so interesting an account is given of the great negro, as to cause some wonder that no one has till now been moved by it to present the facts of his life in the form of an historical novel. In that article it is justly observed that the *onus* rests with those who accuse Toussaint of hypocrisy to prove their allegation by facts. I would say the same of the other charge of cruelty. Meantime, I disbelieve both charges, for these reasons, among others.

The wars of St. Domingo were conducted in a most barbarous spirit before the time of Toussaint's acquisition of power, and after his abduction. During the interval, the whole weight of his influence was given to curb the ferocity of both parties. He pardoned his personal enemies, (as in the instance of the mulattoes in the church;) and he punished in his followers, as the most unpardonable offence they could commit, any infringement of his rule of "NO RETALIATION." When it is considered that the cruelties perpetrated in the rising of 1791, and renewed after the fall of Toussaint, were invented by the whites, and copied by the negroes (who were wont to imitate their masters in all they did), it is no small evidence of L'Ouverture's magnanimity that he conceived, illustrated, and enforced, in such times, such a principle as that of NO RETALIATION.

All the accounts of him agree that, from his earliest childhood, he was distinguished by a tenderness of nature which would not let him hurt a fly. He attached to himself the cattle and horses which were under his charge when a boy, to a degree which made him famous in a region where cruelty to animals at the hands of slaves was almost

universal. A man who lived till fifty, remarkable for a singular gentleness and placability, ought not to be believed sanguinary from that time forward, on the strength of the unsupported charges of his disappointed enemies.

Piety was also his undisputed early characteristic. A slave, bringing to the subject of religion the aptitude of the negro nature, early treated with kindness by a priest, evincing the spirit of piety from his infant years, finding in it the consolations required by a life of slavery, and guided by it in a course of the strictest domestic morality, while surrounded by licentiousness, may well be supposed sincere in his religion, under a change of circumstances occurring after he was fifty years of age. The imputation of hypocrisy is not, however, much to be wondered at when it is considered that, at the time when the first notices of Toussaint were written at Paris, it was the fashion there to believe that no wise man could be sincerely religious.

As for the charge of general and habitual dissimulation, it can only be said that while no proof of the assertion is offered, there is evidence, in all the anecdotes preserved of him, of absolute frankness and simplicity. I rather think that it was the

incredible extent of his simplicity which gave rise to the belief that it was assumed, in order to hide cunning. The Quarterly Review quotes an anecdote thoroughly characteristic of the man, which is not introduced into my story, because, in the abundance of my materials, I found it necessary to avoid altogether the history of the English transactions in St. Domingo. It was only by confining my narrative to the relations between Toussaint and France that I could keep my tale within limits, and preserve the clearness of the representation. There are circumstances, however, in his intercourse with the British, as honourable to Toussaint's character as any that I have related; and among them is the following, which I quote from the Quarterly Review.

“General Maitland, previous to the disembarkation of the troops, returned the visit at Toussaint's camp; and such was his confidence in the integrity of his character, that he proceeded through a considerable extent of country, full of armed negroes, with only three attendants. Roume, the French commissary, wrote a letter to Toussaint, on this occasion, advising him to seize his guest, as an act of duty to the republic: on the route, General

Maitland was secretly informed of Roume's treachery; but, in full reliance on the honour of Toussaint, he determined to proceed. On arriving at head-quarters, he was desired to wait. It was some time before Toussaint made his appearance; at length, however, he entered the room with two open letters in his hand. 'There, General,' said he, 'before we talk together, read these. One is a letter from the French commissary,—the other is my answer. I could not see you till I had written my reply, that you might be satisfied how safe you were with me, and how incapable I am of baseness.'—*Quarterly Review*, vol. xxi. p. 442.

The charge of personal ambition is, above all, contradicted by facts. If anything is clear in Toussaint's history, it is that his ruin was owing to his loyalty to France, his misplaced trust in Napoleon, and his want of personal ambition. He did not, as he might have done, make himself a sovereign when France was wholly occupied with European warfare. He did not, as he might have done, prepare his people to resist the power of the mother-country, when she should at length be at liberty to reclaim the colony. He sent away the French commissaries only when, by their ignorance

and incompetency, they perilled the peace and safety of the colony. He cherished the love of the mother-country in the hearts of the negroes, to the very last moment,—till the armament which came to re-establish slavery appeared on the shores,—till it was too late to offer that resistance which would have made him a king. Christophe's view of this part of his conduct is given in a manifesto, dated in the eleventh year of the Independence of Hayti :

“ Toussaint L'Ouverture, under his paternal administration, had reinstated, in full force, law, morals, religion, education, and industry. Agriculture and commerce were flourishing. He favoured the white colonists, particularly the planters. Indeed, his attentions and partialities had been carried to such a length, that he was loudly blamed for entertaining more affection for them than for those of his own colour. Nor was this reproach without foundation ; for, a few months before the arrival of the French, he sacrificed his own nephew, General Moyse, who had disregarded the orders he had given for the protection of the colonists. That act of the Governor, added to the great confidence he had placed in the French authorities, was the

principal cause of the feeble resistance the French encountered in Hayti. Indeed, his confidence in these authorities was such, that he had discharged the greater part of the regular troops, and sent them back to the tillage of the soil."—*Haytian Papers*, p. 158.

Such conduct is a sufficient answer to the allegation that Toussaint was actuated by a selfish ambition, cunning in its aims, and cruel in its use of means.

Some light is thrown upon the character of his mind by the record of the books he studied, while yet a slave. Rainsford gives a list, which does not pretend to be complete, but which is valuable, as far as it goes. It appears that in his years of comparative leisure, he was completely engrossed by one book at a time, reading it at all spare moments, meditating its contents while in the field, and quoting it in conversation, for weeks together. One of the first authors whose works thus entirely possessed him was Raynal: afterwards Epictetus, in a French translation: then others, as follows:—

Scriptores de Re Militari.

Cæsar's Commentaries. French translation, by De Crisse.

Des Claison's History of Alexander and Cæsar.

D'Orleans' History of Revolutions in England and Spain.

Marshal Saxe's Military Reveries.

Guischard's Military Memoirs of the Greeks and Romans.

Herodotus.

Le Beau's Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.

Lloyd's Military and Political Memoirs.

English Socrates, Plutarch, Cornelius Nepos, &c. &c.

Great mystery hangs over the tale of Toussaint's imprisonment and death. It appears that he was confined in the Temple only as long as Napoleon had hopes of extorting from him information about the treasures, absurdly reported to have been buried by him in the *mornes**, under circumstances of atrocious cruelty. It has been suggested that torture was employed by Bonaparte's aide, Caffarelli, to procure the desired confession: but I do

* I believe the term "*Morne*" is peculiar to St. Domingo. A *morne* is a valley, whose bounding hills are themselves backed by mountains.

not know that the conjecture is founded on any evidence.

As to the precise mode of L'Ouverture's death, there is no certainty. The only point on which all authorities agree is, that he was deliberately murdered : but whether by mere confinement in a cell whose floor was covered with water, and the walls with ice, (a confinement necessarily fatal to a negro,)—or by poison, or by starvation in conjunction with disease, may perhaps never be known. The report which is, I believe, the most generally believed in France is that which I have adopted,—that the Commandant, when his prisoner was extremely ill, left the fortress for two or three days, with the key of Toussaint's cell in his pocket ; that, on his return he found his prisoner dead ; and that he summoned physicians from Pontarlier, who examined the body, and pronounced a serous apoplexy to be the cause of death. It so happened that I was able, in the spring of last year, to make some inquiry upon the spot ; the result of which I will relate.

I was travelling in Switzerland with a party of friends, with whom I had one day discussed the fortunes and character of Toussaint. I had then

no settled purpose of writing about him; but was strongly urged to it by my companions. On the morning of the 15th of May, when we were drawing near Payerne from Freyburgh, on our way to Lausanne, I remembered and mentioned that we were not very far from the fortress of Joux, where Toussaint's bones lay. My party were all eager that I should visit it. There were difficulties in the way of the scheme; the chief of which was that our passports were not so signed as to enable us to enter France; and the nearest place where the necessary signature could be obtained was Berne, which we had left behind us the preceding day. I had, however, very fortunately, a Secretary of State's passport, besides the Prussian Consul's; and this second passport, made out for myself and a *femme-de-chambre*, had been signed by the French Minister in London. One of my kind companions offered to cross the frontier with me, as my *femme-de-chambre*, and to help me in obtaining access to the prison of Toussaint; an offer I was very thankful to accept. At Payerne, we separated ourselves and a very small portion of luggage from our party, whom we promised to overtake at Lausanne in two or three days. We engaged for

the trip a double char-à-banc, with two stout little horses, and a *brave homme* of a driver, as our courteous landlady at Payerne assured us. Passing through Yverdun, we reached Orbe by five in the afternoon, and took up our quarters at the Guillaume Tell, full of expectation for the morrow.

On the 16th, we had breakfasted, and were beginning the ascent of the Jura before seven o'clock. The weather was fine; and we enjoyed a succession of interesting objects, till we reached that which was the motive of our excursion. First, we had that view of the Alps which, if it were possible, it would be equally useless to describe to any who have and any who have not stood on the eastern slope of the Jura, on a clear day. Then we wound among the singular defiles of this mountain-range, till we reached the valley which is commanded by Jougne. Here we alighted, climbing the slope to the gate of the town, while the carriage was slowly dragged up the steep winding road. Our appearance obviously perplexed the two custom-house officers, who questioned us, and peeped into our one bag and our one book (the Handbook of Switzerland) with an amusing air of suspicion. My companion told that the aim of our journey

was the fortress of Joux; and that we expected to pass the frontier again in the afternoon, on our return to Orbe. Whether they believed us, or, believing, thought us very foolish, is best known to themselves; but I suspect the latter, by their compliments on our cleverness, on our return.— At Jougne we supplied ourselves with provisions, and then proceeded through valleys, each narrower than the last, more dismal with pines, and more chequered with snow. The air of desolation, here and there rendered more striking by the dreary settlements of the charcoal-burners, would have been impressive enough, if our minds had not been full of the great negro, and therefore disposed to view everything with his eyes.

The scene was exactly what I have described in my story, except that a good road, made since Toussaint's time, now passes round and up the opposite side of the rock from that by which he mounted. The old road, narrow and steep, remains; and we descended by it.

We reached the court-yard without difficulty, passing the two drawbridges and portcullis described. The Commandant was absent; and his Lieutenant declared against our seeing anything

more than the great wheel, and a small section of the battlements. But for great perseverance, we should have seen nothing more; but we obtained, at last, all we wanted. We passed through the vault and passages I have described, and thoroughly examined the cell. No words can convey a sense of its dreariness. I have exaggerated nothing;—the dim light, the rotten floor, shining like a pond, the drip of water, the falling flakes of ice, were all there. The stove was removed; but we were shown where it stood.

There were only three persons who pretended to possess any information concerning the negro prisoner. The soldier who was our principal guide appeared never to have heard of him. A very old man in the village, to whom we were referred, could tell us nothing but one fact, which I knew before,—that Toussaint was deprived of his servant, some time before his death. A woman in the sutler's department of the fortress pretended to know all about him; but she had never seen him, and had no further title to authority than that her first husband had died in the St. Domingo invasion. She did us the good service of pointing out the grave, however. The brickwork which surrounds

the coffin now forms part of a new wall ; but it was till lately within the church.

This woman's story was that which was probably given out on the spot, to be told to inquirers ; so inconsistent is it in itself, and with known facts. Her account was, that Toussaint was carried off from St. Domingo by the ship in which he was banqueted by Leclerc—(the last of a line of two hundred,) weighing anchor without his perceiving it, while he was at dinner. The absurdity of this beginning shows how much reliance is to be placed upon the rest of her story. She declared that the Commandant Rubaut had orders from the government to treat the prisoner well ; that his servant remained with him to the last ; that he was well supplied with books, allowed the range of the fortress, and accustomed to pass his days in the house of the Commandant, playing cards in the evenings : that on the last night of his life, he excused himself from the card-table, on the plea of being unwell ; that he refused to have his servant with him, though urged not to pass the night alone ; that he was left with fire, fauteuil, flambeaux, and a book, and found dead in his chair in the morning ; and that the physicians who

examined the body declared his death to have been caused by the rupture of a blood-vessel in the heart. This last particular is known to be as incorrect as the first. As for the rest, this informant differs from all others in saying that Mars Plaisir remained with his master to the last day of his life; and we may ask why Toussaint's nights were to be passed in his horrible cell, if his days were so favoured; and how it was that no research availed to discover to the eager curiosity of all Europe and the West Indies the retreat of L'Ouverture, if he, a negro, was daily present to the eyes of the garrison of the fortress, and to those of all the inhabitants of the village, and of all the travellers on that road who chose to raise their eyes to the walls.

Our third informant was a boy, shrewd and communicative, who could tell us the traditions of the place; and, of course, young as he was, nothing more. It was he who showed us where the additional stove was placed, when winter came on. He pointed to a spot beside the fire-place, where he said the straw was spread on which Toussaint lay. He declared that Toussaint lived and died in solitude; and that he was found dead and cold, lying on

that straw,—his wood-fire, however, not being wholly extinguished.

The dreary impressions of the place saddened our minds for long after we had left it; and, glad as we were, on rejoining our party at Lausanne, to report the complete success of our enterprise, we cannot recur to it, to this day, without painful feelings.

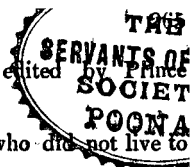
How the lot of Toussaint was regarded by the generous spirits of the time is shown in a sonnet of Wordsworth's, written during the disappearance of L'Ouverture. Every one knows this sonnet; but it may be read by others, as by me, with a fresh emotion of delight, after having dwelt on the particulars of the foregoing history.

“Toussaint, the most unhappy Man of Men!
 Whether the whistling Rustic tend his plough
 Within thy hearing, or thy head be now
 Pillow'd in some deep dungeon's earless den:—
 O miserable Chieftain! where and when
 Wilt thou find patience? Yet die not: do thou
 Wear rather in thy bonds a cheerful brow:
 Though fallen thyself, never to rise again,
 Live, and take comfort. Thou hast left behind
 Powers that will work for thee: air, earth, and skies.
 There's not a breathing of the common wind
 That will forget thee: thou hast great allies:
 Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
 And love, and Man's unconquerable mind.”

The family of Toussaint were first sent to Bayonne, and afterwards to Agen, where one of the sons died of a decline. The two elder ones endeavouring to escape from the surveillance under which they lived, were embarked for Belle Isle and imprisoned in the citadel, where they were seen in 1803. On the restoration of the Bourbons not only were they released, but a pension was settled on the family. Madame L'Ouverture died, I believe, in the south of France, in 1816, in the arms of Placide and Isaac.

For some years, I have read whatever came within my reach on the subject of my present work: so that it would not now be easy to assign me authority for every view and every statement it contains. The authorities which I have principally consulted while actually writing, I will however give. They are—Rainsford's "Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti;" the above mentioned article in the Quarterly Review; Bryan Edwards's *St. Domingo*; the article "Toussaint L'Ouverture," in the *Biographie Universelle*

and the "Haytian Papers," edited by Prince Sanders.



Of these, Bryan Edwards, who did not live to complete his history, barely names my hero; and the reports he gives of the Revolution of St. Domingo are useful chiefly as representing the prejudices, as well as the interests of the planters. The article in the Quarterly is valuable as being an able and liberal digest of various narratives: some derived from Hayti itself. Rainsford's book is nearly unreadable from the absurdity of its style; but it is truly respectable in my eyes, notwithstanding, from its high appreciation of L'Ouverture's character. It contains more information concerning Toussaint than can be found, I believe, anywhere else, except in the Biographie; and it has the advantage of detailing what fell under the writer's own observation. The Biographie furnishes many valuable facts; but appears, from the inconsistency of various parts, and the confused impression which it conveys as a whole, to be a compilation, in which the workman has been more careful to give dates and other facts correctly, than to understand the personage whose portrait he professes to give. The "Haytian Papers" are the

most valuable of all authorities, as far as they go.

Of my personages, all had a real existence, except M. Revel, Euphrosyne, and their servants; some of the planters mentioned in the second chapter; the children of Bellair; the Abbess and her establishment; and some of the visitors at Toussaint's levée; with a few other subordinate characters.

Of the real personages, several were probably very unlike what I have represented them. I knew the names of some, without knowing their characters; as in the instances of Placide and Isaac; MM. Pascal and Molière, Mars Plaisir, Madame Ogé, the Marquis d'Hermona, Laxabon, Vincent and Paul.

Of others, I knew the character and history, without being able to find the names; as in the instances of Madame Dessalines and Madame Bellair. Of others, such as the wife, daughters, and third son of Toussaint, M. Papalier, and the tutors Azua and Loisir, I knew only that they existed, without being able to learn their names or characters. The portraits which have some pretension to historical truth, are those of Toussaint himself, Jean Français, Christophe, Dessalines

and the other negro Generals, old Dessalines, Bellair, Raymond, the French Commissaries and envoys, Bayou, and Moyse.

Having mentioned in my tale the fine letters of Christophe, relating to the intrigues of the French on their arrival, I have pleasure in giving the correspondence, as preserved in the "Haytian Papers."

LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

ARMY OF ST. DOMINGO.

Head Quarters on board the Océan,
13th Pluviose, 10th year of the Republic.

*The General-in-chief of the Army of St. Domingo,
Captain-General of the Colony, to the General
of Brigade, Christophe, Commandant at Cap
Français.*

I LEARN with indignation, Citizen General, that you refuse to receive the French squadron, and the French army that I command, under the pretext that you have received no orders from the Governor-General.

France has concluded a peace with England, and its government sends to St. Domingo forces capable of subduing the rebels; at least, if any are to be found in St. Domingo. As to you, General, I confess it will grieve me to account you among them.

I give you notice, that if you have not in the course of this day surrendered the forts Picolet and Belair, with all the batteries on the coast, to-morrow, at day-break, fifteen thousand troops shall be disembarked.

Four thousand men are, at this moment, landing at Fort Liberté; eight thousand more at Port Républicain*.

Herewith you will receive my proclamation, which expresses the intentions of the French Government: but recollect, whatever individual esteem your conduct in the colony may have inspired me with, I hold you responsible for what may happen.

I salute you,

(Signed) LECLERC.

Head Quarters at Cap Français,
13th Pluviose, Year 10.

*Henri Christophe, General of Brigade, Commandant
of the Arrondissement of Cap, to the General-in-
chief, Leclerc.*

YOUR aide-de-camp, General, has delivered to me your letter of this day. I have the honour to inform

* This is a remarkable instance of the tone of exaggeration in which Leclerc appears to have habitually indulged. He here pretends to have 27,000 men at his immediate disposal; whereas the histories of the time, written at Paris, give from 12,000 to 15,000 as the amount of the force Leclerc carried with him: and he was not reinforced for several weeks after the date of this letter.

you that I could not deliver up the forts and post confided to my command, without previous orders from the Governor-General, Toussaint L'Ouverture, my immediate chief, from whom I hold the powers with which I am invested. I am fully persuaded that I have to do with Frenchmen, and that you are the chief of the armament called the expedition ; but I wait the orders of the Governor, to whom I have despatched one of my aides-de-camp, to apprise him of your arrival, and that of the French army, and cannot permit you to land until I have received his answer. If you put in force your threats of hostility, I shall make the resistance which becomes a general officer ; and, should the chance of war be yours, you shall not enter Cap Français till it be reduced to ashes. Nay, even in the ruins will I renew the combat.

You say that the French government has sent to St. Domingo forces capable of subduing the rebels, if any such be found ; it is your coming, and the hostile intentions you manifest, that alone could create them among a peaceable people, in perfect submission to France. The very mention of rebellion is an argument for our resistance.

As to the troops which you say are this moment landing, I consider them as so many pieces of card which the least breath of wind will dissipate.

How can you hold me responsible for the event ?

You are not my chief; I know you not, and can therefore make no account of you till you are recognised by Governor Toussaint.

For the loss of your esteem, General, I assure you that I desire not to earn it at the price that you set upon it, since to purchase it I must be guilty of a breach of duty.

I have the honour to salute you,

(Signed) H. CHRISTOPHE.

Head Quarters at Cap Français,
29th Germinal, Year 10 of the French Republic.

The General-in-chief to General Christophe.

You may give credit, Citizen General, to all that Citizen Vilton has written to you on behalf of General Hardy; I will keep the promises which have been made you; but, if it is your intention to submit to the Republic, think on the essential service you could render her by furnishing the means to secure the person of General Toussaint.

(Signed) LECLERC.

Head-quarters, Robillard, Grand-Boucan,
2d Floréal, Year 10.

The General of Brigade, Henri Christophe, to General Leclerc.

I HAVE received yours of the 29th of last month. With earnest desire to give credit to what Citizen

Vilton has written me, I wait only for a proof which must convince me of the intention to procure the liberty and equality of the population of this colony. The laws which consecrate the principles, and which the mother-country, without doubt, has enacted, will carry to my heart this conviction; and I protest, that on obtaining this desired proof, by being made acquainted with these laws, I shall submit immediately.

You propose to me, Citizen General, to furnish you with the means of securing the person of General Toussaint L'Ouverture. It would be perfidy and treason in me to do so; and a proposition so degrading to me, is, in my opinion, a mark of your invincible repugnance to believe me susceptible of the smallest sentiment of delicacy and honour. He is my commander and my friend. Is friendship, Citizen General, compatible with such monstrous baseness?

The laws which I have just mentioned have been promised us by the mother-country, by the proclamation that her Consuls have addressed to us when they communicated the constitution of the 8th Year. Fulfil, Citizen General, fulfil this maternal promise, by unfolding to our view the code which contains it, and you will soon behold all her children rushing into the arms of that beneficent mother, and amongst them General Toussaint L'Ouverture, who, thus undeceived, like the rest, will hasten to

correct his error. It is only when this error shall have been so dispelled, that, if he persist in spite of evidence, he can fairly be regarded as criminal, and be the first object of the anathema you have launched against him, and the measure you propose to me to execute.

Consider, Citizen General, the happy effects that will result from the mere publication of these laws to a people crushed, of old, beneath the weight of burdens, and lacerated by the scourges of a barbarous slavery, in whom the apprehension of similar enormities, is, doubtless, excusable : a people, in short, who have tasted the sweets of liberty and equality, and covet no happiness beyond the assurance of never more having to dread the fetters they have broken. The exposure of these laws before their eyes will stop the effusion of French blood by the hands of Frenchmen ; will restore to the republic children who may yet do her service ; and, after the horrors of civil war, bring back tranquillity, peace, and prosperity to the bosom of this unhappy colony. The object is, without question, worthy of the greatness of the mother-country : its attainment, Citizen General, would cover you with glory, with the blessings of a people who will take pleasure in forgetting the evils that they have suffered by the delay of this promulgation. Reflect, that to refuse them a participation of these laws, so necessary for the salvation of these countries, would be to perpetuate those evils, and must lead

to absolute destruction. In the name of my country, in the name of the mother-country, I call for these salutary laws. Produce them, and St. Domingo is saved.

I have the honour to salute you,

(Signed) H. CHRISTOPHE.

ARMY OF THE EXPEDITION.

Head-Quarters at Cap Français, 4th Floréal,
Year 10 of the French Republic.

The General-in-chief to General Christophe.

I HAVE just received your letter, General. The uneasiness you testify to me is of a nature easy to be removed. You demand of me the code which gives assurance of liberty to the negroes. That code is not completed: I am at this moment engaged upon it. The wisdom of the First Consul did not allow him to make a code for the government of a country with which he was unacquainted, and of which the accounts he has received are contradictory. But I declare to you in the presence of the colony—I protest before the Supreme Being, whose assistance is never invoked in vain—that the bases of this code are liberty and equality; that the negroes shall be free; and that the system of cultivation shall be founded upon the basis of that of General Toussaint, which may, perhaps, be even ameliorated in their favour. If this declaration is insufficient, it will

be to me a convincing proof that you have no wish to submit to the Republic. If it be sufficient, present yourself to-morrow at the village of Haut-du-Cap. I shall be there ; and I declare to you, that if, after an hour's explanation, we do not come to an understanding, you shall be at liberty to return to your troops, upon the word of honour of the General-in-chief.

What I have said to you on the subject of General Toussaint, arose from my not supposing him to be actuated by such loyal views as yourself. I shall take pleasure in finding myself deceived. The answer you have made on this head gave me great satisfaction, and confirms me in the opinion I have always had of your loyalty.

If you come, and we understand one another, the war will have lasted so much the shorter time in the colony. If not, calculate my means, and your chances of successful resistance.

I salute you.

(Signed) LECLERC.

Let me know the result of your arrangements, for I intend to absent myself from Cap for some moments.

(Signed) LECLERC.

LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

Head Quarters, Cardineau, Grande Rivière,
5 Floréal, Year 10.

*The General of Brigade, Henri Christophe, to General
Leclerc.*

I THIS moment received your letter of yesterday : its contents revive in my mind the hope of seeing tranquillity, peace, and prosperity, return to this too long agitated colony, under the auspices of liberty and equality. I accept your offer of an interview. Tomorrow, at eleven o'clock in the morning, I shall present myself at Haut-du-Cap, to confer with you. The word of a French General is, in my estimation, too sacred and inviolable to be denied belief.

I am flattered with the opinion you entertain of my loyalty ; but regret that you still persist in thinking General Toussaint uninspired by that estimable feeling. Give me leave to say that you are deceived with regard to him. I have no apprehension of finding myself deceived when I assure you, that the confirmation of civilised liberty and equality will make him throw himself into the arms of the Republic.

It is hopeless to enter upon any calculation of our respective means ; the resolution to be a man and a free man is the sum of my arithmetic ; and the certainty of seeing this title insured to my fellow-citizens will

soon resolve our divided forces into one and the same body, into one and the same family, united by the sincerest fraternity.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) H. CHRISTOPHE.

Head Quarters at Cap Français,
8th Floréal, Year 10.

The General-in-chief to the General of Brigade, Christophe, Commandant of the Cordon of the North.

I APPROVE, Citizen General, of the motives which prevent your presence at Cap to-day. I am the more gratified by your effecting this operation in person, because the execution of your orders experienced some difficulties at Limbé.

The Commandant, Lafleur, who occupies the great Cut of Limbé, would not consent to surrender his post without having seen you. It appears that the same thing has taken place on the side of the landing-place of Limbé. General Salme had sent troops to occupy these posts; on the refusal to surrender them, the troops retired. Some mounted dragoons of the country, and some of the rustic militia, came to his camp, to buy provisions; General Salme caused them to be disarmed and sent back. I have given orders for their arms to be restored.

As soon as you have completed the arrangements on

the side of Grande Rivière, proceed to the crossway of Limbé, where you will find General Salme, who commands the arrondissement de Plaisance, and all the country that lies beyond the Rivière Salée. Take measures in consulting with him, so that he may forthwith occupy the military posts at present in charge of your troops, and give orders that the rustic militia retire immediately to their habitations. Put in requisition every possible means of conveyance, in order to facilitate the provisioning of the troops cantoned in the mountains.

I salute you.

(Signed) LECLERC.

As soon as you have concluded the business at Limbé, you will come and join me.

(Signed) LECLERC.

LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

Head Quarters of Cap Français, 30th Germinal,
Year 10 of the French Republic.

*The General of Division, Hardy, Commanding the
Division of the North at St. Domingo, to General
Christophe, Commanding the Cordon of the North.*

CAPTAIN VILTON, in command at the Petit Anse,
has communicated to me, Citizen General, the letter

which you have written to him, and I imparted it immediately to the General-in-chief, Leclerc.

By the details into which you have entered with Citizen Vilton, it is easy to discover, General, that you have been the victim of the treacherous insinuations of an infinity of beings, who, during the course of the revolution in France, have set all parties on fire together; have everywhere excited trouble and discord; and who, after having brought upon themselves their own expulsion, have taken refuge in this colony, where they have distorted every fact and circumstance—disseminated the most atrocious falsehoods and calumnies—and sought, in fresh troubles, an existence that they could no longer find in Europe.

These crafty men have inspired you with distrust of the French government and its delegates. The conduct of the Government, and its good faith, are well known to the whole world. Our own behaviour, since our arrival in St. Domingo—our proceedings towards the peaceable inhabitants, and in the instances of Generals Clerveaux, Paul L'Ouverture, Maurepas, La Plume, and their companions in arms—may give you a just measure of all that malevolence and intrigue have invented to slander the purity of our intentions.

Twelve years, General, have we been fighting for liberty; can you believe that, after such great sacrifices, we would so degrade ourselves in our own eyes, as to

incur a blemish which would efface our glory and destroy our work ? Return, General, to more reasonable sentiments, and assure yourself that your principles are ours also.

The reputation you enjoy in this country led us not to presume that the French, your brothers, would encounter any resistance in you to the will of the government.

Nevertheless, General, all hope of obtaining from this same government oblivion of the past is not entirely lost to you. I address you with the frankness of a soldier, unacquainted with shifts and evasions.—Correct your errors ; your return to true principles may accelerate the reparation of evils which have afflicted this beautiful spot. It is unworthy of you to serve as a stepping-stone to a usurper, to a rebel. The mother country throws wide her arms to all her children led astray, and invites them to take refuge in her bosom.

If you have a serious intention of recognising the laws of the republic, and of submitting to the orders of her government, you will not hesitate, General, to come and join us with your troops. Hitherto we have fought you as enemies ; to-morrow, if you will, we will embrace you as brothers.

Write me your proposals, or inform me at what hour you will be at Vaudreuil, to make them verbally. You will find me there. If we do not come to an

understanding, I give you my word of honour, after the conference, you shall be at liberty to return to your head-quarters.

I have the honour to salute you.

(Signed) HARDY.

Head-quarters, Robillard. Grand Boucan.
2nd Floréal, Year 10.

*The General of Brigade, Henri Christophe, to the
General of Division, Hardy.*

YOUR letter of the 30th Germinal has reached me. You are wrong in believing me the victim of the machinations of perfidious intriguers. Nature, without having endued me with all the subtlety of a penetrating and clear-sighted genius, has furnished me with sense enough to guard me from the insinuations of wicked men. With an ardent love of peace and tranquillity, I have always kept at a distance from me violent and turbulent men, whose empoisoned breath engenders confusion and discord ; but I have not been exempt from the suspicions that so many publications have roused in my mind, and which so many others have confirmed. Some originated in foreign countries, others in the heart of France. All announced, with a menacing tone, the misfortunes which now afflict us. How happens it that the desires of the wicked, and the predictions of the evil-minded,

appear so much in unison with the resolutions of the mother country ?

When we were thus threatened with the return of slavery, after having broken its fetters, was anything more natural than the dread of its return ; than the suspicion, the restlessness, even the mistrust, of a people so often deceived—so constantly the mark for the declared hatred of the enemies of its liberty, who were jealous of the equality admitted in their favour ? Could we be otherwise, when everything concurred to justify our fears ?

General, we too have twelve years combated for liberty ; for the same rights which, like yourselves, we bought at the price of our blood : and I have ever revolted at the belief that the French, after having made such sacrifices to obtain them, would one day come to tear them from a people who glory in being a part of the great nation, and in enjoying in common with her the advantages derived from the revolution. That revolution, and the benefits it has diffused, are worthy of the glory of the republic ; and when you assure me that she will not destroy her work, why refuse to this branch of her family what must infallibly consolidate and immortalise for her the sublime edifice ? The code of laws promised to the inhabitants of the colonies by the proclamation of the Consuls, which accompanied their communication of the constitution of

the Year 8, can alone convey to my mind the pledge of the consolidation of our rights. This, Citizen-General, is the only weapon capable of subduing the apprehensions of a justly-suspicious people ! This, a convincing proof, which alone can restore in my mind these sentiments to which you would recall me, and assure me that our mutual principles are the same !

The candour with which you address me is worthy, in all respects, of a soldier like yourself ; I express myself with equal frankness ; and if General Leclerc, instead of proposing to me an act of treason and infamy which would degrade me in my own eyes, had spoken to me as you have done,—a language consistent with sentiments of honour and delicacy, such as he might fairly have presumed in me,—I should have at least consented to the interview which you invite, not only at Vaudreuil, but at Le Petit Anse, or even at Cap. But, be it as it may, I augur too favourably of your frankness and your word of honour, not to consent to that interview: not at the place you point out, but at one which may be near the centre of our respective lines. I therefore propose the house of Montalibor for this purpose. If that is agreeable to you, appoint the day and hour when you will meet me there, and I promise to be present. But, General, furnish yourself with the code of laws which are to govern this country, which confirm liberty and equality to the people who

will water and fertilise it with their sweat ; and our interview will be crowned with the happiest success, and I rejoice to owe to you the information which can alone dispel our error. Doubt not, General, that General Toussaint L'Ouverture himself, whom General Leclerc considers but as a criminal, will then not hesitate to throw himself, with the whole nation, into the arms of the republic ; and, re-united under the auspices of these beneficent laws, this grateful people will offer him again, as a proof of their devotion, the exertions that they have once before directed to render this portion of the French empire productive.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) H. CHRISTOPHE.

Petit Anse, 26th Germinal, Year 10.

Vilton, Commandant of the Petit Anse, to Citizen Henri Christophe, General of Brigade, at his Headquarters.*

MY DEAR COMRADE,

I GIVE way to the sentiments that my ancient friendship inspires for you ; I have heard with the deepest

* The two letters subjoined under the signature of the Sieur Vilton, were fabricated by the Sieur Anquetil, who wrote them with his own hand, at the house of the Sieur Blin de Villeneuve, one of the great Planters of the northern district, grandfather to the Sieur Vilton, who had no hand in them but the signature, to which he was forced by the French government.

regret of your refusal to submit to the will of the French General whom the First Consul has despatched to St. Domingo, to complete, support, and consolidate the order that you had so effectually established at Cap, the dependency of the North, where you acquired the regard and affection of all the colonists. You repeatedly told me, my dear comrade, that your greatest pleasure would be to see the French arrive, and resign into their hands the authority with which you were invested ; by what fatality can you so suddenly have changed your good intentions ? By this step you have renounced personal happiness, the security of your fortune, and the splendid establishment you could have secured to your amiable family ; you have plunged them, as well as yourself, into the most frightful misery. Your intentions have always, to me, appeared so pure, and your devotion to the French nation left me nothing to doubt in the conduct you proposed to pursue ; when, in an instant, on the appearance of a French squadron, you were no longer the same man. All the world, and your friends in particular, were persuaded that you had been ill-advised, and perhaps over-ruled, by some black chiefs who were about you. So many handsome things have been said of you to M. Leclerc, the General-in-chief, that he is thoroughly convinced that it is owing to evil counsels that you took the resolution to resist ; that he is ready to pardon you, if you will

reduce to obedience the troops that you command, and surrender the post that you occupy. This is a fine opening, my dear comrade, for yourself, as well as for the brave officers and soldiers under your command; they will be all treated in the same manner as the French army; and you will secure for yourself and your family every happiness that you can desire; especially if you should desire to quit the colony, which is the best course you can take to save yourself from being exposed to the hatred of the rebels to the orders of France, who shall refuse to follow your example; you will be certain of a liberal fortune, and can enjoy it peaceably, under the protection of France, in the country of your choice. My dear comrade, my tender friendship for you and your family induces me to write this. I shall partake of your happiness if I can contribute to *effect it*. It lies with you to give me this gratification by following the advice of your old friend. Reply to me, and let me know your intentions, that I may bring them to bear in the way most agreeable to yourself.

Every one here, and in all parts of the colony, has witnessed the frankness and good faith of the French generals, and I have no reserve in repeating to you the assurance, that you may place entire confidence in them; they will open to you every facility, assist you with every means in their power, and furnish you the con-

venience of carrying along with you everything you possess, and enjoying it peaceably wherever you choose to reside. Trust me, then, my dear comrade ; quit this wandering and vagabond life, which would dishonour you if you continue to follow it ; and regain the esteem of all good citizens, by being yourself again, and abandoning the cause of an ambitious man, who will be your ruin in the end. Pay no regard to your outlawry ; the General-in-chief, Leclerc, has said that it should not have taken place had he known you sooner, and that the proclamation should be annulled as soon as he hears that you have acknowledged your error, and abandoned the cause of rebellion.

Health and Friendship.

(Signed) VILTON.

Head Quarters, Hamlet of Dondon,
20th Germinal, Year 10.

*The General of Brigade, Henri Christophe, to the
Commandant Vilton.*

I LOVE to give credit to the expression of your long-standing friendship for me, which has inspired you with the idea of addressing to me your letter of the 26th of this month. The sentiments of friendship I have avowed to you remain unalterable ; you know me too well to doubt it.

Should I even have refused to submit to the orders of the French general, sent to this island by the First Consul of the Republic, if everything had not conspired to convince me that the meditated consolidation of the good order which reigned in this colony, was nothing less than the destruction of our liberty, and the rights resulting from equality? It is true, as you say, I have declared my greatest desire was to see the French arrive, and to deposit in their hands the share of authority with which I was invested, and enjoy, as a simple citizen, the benefits of liberty and equality in the bosom of my family, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, provided that they too partook with myself of these sacred rights. A Frenchman, loving and respecting France, I joyfully entertained this hope: a hope that my confidence in the government of the mother-country fostered and confirmed from day to day. I have never changed my inclinations in this respect; but by what fatality is it that this hope has been deceived—that all has concurred to prove that the principles previously adopted in our favour have been changed? St. Domingo, wholly French, enjoyed, as you know, the profoundest tranquillity; there were no rebels to be found: by what fatal blindness, then, did it happen, that France has come with all the terrors of war and the artillery of destruction? Not to subdue the rebels, (for rebels there were none,) but to create them among

a peaceful people, and furnish a pretext to destroy or enslave them.

You say I have renounced my happiness. Alas ! what happiness, what fortune, what splendid establishment of myself and my family, could ever have offered me consolation for the grief of seeing my fellows reduced to the last degree of misfortune under the burden of slavery ? My intentions have always been pure, and you were, more than anybody, acquainted with my devotion to the French nation. My intentions, my sentiments have never varied. I have always been the same man. But, placed as I was by my fellow-citizens, as a sentinel at the post where it was my duty to watch over the preservation of liberty, more dear to them than their existence, how could I do otherwise than alarm them at the approach of the blow aimed at its annihilation ?

How many letters, pouring in upon us in ship-loads from France and foreign countries, written in a menacing tone, by colonists to other colonists, who preached forth their contents with undisguised and seditious vehemence, announced to me, in the most explicit terms, the fate reserved for the people of this colony and its defenders !

You know it. I have communicated to several. Did I not, from motives of prudence, conceal them from the governor, for fear of agitating him ; and did

not my confidence in the government of the Republic so master my common sense as to make me, to the last moment, consider these letters as the mere expressions of the hatred of some wretches, who sought, in pure despite, again to embroil this country? Yet has not the event, notwithstanding my credulity, fully justified all their annunciations? The world, above all my friends, most especially deceive themselves if they believe that I have allowed myself to be led away by any chiefs that are about me. At my age I have no need of counsel; it is my duty that is my counsellor upon all occasions. You ought to know me better, and to be aware, that I never took advice of my friends, not even of you, whom I distinguished among them. Friends, alas! I thought I could count many; but now, like Diogenes, with a lantern in my hand, at noonday, I search in vain for one on whom I can rely.

It is without doubt very flattering to have so much good said of me to M. Leclerc, the General-in-chief; but he is wrong in persuading himself that my present conduct is the result of evil counsel. What I have said to you on that head is a complete answer to that opinion. I never had any intention of resisting him, and so I wrote word when he first appeared before Cap Français; I testified to him how much regret I should feel if compelled to oppose reluctant resistance before receiving the orders of the Chief who had placed

me at this post, and who had entrusted me with a charge which I could resign into no other hands. I sent to him Citizen Granier, commander of a battalion of the national guard, as the bearer of my letter, and charged him to express verbally the necessity I was under of waiting the orders I expected from the Governor, and my resolution, when he should have been apprised of the squadron's arrival, to fulfil the obligation of receiving it with all the respect due to the mother-country; in case the Governor, after being certified that it was from France, should meditate resistance. Without attending to this reasonable observation, General Leclerc sends back Citizen Granier without any other answer than this:—" *That he had orders to use force, and would execute them.*" A trifling delay would have prevented much calamity. As a man of honour, I was determined to observe religiously what I had charged the Citizen Granier to represent on my behalf to General Leclerc: but this General did not condescend to give it credit; and, notwithstanding the protestations he received of my devotion to France, the Port Captain whom I had sent to meet the squadron is still detained, and his aide-de-camp forewarns me that, if I send my Adjutant-General, he will be similarly treated. At the same time, General Rochambeau effects a landing near Fort Liberté, without giving notice to the Commander of that place, marches upon

the forts which defend it, makes himself master of them, and puts to the sword the brave men he finds there; whilst the vessels enter the harbour, and discharge their guns upon the town. On the other hand, another landing is made at Limbé, which is likewise cannonaded; and Cap Français is placed between two numerous armies, with a menacing squadron in front. The terms of the letter which General Leclerc had addressed to me, showed plainly enough the object he had in view. I take counsel of the emergency of the circumstance in which I was placed by the conduct of this General; I take counsel, I say, of his own behaviour; and thus commence all the evils that afflict us.

After acting in such a manner, what must I not suspect? Had I not reason to presume unfavourably, from the measures just put in execution against me? Yes, I avow it; however great had been, at all times, my confidence in the French Government, I felt it powerfully shaken by the thundering threats, by the blows aimed at us; and the conduct of the chiefs of the French army determined mine.

You speak to me of fortune; I have no longer any. I have lost all. Honour is henceforth the only possession which is left to me, and to my family. You know me; and you know whether it is, or is not, the object of my ambition.

You counsel me to make bold to ask leave to quit the colony. You cannot be ignorant that I am not deficient in courage, and in this case it would not fail me. I had resolved long since to quit the colony on the restoration of peace, and Citizen Granier was half inclined to the same course. If he exists, he can testify to the truth of this assertion. My attachment to France had made me choose her bosom as the asylum whither we might, with our exiled families, have retired, and passed our days in peace, in the sweet certainty of leaving all our brethren free and happy on the soil of this colony. Why has everything concurred to frustrate this hope? I expect to receive every day the blow that will annihilate me; and Citizen Granier, who, I learn, is detained on board, has perhaps already ceased to exist. What is his crime? What harm has he done? Is it possible that his friendship for me has been his crime?

You take upon yourself, my dear comrade, to give me proofs of good faith and frankness on the part of the French Generals; you know not how it grieves me to be unable to remove the just suspicions with which all the facts I have detailed have inspired me; facts against which I can find no reasonable or prudent pretext for shutting my eyes. Happen what may, honour is my guide; and it is with extreme repugnance that I impute to any other rule of conduct the

actions and promises of others ; honour has always appeared to me so dear to French officers.

I always cherish the esteem of good citizens. If there exist at St. Domingo any ambitious men, who covet nothing but honour, preferment, or distinction ; as for me, my ambition always consisted in meriting the honourable consideration of good men, in seeing my fellow-citizens happy ; in enjoying, in common with them, the sole title of free man, the sole rights of equality, in the bosom of my tranquil family, and in the circle of a few estimable friends.

You advise, my dear comrade, to pay no regard to my outlawry ; General Leclerc, you tell me, has said it should not have taken place had he known me sooner, and that the Proclamation should be annulled as soon as I should have retracted my error. I am ready to retract, but my doubts must be removed, my suspicions cleared up. There is no sacrifice that I will not make for the peace and happiness of my fellow-citizens, if I am but convinced that they shall all be free and happy. I have but one thing left to sacrifice,—my life. All the rest I have already given. Produce the proofs necessary for my conviction ; and with a willing heart I offer the sacrifice, if, after demonstration of my error, it can make atonement, and restore tranquillity and prosperity to my country, and to my fellow-citizens.

I salute you with friendship.

(Signed) H. CHRISTOPHE.

Petit Anse, 30th Germinal, Year 10.

Vilton, Commandant at Petit Anse, to Citizen Henri Christophe, General of Brigade, commanding the Cordon of the North.

MY DEAR COMRADE,

I CAN with difficulty express the pleasure that your answer to my letter affords me, since it gives me the hope of seeing you once more actuated by that confidence which you should never have ceased to place in the justice and generosity of the representative of France in this colony ; these are the characteristics of French officers, and, above all, of the General-in-chief, Leclerc ; and it was the intimate knowledge of these qualities that induced the First Consul to make choice of him as the bearer of happiness and peace to this unfortunate colony. Your submission to a chief of such merit will gain you a protector, who will charge himself with the office of making such provision for you as will lead you to bless the day of your compliance with the counsel I have now given, and which I now repeat more strongly than ever. I made it my first business to communicate your letter to him, as well as to General Hardy. The expressions you make use of have met with their approbation. The distrust you discover in some paragraphs alone prevents them from being completely satisfied. The General-in-chief himself is going to write to you. I cannot press you too

strongly to place entire confidence in his promises, as well as in the honour of General Hardy : and I doubt not you will find in their letters everything that you, as well as your fellow-citizens, ought in reason to require for your satisfaction.

With respect to your friend Granier, if he is detained, it is not because of his connexions, but because he has many enemies here, who have calumniated him. I have no doubt, that, as soon as Government shall have had time to investigate his affair, he will be set at liberty.

Adieu, my dear comrade : depend upon the friendship I have sworn to you for life.

Health and friendship.

(Signed) VILTON.

Head-quarters, Roubillard, Grand Boucan,
2nd Floréal, Year 10.

The General of Brigade, Henri Christophe, commanding the Cordon of the North, to Vilton, Commandant at Petit Anse.

I AGAIN receive with pleasure, in your letter of the 30th ult., the expression of your friendship for me. The successful issue of your correspondence, which you seem to hope, depends upon General Leclerc. He has indeed addressed to me a letter ; but I have read in it,

with disgust, the proposition it contains, of dishonouring myself by an act of monstrous cowardice and perfidy.

I do trust, however, that in the character which has been given him of me, if dictated by truth, it has not been represented that such actions were familiar to me, and that I was wholly divested of every sentiment of delicacy and honour.

I replied to his letter in the same manner as I did to that of General Hardy; which appeared to be written in that style of frankness which ought to distinguish a soldier.

I have every desire to abjure the distrust which I have conceived. I demand of those two Generals no more than what is necessary to renounce it; that is, in fact, the code of laws which was promised us by the proclamation addressed to us by the Consuls of the republic, when they communicated the constitution of the Year 8. In such a code only can lie the proof of the intention to maintain and consolidate liberty and equality. If these laws are in your possession, impart them to me; if they exist, and you have them not, endeavour to obtain and produce them to me. To them I look for the restoration of tranquillity to this country—for the cement of union between the French of both worlds,—for a stop to the effusion of their blood—for the reconciliation with the republic of her children, who

never willingly renounced her—and for the re-establishment, in this island, of peace and its blessings, in lieu of civil war and its ravages. Openly proclaim this code, and let the light of truth shine on those who may be blinded with error—then will you enjoy the satisfaction of having contributed to the happiness of our country, to that of our fellow-citizens, to my own among the rest; for whatever lot may await me, my happiness will consist in that of my brethren, were it even sealed with my blood.

The unfortunate Granier is detained, and, without doubt, you tell me, on account of some calumnious insinuations of his enemies. Ought such a detention to have taken place without evidence? and is it consistent with a just and impartial government to suffer such long delays in the production of the proofs requisite for just condemnation or equitable acquittal? But, placed as I am, does it become me to plead the cause of friendship?

My dear comrade, do not forget those laws about which I have been speaking to you. Communicate them to me without delay, and you will soon attain the object you seem to aim at in your correspondence.

I salute you in friendship.

(Signed)

HENRI CHRISTOPHE.

Haytian Papers, pp. 4—54.

These are the letters of the man whom, when he was King of Hayti, the French declared (in allusion to his employment while a slave) to be more fit to wield the frying-pan than the sceptre.

As, in these letters, Henri's French correspondent boasts of the excellent treatment the negro Generals,—and among them Maurepas,—received from the invaders, it is right to complete the story by showing what were ultimately the tender-mercies of the same parties. Christophe's Manifesto of September, 1814, tells the following tale, which is fully confirmed by Lacroix.

“Maurepas, a man of mild and gentle manners, esteemed for his integrity by his fellow-citizens, was one of the first to surrender to the French; and had rendered them signal services; yet this man was suddenly carried off to Port Paix, and put on board the Admiral's vessel, then riding at anchor in Cap roads, where, after binding him to the main-mast, they, in derision, fixed, with nails such as are used in ship-building, two old epaulettes on his shoulders, and an old general's hat on his head. In that frightful condition, these cannibals, after having glutted their savage mirth and exultation, precipitated him, with his wife and children, into

the sea. Such was the fate of that virtuous and unfortunate soldier."—*Haytian Papers*, p. 170.

The crime which was visited by this atrocious punishment was one which the invaders never, in any instance, forgave,—attachment to L'Ouverture. Maurepas acted weakly, in the first instance, in joining the French. On the abduction of Toussaint, he repented, as did all the negroes who had tolerated the invaders. He took up arms in defence of the liberties of the blacks, and died as we have seen. Rainsford tells what happened after the departure of Toussaint, and the consequent vigorous action of Christophe and Desalines.

"A number of new generals had arisen in arms from the interior of the island, who began to make excursions from the mountains. Among these was a powerful chief of negroes, of the Congo tribe, called Sans Souci, who, after committing considerable depredations, could never be discovered. Charles Bellair, with his Amazonian wife, also made a powerful diversion for a while, till they were both taken, and died under the most inconceivable tortures. Clerveaux, whose submission of the eastern part of the island had been formerly

boasted without grounds*, now declared openly his contumacy: and Maurepas, who had surrendered, was detected in a conspiracy, and put to death. Nor were the defections from the French army confined to the blacks, or to inferior officers among the whites. General Dugua, the chief of the French staff, disgusted with the horrors attendant on the war, and more particularly with the horrid punishment of Bellair and his wife, whom he had tried, was discovered in making arrangements to quit the French army, and took the resolution of destroying himself."—*Rainsford's "Historical Account," &c., p. 325.*

The horrors perpetrated by the mortified and exasperated French now become too disgusting for the eye and ear; but they should not be disregarded when complaints are made of the ferocity of Dessalines, and when we attempt to appreciate the mildness of the rule of Christophe. Suffice it now that Leclerc died, on Tortuga, on the 1st of November, 1802, and was succeeded in the command by Rochambeau; that, during the next year, the island was afflicted, from end to end, with the miseries of a most barbarous warfare; that the

* There is no more doubt of the original defection of Clerveaux, than of its being afterwards repented of.

French lost ground perpetually, and died by thousands of disease and famine,—the blood-hounds they had brought from Cuba serving them, at length, for food; that the invaders evacuated the island in November, 1803; and that their retreat was followed by a Declaration, on the part of the Generals Dessalines, Christophe, and Clerveaux, of the INDEPENDENCE of HAYTI. We give the official announcements of the last event from Rainsford (*pp.* 439—441).

Declaration of the Independence of the Blacks of St. Domingo.

PROCLAMATION OF DESSALINES, CHRISTOPHE, AND CLERVEAUX, CHIEFS OF ST. DOMINGO.

THE Independence of St. Domingo is proclaimed. Restored to our primitive dignity, we have asserted our rights; we swear never to yield them to any power on earth. The frightful veil of prejudice is torn to pieces. Be it so for ever! Woe be to them who would dare to put together its bloody tatters!

Landholders of St. Domingo, wandering in foreign countries! by proclaiming our independence, we do not forbid you all, without distinction, to return to your property. Far be from us so unjust a thought! We

are not ignorant that there are some among you who have renounced their former errors, abjured the injustice of their exorbitant pretensions, and acknowledged the lawfulness of the cause for which we have been spilling our blood these twelve years. Towards those men who do us justice, we will act as brothers. Let them remain for ever on our esteem and friendship; let them return among us. The God who protects us, the God of free men, bids us stretch out towards them our conquering arms. But as for those, who, intoxicated with foolish pride, interested slaves of a guilty pretension, are blinded so much as to believe themselves the essence of human nature, and assert that they are destined by Heaven to be our masters and our tyrants, let them never come near the land of St. Domingo! If they come hither, they will only meet with chains or banishment. Then let them stay where they are. Tormented by their well-deserved misery, and the frowns of the just men whom they have too long mocked, let them still continue to live, unpitied and unnoticed by all.

We have sworn not to listen with clemency to any man who would dare to speak to us of slavery. We will be inexorable, perhaps even cruel, towards all troops who, without themselves forgetting the object for which they have not ceased fighting since 1780, should come from Europe to bring among us death and servitude. No sacrifice is too costly, and all means are lawful, to meet

from whom it is wished to wrest the first of all blessings. Were they to cause streams and torrents of blood to flow; were they, in order to maintain their liberty, to fire seven-eighths of the globe, they are innocent before the tribunal of Providence, which never created men to groan under so harsh and shameful a servitude.

In the various commotions that have taken place, some inhabitants against whom we had no complaints have been victims of the cruelty of a few soldiers or cultivators, too much blinded by the remembrance of their past sufferings to be able to distinguish the good and humane landowners from those who were unfeeling and cruel. We lament, together with all who feel, so deplorable an end; and declare to the world, whatever may be said to the contrary by wicked people, that the murders were committed contrary to the wishes of our hearts. It was impossible, especially in the crisis in which the colony was, to prevent or stop those horrors. They who are in the least acquainted with history, know that a people, when torn by civil dissensions, though they may be the most civilised on earth, give themselves up to every species of excess: and the authority of the chiefs, not yet firmly based, in a time of revolution cannot punish all that are guilty, without meeting with perpetual difficulties. But to-day the dawn of peace cheers us with glimpses of a less stormy

time : now that the calm of victory has succeeded the tumult of a dreadful war, all affairs in St. Domingo ought to assume a new face, and its government henceforward be one of justice.

Done at Head-quarters, Fort Dauphin

November 29, 1803.

(Signed)

DESSALINES.

CHRISTOPHE.

CLERVEAUX.

(True Copy)

B. AIME', Secretary.

THE END.

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