

**SPANISH SANTO DOMINGO
AND
THE UNIFICATION OF THE HAITIAN STATE
(1801-1822)**

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ABSTRACT

SPANISH SANTO DOMINGO AND THE UNIFICATION OF THE HAITIAN STATE (1801-1822)

Andres Rosado

The researcher will examine the political, military, and diplomatic importance of Spanish Santo Domingo to the unification of the Haitian State, on the island of Hispaniola, during the period from 1801-1822. The research essay consists of four chapters. Chapter One will discuss the military and political unification of the Saint Domingue State in 1801. Chapter Two addresses the military and political attempts by the State of Haiti to unite Santo Domingo from 1802-1806. Chapter Three will discuss the political and military division of the Haitian State and its diplomatic policy toward Santo Domingo from 1807-1820. Chapter Four will focus on the final political unification of the Haitian State and the diplomatic aims used for uniting Santo Domingo, from 1821-1822.

The first chapter will focus on the first successful military and political unification in the state of Saint Domingue as part of the French Empire. The chapter will explore initial reactions, if any, from the inhabitants of Spanish Santo Domingo toward the military and political unification of the entire island.

The second chapter continues with the end of the unified state of Saint Domingue when the French military invaded the island in 1802. The French military was eventually defeated in western Saint Domingue, which became the independent state of Haiti in

1804. The chapter will discuss how Spanish Santo Domingo remained important to the new Haitian state because the proclamation of political independence included the entire island of Hispaniola. The chapter concludes how the new Haitian state would continue to legitimize political authority over French occupied Santo Domingo by resorting to military and political aims.

The third chapter focuses on the political and military division that took place in what remained of independent Haiti after the collapse of the first political establishment. In 1809, the monarchy of Spain would reoccupy Santo Domingo from France. The chapter will further explore the diplomatic policies towards Spanish Santo Domingo by both the northern and southern states of Haiti. The chapter concludes with the political and military reunification of northern and southern Haiti. The conclusion of the chapter also examines how the united government of Haiti continued its claims to Spanish Santo Domingo as essential to the military security and political stability of the Haitian state.

The fourth chapter explains the final events that led to the political unification of the Haitian state. The chapter goes on to explore political reactions among the current representation of Spanish Santo Domingo toward the idea of unification and the method of diplomacy used by the Haitian government. The chapter will also examine the pro-Haitian leadership of Spanish Santo Domingo in favor of unification with the rest of Haiti and those that opposed this measure. The chapter concludes with the diplomatic strategy used by the Haitian government in order to unite Spanish Santo Domingo as an integral part of Haiti, thus creating one state on the island of Hispaniola.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1492, Christopher Columbus, a navigator sailing on behalf of the Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon (Spain), first located an island in the Caribbean which he named (*La Isla Espanola*) Hispaniola. In 1493, the island of Hispaniola became a territorial possession of a new Spanish Empire in the Western Hemisphere. The original inhabitants were Native Americans known as Taino-Arawak, who referred to the island as *Ayti-Quisqueya-Bohio*. The Taino-Arawak would soon be the first to revolt against the Spanish military beginning in 1495. The Taino-Arawaks fought against the Spanish military from 1519-1533, under the leadership of Chief (Cacique) Enriquillo. The historic event led to a treaty that established peace between Spain and the Taino-Arawaks. However, the population of Taino-Arawaks declined as a result of these wars, leaving the rest to die from diseases while the rest assimilated with the Spanish colonists and the newly brought African slaves, which first arrived in 1503.

In 1521, the first African slave revolt occurred on the island of Hispaniola. During the 1500s, the island of Hispaniola, also referred to as the colony of Spanish Santo Domingo, was economically exploited to the point of impoverishment. The African slaves had replaced the Taino-Arawak population of Hispaniola, who were also subjected to slavery by the Spanish colonists. By end of the 1500s, the island of Hispaniola was no longer important to the monarchy of Spain, which sought to establish colonies in other areas of South America. From this point on, the colony of Spanish Santo Domingo had no significant political or military importance to the monarchy of Spain.

After 1606, the Spanish Colony of Santo Domingo was only a section of the southeastern part of the island of Hispaniola. The island of Hispaniola became an area of

contraband trade conducted by the Buccaneers who were predominantly French and established their presence in the western part of the island. The *Treaty of Ryswick* of 1697 established a permanent French presence in the western part, while the Spanish remained in the eastern part of the island. The island of Hispaniola was now shared by both Spain and France with no official demarcation lines to separate the two colonies. The French monarchy established the colony of Saint Domingue in the west. The *Treaty of Ryswick* also set up the sugar cultivation of French Saint Domingue beginning in 1698 and became the wealthiest section of the island. The western part of the island became politically and militarily important to the French monarchy. The French colony of Saint Domingue became economically prosperous, but yet depended on the importation of large quantities of African slaves. The eastern colony of Spanish Santo Domingo was not economically as prosperous and therefore did not require large numbers of African slaves. In 1758, a slave revolt was led by Francois Mackandel of French Saint Domingue but was unsuccessful. The final outcome for Francois Mackandel was execution by the French colonial authorities.

Both sections of Hispaniola had the same composition of people, European (White), African (Black), and Afro-European Mulattos who were a result of inter-marriage or cohabitating relationships. The only difference was that one side was ruled by Spain whereas the other was ruled by France. The population on the island of Hispaniola was African. The African population was divided into three categories, the Black Creoles, who were born on the island, the Bossales (Congo) that came from the African Continent, and Maroons, who were the escaped slaves. The majority of the black population on the island was enslaved with a small number of free people of color.

The interior of the island was gradually claimed by Spain until 1777, and towns were established within those frontiers located between French Saint Domingue and Spanish Santo Domingo. However, secured Spanish colonial rule in eastern Santo Domingo did not have sufficient military power to effectively control its side of the island. The *Treaty of Aranjuez* of 1777 set up quasi-demarcation lines found most agreeable to both the monarchies of France and Spain. The colony of Spanish Santo Domingo and its surrounding frontiers were under populated in comparison to French Saint Domingue. The slave populations existed throughout the island but were highly concentrated in French Saint Domingue due to its larger plantation economic system. Since the western part of French Saint Domingue contained the bulk of the overall island population, the eastern part of Spanish Santo Domingo became the backstage for the future events that would take place in the west.

The area of Spanish Santo Domingo became important to the events in French Saint Domingue because it was located within the same island. The area was not of any significant economic, political, or military importance to the Spanish Monarchy, the way Saint Domingue was to the French Monarchy. In many ways Spanish Santo Domingo served as the desolate frontier, which was considered a backstage, a place of refuge, and it would serve as a territorial extension of French Saint Domingue. The early revolutionary contenders within the black population of French Saint Domingue would treat the eastern part of Spanish Santo Domingo as a territorial part to be included in the future status of the island. In 1781, Juan Batista Santiago led a slave revolt in the southern area called the Bahoruco-Anse of Hispaniola located between Spanish Santo Domingo and French Saint Domingue. The event was successful, and the colonial

authorities of France and Spain were threatened by the revolt. The Spanish and French colonial authorities decided to give some land to Santiago and the slaves located in the southern lands between French Saint Domingue and Spanish Santo Domingo.

The first struggle on the island of Hispaniola to challenge the colonial authority was in the western part of the island. In French Saint Domingue, the Afro-French Mulattos were claiming their human rights, citizenship, and social equality, in 1790. These ideas were based on the “*Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen*,” of 1789, as proclaimed by the National Assembly of France, which was the beginning of the French Revolution. The French revolutionary principles of “liberty, equality, and fraternity” did not necessarily apply to the black slaves and Free People of Color. These French revolutionary principles applied to the elite white French classes protesting against monarchial absolutism. Yet, the French Revolution established a constitutional monarchy which remained until 1793, when King Louis XVI was deposed and this event helped to establish the French Republic.

The majority of the French-European Creoles born in Saint Domingue continued to insist on opposing the social equality of the Afro-French Mulatto population who had a class of wealthy plantation slaveholders. In 1790, the wealthy French European Creole planters opposed the principles of the French Revolution and had preferred independence for Saint Domingue. The poorer classes of the French-European Creole population were usually pro-French, pro-slavery, and opposed Free People of Color. Afro-French Mulattos like Vincent Oge and Jean-Baptist Chavannes led a small revolt that was defeated by the French-Creoles. Oge and Chavannes found refuge in Spanish Santo Domingo but were returned to the western part as a result of cooperative administration

of the island between France and Spain. In Saint Domingue, these two individuals faced a trial that delivered a guilty verdict concluding with their execution that marked the end of this small rebellion.

On August 14, 1791, a successfully coordinated slave rebellion against slaveholding planters erupted in the Breda Plantation located in the wealthiest Northern Province of French Saint Domingue. The revolt was led by a slave named Boukman Dutty, who lost his life during the conflict. In 1791, General Toussaint L'Ouverture, who was a Free Person of Color and who was born into slavery, joined the rebellion and organized the slaves into a well-trained fighting force. General Toussaint became the leader of the revolution in western Saint Domingue. General Toussaint joined with two other black military officers Jorge Biasou and Jean-Francois. The three black officers received assistance from the Spanish military where they earned their military ranks as generals. General Toussaint had made his reputation as a military officer in Spanish Santo Domingo. General Toussaint used the Spanish military to help train his army of slaves and ex-slaves in alliance with Spain. Generals Jorge Biasou and Jean Francois had become part of the Spanish military.

The monarchy of Spain supported slavery. Yet, General Toussaint thought that he could use one European power against the other to help advance his cause of freedom for the slaves. The Spanish colonial authorities in eastern Santo Domingo assisted General Toussaint's forces against the French because of Spain's interest in the agricultural productivity that made French Saint Domingue the wealthiest colony. The monarchy of Spain also opposed the French Revolution. The Spanish military assistance to the army of

former slaves would help to destabilize French colonial authorities and the political factions that supported the French Revolution in western Saint Domingue.

The Saint Domingue (Haitian) revolution of 1791 did not begin as a unified military fighting force. In the south, the war had taken another direction which consisted of an alliance between prominent Free People of Color and slaves for opportunistic reasons. Free People of Color were demanding political equality with white Creoles born in French Saint Domingue. Free People of Color were mostly Afro-French Mulattos and a small number of Free Black Creoles born in French Saint Domingue. In 1792, the French government granted the local Free People of Color the privilege of equality as French citizens. The military measure used by the French government was intended to unite Free People of Color with other French-European Creoles against the slaves. However, the majority of French-European Creoles rejected equality with Free People of Color regardless of socio-economic status.

In late 1793, the revolution of western Saint Domingue also led to another military invasion by Great Britain with the support of the local white slaveholders, which lasted until the British were defeated in 1798. In 1794, the revolutionary army under General Toussaint joined the French military upon the abolition of slavery in western Saint Domingue. The other two black generals, Jorge Biasou and Jean Francois, remained with the Spanish military. The alliance of the French and Black Saint Dominguan forces launched a military campaign against Spain in eastern Santo Domingo and Great Britain in the southern part of French Saint Domingue. On July 22, 1795 the Spanish military was defeated in the conflict and surrendered political sovereignty over eastern Santo Domingo. Both the governments of France and Spain came to an agreement known as the

Treaty of Basel, which established French political sovereignty over eastern Santo Domingo. The Spanish military could not withdraw from Santo Domingo because the French had an ineffective military control over French Saint Domingue. The French military had to depend on General Toussaint's army to finish defeating the British military in the southern part of Saint Domingue.

The French government also feared the growing power of General Toussaint who was very popular among the black population of the entire island. Since France was politically unstable, its government believed that the remaining Spanish military presence in eastern Santo Domingo could be beneficial in preventing General Toussaint's political power from becoming supreme over the entire island. The *Treaty of Basel* established one island state by unifying Spanish Santo Domingo with French Saint Domingue. By 1796, General Toussaint became governor-general of French Saint Domingue when French Commissioner Leger-Felicite Sonthonax appointed him to this post. However, Toussaint L'Ouverture's authority as governor-general also extended into Spanish Santo Domingo which had been ceded to France by Spain. Governor-General Toussaint was unable to enforce his authority in Spanish Santo Domingo on behalf of France because his forces were fighting the British military in French Saint Domingue. As governor of the entire island, Governor-General Toussaint had to focus on uniting the island militarily and politically in order to become an effective authority.

In 1798, the British military was finally defeated in the southern part of French Saint Domingue by the forces of General Toussaint and the remainder of the French military. In 1799, the forces of General Toussaint had to focus on uniting western Saint Domingue against another military opposition. Military antagonisms between the forces

of General Toussaint L'Overture of the North and General Andre Rigaud of the south led to civil war in western Saint Domingue. In 1800, General Toussaint defeated his military opposition, and General Rigaud went into exile while his forces were defeated in the southern part of western Saint Domingue. These events were important to the early history of Hispaniola, and they initiated the beginning of another historical period that is my focus in my research essay.

The focus of this researcher deals with the period from 1801-1822. This critical period was when the attempt was made to implement a plan for unification between Saint Domingue and Santo Domingo through a series of political, military, and diplomatic measures. These three methods were important to the achievement of this goal. The eastern part known as the colony of Spanish Santo Domingo was an important part of this struggle from the very beginning. Governor-General Toussaint of western Saint Domingue considered the eastern territory a part of its new state. The advantage to achieving this goal was due to the fact that Spanish Santo Domingo had a smaller population. People of color, regardless of whether they were free or a slave, were the majority of the population who usually responded in favor of political unification on both sides of Hispaniola. The minority of Spanish-Creoles born in eastern Santo Domingo were more likely to oppose political unification. General Toussaint entered eastern Santo Domingo with his military forces in order to enforce the *Treaty of Basel* on behalf of French sovereignty. The Spanish military presence that remained under the direction of colonial Governor Joaquin Garcia, in 1801, surrendered eastern Santo Domingo to the forces of Governor General Toussaint. The event was a military success for Governor-General Toussaint, who officially dissolved the two separate colonies that divided the

island of Hispaniola between France and Spain. The unification of Saint Domingue as one state was declared a part of the French Empire by Governor-General Toussaint's government.

The study in this research essay is important because French Saint Domingue and Spanish Santo Domingo were officially united by the *Treaty of Basel* of 1795, which was approved by the governments of France and Spain. The new contribution of this study is that this researcher regards French Saint Domingue and Spanish Santo Domingo as one island territory which the black revolutionary forces were trying to liberate in order to establish one state.

In 1802, military and political unification of Saint Domingue ended with this French invasion. Eastern Spanish Santo Domingo became an occupied territory because of the French invasion with the support of mainly local Spanish-Creole elites. During the course of the war between France and Black Saint Domingans from 1802-1803, General Toussaint was captured and imprisoned in France where he died. In 1804, the western part of the island known as French Saint Domingue was liberated and renamed the independent state of Haiti, which was the original Taino-Arawak name of the island. Upon the defeat of the French military, Haiti became the first Free Black State of the modern world. However, a French military presence remained in eastern Santo Domingo after the Haitian proclamation of independence. In order to secure the Haitian State, the newly formed government enforced its political legitimacy as the official authority of the whole island. The government of Haiti regarded eastern Santo Domingo as Haitian territory and not a part of the French Empire. The importance of eastern Santo Domingo was a major priority to the consolidation of Haitian authority. In order to enforce the

political claims, the government of Haiti resorted to military solutions to gain this part of the island. Haitian Governor-General Jean- Jacques Dessalines first applied these methods. He declared himself Emperor Jacques I of Haiti, from 1804-1806, without uniting the island. After the assassination of Emperor Jacques I of Haiti in 1806, the forces of General Henry Christophe and General Alexander Petion divided the Haitian State politically and militarily without capturing eastern Santo Domingo.

The political division was a result of a government decision that declared Haiti a republic. General Christophe and his leadership opposed the republic in favor of an autocratic government. General Petion and his leadership favored the republic and opposed the leadership that supported autocracy. In 1807, both of these heads of state contested for political and military legitimacy over Haiti. Christophe became the President of Northern Haiti, whereas President Petion remained in control of Southern Haiti. Both Presidents Christophe and Petion were willing to use military force in order to maintain their political legitimacy from 1807 throughout 1820. The governments of the northern and southern states continued to claim Santo Domingo as part of Haiti. However, the territory of Santo Domingo had internal conflicts when a small revolt against France by local Spanish-Creole elites succeeded in restoring Spanish Colonial authority from 1808-1809. The restoration of Spanish sovereignty over eastern Santo Domingo prevented the two divided states of Haiti from implementing its political and military solutions to the unification of the island. The governments of the northern and southern states were the first to use diplomatic measures in order to unite Spanish Santo Domingo with Haiti under one political authority but without success.

Henry Christophe, who declared himself King of Northern Haiti in 1811, was unsuccessful not only in extending his political authority over southern Haiti, but also in securing his diplomatic goals to capture eastern Santo Domingo from Spain. President Petion of Southern Haiti was also unsuccessful in extending his political authority over Northern Haiti while his diplomatic aims to unite Santo Domingo remained non-existent despite his political claims. The diplomatic aims of the southern Haitian government to unite Santo Domingo began with President Jean Pierre Boyer, the successor to President Petion, who died in 1818. In 1820, a popular revolt against King Henry Christophe led to his death and the political collapse of Northern Haiti. The southern state of Haiti under President Boyer succeeded in establishing political legitimacy over Northern Haiti through military aims. Once the unification process took place between the northern and southern states of the western part, eastern Spanish Santo Domingo would become the primary focus of the Haitian political authority.

The period of 1821-1822 was one that led to a politically unified Haitian state. In order to begin the process, President Boyer took a diplomatic course rather than resorting to military conquest by gaining the support of the pro-Haitian political leadership in Santo Domingo. Yet, the opposition forces came from those who desired to create an independent state in eastern Santo Domingo led by a Spanish-Creole leader named Jose Nunez de Caceres. The purpose of this state was to form a political union with the Northern Latin American state known as the Great Colombia and it succeeded in 1821. The eventual outcome was that the short-lived state never won any public support among People of color, making it possible for Haitian political unification throughout the island in 1822.

The reason for writing this research essay that concentrates on an historical period from 1801-1822, is that the historical literature addresses the history of Hispaniola as two separate states. Such literature usually tends to focus on the historical particularity rather than the connection between Haiti and Santo Domingo, which usually remains absent when discussing the topic. The fact here is that both Haiti and Santo Domingo are connected through one historical framework during this period. My aims are to connect both Santo Domingo and Haiti as sharing a common history especially in the struggle to create a united country in early Haiti. The fact here is that both parts of Hispaniola were under the colonial authority of France and Spain. The histories of both parts of Hispaniola are usually separated into two categories in relation to the colonial powers in each part of the island rather than one island people divided by two imperial powers. The focus of this researcher is an important period because the Black Haitian State became the contending force against colonialism in the struggle for independence and the unification of the island. The history of Hispaniola cannot be explained as two separate categories because of the historical connection.

The research essay will also contain an added Educational Component Syllabus that will discuss this subject as part of an overall graduate level course about the history of Hispaniola. A professional skills course divided into fourteen lessons will outline the history of Hispaniola from the period of colonialism to modern day Dominican-Haitian relations. The course will discuss the beginnings of colonialism by both France and Spain, which divided the island into two administrative colonies. The course will explain the early period of Haiti and Spanish Santo Domingo as one common history. The period includes the Saint Domingue (Haitian) Revolution of 1791-1801, the Haitian war of

independence 1802-1803, Haitian independence 1804-1822, and the status of eastern Santo Domingo during this period. The course will discuss the final achievement of Haitian unification in 1822 that would last until 1844. The course will conclude with the emergence of Dominican-Haitian relations after 1844 until the present. The topic includes the complexities of Dominican-Haitian relations and the literature on the history of Hispaniola.

CHAPTER ONE

The Emergence of the Saint Domingue State (1801)

Part 1: The Military Unification and the Initial Response from Santo Domingo

In 1801, the northern forces of General Toussaint L'Overture (1743-1803) had militarily unified Saint Domingue in the western part of the island of Hispaniola. The triumphant victory was a result of the invasion of the southern forces of General Andre Rigaud, who opposed General Toussaint and who was defeated in 1800. General Toussaint's military forces consisted of former slaves of African descent. The general decided that in order to unite the island, he must liberate the eastern part of Santo Domingo. He commanded his army of former slaves to march east, thus militarily turning the island into one unified state. General Toussaint was going to rely on the *Treaty of Basel* of 1795 to establish political legitimacy over Santo Domingo now regarded as part of one island state on the island of Hispaniola. The treaty stated that Spain, which had been defeated by the military forces of Saint Domingue and France in 1795, had relinquished political sovereignty over eastern Santo Domingo. However, Spain was allowed to leave a small military force in order to maintain order over the population of Santo Domingo. General Toussaint's military aims toward Santo Domingo were in the name of the French Republic, which already had political sovereignty over western Saint Domingue. French Saint Domingue was the western part and Spanish Santo Domingo was the eastern part of Hispaniola. The definition of state as defined by General Toussaint meant a unified people possessing a territory under one political authority; he

was now determined to accomplish this task. General Toussaint used the military to take eastern Santo Domingo and unite the territory with the rest of the island.¹

During the military conflict in Hispaniola, the United States kept a few naval vessels off the coast of western Saint Domingue. The United States navy had aided General Toussaint against his opposing military forces. The U.S government had commercial relations with the leadership of General Toussaint, which was why he was given military aid. However, the United States did not intervene when the military of western Saint Domingue moved into eastern Santo Domingo. Yet, the U.S government had not formulated any political policy toward General Toussaint's military strategy for uniting the island. General Toussaint's military force was now able to proceed in capturing Spanish Santo Domingo without any opposition from the U.S government.²

The government of France had no effective political authority over western Saint Domingue and therefore felt compelled to leave the small Spanish military forces in Santo Domingo to watch for General Toussaint's growing military and political power. The state of Saint Domingue was functioning as a *de-facto* independent political unit with Governor-General Toussaint as the first head of state. The General decided the time was ready for political unification and began to move his military forces into Santo Domingo.³

The Spanish colonial authority still present was waiting to withdraw its military but saw themselves with no other choice but to confront the black military forces of General Toussaint. The Spanish forces could not withdraw from Santo Domingo at the time of signing the *Treaty of Basel* because the government of France could not officially take possession of the territory during this time. The power struggles that had begun after

the revolution of Saint Domingue beginning in 1791 and the internal political problems of France prevented the French government from officially taking possession of Santo Domingo. Nevertheless, the army of the north of Saint Domingue, under the direction of General Moyse, moved in on January 11, 1801 to capture the town of Santiago, located in eastern Santo Domingo. General Paul L'Overture, the brother of General Toussaint, marched on to Santo Domingo City. General Pageot was a white French officer who served the forces of General Toussaint's army when the military marched into Santo Domingo. The example represented the unity of black and some of the remaining white soldiers that deserted the French military by choosing to remain loyal to General Toussaint's army.⁴

However, not all the white soldiers, mainly the Spanish Creoles of eastern Santo Domingo, integrated themselves into General Toussaint's army. The Spanish Colonial authorities did have a small militia that resisted the invading army. On January 12, 1801, a small force of Spanish soldiers resisted the forces of General Toussaint, who quickly defeated them in an area near the Nizao River. The remaining army consisted of French and Spanish soldiers who were unable to resist the advancing military troops. In other places of Santo Domingo like the towns of Guayubin, Mao, and Naga, the forces of Generals Garcia, Kerversau, and Brigadier General Nunez, who remained in the east, were also defeated, as General Toussaint marched his army into Santo Domingo city. Toussaint's brother, General Paul L'Overture, continued to move his army division to the east and was careful to avoid conflict by any opposing forces in Santo Domingo. The military desired a peaceful unification process for the entire island of Hispaniola. General Toussaint's military success was his ability to keep an army of former slaves united into a

single military force. General Toussaint was the link to military unity who also gained popularity among his army which supported him.⁵

Spanish Governor Joaquin Garcia of eastern Santo Domingo opposed unification and did not want to relinquish his political authority to General Toussaint. The reason for this policy was that Governor Garcia wanted the appointed deputies representing the governments of Spain and France to finalize their negotiations on a final solution to the Spanish withdrawal from Santo Domingo, back in Europe. The Spanish colonial authorities surrendered eastern Santo Domingo to the military forces of General Toussaint, who was welcomed by most of the local population consisting mostly of People of Color on January 26, 1801.⁶

The event caught the attention of an individual from Spanish Santo Domingo who stated the following:

I remember the confusion, the terror and the surprise with which everybody watched those regimented blacks with their decorations and civil and military insignias, as well as the dejection of our spirits when we saw the Tricolor Flag instead of the Spanish being raised on the Fortaleza del Homenaje, thus replacing the government of Joaquin Garcia with that of the leader of the blacks, Toussaint L'Overture.⁷

Some white Spanish-Creoles even admired General Toussaint's military forces and did welcome him during his entry into eastern Santo Domingo, whereas others simply refused his leadership. Nevertheless, eastern Santo Domingo was militarily secured within a unified state that consisted of a predominantly black leadership that intended on preserving the equality of all people regardless of racial ancestry.⁸

Part 2: The Political Unification of Saint Domingue and Santo Domingo

The population was declining in Santo Domingo due to the political unification which was taking place throughout the island of Hispaniola. The eastern territory was now available for settlement coming from western Saint Domingue. General Agustin Clairveaux, who was part of General Toussaint's army, was appointed governor of the Cibao, a region in the Northern part of Santo Domingo and General Paul L'Overture became governor of the city of Santo Domingo and its surrounding southern region. In eastern Santo Domingo, political unification meant the emancipation of the slaves.

Governor-General Toussaint's political leadership began the implementation of an economic program for the cultivation of the land in which crops would be used for export. Crops like cotton, coffee, cocoa, and sugar would be exported to foreign markets, to increase the revenues in order to improve the economic situation of the island. Techniques used for the production of sugar in western Saint Domingue applied to Santo Domingo under the unified political order. The infrastructure of Santo Domingo, which was in decay, was being redeveloped. The port duties were also set at six percent in order to benefit the new state of Saint Domingue by reducing the economic impoverishment. The new state outlawed illegal trade that had been going on prior to political unification. The trade of Spanish Santo Domingo also depended on the sale of cut wood and tobacco cultivated in its main base Santiago with a market in Great Britain, the United States, and French Saint Domingue. However, the slave revolution of 1791 had totally stopped the commercial exports from Spanish Santo Domingo Colony. Under political unification of the island, Governor Toussaint reopened the ports of Monticristi, Puerto Plata, Samana, Neiba, and Azua to the United States and Great Britain for commerce. The political

leadership of Governor-General Toussaint believed that Santo Domingo could become economically prosperous. The political establishment defined Santo Domingo as a vast under populated territory and advocated for the settlement of the area by appealing to emigrants abroad.⁹ Governor-General Toussaint allowed the populations, mainly white Spanish-Creoles, to leave and take their possessions. He personally preferred them to stay on and some planters remained in Santo Domingo. Those who stayed in eastern Santo Domingo were willing to cooperate with the new political regime of Governor-General Toussaint and continued to live in peace.¹⁰

Historian Sybille Fischer in, *Modernity Disavowed, Haiti and Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (2004), refers to General Toussaint as the modernizer because he liberated the slaves by outlawing all forms of bondage and applied this right as part of the political order of the new Saint Domingue State. The political unification meant that the formerly enslaved were no longer sold in auctions at local island ports and the new government upheld that principle. The political idea was modern because it defined human equality for all citizens regardless of origins during a time when colonial systems were willing to preserve the institution of slavery. Fisher says that the economy was in ruins and in order to repair it General Toussaint introduced “intensive agriculture” into eastern Santo Domingo based on the economic model that the French applied to western Saint Domingue. Fisher states that it was the “elimination of the arcane system of export taxes that fettered development; he [General Toussaint] introduced a flat export tax rate and prohibited the exploration of new lands except for the purpose of creating new plantations.” These were the aims of the new politically unified island state under the authority of Governor-General Toussaint.¹¹

The political unification with eastern Santo Domingo also brought in the livestock useful for working the soil. The use of livestock for exporting abroad had been useful to the Spanish-Creole ranchers of the east. Commerce began to pick up once again under the leadership of General Toussaint's new government. The stimulation of agriculture was important to the security of freedom. These ideas were the main foundation that maintained the lifeline of the Saint Domingue state.¹²

On February 4, 1801, a constitutional assembly made up of Afro-French Mulattos and white French Creoles was organized to work on drafting a new Constitution for the state of Saint Domingue. The new state was to remain a part of the French Empire and not a colony that differed with respect to local laws applicable to the island state. According to this perspective, Saint Domingue had equal political status with France as an autonomous province rather than a political status of a colony which had limited home rule. The advocacy for political unification was complete home rule, and this was one method used for survival in the age of imperialism and colonialism. The new state abolished the institution of slavery throughout the unified island. In theory, this constitution expressed the desire for egalitarianism as a system with no distinction for class or race and very distinct from colonial racist systems of elitist minority rule. An individual can choose to become a member of any aspect of society. The constitution was to uphold the idea that unification was important to maintaining the military security and political stability of the state in Saint Domingue. The constitutional development of the unified state initiated a very strong foundation grounded on moral virtues that were also included within the realm of family life, sanctity of marriage, and Roman Catholicism, while the law prohibited divorce. Those that were wise decision makers within

government should lead the political order. Such wise decisions included political, military, diplomatic, and many more because such decisions had to be in the interest that enhanced the betterment of common good within that state. According to Governor-General Toussaint, public servants had to have a certain understanding of what was right and wrong and that was essential to individual wisdom.¹³ The Ancient Greek Philosopher Plato, 427-347 BC, was essentially arguing in his book *The Republic* that the purpose and function of a state was to make human beings virtuous citizens and this was why government must consist of moral decision makers in order to have that healthy state.¹⁴ As for Governor-General Toussaint, a virtuous state was essential to the political order of unification throughout the island. The unifying factor of bringing people together from both western Saint Domingue and eastern Santo Domingo were ideas that defended the betterment of the common good. Back when Governor General Toussaint's military forces entered into Santo Domingo territory, Antonio Del Monte y Tejada, a historian from Santo Domingo, reflected on this moral character and humbleness that describes the kind of individual General Toussaint was by stating the following:

Toussaint's graciousness and courtesy contributed much towards easing the situation. His bearing was martial, his aspect noble and imposing, his expression benevolent. His manner was friendly and unconstrained, yet dignified. When addressed by an officer of lower rank, he would incline towards him and listen affably. He graciously acknowledged the marks of respect shown to him, but seemed to wish to avoid special recognition.¹⁵

On February 12, 1801, Governor-General Toussaint wrote to First Consul Napoleon of France. He spoke of a complete political restoration of the island as a result of his military success in eastern Santo Domingo. Governor-General Toussaint argued in his letter that French Commissioner Philippe Roume had delayed the taking of Santo

Domingo in the name of political unification because of fear that the white population would suffer under a majority black leadership. Governor-General Toussaint arrested Commissioner Roume and forced him out of the island. Governor-General Toussaint made a military decision to take eastern Santo Domingo in the name of France, for the sake of unifying the island.¹⁶

Toussaint L'Overture indicated that his method for political unification was always one of justice and integrity for the preservation of liberty throughout Saint Domingue. He also did this in the name of the French Republic and its enemies foreign or domestic as stated in his *Dictatorial Proclamation* of 1801. The proclamation was a moralistic approach that justified political unification as essential to preserving the idea of liberty.¹⁷ General Toussaint believed that freedom was not an idea on which should be used as a justification for vandalism, because freedom must have order and appropriate conduct that was free of chaos. According to Governor-General Toussaint, political unification also meant that such an idea of freedom could be effective, rather than the divisive forces caused by colonialism that split this island in the first place. The philosophical method here is the search for a universal truth by understanding that actions should be in accordance with what was right, which in turn is separated from what is wrong. The idea of political unification was a right that guaranteed the tranquility of the Saint Domingue state.¹⁸ General Toussaint would go on to state the following:

I constantly reminded my brothers in arms, general and officers, that the ranks to which they'd been raised were nothing but the reward for honor, bravery and irreproachable conduct. That the higher they were above their fellow citizens, the more irreproachable all their actions and words must be; that scandals caused public men had consequences even more dire for society than those of simple citizens; that the ranks and functions they bore hadn't been given to them to serve only their ambition, but had as cause and goal the general good.¹⁹

The Constituent Assembly was organized during the process of writing the constitution that was established in Port Republic later known as (Port-au-Prince). The Constituent Assembly was responsible for passing or rejecting the necessary laws. The representatives took their places on the Constituent Assembly and finally completed the Constitution by May of 1801. By July of 1801, Governor-General Toussaint signed the Constitution of Saint Domingue.²⁰

On July 16, 1801, Governor-General Toussaint sent a letter to Napoleon, the First Consul of France stating that the local Constitution was approved by the local inhabitants and government of Saint Domingue. The constitution was the political and legal component that establishes permanent unification throughout Saint Domingue. The Spanish-European Creoles of eastern Santo Domingo were also given the opportunity to participate in the political process of unification. However, many were resentful of the political unification in Saint Domingue. The fact here was that Governor-General Toussaint stated that there was an absence of French Laws. Although he claimed adherence to France, he was only preparing the state for independence under political unification. Governor-General Toussaint was using a skillful diplomatic approach, in a world intolerant to a state ruled by a majority black political authority.²¹

General Toussaint indicated that once he called for a constituent assembly, both the western and eastern sections of the island would no longer exist as two separate colonies. The event would establish a politically unified state in Saint Domingue that was to come under one constitution for all the inhabitants who resided on the island. The white Spanish-Creole slaveholding planters obviously did not accept political unification under the leadership of a majority black government headed by General Toussaint. The

elite class had no other choice but to accept political unification or depart from the island, and many chose to leave for the neighboring islands of Puerto Rico and Cuba.²²

The politically unified island consisted of six provincial departments along with two deputies for each as stated in Article XXII of the Constitution. The provincial departments of Saint Domingue were divided into North, South, West, Cibao, Ozama, and Louverture. An administration and a mayor were provided for municipalities throughout the island, on July 28, 1801. Governor-General Toussaint had a life long position as the executive of all Saint Domingue and had the power to select his successor. The honor bestowed upon him was for the symbolism and leadership he demonstrated during the revolution and was clearly stated in Article XXVIII of the Constitution. Governor-General Toussaint's position as executive was more powerful than the Constituent Assembly. The representatives of the Constituent Assembly were not popularly elected by the people but rather by chief administrators that were selected by Governor-General Toussaint.²³

The Spanish region of eastern Santo Domingo had its key representatives in the Saint Domingue Legislature. These political representatives were Juan Mancebo and Francisco Morillas of Ozama, and Carlos de Rojas and Andres Munoz of the Cibao region. The integration of the east with the west was what political unifiers hoped would materialize and it did with success. The former plantation slave owners and other elite classes of Saint Domingue benefited from this unique kind of government during the first project of unification because they maintained their estates. The egalitarian system was part of the political practices in Spanish Santo Domingo as part of the Saint Domingue state. For example, in Santiago, Governor Toussaint appointed three members for its

municipality. The appointment of Antonio Pichardo, a white Spanish-Creole, Antonio Peres, an Afro-Spanish Mulatto, and Captain Casimero, a commander of black Creole soldiers serving in the military of Spain during its presence in Santo Domingo was an example of this egalitarian measure. The egalitarian ideals also applied throughout the eastern part of Santo Domingo, which received local endorsement from the majority of the population, mainly People of Color. This was political unification put into practice in order to balance out the functions of equality within the new egalitarian system and gain the support of the population.²⁴

Historian Antonio del Monte y Tejada in, *Historia de Santo Domingo* (1890), did indicate that the government under unification headed by Governor General Toussaint was a stable and firm government that was prepared for the enactment and enforcement of its own constitution during this period.²⁵ However, political unification had other problems when revolt erupted in the Northwest, where the revolution originally began, in 1791. The revolt consisted of peasants who were militarily defeated by the forces of General Dessalines and Christophe as ordered by Governor-General Toussaint. The outcome here resulted in the execution of General Moyse, a nephew of Governor-General Toussaint, who instigated the situation in pursuit of wealth for himself as payments for his participation in the revolution. Many of these peasants may also have been dissatisfied with the plantation economy created by the political order of the unified island state, which led them to revolt. General Moyse may have simply taken advantage of this unrest for his own personal gain.²⁶

Colonel Malefant was a resident who lived on the island and was author of a book called *Historique et Politique des Colonies et Particulier de Celle de Saint Domingue*

(1814). The author indicated that after the emancipation the former slaves went back to the plantation. Malefant also helped to explain some public dissatisfaction with this kind of economic policy. Its owners abandoned these lands, but laborers remained on the land by continuing their work. He indicated that prosperity was occurring in the state of Saint Domingue under unification, where white Creole landowners remained and the formerly enslaved continued their work for them. Governor-General Toussaint's political unification plans actually returned the land to some former landowners who would be willing to remain and help build the state. The idea of industry and work ethics were essential priorities to the new Saint Domingue State government. The amount of wages was set on fairness, which allowed many to accept the terms of continued work. Cultivators were given the opportunity to have a third of the crops as part of their earned wages in the estates that employed them and this provision was protected by the law.²⁷

The unification of Saint Domingue was grounded on the political ideology of republicanism which was inspired by the French Revolution. One example that is found in republicanism includes the idea of a constitution and a representative government. Toussaint L'Overture was a governor, soldier and diplomat, but he was also a moral leader and unifier who considered the promotion of human virtues essential to a stable and functioning society. Since the island was agrarian, the laborers remained on the land where cultivation could not be interrupted, as stated in Article XIV of the Constitution. These were the former slaves, and according to Articles XV and XVI of the constitution, they were the laborers who cultivated the lands that were privately owned. The idea of shareholder meant that the cultivator was part of a collective family who had a share of the revenues generated from agrarian production. The landowner was the paternal figure

of the plantation agrarian economy which was defined as a “the tranquil asylum” because good work ethics meant that “habitation was manufactory”, expecting cooperative cultivators to work together. The political unification of the island was also an overall strategy that encouraged the stimulation of one agricultural plantation economy, interrupted by the slave revolution that had begun in 1791.²⁸

Governor-General Toussaint was a pioneer who indeed wanted to change the façade of the developing modern world as he understood it, with a future in which political, economic, and social development was grounded in ideals of fairness and justice if true progress was to be successful. The American Revolution of 1776, and the French Revolution of 1789, produced a circle of political thinkers who had a theoretical vision of what a state should be in terms of equality and freedom, but the practice did not quite address the problems of human beings held in the bondage of slavery. Governor-General Toussaint took the modernization of human development with respect to equality and freedom just one-step ahead during the political unification of Saint Domingue and the state became a test of that determination.²⁹

Historian Michel Emilio Cordero in, *La Revolucion Haitiana y Santo Domingo* (1968), does indicate that if one contemplated the constitution of 1801 from an ideological perspective a conclusion may result which is that this law was a substantial reflection of a society where feudal production existed. Cordero points out those juridical measures were essential to a regime that consolidates power and which attempts to create relations within production, which was the relation between the proprietors and the peasants. The fact here was that this development is the reflection of a slave-based society such as the one that developed in Saint Domingue and the one that Governor-

General Toussaint was most familiar with during the time of political unification. He kept this kind of economic establishment but added the whole idea of human equality and freedom that would be upheld and protected by the political establishment of Saint Domingue.³⁰

The idea of government according to the political views of Governor-General Toussaint was always in favor of the right to private property. The military was subordinate to the civilian and this arrangement applied to the governor, who was also a general. The Central Assembly was to be based on an organized representative government. The constitution established Saint Domingue as a politically independent state without proclaiming it officially. The reasons for this policy were that Governor-General Toussaint wanted to launch and test the operation of the new politically unified government and its plans to stabilize the state from a decade of war and foreign invasions that had taken place during the 1790s. The constitution would become the legal document that established the new political order. The government of Saint Domingue was a part of France for political and military reasons, and this method became the necessary strategy because of potential intolerance to a completely independent state governed by former slaves on the part of hostile European powers. The government of Saint Domingue had a domestic policy that wanted to preserve and save the principles of equality and freedom that began with the slave revolution of 1791. The government of Saint Domingue also kept all ports open to trade especially with the United States and Great Britain. Governor-General Toussaint was skillful in his quest for political unification and set up the system for the preparation that would have led to eventual independence from France. The whole idea of political unification in the shape of the Saint Domingue state was where Spanish

Eastern Santo Domingo was of vital importance for the territory as an integral part of the new state.³¹

Despite the progress in Saint Domingue as a politically unified island, the French government was distrustful of General Toussaint's local government. Historian C.L.R. James in, *Black Jacobins; Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution* (1989), said "what would strike any Frenchman was that the Constitution though swearing allegiance to France, left no room for any French official." C.L.R James continued by saying that "General Toussaint wanted them" [the French], "to come out and help govern but under the local government" of Saint Domingue. The whole strategy right here was that France would provide the money and the governing techniques to educate the majority black ruled state on the island of Hispaniola to become a stable and well developed country. C.L.R James stated, "it was virtual independence, with France as an elder brother, guide, and mentor." However, the French government could not accept General Toussaint's strategy for what could potentially become the complete independence of Saint Domingue and therefore felt compelled to stop him from further development. According to C.L.R James, General Toussaint's real problem was "his neglect for his own people who did not understand what he was doing or where he was going." The popular belief among the People of Color in both western Saint Domingue and eastern Santo Domingo was that General Toussaint had united the island for the sake of preventing slavery.³²

The political unification that emerged as the State of Saint Domingue throughout the island of Hispaniola during the time of Governor-General Toussaint was accomplished successfully. Governor-General Toussaint presented political unification as

a modern alternative that promised to guarantee equality and freedom to all aspects of society. The establishment of an egalitarian system became important to the creation of the state of Saint Domingue. The old French and Spanish colonial systems with all its contradictions, discriminatory racist practices, were simply abolished. The colonial systems that divided Hispaniola were considered an obstacle to the development of true human progress in terms of equality and freedom. Governor-General Toussaint applied this point of view in his formation of the politically unified state that would come to an abrupt end. The reality was that First Consul of France, Napoleon, was preparing to launch a full-scale military invasion that was to enter through Santo Domingo with the intent of terminating the politically unified state of Saint Domingue. The French government would never allow a province of France or an independent state to be ruled by a majority black government during this period.³³

CHAPTER TWO

The Haitian State and Santo Domingo (1802-1806)

Part 1: The French Military Invasion of Saint Domingue

On November 8, 1801, First Consul Napoleon had made a pledge in his government palace that the French were all free regardless of color. However, First Consul Napoleon opposed Governor-General Toussaint's military and political unification by incorporating eastern Santo Domingo into the greater state of Saint Domingue. The invasion was justified in the name of protection for the inhabitants of unified Saint Domingue. First Consul Napoleon gave another reassurance on November 18, 1801 that continued to convey a message in the proclamation for his military expedition to Saint Domingue. The proclamation did not indicate a message of hostility toward the former slaves. In fact, he commended them for their loyalty and even said they still had their freedom. However, slaveholding planters who had fled Saint Domingue wanted the government of France to reinstitute slavery along with other planters from the French Caribbean. These French slaveholding planters were island-born Creoles who influenced First Consul Napoleon to reinstitute slavery. The wife of Napoleon, Josephine de Beauharnais, was herself from a wealthy French-Creole slaveholding family from the French Caribbean island of Martinique. Josephine was a strong supporter for the reinstatement of slavery in Saint Domingue and the French Caribbean.¹

On November 18, 1801, First Consul Napoleon Bonaparte of France had established peace with Great Britain and the other European powers. The attention was

now on the politically unified state of Saint Domingue on the island of Hispaniola.² Napoleon was not a for black ruled state, and so he appointed General Charles Victor Emmanuel Leclerc to lead a navy of 22,000 sailors and soldiers to Saint Domingue. The naval armada would sail from the port of Brest, France. A reinforcement of approximately 58,000 more sailors and soldiers would sail on later. All this was in response to end the political unification of Saint Domingue under the government of Governor-General Toussaint. The French government feared General Toussaint would seek independence for the unified island state of Saint Domingue sooner or later. On late December of 1801, French Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse along with 12,000 sailors reached Samana Bay in northeastern Santo Domingo. Governor-General Toussaint was overlooking the ocean from the area of Samana Bay when the French navy began to prepare its military invasion.³

A segment consisting of People of Color, mainly Afro-French Mulattos and some Black Creoles who were of the educated class, decided to welcome the French military expedition. These groups were political opponents to Governor-General Toussaint's regime and his military force of former slaves. Some of the military officers class of mainly Black Creoles born on the island did not yield to the military force of France.⁴ The First Consul Napoleon was going to conquer the State of Saint Domingue with the intent of dismantling the work achieved by political unification that Governor-General Toussaint had begun to put into operation with some success.⁵ Spain and Holland agreed to support France, and Great Britain would provide some assistance from its Caribbean Colony of Jamaica.⁶ Afro-French Mulattos like Andre Rigaud and Alexander Petion who were of the elite class of color in western Saint Domingue and those of the elite Spanish-

Creoles remaining in eastern Santo Domingo assisted the French army in a war against Governor-General Toussaint's political regime and its military forces. Two other generals became important during this historic period. The two generals were Jean-Jacques Dessalines (1758-1806), who was born a slave in Saint Domingue and Henry Christophe, (1767-1820), who was born on the Caribbean island of Grenada. Both generals were born into slavery and were freed during an early period of their lives.⁷

On January 26, 1802, the French navy was off the coast of port Le Cap in northwestern Saint Domingue. General Leclerc and his forces demanded an unconditional surrender from the local black military of unified Saint Domingue. In the eastern part of Spanish Santo Domingo, two other French Generals, Francois Kerverseau and Jean Louis Ferrand, took command of the invading forces. The French had the support of the Spanish-Creoles and some Afro-Spanish Mulatto elites who had turned their backs on political unification. These elites did not truly accept Governor-General Toussaint's political order from the very beginning. The white Spanish-Creole slaveholders as a pro-slavery population of Spanish Santo Domingo did not support the French Republic either for it had emancipated the slaves back in 1794. The Black Creoles born on the island and those born on the continent of Africa were the majority of the population residing in Hispaniola. France was now an imperial dictatorship that was determined to restore slavery and thus received support from the minority white Spanish-Creole class.

In early 1802, a revolt of former black slaves occurred in eastern Spanish Santo Domingo against the French garrison. The group favored the government of Governor-General Toussaint's in the politically unified state of Saint Domingue. The revolt

occurred in the town of Haina y Nigua located in eastern Spanish Santo Domingo. The local rebellion in eastern Spanish Santo Domingo was suppressed by a white Spanish Creole named Juan Baron, who had supported France and who led a group of armed men to fight against those who supported Governor-General Toussaint. The French military invasion of eastern Santo Domingo was very important because it was not as populated with people as the western part of Saint Domingue. The French military was able to launch a better-planned offensive against the western part of the island because it was the most vulnerable part of the unified Saint Domingue state.⁸

According to General Leclerc, the French military objective was to take the cities of Port-au-Prince, formerly known as Cap Republican (which is the capitol city of Haiti), Les Cayes, and the city also called Santo Domingo located in the south of the eastern part of the island. General Maurepas with 2,000 soldiers moved his troops to defend the town of Port-de-Paix but had to destroy it before the French military could seize control. The general moved his forces to defend the Northwest part of Saint Domingue but was unable to hold this territory. General Maurepas surrendered and was allowed to keep his military rank with the permission of General Leclerc. The French army began to overpower the black revolutionary army of western Saint Domingue, and Governor-General Toussaint became aware of the situation in the west, and he understood that the defeat of General Maurepas was due to the smaller number of soldiers in his group.⁹ In the western port of Le Cap Francois, General Leclerc had declared the following:

I learn with indignation, citizen general, that you refuse to receive the French squadron and army which I command, under the pretext that you have not any order from the governor.

France has made peace with England, and its government sends to Saint Domingo forces able to subdue rebels, if rebels are to be found in Saint Domingo. As to

you, citizen general, I avow that it would give me pain to reckon you among rebels. I warn you that if this very day does not put into my possession the fort Pacolet, Blair, and all the batteries of the coast, tomorrow at dawn fifteen thousand men shall disembark. Four thousand at this moment are landing at Fort Liberte eight thousand at Port Republican [Port-au-Prince]; you will find my proclamation joined to this communication; it expresses the intentions of the French Government.¹⁰

These strong words caused General Henry Christophe to offer resistance and engage the French military troops. General Christophe's troops would rather burn the Le Cap Francois rather than surrender the port town to the French military.¹¹

On February 17, 1802, General Leclerc drafted a proclamation to the people of the unified state of Saint Domingue ordering the capture of Generals Toussaint L'Overture, Jean Jacques Dessalines, and Henry Christophe and handing them over to the military authorities. They would be charged with treason against the government of France. General Leclerc drafted a proclamation and added articles to ensure that the people follow the laws established by the French military under his command. In the proclamation, the general ordered that all agricultural laborers if they promised not to incite rebellion and continued cultivating the land would not be arrested. General Leclerc's aims were to subdue the organized military of unified Saint Domingue and reintegrate it with the French military as stated in Article IV of the proclamation. General Leclerc's proclamation also dissolved the six provincial departments and divided the island into two military administrative colonies, western Saint Domingue and eastern Santo Domingo. The French military strategy terminated the political unification process that created the unified state of Saint Domingue. General Agustin Clairveaux of the Cibao Region located in eastern Santo Domingo surrendered to the French authorities

with no resistance. Paul L'Overture, the brother of Governor-General Toussaint, also surrendered his part of Santo Domingo to the French military.¹²

The next move was that of General Leclerc, who began to penetrate and destroy the military forces of General Jean-Jacques Dessalines and General Henry Christophe, who surrendered to the French in April of 1802. Governor-General Toussaint L'Overture would also surrender his remaining forces in May. The French Military had declared these three black generals outlaws who committed treason against the government of France. Fighting continued by the former slaves, especially those of African birth who would not surrender and who continued to resist the French military attacks.¹³ The surrender of this leadership affected Governor-General Toussaint. He believed that the plan for political unification of the Saint Domingue state was at an end now that Spanish Santo Domingo was lost to the French. The failure of the Saint Domingue state was due to the French military invasion. The old divisions within the political leaderships did not help to keep the state united against the French military invasion. General Toussaint's leadership consisted of mainly Black Creoles, some Afro-French Mulattos, and White Creoles who took over the government of Saint Domingue. However, the leadership that consisted of mainly Afro-French Mulattos, some Black Creole supporters and White Creoles had opposed General Toussaint, and many of them fled Saint Domingue and returned with the French military during the invasion. The leadership of People of Color in eastern Santo Domingo tended to express support for the government of Saint Domingue under Governor-General Toussaint, who was opposed by the leadership of white Spanish-Creoles. The battle to gain support among the Saint Dominguan

population in both western and eastern sections of the island was dependent on these political leaderships and who would have the power to take control.¹⁴

In April of 1802, General Leclerc wrote to the Minister of Marine in France, which was the department responsible for overseeing the navy. In the letter General Leclerc stated that he could not provide food for 5,000 of his soldiers that were sick. He was now asking for 25,000 fresh troops and guaranteed to the French government that he would take the whole island.¹⁵ In May of 1802, the general reported the loss of more soldiers, and within a period of 15 days between 30 to 50 soldiers died of yellow fever, and more than 200 soldiers had to be hospitalized due to this tropical illness that affected the French Forces.¹⁶

On June 6, 1802, General Leclerc again wrote to the Minister of Marine stating that he wanted to arrest Governor-General Toussaint. Generals Dessalines and Christophe had already joined the French military. He actually believed that General Dessalines should arrest General Toussaint, who was to be deported to the French prison in Corsica where he would remain for life. However, General Leclerc developed a different plan to trick General Toussaint into surrendering.¹⁷

General Leclerc promised to give General Toussaint protection by allowing him to remain on the island. On June 7, 1802, General Brunet wrote to Governor-General Toussaint that he believed General Leclerc wanted peace. In this case, General Toussaint decided to meet with General Brunet. He gave him a letter intended for General Leclerc. The plan was a set up which General Brunet had in mind so when Governor-General Toussaint arrived, he was arrested. General Brunet would never see General Toussaint again; later he would learn that his family was rounded up and arrested. General

Toussaint and his family had been deceived into a meeting with the French military of General Leclerc. He had hopes that maybe First Consul Napoleon would help him since he had fought with the French during the early war in Saint Domingue. The First Consul of France was not interested in listening to General Toussaint or anyone who resisted the French military.¹⁸ General Toussaint would state the following:

Should not General Leclerc have informed me that various charges had been brought against me? Should he not have said to me, "I gave you my word of honor and promised you the protection of the government; today, as you have been guilty, I am going to send you to the government to give an account of your conduct?" Or, "Government orders you to submit; I convey that order to you" I have not been so treated; on the other hand, means have been employed against me which are only used against criminals. Doubtless, I owe this treatment to my color; but my color has hindered me from serving my country with zeal and fidelity? Does the color of my skin impair my honor and bravery?¹⁹

All the progress accomplished by General Toussaint in establishing Saint Domingue as a functioning state under political unification was turned around by the French military invasion. The majority of the remaining white-Creoles residing in Saint Domingue deceived the political authority of General Toussaint's political regime and betrayed him after he promised them political equality. Governor-General Toussaint believed such a state could work and he defended this aim very clearly in his memoirs.²⁰ General Toussaint indicated that he was worth 648,000 francs when the war erupted and spent it all on the service of his country, by sacrificing his family. As a result, his life was never given a tribunal or a fair hearing in the defense of his case.²¹

In another July, 1802 letter to the Minister of Marine, General Leclerc indicated that General Toussaint was dangerous for Saint Domingue. He said if he ever managed to escape, he would destroy the system that the government of France had established. The

racist system of colonialism based on plantation slavery and political exclusion for People of Color was the so-called system that the French were about to establish.²²

In Spanish Santo Domingo, prejudice reigned among the white Spanish-Creole elite who had not been content with General Toussaint and the idea of political unification. Since Spanish Santo Domingo was politically important to the Saint Domingue state, such elites were waiting for the moment to dissolve its very existence because of refusal to accept a majority Black Regime. An anonymous eyewitness from the white elite class of Spanish Santo Domingo stated the following:

During his rule we were vexed in all kinds of ways and made equal to our own slaves in the military and all public acts. In a dance that was given to celebrate the great entry of Moyse, before the arrival of the French armada, I was given the great distinction by the master of ceremonies of being asked to dance with a slave woman of my house, who was one of the principal ladies of the dance because she was pretty, and she had no other title or price to claim her freedom than the entry of the blacks in this country. We remained in this state, tolerating an equality that was accompanied everywhere by ignominy and cruel threats, since the black officers were already rushing to establish relations with the most distinguished ladies of the country, compromising at every step the honor of their families.²³

The point of view shared by white-elites in Spanish Santo Domingo was an obstacle to the state of Saint Domingue during the period of political unification. The anti-black views among the elite inhabitants of eastern Santo Domingo continued to exist during the political unification of the island. However, these elite classes were powerless against the political and military power of General Toussaint's Regime. General Toussaint moved out of Saint Domingue to France where he died in prison, on April 7, 1803. The imprisonment and death of General Toussaint was the end of Saint Domingue as a militarily and politically united state. He was important because he was the founder and symbolic leader of the unified state on the island of Hispaniola that united western

Saint Domingue and eastern Santo Domingo. It was his idea of political unification that gave validity to the importance of eastern Santo Domingo in the complete liberation of Hispaniola.²⁴

The French military treatment of General Toussaint alarmed many African Colonial Regiments of troops. They witnessed General Leclerc's intent of neutralizing the former slaves and confiscating their weapons. In August of 1802, the African colonial regiments who had been loyal to the French military deserted and went to the mountains to face their former leaders in battle. They now fought using guerrilla tactics.²⁵ General Leclerc terrorized captured prisoners who were getting bolder when attacking the French positions. Many captured ex-slaves were executed, and others were deported and sold into slavery. African colonial troops who were suspected of treason were executed. General Leclerc wanted submission from anyone who went against France, and he was going to destroy the leadership of this country thinking this was the only way the population would bend to his authority by not daring to revolt. His whole plan was to divide and conquer instead of unification. General Leclerc's personal views surfaced when he said the Black Saint Domingans were not brave enough to stand up to him. General Leclerc said this because he thought he had destroyed the black army of Saint Domingue, and he actually indicated that the west and south of Hispaniola was entirely disarmed.²⁶

In August, 1802, General Leclerc would find himself taking back his words. The former black slaves using guerrilla warfare were able to inflict heavy casualties on the French army. The French General could not win this kind of war. General Leclerc found himself in a desperate situation and was now demanding 9,000 additional soldiers to

subdue the black revolutionaries with an ex-slave army on the move.²⁷ General Leclerc wrote to First Consul Napoleon on August of 1802 that he needed more troops to fight this kind of war. General Leclerc requested replacement as the situation became more drastic. General Jean-Jacques Dessalines and General Henry Christophe, who had fought against the French only to surrender to its military, led General Leclerc to believe they wanted to leave with him when he departed Saint Domingue. General Leclerc believed that Generals Dessalines and Christophe had confidence in him. However, there was no proof that these two black generals were loyal to the government and military of France.²⁸

The Santo Domingo territory was lost to political unification and reverted to its colonial occupied status. Military events were taking place in the western part of Saint Domingue where fighting continued in some parts.²⁹ A conflict occurred between the forces under a joint leadership of Black Creoles, the French and Afro-French Mulattos against the forces led by those born in Africa, causing further division. The truth was that the French military did not trust People of Color regardless of origins. By November of 1802, a coalition between the Black Creole forces of General Jean Jacques Dessalines and Henry Christophe, and Afro-French Mulatto forces under General Alexander Petion turned against the French military.³⁰

General Leclerc himself was not winning the war in Saint Domingue and not everything he expected went as planned. Twenty thousand were dead, leaving only over 2,000 able soldiers to continue the fighting. General Leclerc had contracted yellow fever and was now dying. General Donatien Marie-Joseph de Vimeur Rochambeau took over the command of the French military when General Leclerc died. He needed 20,000

soldiers to help subdue the black revolutionaries of Saint Domingue. General Rochambeau as part of the French military did not accept General Maurepas, who was a highly respected officer under General Toussaint. Desertion among the ranks of General Rochambeau was reducing his number of troops. General Rochambeau executed 400 black revolutionaries for deserting the French military. General Maurepas was also killed along with his family. General Dessalines of the black revolutionary forces of Saint Domingue promised to take revenge and destroy the French military of General Rochambeau. General Dessalines black revolutionary army came under a new banner and the French tricolor was abandoned.³¹

General Rochambeau decided to fight this war using a form of terrorism and engaging in guerrilla warfare. It was General Leclerc and Rochambeau's war of extermination, which carried out various acts of torture and violence against African Colonial Soldiers who had fought with the French. General Rochambeau launched a genocidal campaign against the People of Color, mainly the Afro-French Mulattos. It became so tragic that a French Captain was attempting to rescue many Black Saint Domingans from genocidal war. The general continued the practice of drowning people in water and killing all prisoners captured in war.³²

In 1803, the war clearly became the struggle for the total independence and sovereignty of the whole island. The new title "indigenous army" of Saint Domingue was the name of the local Black revolutionary army. General Dessalines fought back and waged a war for the destruction of the French military and the white-French Creole populations on the island. The revolutionaries were now being joined by some Europeans of Polish origin that deserted the French army when they were encircled by the black

army of General Dessalines. On November 22, 1803, a preliminary proclamation was drafted for the independence of Saint Domingue throughout the island of Hispaniola, which included Eastern Santo Domingo, by Generals Dessalines, Christophe, and Clairveaux. It stated the following:

The independence of Saint Domingue is proclaimed. Restored to our primitive dignity, we have secured our rights; we swear never to cede them to any power in the world. The frightful veil of prejudice is torn in pieces; let it remain so for ever.

General Rochambeau of the French military was completely defeated by the black revolutionaries of Saint Domingue in the Battle of Vertieres on November 28, 1803. The navy of Great Britain became mediators that accepted the French military surrender in Saint Domingue. The French military of Eastern Santo Domingo did not surrender to the Black forces of western Saint Domingue.³³

During the period from 1802-1803, some 55,132 soldiers joined the ranks of the French army against the black revolutionaries of the Saint Domingue state. Thirty-five thousand one hundred thirty-two were assigned to the ranks of General Leclerc and 20,000 were under General Rochambeau. There were 2,250 officers, 25,651 soldiers, 8,000 in the navy, 3,000 merchant marines, 2,000 civil and military bureaucrats, 3,000 white European soldiers, 5,600 European-Creoles from the Caribbean, and 13,000 Black Creoles and Afro-European Mulattos. The composition of the French military in Hispaniola was made up of these various groups.³⁴ The defeat cost the French government 250 million pounds of sterling plus the loss of 103,000 soldiers from 1791-1803. However, the outcome for the local inhabitants was approximately 100,000 people, men, women and children in Saint Domingue were lost. The population of the island was reduced to about 380,000 people.³⁵

Part 2: The Political Independence of Haiti and Santo Domingo Remains French

On January 1, 1804, the first transplanted African state in the modern world became a sovereign state. The new state took the name from the Taino-Arawak inhabitants who called the island *Ayti* (Land of High Ground), also referred to as *Quisqueya* (Mother of all Lands), and *Bohio* (land where there are many inhabitants). Nevertheless, Haiti became the name of the new state. Jean-Jacques Dessalines became life long Governor-General and opted for a new black state. The political independence of Haiti was now a legitimate proclamation that applied throughout the island of Hispaniola, which included Spanish Santo Domingo. Govenor Dessalines never abandoned the plan for the political unification throughout the island and therefore the importance of Santo Domingo had to be included as part of the new state. The Black State of Haiti abolished the discriminatory practices of the colonial era against the peoples of Africa just like the old politically unified state of Saint Domingue.³⁶

A total of 35 individuals had originally signed the declaration of independence proclaiming the state of Haiti in which 24 were Afro-French Mulattos and only 11 were Black Creoles. The government consisted of individuals who could not read or write and were not educated by western elite standards. The Afro-French Mulatto elites tended to be educated and had literacy skills. However, most of the Black Creole leadership with the exception of a few had been field slaves with no literacy skills or formal education. Governor-General Dessalines as the executive of Haiti was among those with no literacy skills who actually learned how to sign his name. The new government under the direction of former slaves would continue to revolutionize the entire island of Hispaniola by resorting to military solutions in order to obtain eastern Santo Domingo as part of

Haiti. The educated white elite classes that remained in Hispaniola regardless of whether they were Spanish or French Creoles would continue to oppose the recognition of this kind of government.³⁷

In Spanish Santo Domingo, General Ferrand was assigned to take control of this territory that was now considered a part of Haiti by the new political authority of the western part of the island. One thousand eight hundred soldiers made up of Spanish and French forces were on alert for any military maneuvers in Haiti. General Ferrand became the colonial dictator of eastern Spanish Santo Domingo and began operating a militaristic administration. He began confiscating the lands owned by Spanish-Creoles who opted to leave for Puerto Rico. General Ferrand needed a white population to counterbalance and resist the encroachment from the western state of Black Haiti. The French colonial authority began to offer termination of any debts owned by white elite landowners and decided to offer the land confiscated from the Spanish-Creoles to those whites interested in settling eastern Santo Domingo. The French colonial authority decided to develop an economy for Santo Domingo. The new economy concentrated on the sale mahogany wood that was of interest to European and American capitalists. The export of mahogany from Santo Domingo was important because it was a source of revenue for the territorial government. In the interior, coffee would be the main crop and General Ferrand continued to persuade the French to come and settle in eastern Santo Domingo.³⁸

The new revolutionary government of western Haiti was now under the direction of Governor-General Dessalines. He decided to take revenge against those French individuals guilty of war crimes against the people of Haiti. He was willing to extend the punishment of the French in occupied eastern Santo Domingo. A small French population

remained in Haiti because they could not transport aboard the vessels once the French military withdrew. In April of 1804, those French priests and doctors who helped the Haitian people during the war were spared while others remaining were executed under the orders of Governor-General Dessalines. Approximately 450 French-Creoles had faced their execution. All of their property was taken away from them. General Christophe did his best to persuade and save some of those whites who had helped the people of Haiti during the war.³⁹ Governor Dessalines states the following:

As it is derogatory to my dignity to punish the innocent for the crimes of the guilty, a handful of whites, commendable for the sentiments which they have professed, and who besides, have sworn to live with us in the woods, have experienced my clemency. I direct that they be allowed to live, and that they be not maltreated.⁴⁰

General Christophe was not necessarily in agreement with Governor-General Dessalines and his measures of execution. Governor-General Dessalines understood that the establishment of Haiti was simply like a monument implanted in the consciousness of the slaveholder. The Governor-General of Haiti was committing some acts of violence against the remaining French individuals, who had fought on the side of the French. The Black Haitians knew very well of the violence committed against them by the French military during the war of independence.⁴¹ Governor-General Dessalines stated the following:

Like a torrent that burst its banks and shatters everything in its path, the fury of your vengeance has dashed down all that resisted its impetus career, perish all tyrants of innocence all oppressors of mankind. We have repaid these cannibals, war with war, crime for crime, outrage, yes, I have saved my country, and I have avenged America! This avowal before heaven and earth is my glory! What do I care for the opinion of my contemporaries or of future generations? I have done my duty, I approve of myself that suffices me. Tremble usurping tyrants, scourges of the New World our daggers are sharpened, your punishment is at hand! Sixty

thousand armed men, tempered in war, obedient to my command, burn to offer fresh sacrifices to shades of their murdered brothers. If any nation is mad or bold enough to attack me, let it come!

Governor Dessalines knew that Haitian military power was no match for French military might, but he understood that mountain clandestine guerrilla warfare would be the way to defeat the French, no matter what power they had. He concludes by stating:

I await them with a firm foot and tranquil eye willingly shall I abandon to them the coast and the sites where towns once existed; but to those who approach too closely to the mountains! Better would it have been for them to have been swallowed up in the depths of the sea than torn to pieces at the furious hands of the children of Haiti.⁴²

The militarism that developed in Haiti was one of protection in an age of fear from being enslaved. The historic period helps to explain why militarism remained connected with civil society in Haiti. Governor-General Dessalines believed that the military security of eastern Santo Domingo within the Haitian State was one way to maintain political independence. The unification process from a military standpoint was so important because it ensured the survival of the island state of Haiti. However, the government consisted of intertwined civil and military bureaucracies as this was the only way to ensure the freedom of the people according to the perceptions of the time. The political order that Governor-General Dessalines helped to create was one where power was in the hands of a strong effective leader. The quest for unification under one political order in Haiti required liberating its territory of eastern Santo Domingo.⁴³

Since the early 19th century world was not supportive of the Haitian war for independence, eastern Santo Domingo was important to the survival of this new black state on the island of Hispaniola. On May 8, 1804, Governor-General Dessalines issued a

proclamation to the Spanish-Creole population of Santo Domingo. He indicated in his proclamation that the French armies were being expelled from the western territories of Hispaniola and that the government of Haiti was going to liberate eastern Santo Domingo from the French. Governor-General Dessalines indicated that the inhabitants of eastern Santo Domingo had the chance to become part of an independent Haiti. Governor-General Dessalines was also willing to punish the French of Santo Domingo for what he considered the unjust treatment of the people of Haiti. In the proclamation, he was extending to the white Spanish-Creole population a chance to join the struggle to liberate the rest of Haiti and to help in the expulsion of the French military. General Dessalines gave the population of Santo Domingo a total of 15 days to join under the Haitian banner. The governor-general promised to guarantee the protection of local interests such as property and personal security of those in eastern Santo Domingo under political unification, as long as they were loyal to the Haitian state.⁴⁴ Emperor Jacques was willing to give them a chance to decide what they wanted and that was to join Haiti or to remain with France. Emperor Jacques had said:

Yet a few moments, and I will overwhelm the remains of the French under the weight of my omnipotence. Spaniards! You whom I address, because I desire to save you; you who although guilty of dissention, may preserve your existence and find my clemency ready to spare you do not wish your blood to be mingled with theirs. I give you a fortnight from this date, to acquaint me with your final intentions and to gather under my flag. You know what I can do, and what I have done; think of your preservation. Receive the sacred promise which I give never to make any attack against your personal safety and interests, if you seize the opportunity of showing yourselves worthy of being numbered among the children of Hayti.⁴⁵

In Eastern Santo Domingo, Haitian political authorities decided to unify the towns of Santiago, Cotui, and La Vega, and the Cibao Region, which became part of the Black

state. Governor Dessalines had appointed Jose Tabares as the Commander of the town of Puerto Plata in northern Santo Domingo. Jose Tabares was a local Black Creole who had been a slave of a white Spanish planter named Pedro Tabares. The governor began to tax the local population of Santo Domingo, who were now citizens of the Haitian state to help with the cost of the war effort. The white Spanish-Creole elite opted to leave and went to settle in Spanish Cuba rather than live within the Black Haitian State.

Part 3: The Haitian State Resorts to Military Unification in Santo Domingo

On May 8, 1804, the state of Haiti launched the first military invasion of eastern Santo Domingo, which became a battleground for the Haitian military and the remaining French military. The plans for political unification through a peaceful proclamation by Haitian Governor-General Dessalines as well as the first military operations were unsuccessful. The reason for this failure was that Haitian forces did not prefer to risk another attack by the French forces after a devastating invasion and decided to withdraw from eastern Santo Domingo. The French colonial government was building a resistance to the counterattacks from the Haitian forces, during the summer of 1804. The rest of that year remained free of military battle in Santo Domingo and political unification for Haiti remained unresolved.⁴⁶

By October 8, 1804, Governor-General Dessalines had declared himself Emperor Jacques I. Haiti had transformed from statehood independence to an empire.⁴⁷ Once the Empire of Haiti was politically established, a new military solution aimed at uniting Santo Domingo had to be attempted. The Santo Domingo territory occupied by the

French forces of General Ferrand remained in place. A second chance for Haitian political unification took another militaristic approach.⁴⁸

In early January 1805, the Haitian military for the second time invaded Santo Domingo in the name of extending political unification throughout the island. In the town of Santiago, a battle occurred between Spanish Creoles and Haitian soldiers led by General Christophe who then occupied the Cibao region located in the northern part of eastern Santo Domingo on February of 1805. General Petion marched from Port-au-Prince with 7,000 soldiers across the town of Mirebalais in western Haiti, so that they could reach the towns of Las Matas, San Juan de Maguana, and Azua located in the southern part of eastern Santo Domingo. General Gabart took the central region of eastern Santo Domingo with 4,500 soldiers who were from the town of Saint Marcoise and crossed through the Artibonite River in order to go beyond the town of Mirebalais in western Haiti. These soldiers were to coordinate with the soldiers of the west under the command of General Petion. General Geffrad took the southern part of the eastern territory, which was important to the military plan to take on the city of Santo Domingo and defeat the French military forces. The reason for this Haitian military entry into Santo Domingo actually was a result of the cooperation of the western towns of Hinche, Las Matas, Banica, and Neiba that altogether consisted of about 12,000 inhabitants. These pro-unification towns allowed the Haitian military to enter the western areas of Santo Domingo. The French military withdrew from the region and the Haitian authorities emancipated the remaining slaves, but military unification for the rest of the island was unsuccessful.⁴⁹

The military unification process by the government of Haiti was the answer to a proclamation issued by the French colonial government. On January 6, 1805, that document proclaimed the enslavement and sale of children from Haitian lands. The French colonial administration had reactivated the institution of slavery in Santo Domingo. General Ferrand issued this proclamation as a military measure in order to uplift the morale of the soldiers who could capture individuals to be used for slavery and would serve as a form of extra payment. The French colonial administration of Santo Domingo issued a proclamation that was clearly against the black Haitian population of the west. In Article III, any Haitian children under the age of 10 that were captured would remain in Santo Domingo, but could not be subject to the exploitation of slavery. However, these children could be taken to the plantations of Ozama to the south, and the Cibao region of the North central part of Santo Domingo. General Ferrand in Article V indicated that all children who were between the ages of 10 and 14 who were black males and mulatto females would be sold into a state of slavery in Santo Domingo. Any black rebel from Haiti was technically ordered to submit to the imperial government of France only in good faith as stated in Article XIII of the proclamation.⁵⁰

The Haitian military strategy was to starve the city of Santo Domingo. The particular tactic was unsuccessful because the Haitian military feared the French Navy, which had been patrolling the high seas around the territorial waters of eastern Santo Domingo. The Haitian military had to head back west to defend western Haiti in case the French threatened war in the independent part of Hispaniola. On March 28, 1805, a total of 30,000 Haitian soldiers were active and able to evacuate Santo Domingo without detection by the French military presence in the eastern territory. General Ferrand exiled

French General Kerverseau to Puerto Rico for wanting to surrender to the Haitian military in Santo Domingo. General Kerverseau thought that the remaining French forces were not prepared to defend eastern Santo Domingo because of their defeat in western Haiti during the war. The Haitian fear of an invasion was due to the French naval presence along the coast and this stalled the plans for the military unification of the island. Strategically protecting the west militarily became of primary importance for the concentration of Haitian forces in eastern Santo Domingo. The government of Haiti thought that failure to protect the western part of the island would be dangerous to an external French invasion if the Haitian forces were scattered throughout eastern Santo Domingo. However, the Haitian government did not abandon the political claim to the territory of Santo Domingo simply because the military solutions had failed. The outcome of this event was that the Haitian military destroyed the towns of La Vega, Santiago, and Moca in eastern Santo Domingo. The Haitian military could not take the towns of Bayaguana, El Seibo, Higüey, and the city of Santo Domingo. However, the interior of Santo Domingo's territory became a desolate region and became a buffer zone between Haitian and French militaries on the island. The Haitian military invasion led to more Spanish-Creole exiles from Santo Domingo to other areas of the Caribbean. An individual by the name of Gaspar de Arredondo y Pichardo fled the island recalling the invasion of Haitian General Christophe as ruthless when his military forces entered Santo Domingo. He witnessed the military invasion of the town of Santiago in the Cibao Region of eastern Santo Domingo and the destruction and capture of prisoners who were killed during this time. Pichardo was not in favor of the Haitian military expansion into

Santo Domingo by refusing to accept the political authority of the Haitian government in Santo Domingo.⁵¹

General Ferrand's assistance came from Admiral Missiessy of the French Navy who helped him keep military control of Santo Domingo. It was his supply of food, ammunition, medicine and money that sustained the French troops present in eastern Santo Domingo against the Haitian military.⁵² A military account by an anonymous officer in the French army stated the following:

Our Destiny was the result of a breath of wind. Certainly, the admiral did not have special mission for Santo Domingo, and if instead of surveying the southern coast of the island, he would have turned north, nothing would have prevented the capture of the city and no one would have escaped the fury of the Negros.⁵³

According to this point of view, the Haitian government could have militarily taken Santo Domingo territory at this point in time. The plans for military unification remained at a complete stop and the government of Haiti focused on maintaining political independence.⁵⁴

A British Captain named Marcus Rainsford had visited Haiti when it was called the French colony of Saint Domingue, in 1799. Captain Rainsford wrote a book called *A Historical Account of the Black Empire of Haiti*, published in 1805. He states the following concerning this quest for military and political unification of the entire island of Hispaniola:

It is of ancient record, that negroes were capable of repelling their enemies, with vigor in their own country; and a writer of modern date has assured us of the talents and virtues of these people; but it remained for the close of the eighteenth century to realize the scene, from the state of abject degeneracy to exhibit, a horde of negroes emancipating themselves from the vilest slavery, and at once filling the relations of society enacting laws, and commanding armies, in the colonies of Europe.⁵⁵

The military operations failed in Santo Domingo, and the Black State of Haiti had to be preserved in the western part of Hispaniola. The Haitian military was capable of defending the western part of the island against a military attack by France.⁵⁶ The remaining white population of western Haiti continued serving in the military and were employed by the government of Haiti.⁵⁷ The population of Haiti was 380,000 in 1805, with males being in the minority and women in the majority due to the war of independence. The supply of weaponry like arms and cannons helped to transform Haiti into a giant fortress where yams, plantains, bananas, and other crops were cultivated as the chief source of its military food supplies. Since Haiti became a Black state in the midst of imperialist racist colonial systems, defense was a primary focus, which was why there was a militaristic approach for uniting Santo Domingo in order to establish political unification. Since the Haitian militaristic approach was unsuccessful in Santo Domingo, the local government continued to justify political legitimacy over Santo Domingo because Haiti was already a functioning independent state on the island of Hispaniola.⁵⁸

Part 4: Political Unification Defines Haiti and Santo Domingo as One State

On May 20, 1805, the political establishment of Haiti had drafted a second Constitution. Since unification had failed militarily, the Haitian political authorities would still consider Santo Domingo a part of the state. According to this claim, the territory could be legally taken by Haiti at any time for the sake of political unification for the entire island of Hispaniola. Haiti was an independent Empire with the authority to conduct its own foreign relations like any other empire. In Article II of the Constitution, slavery was abolished and equality in Haiti was extended to all who politically accepted

the Black State. In Article VI, the right to private property was upheld in Haiti as stated in the Constitution. In Article IX, a moral value of family structure was a central goal of the state and its foundation of military discipline. In Article XII, Europeans (whites) were banned from ownership of property or the title of master or proprietor. In Article XIII, naturalized white females or their children, Poles and Germans were exempted from these restrictions. The local government accepted these European whites for joining the fight for Haiti's independence. These Europeans were considered the same as black citizens by the new state. To protect white citizens, the Haitian Constitution added in Article XIV that these whites had the same rights as the black citizens of Haiti. Citizenship was extended to all People of Color and the white Spanish-Creoles of Santo Domingo who accepted the territory as a constitutional part of Haiti.⁵⁹

The Black State in Haiti simply classified everyone in the same category as one race unlike the previous white colonial system, which classified and divided people according to difference in race. The Black State of Haiti still had its roots in the egalitarian system rooted in the work of Governor-General Toussaint in the old state of unified Saint Domingue. The egalitarian state of Governor-General Toussaint was not defined according to a specific race, but equality for all regardless of race.

Historian Sybille Fischer presents an analysis of the Constitution of 1805. Fischer indicated that the "constitution has a most troubling paradox within the politics of universalism which is generalizing a specific particularity." Fischer stated, "that to call all Haitians Black regardless of race is like calling all people regardless of sex women." Fischer identifies this as "egalitarian and universal that is put to the test by using what was previously subordinate term of an opposition as the universal term." The

Constitution as the legal document supporting political unification of all Haiti applied the meaning of the Black State to all parts of the island despite the French occupation of Santo Domingo.⁶⁰

Eastern Spanish Santo Domingo was simply a part of Haiti and, therefore, treated as a foreign occupied region of the empire. The Haitian state was divided into six military districts throughout the entire island of Hispaniola, which included eastern Santo Domingo as stated in Articles XV through XVIII of the Constitution. Article XVIII of the constitution of Haiti also included Samana, La Tortue, La Gonave, Les Cayemites, Ile-a-Vache, Saona, and other adjacent islands.⁶¹ The Government of Haiti was led by the Emperor as commander and chief of the military. The whole idea of emperor is an alternative to republican or monarchical definitions; it is neither democratic nor has to be rooted in royalty, but it does emphasize the supremacy of the dictatorial executive branch of government. The Emperorship of Haiti did not have to be elective, but a successor was to be announced before the death of the emperor. As stated in Article XXX, the government consisted of the emperor, state counselors, generals, local administration, and commissaries of government, tribunals, judges, and public functionaries.⁶² The Haitian Empire did not proclaim the establishment of an official religion but the freedom of worship. Economic development was rooted in agriculture and commerce. Both were essential priorities of the economy as laid out by the political authorities of Haiti. As far as the constitution was concerned, Haiti was now a politically unified island and any foreign occupation was not legal for eastern Santo Domingo.⁶³

As far as political leadership was concerned, Historian Jean Price-Mars in, *La Republica de Haiti y la Republica Dominicana* (1953), indicated that “personal ambition

by the parties involved, simply halted the political unity of leaders who fought under the same banner fighting side by side to liberate the country from the yoke of colonialism.” The internal political problems in Haiti prevented the implementation of an effective military and political unification process for this state. The white colonial elite of Spanish Santo Domingo constantly sought the continuity of foreign occupation rather than recognize or accept the new political authority of the Black Haitian state.⁶⁴

Sybille Fischer wrote that within the context of modernity and the age of revolutions in, *Modernity Disavowed, Haiti and Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (2004), that Robespierre, Napoleon, and Hegel became “metonymic” with modernization and the interpretation of its development. Fischer also explains, “Colonial plantations and slavery contributed to the enrichment of the western European bourgeoisie, but yet the political turmoil of the colonies and slave revolt are not a part of the traditional history of explaining modernity and revolution.” Fisher refers to Haiti as the “revolutionary black state” which was responsive to the “white Creole Modernity” in colonial Santo Domingo. The Black State was the political foundation of the new state of Haiti, which was determined to establish its presence in Spanish Santo Domingo already claimed as part of Haiti.⁶⁵

The white Spanish-Creoles of Santo Domingo were always reluctant to accept either the emergence of the Black Haitian State, or military or political unification on the island of Hispaniola. Fischer goes on to say that modernity that proposed racial egalitarianism was contrary to the white Creole modernity, which kept a social order intact with racial and class disparities sanctioned by a colonial political system. The state of Haiti was a result of the military and political struggle that led to island unification and

that was rooted in the original emancipation of the slaves throughout the island of Hispaniola. Santo Domingo had to be included in the process of completing Haitian independence. The dignity of Black African peoples was important and that is why they strived to create a new social order essential to the political unification of the island.⁶⁶

The Santo Domingo territory simply remained an unfinished business, lingering in a state of ambiguity and once again awaiting an ultimate incorporation at the right moment. On October 17, 1806, political unification was far from materializing. A military conspiracy in Haiti brought about its first political assassination when Emperor Jacques was assaulted and gunned down⁶⁷ while he was in transit between the town of St. Marc and the capitol city of Port-au-Prince.⁶⁸ The conspiracy was within the elite ranks of the military, mainly those of the elite classes of Afro-French Mulattos. The elite class became dissatisfied with the termination of land distributions, which these classes had originally obtained during the Saint Domingue revolution. The assassination of the Haitian emperor stirred up antagonisms between the Black Creole and the Afro-French Mulatto political leaderships. The empire of Haiti became politically vulnerable due to the assassination of Emperor Jacques. The new political situation required placing Santo Domingo in a secondary plan while the government determined what political ideology would best serve the Haitian government. The only grounds that defined the island as one state after military solutions failed was the constitution. However, Santo Domingo was not politically united with the rest of Haiti and this meant that political unification was still pending at this time. The political situation in Haiti would remain an uncertainty.⁶⁹ General Henry Christophe became the Chief-Governor while he refused the title of emperor. The conflict of political ideology within the leadership would determine

whether Haiti could be stabilized internally, while continuing the quest for political unification. Eastern Santo Domingo remained an important part of this project despite the political situation in western Haiti.⁷⁰

CHAPTER THREE

The Division of Haiti and Santo Domingo (1807-1820)

Part 1: The Political and Military Division of Haiti

On December 27, 1806, the empire of Haiti as the political entity that had defined the state ended. The new government still regarded Spanish Santo Domingo as part of the Haitian state. However, the military attempts to obtain Santo Domingo proved unsuccessful during the time of the empire of Haiti. The territory of Santo Domingo remained under French colonial authority. The Port-au-Prince Constituent Assembly presented a new constitution. The constitution written in 1806 initiated a new political definition for Haiti, which became a Republic. The new constitution reduced the power of the executive branch by increasing the authority of the Senate. The Senate's Constitution was drafted to protect the political interests of the Afro-French Mulatto elite class. The justification for the empowerment of the Senate according to Haitian political theory was because this legislative branch represented the people.

The Constitution again declared that slavery was abolished above all as stated in Article I. Article II upheld the idea that Haiti would no longer be subject to becoming a colonial economic enterprise like the former Saint Domingue Colony before the revolution of 1791. The essential principles of this constitution continued to uphold the ideals of liberty, egalitarianism, and property as stated in Article III. The indivisibility of the republic was clearly stated in Article XXXIX (29) of the constitution. Article XXX (30) empowered the Senate to divide Haiti into five provincial departments, South, West, North, the Artibonite, and Santo Domingo regarded as occupied Haitian Territory. The

Senate also had the right to conduct foreign relations according to Article XLIII (43), declare war, initiate peace treaties, regulate commerce, sustain a military, appoint military and civil officers, and commissioners to the courts as specified in Article XLII (42). The constitution was proposed as a modern alternative to the autocratic executive branch during the empire of Haiti. Yet, the Republic of Haiti was not a people's democracy because the common citizens were not permitted to elect political officials. The electing of political officials like Senators and other administrative posts was usually a process of selection rather than actual election. The political officials were a part of the landowning class which was the actual government. On December 28, 1806, the Constituent Assembly elected Chief Governor Christophe as president of the new Republic of Haiti. The ideals of societal virtues was very important and promoted in all the early Haitian constitutions that also implemented the establishment of the Roman Catholic Church as official in Article XXXV (35) and promoted marriage as indicated in Article XXXIXL(39).¹

A political division erupted which caused a split within the military between the Black Creole and the Afro-French Mulattos leadership. The conflict that led to Haitian division was between the President's Christophe's advocates in favor of autocracy (a powerful executive) and those of the General Petion's republic (separation of powers with a powerful senate). The racial antagonisms between Blacks and Mulattos were strictly a remnant of the racial division that existed in the old French colonial system and was not an overall factor that dominated the division in the newly created state. Henry Christophe was supported by a Black Creole leadership and Alexander Petion was supported by an Afro-French Mulatto leadership. The Senate expelled Henry Christophe

from the presidency of Haiti. He refused to accept the political ideology of the Republic. The political division of Haiti led to a divided military. The division caused internal confrontations that were to remain unresolved. The Senate simply responded by entrusting General Alexander Petion (1770-1818), an Afro-French Mulatto to, intercept the military forces loyal to President Christophe. Henry Christophe and his military forces were prevented from seizing control of the capitol city of Port-au-Prince. He had only control of Northern Haiti. General Petion's military forces held the south and western part of Haiti and retained the capitol city of Port-au-Prince.²

President Christophe did not want this republic and opted for the political autocratic government of Emperor Jacques I during the Empire of Haiti. The reason for this was that it made him a powerless figurehead. President Christophe defined the republic as a mere scheme of the elite classes consisting of Europeanized Afro-French Mulattos that would be one way to control his executive authority.³ In Northern Haiti, Cap Haitian, formerly known as Cap Francois, became the seat of a contesting autocratic government. The south and west with the capitol of Port-au-Prince remained as the Republic of Haiti. On January 27, 1807, Bruno Blanchet a signer of the Constitution of 1806 became acting president. He was soon replaced on March 11, 1807, by elected President Petion, who was voted in by the Senate and was not willing to compromise his political ideology of republicanism. Both governments regarded Spanish Santo Domingo as important but wanted political unification under the leadership of its political authority.⁴

On February 17, 1807, the Northern rival government of President Christophe, which claimed authority over the whole island state, authorized the writing of a new

constitution. The constitution guaranteed President Christophe a position for life. The north remained under the autocratic government of former Emperor Jacques I of Haiti. However, this state was also a militaristic administration because the council was under the direction of army generals and important citizens of the communities with President Christophe as supreme leader. The Constitution of 1807 for the north did not change much from the imperial constitution of 1805 in terms of claiming the island as one state, including eastern Santo Domingo. Article IX, clearly stated that the Haitian government would not move forward in the conquest of any territory beyond the island. Therefore, constitutionally, Santo Domingo was within the island and the importance of this territory as part of Haiti was seen as legal and legitimate. According to this constitutional definition, the Haitian government of the North could decide to take Santo Domingo through political, military, or diplomatic measures. However, the political and military division between north and south of Haiti prevented the taking of the eastern Santo Domingo still occupied by France. In Article XVI, the council was a quasi-organization of nine in which two-thirds were generals appointed by President Christophe himself.⁵ In Article XXV, a court was established for civil purposes as well as a court of commerce within all divisions as stated in Article XXVI. All military cases were handled by special councils appointed by the president as in Article XXXVIII (38).⁶ However; with regards to religion only the Catholic Christian Church was official even though the Vatican State also isolated Haiti as a non-existing state. The constitution guaranteed the protection of other religious faiths.⁷

In the south Alexander Petion's continued presidency of the republic secured the political interests of the elite classes, mainly Afro-French Mulattos with their visions for

a Haitian State. Yet the project was also an experiment in the theory of democracy and representative government divided into separate branches. The chance to develop in practice by politically uniting the island remained on hold. The government of southern Haiti also continued to claim Spanish Santo Domingo as part of Haiti, but the political and military division with the Northern state prevented the taking of the territory still occupied by France. Yet both aimed to establish a grounded political ideology for unification between the two Haitian States and eventually eastern Santo Domingo.⁸ Both governments saw themselves as seeking the best outcome for Haiti since both claimed authority over the whole island. Historian H.P. Davis in *Black Democracy* (1929), indicated that the people of Haiti after their emancipation from slavery were not prepared for democracy within government. Davis said that the autocracy of President Christophe was better suited for the people of Haiti than the democracy created by President Petion. However, Davis also said that neither President Christophe nor Petion could test their political theories of government because the internal division could not allow a unified established authority for the Haitian State. The current political situation of the time became an ongoing difficulty in the quest for obtaining Santo Domingo because of the contest over political legitimacy in Haiti. Yet it is important to note that President Christophe and Petion were two individuals of two different schools and this factor can help to explain the divide. President Christophe was a soldier and a Black Creole who was born a slave and who learned his trade from the French colonial system in the former colony of western Saint Domingue. President Petion, on the other hand, was an Afro-French Mulatto, highly educated in the European tradition of military schools and academics.⁹

The two governments of Haiti viewed one another as illegitimate. The military remained divided and at a standstill waiting for the right moment to invade one another's territory. The Northern state of Haiti had also defined the continuity of the Black Political State as autocratic. The Afro-French Mulatto elites of the south upheld the idea of the Free Black Republic with political ideas of representative government.¹⁰

President Petion had to defend the Haitian republic against the contesting military of the Northern Autocratic Government of President Christophe. In order to satisfy the military, President Petion began to award the military officers with land while at the same time giving the plantations to those of the Afro-Mulatto elite class. These were the means used by the southern government in order to strengthen its republic. President Christophe of the North depended on continuing the developing local plantation economy. In the North, high ranking civil and military officials were landowners, while the army became the new overseers over the laborers, who had an obligation to work the land. The plantation economy was difficult for a people barely out of the memory of being born into slavery. Nevertheless, the autocratic government of President Christophe's was aimed at strengthening the Northern state.¹¹

Part 2: The Restoration of Spanish Colonial Rule in Eastern Santo Domingo

In 1808, Haiti consisted of two functioning states with two different political ideologies. The French could have political sovereignty over eastern Santo Domingo, as long as the division in Haiti remained unresolved. General Jean Louis Ferrand had terminated all economic relations between with the two Haitian states while the French occupied Santo Domingo. The French military presence in the eastern territory was an

obstacle to the future political unification plans for Santo Domingo by the Haitian rival governments. Meanwhile, in Santo Domingo the Spanish Creole elites wanted to do business with Haiti but lacked political power because they identified with Spain and not France.

The Spanish-Creole leadership responded to their situation by orchestrating a revolt against the French in eastern Santo Domingo in order to restore Spanish Colonial authority. The Spanish-Creoles chose not to establish an independent state. Such a state was under populated and could not survive politically as a slaveholding state without a condemnation by the two governments of Haiti. The restoration of Spain's rule would guarantee military protection against potential Haitian military threats or any rebellion by People of Color, who were the majority of the small population of eastern Santo Domingo.¹²

In 1808, a mahogany trader by the name of Juan Sanchez Ramirez of Santo Domingo and Toribio Montes, the governor from the island of Puerto Rico, planned their own revolt against the French Colonial authorities with the support of the Spanish-Creole classes of both islands. The Spanish colonial government of Puerto Rico decided to wage a war against France to bring Santo Domingo under Spain's authority. The landowners revolted with the intent of restoring Spain's colonial rule in Santo Domingo. The landowners believed that the restoration of Spain's colonial rule in Santo Domingo could prevent Haitian expansion into the territory. The war was not a major military conflict, for the French military in Santo Domingo was already ineffective by this time. These landowning rebels had 2,000 soldiers stationed at Seibo and Cristobal Huber in Azua and were ready to march on to Santo Domingo city to take on 600 French soldiers on October

of 1808. On November 7, 1808, the battle of *Palo Hincado* was fought between the local Spanish forces and the French military. French General Ferrand was defeated and he took his own life. French General Dubarquier took over and decided to resist the local Spanish forces of Sanchez Ramirez at the Ozama River. The navy of Great Britain became involved in the local conflict by supporting the local Spanish Creoles and began blockading the French, which actually held out until the summer of 1809.¹³ Sanchez Ramirez had been involved as commander of a military company during the Saint Domingue Revolution of 1791 in the area of the western part of Spanish Santo Domingo.¹⁴

In Santo Domingo, the war ended with 400 out of 600 armed Spanish Creole soldiers placed out of service. The French were a force to contend with and the local Spanish soldiers lacked adequate military training to take on the French. On July 2, 1809, there was still movement of French soldiers near the town of San Carlos who rejected negotiations with the Spanish Creole military forces. The Spanish Creole forces wanted the French to capitulate. The French were not willing to surrender to what remained of the local Spanish-Creole military forces. The fact was that the British military was responsible for this small revolt of Spanish landowners in Santo Domingo. Upon the defeat of the French, the British forces had occupied Eastern Santo Domingo. The Spanish-Creole representation resented that, for they accused the British Government of opportunism and claiming territory wherever it bestowed its presence.¹⁵

On July 7, 1809, the French forces surrendered to the British military which officially took control of Santo Domingo on the 11th of this month.¹⁶ However, the British military under Major General H.S Carmichael was determined to hold on to Santo

Domingo and would not give up control to the forces of Sanchez Ramirez until the government of Spain agreed to repay the money used during the war. An economic agreement was set in place whereby any goods coming from Great Britain to eastern Santo Domingo would be regulated at the same tariff rates imposed on goods from Spain. The outcome of the war ruined the sugar cane industry but preserved 30,000 livestock located in the southern region. The elite class of white Spanish-Creoles that now took power did not want Haitian control of eastern Santo Domingo. Juan Sanchez Ramirez became the colonial governor of Santo Domingo on behalf of Spain and invited the exiled Spanish-Creole classes of elites with a promise of reducing taxes if they settled again, but was unsuccessful.¹⁷ The governor had to contend with a majority of Afro-Spanish Mulattos and the minority Black Creole population who were not hostile to uniting with Haiti. People of Color were not sympathetic to a slave holding territory that the tiny elite groups of white Spanish-Creoles were willing to uphold. Yet the irony here was Spanish leniency in the law. Free People of Color considered themselves part of the white-Spanish Creole population because of their socio-economic position within the social order.¹⁸ At this time Santo Domingo was not the potential frontier for exclusive minority elite authority, but one that was open to the possibility of Haitian political unification on the island. An advantage to consider was that the population of Santo Domingo was at about 79,000 to about 80,000 and much of its educational facilities, controlled by the church, declined as the wealthy elites chose to leave the territory.¹⁹

President Christophe of Northern Haiti supported the Spanish-Creole landowning class of Santo Domingo against the French and gave them weapons to fight from 1808-1809. Juan Sanchez Ramirez had good military relations with Haitian President

Christophe. President Christophe considered this a political and economic strategy as an attempt to help him gain commercial and diplomatic relations with Great Britain that was already aiding the cause in Santo Domingo.²⁰

President Petion of Southern Haiti also aided the revolt of the landowners in Santo Domingo, which consisted of Spanish-Creole elite classes. Ciriaco Ramirez was another influential leader in the revolt against the French in Santo Domingo and was supported by President Petion's southern republic. Ciriaco Ramirez was a supporter of President Petion's republic of southern Haiti.²¹

By 1810, the southern Haitian Republic further divided into two rival government camps, one in the west and the other in the south. Political unification in western Haiti seemed unattainable and the restoration of Spanish rule in eastern Santo Domingo did not improve the situation. Andre Rigaud became the head of a new rival republican government. Rigaud had found refuge in France after feuding in the South against Governor-General Toussaint's military forces, in 1800. Rigaud represented the interests of a sector of Afro-French Mulatto elite classes who were opposed to both Presidents Petion's and Christophe's governments.²² The southern rival government which opposed President Petion, also from Southern Haiti, was weakened by a local revolt that occurred in the southern town of Les Cayes against Andre Rigaud, who was killed in 1811.

President Christophe decided to maneuver his military forces with the intent of capturing southern Haiti. He withdrew for fear that the divided Afro-French Mulatto elites of the south would unite politically and militarily against the Northern state.²³ President Christophe also had sporadic resistance to his rule among the population in the north beginning in 1810, but he accepted British military assistance in eliminating the

opposition. The two governments of Haiti wanted to maintain independence preferably under one political authority. The Spanish Creole elites of Santo Domingo struggled to restore Spanish political sovereignty by rejecting the two Black Haitian states. The People of Color residing in eastern Santo Domingo were left in a political status of ambiguity gravitating toward a Haitian sphere of influence.²⁴

Part 3: The Northern State of Haiti Maintains Political Independence

In 1811, the Senate of Southern Haiti elected President Petion for a second term. This act served to block any chances for President Christophe to establish political control of Haiti. On March 28, 1811, he decided to transform the North into an independent state, instead of just a rival government in order to consolidate political legitimacy as the true state of Haiti. The state was renamed the Kingdom of Haiti with himself as the head monarch and head of a royal family.²⁵ A Constitution was created in 1811 that permanently established the monarchy. President Henry Christophe became King Henry I. The constitutional monarchy established strict authoritarian control. The constitution in Acts I, II and III, Articles I through XX, outlined a dynasty in which the King had exclusive control. The outstanding issue of unification of Santo Domingo remained important.²⁶ The Queen of Haiti was Marie-Louise Christophe; the Prince was Jacques Victor Henry Christophe and the Princess were his two daughters Frances-Amethyste and Ann-Athenaire Christophe.²⁷

King Henry not only had control of the state, but of his own family as well. He also set up an exclusive male hereditary right to the future throne. Here is one example of how a Black Creole king adopted the protocols of monarchies inspired by the Europeans.

King Henry imposed this system against the basic will of a people who had just won their freedom from slavery. However, the building of the Northern State with its capitol city of Cap Haitian, now renamed Cap Henry, seems to have materialized upon the defense of black dignity and survival.²⁸ The constitution, from articles XXI through XXVII, established a Great and Privy Council. The Great Council consisted of princes related by blood, dukes, and counts along with grand marshal generals, all appointed to eternal positions. The Privy Council consisted of the monarchy's dignitaries. Article XXVIII of the constitution established four offices for ministers. These appointed ministers were in charge of finance and the interior, war and marine, foreign affairs and justice. A Secretary of State position was also set into the monarchical government of the Northern State.²⁹

The advisers and advocates of the kingdom were actually educated in France and were Afro-French Mulattos like Pompee Valentin Baron de Vastey and Baron Dupuy. The Secretary of State in charge of foreign affairs was Julien Prevost Comte de Limonade another Afro-French Mulatto also educated in France.³⁰ The military elite guard was made up of African born soldiers from Dahomey. There were a total of 4,000 soldiers in the military from this area of Africa. Additionally 150 personal royal guards known as the Dahomets made up a component of the Royal Order of St Henry. An effective monarchy was an attempt to set a well-grounded foundation for a well-organized system for Haiti, with a view towards, the future unification of the entire island.³¹

The king constructed roads, stimulated industry, rebuilt churches, military hospitals, and even opened a theatre under a strict authoritarian rule. The profits on the crops according to the *Code Henry* were divided, at one-fourth of the annual profits in

crops that went to the state, whereas one-fourth of the annual profit was paid as a salary to each laborer on all the existing plantations. A small plot of land was awarded to all the families for subsistence agriculture. The Haitian people of the North did not particularly like the system that was initiated and some fled into the southern republic. However, in the north there was a total of 3,500,000 dollars that was being generated in yearly revenue so hunger was eliminated during the years of its existence. The economic prosperity of Northern Haiti helped to strengthen the political authority and maintain the military.³²

The monarchy was politically unacceptable to the Afro-French Mulatto elites of the Southern Republic of Haiti and the Spanish-Creole elites of Santo Domingo. The monarchical government of Northern Haiti accused these classes of being an obstacle to the unification of the Haitian island. W.W. Harvey, author of *Sketches of Hayti* (1827), was a commentator on the monarchy of King Henry. He stated the following based on what he saw:

All the officers, whatever their rank or character were fond of dress to an extravagant degree. They were required to possess good clothing and were furnished with the means of procuring it: but in the expense of their garments, and ornaments, which they were decorated, they far exceeded the desire of their sovereign, and often rendered their appearance ridiculous. Their coats were so bedecked with gold lace, that it was difficult to determine of what material they were made; their shoulders were burdened with epaulets of an enormous size; their caps were adorned, among other ornaments, with feathers nearly equaling their own height and these articles, together with their beautiful white small clothes and elegant silk hose, rendered their appearance supremely fantastical; nor was it possible for a European to behold a negro thus arrayed, without feeling amused to a degree which it would have been dangerous to manifest yet difficult to conceal.³³

One of King Henry's foreign policy representatives Baron de Vastey, a defender of the political ideology of Northern Haiti stated the following:

A Black King in St Domingue! A crown on the head of a black man! That is what the French publicists, the journalists, and the makers of systems of colonization cannot digest; according to them, a black king is a phenomenon that has never been seen in the world! Scythian, Mongolian and Ethiopian Races, white, yellow, and black races, oppress! Hate! Because you are not of the same color! Exterminate! The victorious color will reign absolute in the universe! There are the much extolled fruits of the enlightenments and of the civilization of the century that we live in.³⁴

Baron de Vastey was totally against the system of racism and the institution of slavery that was behind the creation of the colonies and its development of the social order. He addresses the notion of European attitudes toward African inferiority. The Haitian Monarchy became a symbolic monument to the people of Africa. Even within the island, the Spanish-Creoles of Santo Domingo could not accept the Black Haitian States. The white Spanish-Creoles of Santo Domingo continued to remain a strong opposition against political unification by disregarding the viable importance that this territory had to the Northern State of Haiti.³⁵

Part 4: Northern Haiti and the Political Situation in Santo Domingo

The monarchy of Northern Haiti could not take on any military invasion of Santo Domingo or establish its own political legitimacy over this territory. The monarchy resorted to monitoring the political situation in Santo Domingo, which remained a Spanish territory. In 1811, the situation in the territory of Santo Domingo was one of economic impoverishment and lacked any kind of national political identity. The total decline in population in Santo Domingo weakened political authority because Spain's government had been losing interest in maintaining the colony. There was no substantial cattle livestock in Santo Domingo anymore. The Cibao region of northeastern Santo Domingo became the center of tobacco production, whereas the south concentrated on

mahogany and these became main exports of the territory. Governor Ramirez gave jobs to people in the colonial administration and this policy caused problems for a treasury that hardly had any money. The political authority of Northern Haiti saw Governor Ramirez as a military ally against the French in eastern Santo Domingo. However, Governor Ramirez had died on February 7, 1811. A local lawyer named Jose Nunez de Caceres, who became colonial governor of Santo Domingo, replaced him and the situation between Northern Haiti and eastern Santo Domingo remained unchanged.³⁶

Two advisers to King Henry became important to the political situation between Northern Haiti and eastern Santo Domingo. William Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson were both from Great Britain and committed to the abolitionist cause as well as bringing international attention to the modern developing world regarding the case of Haiti. Thomas Clarkson and King Henry of Northern Haiti became good friends and corresponded with one another. Clarkson became an adviser to King Henry of Northern Haiti, representing the political situation of the European powers regarding the island. William Wilberforce became responsible for providing western educators, medical doctors, and agriculturalists to help develop the conditions of the population of the Northern Haitian kingdom. However, King Henry concentrated too much on military building because he feared a French invasion. According to Clarkson, Haiti represented the ideal place for settling Free African Americans from the United States and the ideal place would be eastern Santo Domingo. Clarkson understood the importance of eastern Santo Domingo to Haiti and wanted to find a way to unite that territory with the rest of the island. Clarkson believed that if Haiti became the state for African peoples in the Diaspora then Santo Domingo would be suitable, for it was the addition of more territory

already located within the island. A Haitian claim to Santo Domingo was perfectly legitimate because Haiti's independence had been established as of 1804. Clarkson was important as a key outside adviser and supporter of King Henry's desires for the political unification of the island. These outside supporters were educated and skilled and could be useful for Northern Haiti. English was the preferred language of King Henry, who had originally appointed himself as representative of all peoples in bondage.³⁷

On August 1812, the slave population of Eastern Santo Domingo had a plot to revolt with the intent to bring Free People of Color to join their side, but it was unsuccessful. Pedro de Seda of an area named Mojarra y Mendoza and Monte Grande planned the plot for the revolt, but the outcome was imprisonment and death for many. The representatives of the conspiracy were executed by the Spanish Colonial authorities.³⁸ However; the loss did not prevent the development of a movement for independence from Spain. The independence movement supported by mainly People of Color wanted separation from Spain by politically uniting with the rest of Haiti. Many Black Creoles and Afro-Spanish Mulattos in Santo Domingo sympathized with the Haitian quest for political unification and regarded their territory as an occupied part of Haiti.³⁹

By May 1813, a new governor of Santo Domingo was appointed by the government of Spain to try to fix the economic impoverishment and strengthen the local colonial authority. He was Carlos Urrutia who decided to institute coins rather than printed notes made of paper because the military of the time wanted to get paid in valuable pieces of metal that were minted as round coins. The monetary situation created conflict with landowners, traders, and merchants who actually made their profits in paper

notes and had lots of these in their possession, but if paper notes are not backed by produced goods either processed or as raw materials, it simply becomes worthless for it is not sustained by anything that gives it worth. Santo Domingo under the Governorship of Urrutia turned to subsistence agriculture for the sake of feeding the local population. The whole idea of exporting crops abroad was essential to the economics of the Northern Kingdom of Haiti, making it the most politically advanced state in comparison to the Republic of Haiti in the south and Santo Domingo to the east. The colonial authorities under Governor Urrutia could not make Santo Domingo a productive commercial enterprise. The government of Spain could not send any economic aid to strengthen the local political authority of colonial Santo Domingo. King Henry of Northern Haiti continued to monitor the situation in eastern Santo Domingo by cooperating with Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce in coming up with a solution to take the impoverished territory but remained unclear on what method to use during this period.⁴⁰

Part 5: The Southern Haitian Republic Maintains Political Independence

In 1814, the southern republic was not even close to the political unification of the island. In fact, it had an ineffective plan to sustain its very existence. The southern Haitian republic had no other alternative but to place the importance of Santo Domingo on hold without any solution. The internal conditions of southern Haiti did not produce a strict disciplined society; its laws existed but were not enforced. People were free but poverty was widespread. Whereas King Henry of Northern Haiti ruled through an autocratic political order, President Petion of the southern Haiti did not. President Petion favored the elitist classes which consisted of mostly educated Afro-French Mulattos.

There was no money to pay the military of southern Haiti so President Petion had to give away land as a form of payment. The government of southern Haiti terminated the institution of farming supervisors. These supervisors were in charge of the productivity of crops, which was why agricultural productivity declined in southern Haiti. However, the southern government sold land for a small sum of money to the peasantry. The peasantry consisted of a majority black population who were former slaves. Yet some were able to buy the land and live on subsistence crop production. Some simply could not afford the small price of purchase and, therefore, resided on the land illegally. The sugar production in the business estates whose owners could not get the necessary labor actually abandoned sugar in favor of coffee production. Some business owners decided to rent out their land in order to generate some profits.⁴¹ The southern state of Haiti was no longer a productive state with any kind of surplus wealth, which the north had been accumulating. The growing of crops like indigo was no longer a focus so that it came to a complete stop, whereas cotton growth simply declined, leaving coffee to barely save the southern republic from collapsing and simply demonstrated that it was a failed state far from achieving unification.⁴²

The state of the south was limited to the long peninsula, whereas the Northern Kingdom extended below the Artibonite River. The capitol city of Port-au-Prince in southern Haiti was vulnerable to military capture by the forces of Northern Haiti. Yet Southern Haiti was able to politically and militarily survive against the North because the state was able to retain control of the capitol city, which was the official seat of government. The monarchy of Northern Haiti was not able to conquer the capitol city of Port-au-Prince. The area of the extreme west within the southern peninsula was a quasi-

independent state under a ruler named Goman. The smaller state called Jeremie became a buffer zone for King Henry of Northern Haiti as a stake in the west corner of the long peninsula of southern Haiti. Goman was given a pompous title, Comte de Jeremie, but had relatively no power. He was more of an isolated warlord who was a benefactor of lawlessness.⁴³ The political instability threatened the survival of the southern Haitian state at different times during this historical period.⁴⁴

In 1815, President Petion was elected by the Senate for a third term. In 1816, the southern political authority presented a new constitution. The constitution clearly focused on proclaiming the separation of government branches as a fundamental principle of representative government essential to the political ideology of the republic. The new constitution was a copy of the original Republican Constitution of December 27, 1806. The legislature had a Senate, Chamber of Deputies, Judicial, and Executive Branches. Unlike King Henry, President Petion was not an autocratic ruler, but in order to strengthen his position over the government of the south he maneuvered himself to a life long position in the executive branch. In the North, the King's Chancellor, Baron De Vastey, argued that President Petion violated the principles of true republican government because it allowed him to appoint a successor to his presidency as stated in Article CLXIV (164) of that Constitution. President Petion regarded Santo Domingo as part of Haiti in 1816. Article XL (40) and Article LXI (41) of the Constitution continued to define the indivisible republic as one island like all constitutions of Haiti since 1801. Political unification was essential to the southern republic and uniting Santo Domingo was included as the object of this struggle. However, the government of the southern state

could only defend union between Haiti and eastern Santo Domingo on a constitutional basis.⁴⁵

Historian Dantes Bellegarde in, *President Alexander Petion, Founder of Agrarian Democracy in Haiti and Pioneer of Pan-Americanism* (1976), indicated that President Petion understood the development of the national spirit by making the people owners of the land they cultivated. Bellegarde calls President Petion the founder of “rural democracy” because it blends individualism by combining it with “rudimentary forms of cooperative work.” The idea of President Petion’s republic rejected military involvement in political matters because the government can become a dictatorship. The government, however, could not administer the population of the south through the enforcement of the laws. The economy could not sustain the political authority of the government, and state productivity suffered tremendously. As a unifying force, the government of the south could only sustain its existence but could not take on the task in the interest of political unification with Northern Haiti and Santo Domingo because of these internal problems.⁴⁶ President Petion actually believed in developing a democracy, which also may have influenced him to strengthen his executive authority on the presidency with the hope that his political authority would eventually prevail in uniting the island.⁴⁷

Part 6: The Political Survival of the Two Haitian States

In a letter to Thomas Clarkson on November of 1816, King Henry of Northern Haiti expressed his concerns about the three French commissioners sent to southern Haiti in 1816. He thought that the French would threaten the political survival of his Haitian state since the island was not politically unified and he made matters worse especially

with the Spanish in Santo Domingo. Since King Henry was anti-French altogether, he criticized President Petion for allowing these French commissioners and ex-colonists as he called them, to remain in the southern Haitian republic. King Henry wanted the political unification of Haiti and was willing to try diplomacy instead of force by accusing President Petion of refusing to find a common cause with him. In 1816, King Henry personally believed that threats from France were a menace to the cause of political progress in Haiti, one that could conclude with unification not only between the two Haitian states, but also with Santo Domingo to the east. King Henry's letters were a public affair in government because he could not read or write.⁴⁸

In November 1816, President Petion of southern Haiti also wanted political unification for all Haiti and eastern Santo Domingo. He considered the republic of Haiti as the only true political authority of the whole island of Hispaniola. President Petion of southern Haiti was against any military attempt by France to conquer any part of the Haitian island state, including Santo Domingo even though the territory remained a colony of Spain. President Petion argued that any such attempt would mean war. President Petion argued that independence was the will of the people of Haiti and that was the way it was going to remain.⁴⁹ The French commissioners were appointed by the government of France to provide military and civil government to Haiti and this appointment alone was an insult to the legitimate sovereign authority of Haiti. The government of France was calling for the reestablishment of the Saint Domingue Colony and wanted to recover the property of European possessions on the island. King Henry of Northern Haiti also received a copy of the French proclamation to restore political rule over the island and was against the idea. According to President Petion, the republican

authority of the southern state was the supreme representation of all Haiti and not the monarchy of the northern state. King Henry of northern Haiti knew that the presence of the French commissioners, proposing colonization for Haiti, would terminate the idea of political independence for the island state, which emerged from a war against France. He also knew that the government of Great Britain was potentially an ally needed against France. The re-colonization initiative was unsuccessful for the government of France. President Petion was committed to the independence of Haiti and defended the right to remain a sovereign country against French colonial aspirations.⁵⁰

In November 1816, President Petion of southern Haiti expressed his concerns regarding the attitudes of European powers and their governments. President Petion asked when will the imperial governments of Europe become interested in hearing the voice of philanthropists in support of those who have been dishonored by slavery. He was arguing for the principle of justice. The political unification was important to the security of the Haitian state and why eastern Santo Domingo could not be excluded from political unification with the rest of Haiti.⁵¹

On March 29, 1818, President Alexander Petion died without achieving the political unification of the two Haitian states and eastern Santo Domingo. President Jean Pierre Boyer (1776-1850) succeeded President Petion and was confirmed by the Haitian Senatorial election as the executive appointee of his predecessor. President Petion died from depression and other mental health issues. He supposedly stopped eating and was always thinking that the people were against him. The new president Jean-Pierre Boyer was also an Afro-French Mulatto elite that was unwilling to compromise the republic of the south by uniting under the Northern monarchy of King Henry.⁵² Since the state of

Haiti remained divided into two contesting political authorities unrecognized by the European powers, it was difficult to determine which government was the legitimate authority. The option for political unification of the Haitian island would simply go to the winning contestant of any rival government that had the military edge by this point.⁵³

Part 7: The Two Haitian States Turn to the Political Situation in Santo Domingo

In April 1818, the wealthier state of the North was paying close attention to the events in Spanish Santo Domingo. To take this territory remained an unfinished business for the two Haitian states. A new governor, Sebastian Kindelan, replaced Governor Carlos Urrutia, and King Henry's government of Northern Haiti wanted to maintain good diplomacy with Spain's Santo Domingo Colony by continuing to hold on to the option of political unification.⁵⁴ However, President Boyer's views on political unification maintained its opposition to the Spanish colonial presence in Santo Domingo. President Boyer was unable to take Santo Domingo during the period of Haitian political and military division because he had to contend with the Northern state.⁵⁵

The southern Haitian republic was politically weak and on the verge of a bankrupt treasury with no economic prospects. The Spanish colonial authority in Santo Domingo was politically weaker with a bankrupt treasury receiving only those payments from the trade in its mahogany and tobacco. Since Governor Urrutia issued coinage as currency, Governor Kindelan did completely the opposite and began printing notes as a source of currency in order to improve the economic situation of eastern Santo Domingo.⁵⁶

On June 9, 1818, King Henry issued a proclamation to the people of Southern Haiti. The king wanted immediate political unification under the legitimate authority of

the Haitian Monarchical Government which was politically stronger due to its economic stability. He wanted to establish order he said for the betterment of the public good where tranquility would put an end to the conflicts of interests that led to the political and military division of Haiti. King Henry hoped to win approval for political and military unification with an appeal that guaranteed private property and kept the civil and military bureaucrats. The government of the North was willing to extend to the south a paternal government that was just introducing public instruction in religion, the sciences and arts, commerce, and agriculture in order to secure Haiti as a unified state. The diplomatic strategy was to gain public support for political unification under the monarchical government. The peaceful diplomatic strategy never materialized for King Henry.⁵⁷

In August 1818, Governor Kindelan wanted French immigration to settle in Spanish Santo Domingo. The French presence was always seen as a major threat to Haitian attempts in gaining the eastern territory. Governor Kindelan did not intend to cede the territory of eastern Santo Domingo to France but to improve the economic conditions of the colony and maintain Spanish political authority. The monarchy of northern Haiti viewed French colonial settlement as a political threat to independence because of fear that the slave trade would be imposed if the French eventually took possession of Santo Domingo. It was strategically important to King Henry to continue some kind of diplomatic communication with Great Britain to offset a French invasion of Haiti.⁵⁸

Thomas Clarkson, being an advocate of political unification in Haiti was concerned about Governor Kindelan's move to colonize eastern Santo Domingo with French settlers. King Henry was not pleased with this action. King Henry was concerned

with the impact of slavery on the two Haitian states. Clarkson indicated that slaves from Africa could not be imported into Santo Domingo because various European states had agreed to abolish the slave trade. The settlement of the French or other Europeans would not pose a threat but rather the importation of slaves from other territories. However, Clarkson believed that both Haitian states should have a war vessel to prevent the trafficking of slaves that could be sold in eastern Santo Domingo where the institution of slavery was legal. The states of Haiti had the right to formulate a policy for its own national security regarding Santo Domingo because it was the occupied part of the island.⁵⁹ According to Clarkson's recommendation, a political and military union of the two Haitian states was practical and a good defense against any invasion from eastern Spanish Santo Domingo.⁶⁰

President Boyer continued to experience political instability in the south and had to divert his attention from the political situation in eastern Santo Domingo. His difficulties centered on Goman, the warlord of the small southern state of Haiti called Jeremie located in the far west of the long southern peninsula of the island. In the late summer of 1818, a military force sent by President Boyer attacked with the intent of terminating the lawless state of Jeremie. King Henry of the North decided to move his small navy for an assault on Port-au-Prince in defense of his government's claim over the island. The assault would have meant capturing the seat of government and ending the republic. The outcome was unsuccessful, for King Henry and President Boyer and Haiti remained divided. Goman remained in control of his state of Jeremie.⁶¹ In the southern republic, President Boyer still had to contend with the small Jeremie State in the region of the Grand Anse to the far west. Goman had been the leader of renegade forces that the

republic could not control. In 1819, President Boyer dispatched the military to subdue these groups. Goman's forces were defeated and subdued by the forces of President Boyer. In 1820, the southern republic was unified.⁶²

Part 8: Northern Haiti Initiates Diplomacy to Acquire Santo Domingo

In 1819, the Northern Haitian monarchy decided on a diplomatic strategy as the last attempt to unite Santo Domingo with the rest of Haiti after years of trying but with no success. Thomas Clarkson, the British abolitionist, was the proponent of the initiative. In February of 1819, Thomas Clarkson wrote to King Henry on the African Americans of the United States. Clarkson was referring to the entrepreneurial class of Free African Americans, many within the general citizenry, who supported their return to Africa while others looked to Haiti for settlement. For King Henry, it might be the opportunity to secure the monarchy and a chance to acquire Santo Domingo if the United States government purchased it from Spain. The purchase of the eastern part with the intent of ceding it to the Northern State was a major step in political unification that would be an achievement to past military and political failures. The Spanish minister in the United States had formulated clearly that Santo Domingo was not of any value to the government of Spain and had no objections in ceding the territory to Haiti for colonizing more African Americans. The success of the plan would eliminate French or European colonization plans for Santo Domingo opening the way for final political unification. The government of Spain was not willing to sell directly to the Northern State of Haiti which actually had a surplus of wealth to purchase Santo Domingo. Yet, Spain's government was willing to sell Santo Domingo to the United States government, whose policy clearly

opposed the existence of an independent Black Haitian State. The diplomatic strategy to purchase Santo Domingo by Northern Haiti never materialized because it was not realistic. The purchase would contradict the political legitimacy of Haiti's claim over Santo Domingo. To purchase Santo Domingo would be to acknowledge that the territory did not form a part of Haiti.⁶³

Despite the ironies, contradictions, and complexities of King Henry on an international level, his own personal conviction was centered on his fears of the slave trade. King Henry viewed eastern Santo Domingo as a part of Haiti that should be liberated from Spanish rule. King Henry personally desired that Great Britain recognize the independence of all Haiti and once that was achieved diplomatically, then the push for political unification between North, South, and Santo Domingo could materialize. King Henry had developed the Northern State as best as he could and was committed to the existence of his monarchy, but he personally thought he could have done more if simply one European power would have openly recognized this Haitian state. He had plans for agricultural developments and other improvements in the infrastructure. He counted on the government of Great Britain, which could not recognize the state without creating friction with France. King Henry wanted reconciliation with southern President Boyer. He was willing to extend a truce and not frighten President Boyer into the French sphere of influence.⁶⁴

In June of 1819, Clarkson had informed King Henry that if abolitionist organizations and the U.S government continued promoting a plan for the unlimited emigration of Free African Americans to Haiti, then Santo Domingo must be included in the plan. Clarkson proposed that King Henry put forward a proposal for the purchase of

Santo Domingo by the United States with the intent of ceding it to Haiti, or at least a portion of it, depending on the population of African Americans that would be allowed to emigrate to the territory. The English language became official to the political authorities in Northern Haiti. The use of English was to encourage African American emigrants to come to Northern Haiti as a valued group and be part of the quest for political unity with Eastern Santo Domingo. If instead the French government purchased Santo Domingo, then that would be a threat because then French colonists would settle the territory and Haitian political unification would simply lead to a war.⁶⁵ In Southern Haiti, President Boyer was also interested in the idea of acquiring Santo Domingo, and if he succeeded, he would have outmaneuvered King Henry of the North. On the other hand, Clarkson did advise the king on the matter. However, President Boyer had a state on the verge of bankruptcy. King Henry was far from being able to afford the purchase of eastern Santo Domingo.⁶⁶

As far as Santo Domingo was concerned, Clarkson suggested that the U.S government should purchase the territory as an indemnification for receiving the Free People of Color to go and settle in a politically unified Haiti. King Henry championed the idea for the sake of political unification as well as to acquire Santo Domingo. He was more than willing to provide the capital needed for the project and actually moved quicker than President Boyer on the issue of Santo Domingo.⁶⁷

Baron de Vastey, the private secretary of King Henry and member of the Kingdom's Privy Council, was a staunch advocate for the acquisition of Santo Domingo. He argued that all the supporters of Haiti foreign and domestic should endorse such a

plan. According to Baron de Vastey, the acquisition of Santo Domingo must now be the determining factor in the international recognition of a politically unified Haiti.⁶⁸

The king continued his correspondence with his friend. Clarkson intended to use diplomacy as a means toward acquiring Santo Domingo and bring about political unification of the west. However, nothing ever materialized throughout the year 1820. The Spanish colonial authorities remained in Santo Domingo. The very last letter Clarkson wrote to King Henry was on April 28, 1820, making references to the French treaties and acts of recognizing Haiti. It was very negative and not pleasing to King Henry. The African American project for emigration to Northern Haiti from the United States and possible acquisition of Santo Domingo was a lingering situation for King Henry. The king was ready to accomplish this task, but he was unable to do so. His plan for political unification on his end was unsuccessful.⁶⁹

However, King Henry became weary and increasingly repressive against those within the monarchical administration. He began ignoring the advice of the nobility which he helped to create by becoming distrustful of them. He began to advance other political opponents against his own high ranking officials. He became repressive against various segments of the population which began to affect the existence of the Haitian monarch.⁷⁰

Part 9: The Political Collapse of Northern Haiti

On July 10, 1820, Clarkson wrote another letter to King Henry. Clarkson pointed out the rumors of a French military expedition against Haiti would take place any day now. The rumor was not true and such actions did not happen. The King never had the chance to read this letter because he would eventually commit suicide. The only way

France could militarily regain Haiti was if war erupted between the Northern and Southern states. Since Spanish Santo Domingo remained a territory of Spain, such a military plan might work in favor of France. The fact here was that the monarchical government of France would support President Boyer against King Henry. The policy of the government in France did not accept President Boyer because there was no diplomatic relations between the two countries. President Boyer would only serve French military interest in the attempt to regain Haiti but would ultimately be defeated in the end. The only reason for the French support of President Boyer was his republican government of Southern Haiti's opposition to King Henry's monarchical government of Northern Haiti. Clarkson argued that the French government was of the opinion that the government of King Henry was despotic. The truth was that President Boyer's Republic was defenseless and weak, whereas King Henry's monarchy was a protected fortress and governed by an enforced law and order. The policy of France was to look for ways to continue the conflict between the two Haitian states. French imperialist interests would obviously choose to side with the weaker state. Political unification of Haiti was not what the French Government desired for the island. The very existence of Haiti was simply temporary in which an excuse would be used to justify an international coalition that was aimed at its destruction.⁷¹

In August of 1820, while attending church King Henry of Northern Haiti was weakened by a stroke that left him partly incapacitated. He remained secluded in his San Souci Palace. The stroke led to paralysis on his right side. The king did gain some improvement to his health but was never to be the same again. A group of soldiers discovered the conditions of King Henry and decided to take up arms against the

monarchical government of Northern Haiti at the city of Saint Marc on October of 1820. King Henry ordered six thousand soldiers to suppress the revolt but these soldiers simply turned against him by doing nothing to suppress the military rebellion. The Royal Guards also turned against King Henry with the intent of overthrowing the monarchy of Northern Haiti by capturing him.⁷²

The Royal and Military Order of St. Henry, which was the Northern Haitian Nobility, demonstrated that the monarchy was more of a phase than a sincere belief. The monarchy regarded itself as nothing more than a combination of a British imitation and Black African pride. The monarchy had reflected the personal ambitions of King Henry. The general population of the Northern Haitian State was not monarchical, and those within the elites were either committed to the idea for opportunistic reasons or concerned about their political status. The average commoner who resisted the political authority of the Northern State was repressed by the monarchy. The Duke of Marmelade abandoned all his insignias, medals, and decorations, simply readdressing his name as General Richard. The rest of the nobility simply did the same thing. They just stopped being nobles. The historic event that occurred in Northern Haiti meant that the monarchy was over.⁷³

King Henry was eventually abandoned and retained one commander loyal to him and his family. After the division within the military that turned their guns on the monarchy, all the nobles abandoned King Henry. He committed suicide in mid-October of 1820.⁷⁴ His son Prince Jacques –Victor Henry was actually killed in a prison where he was held captive.⁷⁵ The royal family which consisted of Queen Marie-Louise Christophe

and two daughters Frances-Amethiste and Ann-Athenaire Christophe would soon seek refuge in Port-au-Prince, the seat of government for the southern republic of Haiti.⁷⁶

Part 10: Military Force Unites Haiti, Diplomacy is the focus for Santo Domingo

The military of the Northern Haitian Monarchy consisted of 4,600 Royal Guards, 3,900 Royal Dahomets, 1,200 of two Regiments and Artillery, 13,000 Infantry, 1,000 Cavalry, which amounted to 25,800 soldiers.⁷⁷ The Haitian monarchy made up of the royal family of the King and its nobility consisted of 8 dukes, 18 counts, 32 barons, and 8 chevaliers. The royal army had 6 grand marshals, 8 lieutenant generals, 15 major generals, and one hundred superior officers consisting of the king's personal lieutenants, and commanders of districts.⁷⁸

The military of the Southern Republic consisted of 3,600 of the President's Guard, 2,000 Soldiers in Line and Artillery, 19,200 Infantry, 400 of two regiments of dragoons, 409 Corps of *Gen's d' armes* for a total of 25,800 soldiers. Its government consisted of the executive, chamber of deputies, senate, and judiciary. If both Haitian states were to be attacked by a foreign state, then both political authorities agreed to military unification as one single fighting force. The military unification had the advantage of maintaining Haitian political independence. However, the two contesting states of Haiti were not willing to compromise the right to a single political authority, which prevented the takeover of eastern Santo Domingo.⁷⁹

On October 17, 1820, President Boyer declared that he was willing to maintain the "freedom, equality and independence" to all the people of Haiti under his political ideology of republic. President Boyer believed in a peaceful reconciliation between

political and military opponents that prevented the state of Haiti from unification. The Northern Haitian State was to be reintegrated into the southern Haitian republic and its people were to be united under one constitutional government.⁸⁰

After King Henry's death in Northern Haiti, President Boyer extended his political authority into the northern state through the use of military force. The collapse of the Northern state was what saved the fragile republic of southern Haiti and facilitated the process of political unification. Between October 21 and 28 of 1820, his military forces entered the northern monarchy of Haiti with the intent of integrating it with the republic of the south. President Boyer took personal responsibility of the royal family while they resided in the south.⁸¹

President Boyer decided to restructure the military forces of the north, which were divided by loyalties. President Boyer took control of reorganizing the northern military forces by training them for the protection of the southern part of Haiti, while he sent his organized forces to protect Northern Haiti. The strategic move was aimed at securing the northern part of Haiti as well as the rest of the state. President Boyer personally went up north to secure the area and took the capitol city of Cap Henry, which was renamed Cap Haitien. The people of the north for the most part accepted political unification under Haitian republican authority.⁸²

The southern Haitian military did meet some opposition at the *Citadel La Ferriere* fortress located in Northern Haiti near the town of Milot, but the small force was subdued by President Boyer's military forces. President Boyer found gold in the Northern State of Haiti. There was a surplus of wealth of about 150 million francs in the treasury of the Northern state. This wealth saved the state of southern Haiti from economic collapse as

the country became politically united by stimulating local developments such as infrastructure and government institutions.⁸³ General Paul Romaine, who served in the military of Northern Haiti and had a small segment of the soldiers loyal to him, decided to declare loyalty to the southern republic under President Boyer. General Romaine was the Prince of Limbe who aspired to become king of Northern Haiti. He did not intend for political unification to occur from the very beginning, but the disorganization of the political and military factions gave the republican government an upper edge both politically and militarily. Republican authority now united the northern and southern states of Haiti, and all attention was to be focused on eastern Santo Domingo.⁸⁴

President Boyer's political unification plan for Santo Domingo was to be based on diplomatic measures different from those of the late King Henry, who had intended to purchase the territory. President Boyer believed that with all the difficulties that had occurred throughout the existence of the Haitian State in the taking of Santo Domingo, a new strategy had to be applied to the situation. The diplomatic aim of the Haitian government was to send political agents to eastern Santo Domingo in order to investigate public sentiments and gain popular support for the unification plan. The southern state of Haiti originally could not really formulate a concrete diplomatic plan to obtain Santo Domingo because of political and military vulnerability during the political division of Haiti. Now that Haiti was reunited, President Boyer took it a step further and began sending political representatives to the western part of eastern Santo Domingo where a pro-Haitian base had already been developing among the Black Creole and Afro-Spanish Mulatto population. These populations of Santo Domingo identified with the Haitian state and favored political unification, making this part of President Boyer's diplomatic

strategy. The towns that gravitated toward the Haitian sphere of influence in terms of political unification were the towns of Las Matas de Farfan, San Juan de la Maguana, and Azua. Since Haiti had been an economic partner for the sale of goods produced in the western part of eastern Santo Domingo, it was an advantage and benefit to the population. In turn, the internal problems of western Haiti could be resolved by spreading out the population and distributing the lands in eastern Santo Domingo. The appeals for political unification of the island was aimed at securing the one Haitian republic; establish a permanent military, a strong elite class, and create the independent peasant agricultural society. These were the ideas that President Boyer promoted in advancing political unification in Santo Domingo.⁸⁵

In summation, the political unification of all Haiti was to be grounded on the ideals of the republic as the political foundation of the island state rather than a monarch. A divided Haitian island would only prevent political, military, economic, and other developments needed for internal prosperity. Once the autocratic Northern Kingdom of Haiti ended, the southern republic achieved the partial political unification of a divided Haiti in the western part of the island and could now focus on continuing the political unification process for the rest of the island. Eastern Santo Domingo, then occupied by Spain, was important to this objective because it ensured the political survival and the military security of the island state of Haiti. The Haitian political authorities during this period of political and military division continued to regard the nation as constituting one island, and Santo Domingo was always considered a part of Haiti.⁸⁶

CHAPTER FOUR

Haiti and Santo Domingo Unite (1821-1822)

Part 1: Haitian Diplomatic Aims to Politically Unite Santo Domingo

The Haitian Government of President Jean Pierre Boyer decided to launch his diplomatic strategy on a full scale by continuing to send agents of the Haitian government to work with local political advocates of unification in eastern Santo Domingo, in 1821. The Haitian government used this diplomatic method in an attempt to politically incorporate Santo Domingo. These diplomatic methods by the Haitian political authority were peaceful rather than military because the use of force against the inhabitants of Santo Domingo was not seen as beneficial. In the message, the Haitian Government urged political unification through the guarantee of representative government, one constitution that protected all citizens equally, freedom, and respect for private property, and military security.¹

On January 8, 1821, Jose Justo de Sylva wrote to President Boyer of Haiti to discuss the issues concerning the political status of eastern Santo Domingo. De Sylva wanted to create a grand assembly made up of representatives to discuss the political future of eastern Santo Domingo and what path to take. De Sylva was going to the capitol city of Port-au-Prince in Haiti to discuss the situation about what had occurred in Santo Domingo. His compatriots were almost on the verge of proclaiming independence from Spain. However, there was still opposition; this was coming from Captains Manuel Carvajal and Jose Soza, who were part of the Spanish colonial authority. These two individuals wanted some other political arrangement which De Sylva believed was not

going to happen at this time. These members of the Spanish political authorities were not ready to endorse the idea of independence. The idea of independence from Spain meant that eastern Santo Domingo would come under the Haitian sphere of influence, which had diplomatic aims to unite the island. De Sylva warned President Boyer about the naval vessels from France, which were anchored on the Caribbean islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe. The warning to President Boyer helped to stimulate the precautions for military security against a possible French invasion which persisted back in 1820. The pro-Haitian leadership of Santo Domingo was of the opinion that the territory could not be protected militarily against a French military invasion of Haiti. The affair became of great importance to the leadership of Santo Domingo, who became responsible in promoting the message of political unification with Haiti because it was already an independent state with an organized military force.²

On January 16, 1821, the colonial administration of eastern Spanish Santo Domingo appealed to the superior authorities of the Spanish colonial government. The white Spanish-Creole elite were concerned with the overwhelming majority of Mulattos and Black Creoles regardless if they were on the French or Spanish side of the island. These elites believed that People of Color had intentions of taking over the island, especially the independent state of Haiti. These elites were requesting military assistance to prevent Haitian expansionism into eastern Santo Domingo. By January 25, 1821, the colonial administration of Santo Domingo requested from the colonial administration of the Spanish authorities in Cuba to provide assistance in preventing any potential aggression by Haiti. The claims to Santo Domingo from the perspective of Haiti's authority were on a political-constitutional basis and these were the grounds in which to

stand firm against Spain's colonial occupation of eastern Santo Domingo. However, the circumstances seemed rather strained because the Spanish Empire was on the decline in the Western Hemisphere. Spain was not able to sustain political authority and a military presence in Santo Domingo would simply be too costly. The government of Spain did not choose to use military force but rather negotiate the final political status of eastern Santo Domingo.³

Colonial Governor Sebastian Kindelan of Santo Domingo could not sustain the Spanish colonial authority. By May of 1821, a new Governor, Pascual Real, replaced Governor Kindelan but this change did not improve the situation. The Spanish colonial administration had been losing interest in eastern Santo Domingo. Spain's political authority was ineffective and, therefore, Spain was not willing to risk a war against Haiti in order to retain control of eastern Santo Domingo. The population of the eastern part was increasingly divided into two political factions. The white-Spanish Creole classes were divided between the advocates of separation and those who wanted continued Spanish colonialism. Nevertheless, both of these aims were strictly anti-Haitian because both factions opposed political unification of the island.⁴ The Afro-Spanish Mulattos who were the majority along with a smaller population of Black Creoles were hostile to slavery and racial discrimination. Therefore, People of Color did not endorse the leadership of the white Spanish-Creole political faction. The People of Color in Santo Domingo tended to gravitate toward Haitian political unification of the island by becoming the supporters of the pro-Haitian political faction. It was easier for this population to become receptive to the peaceful diplomatic strategies of Haitian political

unification. The country had already been an independent state under the authority of People of Color hostile to slavery and racial discrimination.⁵

President Boyer of Haiti was also monitoring the French naval movements in the Caribbean. He was not going to give away the Haitian state to the French as many had rumored during this period. In the summer of 1821, President Boyer informed Thomas Clarkson, the British abolitionist, that any attempt to colonize Haiti would meet serious military consequences. In defense of the Haitian Government, President Boyer was determined, as his predecessor President Petion, to keep France out of the island and speed up the political unification process of the whole island.⁶

On October 15, 1821, the Haitian Government's diplomatic aim to unite Santo Domingo with the rest of the island was interrupted by another event in Northern Haiti. Paul Romaine decided to withdraw from the southern republic of Haiti by declaring himself president. He established a provisional government in Northern Haiti. The new government decided to declare Northern Haiti another republic instead of a kingdom, again stimulating political division. President Boyer responded by militarily invading the Northern part of Haiti with 20,000 soldiers and succeeded in ending that government. Romaine was captured and executed for his political defiance of the Haitian Republic.⁷

The importance of political events in Haiti and the independence of Latin American states from Spain were instrumental to the political developments in Spanish Santo Domingo. The local Spanish colonial authority in Santo Domingo was ineffective and the economy was in ruins while the social order barely existed. There was an internal feud among the smaller population of Santo Domingo. The minority Spanish-Creole populations generally wanted Santo Domingo to remain part of Spain and were against

Haitian political unification. The People of Color of the east accepted the state of Haiti and were willing to advocate political unification. The political sentiments among People of Color were an advantage to the diplomatic aims of the Haitian government which promoted the message of unification. However, a small group of Spanish colonial bureaucrats helped to negotiate the transfer of eastern Santo Domingo to Haiti. These colonial bureaucrats assisted through cooperative measures in solving the status of political unification in the island. They were influential in getting the Spanish government to relinquish authority over eastern Santo Domingo.⁸

On November 15, 1821, the pro-Haitian political leadership representing most People of Color in Santo Domingo declared independence from Spain. The proclamation was an immediate step toward political unification of the island. The event took place in the towns of San Fernando and Monticristi by hoisting the flag of Haiti. Jose Dominguez, Jose Diaz, and Gregorio Escarfulez were three commissioners assigned to the government of Haiti on behalf of the pro-Haitian political faction in eastern Santo Domingo. The proclamation called for the integration of several towns that would be under Haitian political unification. The intent was to incorporate the rest of the eastern Santo Domingo territory.⁹

Part 2: The State of Spanish Haiti is Proclaimed in Santo Domingo

The proclamation of Santo Domingo as part of the Haitian State did not stop the mainly white Spanish-Creoles of Santo Domingo from issuing their own declaration of independence. The political measure was clearly aimed at preventing unification between Haiti and Santo Domingo. A group of soldiers who served the Spanish army supported

the white Spanish-Creole leadership. These soldiers were supportive of a local lawyer named Jose Nunez de Caceres (1772-1846), who had organized the Spanish Creole leadership to include the soldiers who supported them. Jose Nunez de Caceres gathered his supporters and seized the colonial administrative city of Santo Domingo as well as other government buildings. Nunez de Caceres was a Spanish-Creole who was originally part of the Spanish colonial authorities in Santo Domingo. The event took place at the same time as the movements for independence revolts against Spain throughout Latin America.¹⁰ Historian Vicente Tolentino Rojas in, *Historia de la Division Territorial, 1492-1943* (1944), identified Jose Nunez de Caceres as the father of independence for Santo Domingo. Nunez de Caceres intended to set up a constitutional republican form of government in Santo Domingo.¹¹

On November 30, 1821, the outcome of the takeover was successful when Spanish Colonial Governor Pascual Real was captured and incarcerated. The governor was expelled by the local political leadership from Santo Domingo via Paris, France. The Spanish colonial authorities had to relinquish political sovereignty over eastern Santo Domingo. The end of Spain's control over colonial authority in Santo Domingo was because a segment of the Spanish Creole leadership led by Jose Nunez de Caceres stopped being loyal to Spain. The Spanish Creole leadership simply took over the political authority that governed eastern Santo Domingo as the former colonial administration.¹²

During this period, Santo Domingo was of little value to Spain because it lacked a substantial population that could shape some kind of unified Spanish national identity. The current political situation was helpful to Haitian diplomatic efforts in uniting the

island because the population was divided on the political status of Santo Domingo. The opposition to Haitian political unification came from a minority group of white Spanish-Creoles. A small segment of the population gravitated toward a set of values that accepted human slavery as a foundation for its political-economic and social development. The whole idea of Haitian unification was thought as a step back toward inferiority by many of the white Spanish-Creoles because Haiti was a state governed by former slaves. The remaining People of Color of Santo Domingo, whether Afro-Spanish Mulattos and Black Creoles, or whether slave or free, saw it differently and many identified with Haitian political unification as a source of progress. They saw this unification as the advancement of their political-economic and social status. In the border town of Azua, its mayor Pablo Baez commanded a Black Creole battalion who had been emancipated years before. Another commander named Pablo Ali supported a military solution to Haitian political unification. He supported an invasion of eastern Santo Domingo by Haiti. The idea of Haiti simply became equated with Black African or Afro-European Mulattos who identified with that state, as opposed to the white Spanish-Creoles of Santo Domingo. To the Spanish-Creoles of Santo Domingo, a Black Haitian State was unacceptable to their own views of an independent state. The founding of the Haitian state was conceived in the idea that slavery and the slave master should not exist. The idea of a country governed by former slaves was a threat to the conservative Spanish-Creole social order of Santo Domingo who accepted Spain's authority in the territory and allowed slavery to exist.¹³

On December 1, 1821, a declaration of independence was proclaimed in Santo Domingo, which would become known as *El Estado Independiente de La Parte de Haiti*

Espanol, which meant the independent state of the Spanish Part of Haiti. The declaration of independence took an opposing point of view to the Spanish colonial authorities in Santo Domingo. The establishment of the new state of Spanish Haiti was a peaceful event. Nunez de Caceres states the following:

When among us, we can still find dejected souls who having sold themselves to servitude dare to contradict the truth of the experience, we ask you to open your eyes for an instant and look at the devastated state, the ruin and desolation, in which the Spanish part of the new world lies. We are not asking to go back to the doleful epoch, when an order from the Spanish Cabinet was enough to demolish everything because it could not keep the maritime plazas of Bayaha, Yaguana, Monte Cristi, and Puerto de Plata, where the Dutch and other foreigners went to supply them with the merchandise, which the metropolis did not provide.¹⁴

The proclamation of Spanish Haiti was influenced by combinations of ideas that are stressed in Haitian political thought of the early *Saint Domingue Constitution* (1801), and the *American Constitution* with respect to “life liberty and the pursuit of happiness” that is also included in all other Haitian Constitutions. The right to property is so important along with freedom because it is always placed on the mantel for the building of a new state.¹⁵ The *American Declaration of Independence* (1776) was also another inspiration to the Spanish-Creole ideals for the state, human progress, and the preservation of freedom despite the contradictions regarding human slavery and equality. The Haitian State was created to make corrections regarding the notion of human slavery and on the natural law of free individuals. The natural law was universal because freedom was a moral right that belonged to all human beings. The Haitian government’s attempt for political unification of the island was in pursuit of this idea. The idea of freedom became the political message that was aimed at winning the majority of those in favor of Haitian unification. The Haitian government’s message of freedom was against the

minority advocates of independence for (Santo Domingo) Spanish Haiti, who continued to remain firm in their political decision.¹⁶ The Spanish Haitian declaration of independence goes on to state the following:

To enjoy these rights, governments are instituted and formed, deriving their just powers from the consent of the associates; from where it follows, that if the government does not correspond to these essential ends, that it far from looking for the conservation of society, it becomes oppressive, it is up to the people's faculties to alter or to abolish its form and to adopt a new one that seems more conducive for its security and future well being.¹⁷

The Spanish State of Haiti concentrated on agriculture, commerce, the arts, education, and the public happiness just like Haiti. The existing colonial Spanish political-economic institutions were indicted by this declaration of independence as being an absolute monopoly. As the government of Haiti was committed to the anti-France ideals in order to preserve independence, the provisional government of Spanish Haiti was willing to do the same against Spain. However, if the monarchical government of Spain agreed to accept the declaration of independence for Spanish Haiti, then its government would recognize Spain as a diplomatic partner. Nunez de Caceres and the Spanish Haitian leadership defined the independence of the eastern territory as a political move that championed General Simon de Bolivar's federation of the Latin American states known as the Great Colombia. The state of eastern Spanish Haiti was to be politically united with the Republic of the Great Colombia that was also established in 1821.

The political leadership of Spanish Haiti was originally part of the forces which uprooted the French military from Santo Domingo during the period from 1808-1809. The Spanish-Creole elite became dissatisfied with the political and economic

mismanagement of the colony by Spain. The restoration of the colony of Santo Domingo for Spain in 1809 was also crucial against potential Haitian political unification, because such a state could not have been declared independent without Haitian political protest that stated the island was one. However, Haiti was a divided state from 1807-1820, which temporarily could not take control of Santo Domingo despite the diplomacy. The elite class in Santo Domingo did not dare risk the chance for proclaiming independence and opted to sustain Spanish colonial authority. By 1821, the leadership that separated from Spain understood that establishing complete independence with continuing Haitian political claims to Santo Domingo could result with a Haitian military invasion and, therefore, decided to proclaim Santo Domingo as a Colombian federated state. The political efforts were a last attempt at preventing a Haitian takeover of Santo Domingo. The leadership became attracted to the revolution of the Spanish Latin American leadership, such as those of generals Simon de Bolivar, Antonio Jose de Sucre, Jose de San Martin, and Bernardo O'Higgins.¹⁸

The opposition to this Spanish Creole project remained strong among the poorer classes of Black Creoles and the Afro-Spanish Mulattos who supported the idea of political unification with Haiti. President Boyer simply responded by defining Jose Nunez de Caceres as a representative of the colonial authorities from Spain in what was part of Haiti. To the government of Haiti, the Spanish State of Haiti hardly constituted a genuine republic of any kind, which is why such a proclamation would not prevent Haitian diplomatic aims from promoting the message of political unification.¹⁹ Historian Jean Price-Mars in, *La Republica de Haiti y la Republica Dominicana* (1953), indicated that the revolution that fought about the Spanish State of Haiti was a “white revolution”

of the Spanish Creole class and nothing else in a land also populated by “poor blacks, mestizos and whites.” Price-Mars also indicated that the Great Colombia barely constituted a republic in 1821, for internal political struggles were still being waged.²⁰

Jose Nunez de Caceres who had organized the group that revolted against Spain took over the colonial administrative city of Santo Domingo and was declared president of that republic. He opposed arbitrary government and championed republicanism. President Nunez de Caceres gave credit to the Haitian Republic of the late President Alexander Petion because it consisted of an executive, legislature, and judiciary branches of government. President Nunez de Caceres wanted this kind of government for Spanish Haiti. He also wanted to maintain diplomatic relations, commercial activities, and military alliances but not political unification as part of one Haitian state.²¹

A provisional government also drafted the Constitution of Spanish Haiti on December 1, 1821. The Haitian and American Constitutions inspired the constitution of Spanish Haiti were to be resolved by handing over appropriate documents, instructions, and powers to the central government of the Great Colombia. In Article VI, the constitution established diplomatic, commercial relations, and military alliance with Haiti. The Constitution of Spanish Haiti guaranteed the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government, private property, and equal rights to all free men of society regardless of color, religious tolerance, and freedom of the press but not that Spanish Haiti were to be resolved by handing over appropriate documents, instructions, and powers to the central government of the Great Colombia. In Article VI, the constitution established diplomatic, commercial relations, and military alliance with Haiti. The Constitution of Spanish Haiti guaranteed the executive, legislative, and judicial branches

of government, private property, and equal rights to all free men of society regardless of color, religious tolerance, and freedom of the press but not the abolition of slavery. The legalization of maintaining slavery in eastern Spanish Haiti was against the very foundation of the Black Haitian state. The leadership of Spanish Haiti banned the Spanish Europeans from obtaining positions in government, civil, or military posts and ownership of property as stated in Article XXXIII of the Constitution. The declaration of independence for Spanish Haiti did not prevent the pro-Haitian political faction from continuing to respond to the Haitian diplomatic aims in favor of political unification. The political process taking place in Spanish Haiti did not receive any response from the Government of the Great Colombia.²²

Part 3: The Pro-Haitian Leadership Opposes the Spanish State of Haiti

On December 13, 1821, Joaquin Bidos, Luis Rodriguez Plantes, and Francisco Antonio de Campo wrote to President Boyer that the interests of the inhabitants of the town of San Felipe de Puerto Plata were in accordance with the general interests of those who supported Haiti in eastern Santo Domingo. Jose Maria Roxas and Francisco By from Eastern Santo Domingo were responsible for implementing the peaceful jurisdiction of Haitian political authority into this town in order to secure the well-being of the inhabitants and their private property, which was a right guaranteed by the Haitian Constitution.²³

The pro-Haitian political leadership of Santo Domingo opposed to the creation of the Spanish State of Haiti responded to the diplomatic aims by the authorities in Haiti in favor of political unification on the island. The pro-Haitian leadership decided to unite

Santo Domingo to Haiti in opposition to the political authority of President Nunez de Caceres. On December 15, 1821, the pro-Haitian unionists like Andres Amaranthe, Jose Dominguez Arias and Joaquin Oliva wrote to the commander of Cabo Haitiano, General Magny for the application of the legal institutions and the political authority of the Haitian government over eastern Santo Domingo. The pro-Haitian unionists decided to implement this strategy with the acceptance of President Boyer's political message in favor of Haitian political unification for Santo Domingo. The request for weaponry was for the protection against what were considered Spanish military forces. The pro-Haitian political factions of Santo Domingo regarded the political leadership under President Nunez de Caceres as part of Spanish colonialism.²⁴

The Republic of Spanish Haiti as a union state of the Great Colombia was denounced by the Santo Domingo Haitian unionists on December 20, 1821. The majority of the people of Santo Domingo did not universally accept the declaration of independence for Spanish Haiti in 1821. The constitution of Spanish Haiti was considered a document of distinctions between the wealthy and the impoverished and the various districts of the east. The constitution protected the institution of slavery as well as the social order that had been overthrown by the Haitian State after independence, and originally abolished throughout the rest of the island by the early political unification of 1801. The pro-Haitian factions of Santo Domingo considered the constitution of Spanish Haiti to be a disadvantage to the poor population and the common soldier. The constitution of Spanish Haiti also was accused of paving the way for the destruction of the fundamental bases of a true political society which was to be based on human equality and freedom. The right of equality and freedom by advancing politically,

economically, and socially without restrictions as productive members of a society was not necessarily encouraged by the constitution of Spanish Haiti. According to this point of view, the contending pro-Haitian political force was represented as the major opposition to President Nunez de Caceres and the advocates of Spanish Haiti. The pro-Haitian unionists of Santo Domingo preferred the Haitian Constitution to be the governing guide because it was more effective in securing their concerns. Juan Nunez Blanco, Fernando Morel de Santa Cruz, and Jose Maria Saliedo had been deputized to represent the pro-Haitian political unionist movement. These representatives were part of the Council (*Junta*) of Saint-Yague. The council was organized for the purpose of uniting all pro-Haitian unionists to discuss what municipalities in eastern Santo Domingo had popular support for political unification with western Haiti. The council would be responsible for informing the Haitian Government about the final decisions of the leadership from these municipalities regarding the final unification plan with Haiti. The overall affiliation was that they were in one with the Haitian state that was responsible for liberating the slaves. The idea of a country that protected freedom for the former slaves evolved into a new political crusade in Santo Domingo that favored Haitian unification.²⁵

General Guy Joseph Bonnet, who commanded the Haitian Military of the North while President Boyer commanded the one in the south entered Spanish Santo Domingo. General Bonnet personally believed that political unification was the completion of the Haitian State. Yet accommodating two cultural linguistic groups was another task altogether, according to General Bonnet. The state of Haiti spoke French or Haitian Patois and Spanish Santo Domingo spoke Spanish. Historically, the island had been divided between two European powers, France and Spain. In a letter to President Boyer

back on December 27, 1821, General Bonnet outlined the importance of military unification on a strategic level. He said that the eastern part was strategically important to the national security of the Haitian island. The Samana Peninsula of the north was a key spot for the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico as well as a post against outside military aggression. The Haitian administration considered the inhabitants of Santo Domingo as members of the Haitian African community and Diaspora. General Bonnet also indicated that Santo Domingo had a weak economy, where very little export occurred and had very poor commercial activity. Santo Domingo could not survive as an independent state, according to General Bonnet, for it could not raise the necessary revenues and create expenditures to sustain such a republic. During colonial days, this part of the island was costly to the Spanish treasury. The monarchy of Spain lost political and economic interest in Santo Domingo. Subsistence cultivation in farming was what existed in Spanish Santo Domingo. The government of Spain no longer wished to invest in this part of the island. The Spanish Haitian state could not defend its territory against the reestablishment of Spain's colonial administration. General Bonnet argued that in a situation like this the Great Colombian government would also be unable to provide for the military defense of a Spanish Haitian province. The general argued that the majority of the eastern population of Santo Domingo really desired political union with Haiti. General Bonnet said that it was up to the Haitian government to finish implementing the act of political unification. The only way to implement the completion of a divided society was to establish political authority with an ideological foundation. A united political authority would bring about effective institutions and a strong agrarian economy. Military discipline could only be achieved through the island's political unification. General

Bonnet said that a territory that is densely populated was easier to defend militarily than a vast, desolate frontier, which was the case for Santo Domingo. The political unification was vital to the survival and security of the Haitian State. The Haitian state had a better-equipped military that could protect the western and eastern parts of the island.²⁶

On December 29, 1821, an act signed by Antonio Lopez de Villanueva, a commander of Puerto Plata, informed the municipality there that the Central Council of Saint-Yague consisting of 30 members had agreed to declare independence in the name of Haiti. President Boyer would be appointed as their head of state, but the Central Council was trying to inquire as to which neighboring towns were willing to come within the umbrella of Haitian political unification. The pro-Haitian Central Council wanted the government of Haiti to invade Santo Domingo by using military force instead of continuing peaceful diplomatic missions. The military action was aimed at terminating the minority government of Spanish Haiti.²⁷

On December 31, 1821, Antonio Lopez de Villanueva responded in accordance to the December 29th request made by members of the Central Council of Saint-Yague. He indicated that if they recognized the Haitian government and for the sake of public tranquility, he would give the orders to hoist the Haitian flag and gradually extend the legal authority of its government into the town of Puerto Plata so that unification can take place. Lepine Sanchez and Esteban Sanchez were appointed representatives of the town of Puerto Plata to make the following recommendation to the Central Council of Saint-Yague about the determination of this municipality in favor of Haitian political unification.²⁸

Part 4: Diplomacy Politically Unites Haiti and Santo Domingo as One State

The State of Spanish Haiti (Eastern Santo Domingo) eventually lasted only two months. It lost its existence to the peaceful, diplomatic negotiations between the government of Haiti and the pro-Haitian political factions of Santo Domingo. The message of Haitian political unification among the masses of Santo Domingo was successful. The short lived state of Spanish Haiti was not important to the government of the Great Colombia because of the continuing military conflicts in Latin America.²⁹ The sentiments of the Spanish-Creole elite classes during the early 19th century were of the opinion that Santo Domingo was not suitable for independence because of its low population and economic conditions that could not maintain the political authority. The elites of Eastern Santo Domingo preferred to support a political union as part of another state (The Great Colombia) rather than accept a union with Black Haiti. The Declaration of November 15, 1821 actually represented the majority People of Color and not the elite Spanish-Creole minority led government of President Nunez de Caceres. Santo Domingo was seen by most as a foreign occupied extension of a single Haitian territory. The state of Haiti already had representative government and was based on ideas of equality, freedom, and the abolition of slavery. The state was generally considered modern and progressive for People of Color in a world of colonialism and plantation slavery. The incorporation of Santo Domingo would only represent the completion of the Haitian Republic as well as guarantee the survival of the island as an independent state. Furthermore, the poorer classes of color in Santo Domingo identified with Haitian political unification because the Haitian state represented the slaves who had rebelled against a slaveholding aristocracy. The white Spanish-Creoles within the poorer classes

and People of Color of the economically elite class of Santo Domingo received Haitian political unification with trepidation and reservation.³⁰

Since 1821, the advocacy for the unification of Santo Domingo with Haiti was directed by the Central Council of Saint-Yague, which continued into 1822. On January 4, 1822, Juan Ramon, the commander of the municipality of La Vega, declared union with Haiti.³¹ President Nunez de Caceres, on the other hand, actually divided the Spanish Creoles into the pro-Colombian faction led by him and the pro-Spanish forces led by his opposition. On January 7, 1822, President Nunez de Caceres actually took a different view that was not so hostile to Haitian political unification. He stated the following:

We have no fundamental motive in distrusting the sincerity and good faith that the Government of the Republic of Haiti our next door neighbor, President Boyer, the chief, is extending the hand in friendship, peace and harmony with the inhabitants of the Spanish part. The commissioners that we have seen coming and going have been the agents of security which is a conduct that is understandable, because that government has superior forces which could have conquered the Spanish part if its interests was of importance but instead it restrained itself for the moment of our independence, which integrates us with them to a point that has stretched way beyond when Spain dominated.³²

On January 10, 1822, Damiano de Herrera, commander of the municipality of San Juan de Maguay, declared that union should prevail throughout the island of Haiti. The town municipality of Neiba declared all Haitian laws and the Constitution to be applicable as stated by its representatives Jose Roman Hernandez, and Francisco Lopez. On January 10, 1822, the town of Azua under the authority vested in Manuel Jimenez and Mayor Joaquin Irpo declared union with Haiti.³³

On January 12, 1822, President Boyer assured the pro-unionists of Santo Domingo the extension of military protection to all the inhabitants. However, the

president also indicated that order must be maintained in the territory. He also said that once the Haitian military marches into Santo Domingo, any individuals that commit wrongful acts and are proved to commit such acts will be treated as enemies of the Haitian state and subject to condemnation by the law. By January 14, 1822, Nunez Blanco, the commander of Saint-Yague, the city of the unionist's central council, informed the president of Haiti that the town of Cotui, in eastern Santo Domingo territory, agreed to join the Haitian State.³⁴

The People of Color in Santo Domingo had negative experiences with Spanish colonialism and the existence of slavery. Haitian political unification represented something new and modern as opposed to the conservatism of Spanish colonialism that was structurally divisive. The state of Haiti was more advanced politically, militarily and economically despite the destruction caused by the war of independence. Haiti was already a functioning state separate of foreign rule, whereas eastern Santo Domingo was an occupied colony in which political authority, military and economic organization were under the control of a foreign Spanish colonial authority.

The Haitian state was based on the model of the government of France. The state of France was ahead in the modern development of its institutions that were much more advanced than Spain. Historian Sybille Fischer in, *Modernity Disavowed, Haiti and Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (2004), indicated that to the Spanish-Creole elites of eastern Santo Domingo, "Haiti came to represent Jacobin egalitarianism, secularism, modern property laws," and "industrial agriculture." Fischer said that "these civilizational advances did not sit well with the structures of traditional authority and privilege that had developed under Spanish colonial rule."³⁵

On January 19, 1822, President Nunez de Caceres wrote to President Boyer indicating that he received the message of the military commander's willingness to place their respective municipalities within Haitian political authority and its laws. He acknowledges that his cause did not have much support among the majority of the people in Santo Domingo. The State of Spanish Haiti simply existed in name. The political unification of the island and its diplomatic negotiations between the Haitian government and pro-Haitian political factions were already taking place from within and right under the authority of President Nunez de Caceres. Yet President Nunez de Caceres was willing to accept the views on political unification as the victory of Haitian diplomatic negotiations. President Nunez de Caceres preferred peace and not military conflict because there was no other alternative and resistance against Haiti would simply prove ineffective at the time.³⁶

On January 20, 1822, the city of Santo Domingo recognized the acts of union with Haiti that were being declared throughout the towns of the territory. The beginning of 1822 initiated a time in which potential prosperity, political stability, and military security could take place because of political unification. The idea of the Haitian State, its fundamental principles of unification, the political ideology of a republic was a representative government of the people regardless of ethnicity, culture, and language. These were the promises of political unification of President Boyer. Haiti was a country of diverse African peoples who were the majority and a smaller group of diverse European populations that were a result of two colonial powers, which explains why Spanish and French became the dominant languages of the island.³⁷

On February 6, 1822, Manuel Machado, the commander at Samana in northern Santo Domingo territory, wrote to President Nunez de Caceres explaining that his municipality had declared union with Haiti in response to public sentiment. The official statements issued by President Boyer and the Haitian government had already raised enthusiasm for unification at this time. The government of Spanish Haiti was very much ineffective at this point. The claims of Haitian constitutional legality over Santo Domingo had now materialized. The pro-Haitian leadership as well as public sentiment in Santo Domingo along with the constitutional claims became the law. Any opposition opting for separation after political unification took place was seen as an act of treason.³⁸ The internal conflicts that existed between the leadership of Afro-French Mulattos and Black Creole classes over control of political authority and military supremacy in Haiti were stabilizing during the time of political unification. The state of Haiti was a Black African State in the modern world struggling to maintain political independence and survival which partly united the country's leadership and population. These ideas were carried into eastern Santo Domingo.³⁹

On February 9, 1822, the unfinished business of political unification for the island that was thought completed by Toussaint L'Overture in 1801, then lost to the French invasion of 1802, and continued after independence in 1804, was finally achieved once again. The final political unification of Haiti and Santo Domingo became known as the island of Haiti.

There was no resistance as an estimated 12,000 Haitian soldiers marched toward the north. One division headed toward the south, its objective destination, the city of Santo Domingo. There was no real opposition to challenge these troops. Haitian

diplomacy in the interests for political unification had worked effectively in Santo Domingo.⁴⁰

On February 9, 1822, President Nunez de Caceres actually spoke about the conflicts of humanity in relation to the political and military turmoil that had plagued the island for a long time. The proclamation of Spanish Haiti was relatively a peaceful event where no military force was used against Spain. President Nunez de Caceres stated the following:

The tragedies of the new American theatre that has commenced, as represented on this island thirty years ago, will continue to present different phases and this means that the experiences of the past have not been a lecture without gain for the inhabitants of the eastern part of the island, but a school that is vital to a practice that has retired perceptions, precious to conducting the game of decorations in order to reach that happiness that has been obtained from the diverse complexities of its politics.

In many ways, President Nunez de Caceres was accrediting Black Haiti with the struggle for liberty. Military force was truly the victory of the Black Haitians for the liberation of the entire island from colonial rule. The island of Haiti became a place that was revolutionized by those who had been regarded as property. The slaveholding classes of Spanish Haiti found the idea of freed slaves difficult to accept. The independence of Spanish Haiti in Santo Domingo Territory was a political experiment that was intended to prevent the further political and military expansion of a Black Haitian State throughout a fairly large island.⁴¹

President Boyer entered the city of Santo Domingo on February 9, 1822 and made his proclamation to all the inhabitants of the island. He abolished the institution of slavery in Santo Domingo and promised to apply all the blessings of racial equality and freedom under political unification. So many years of war had kept the Haitian island

from peace and tranquility, that it could only be set permanently right through uniting the island.⁴² President Boyer stated the following:

And you citizens of the eastern part, you have been the unfortunate for a long time, arbitrary and prohibitive laws have forced you to live with privations and in a state of torpor; against all you had combated to recover your rights; but those in charge of leading you put you again under the dependency of the metropolis, which had expelled you from its heart by trafficking with your submission. Finally, you have achieved it. Thus forget your former condition, think out, but about the one which you are going to enjoy; open your hearts to happiness; your trust in government will not be betrayed; it will heal the deep wounds an anti-liberal system has formed in you, that from now on no dark clouds will obscure the beautiful days that will illuminate our homeland.⁴³

The unification of Haiti was important to President Boyer from a political and militarily standpoint because this would secure the island. A strong military would help prevent an invasion that would threaten the very existence of the unified Haitian republic. The president knew that two governments would never solve the problem of peace on the island without the constant fear of conflict from within.⁴⁴ President Boyer stated:

Two separate states can neither exist nor maintain themselves independently of each other in our native island; if the Constitutional act of Haiti had not decided the question of its indivisibility, reason and the preservation of its inhabitants would have imperiously demanded it.⁴⁵

On February 9, 1822, President Nunez de Caceres, relinquished his political authority to Haitian President Boyer and accepted the incorporation of Santo Domingo. After so much war and bloodshed, the island was united for the time being. Political unification finally ended the years of division on the island of Hispaniola between independent Haiti and occupied Santo Domingo. Now, at last the unified Haitian Republic had managed to eliminate both French and Spanish colonialism with the assistance of the pro-Haitian political faction of eastern Santo Domingo.⁴⁶

On February 10, 1822, a *Proclamation to the Municipality of Samana* declared that the government of Haiti was a symbol of peace and tranquility. The only liberty that should be of inspiration was the one guaranteed by the Haitian Republic. The pro-Haitian leadership argued that the laws of the republic preserved the stability of the local municipality as well as the customs for the inhabitants of eastern Santo Domingo. The perspective was defined within the context of servicing a greater republic for the betterment of the common good. The pro-Haitian leadership was willing to cooperate and become part of Haitian political authority by respecting the present legal institutions of the country. The proclamation endorsed the presidency of Jean-Pierre Boyer as the authority of eastern Santo Domingo.⁴⁷

President Boyer never defined the mission of Haiti as a conquest of Santo Domingo, but rather as the promoter of peace and stability for a liberated country. He was sincerely committed to the idea of liberating the island. Most within Santo Domingo, especially those of the pro-Haitian faction, mainly People of Color, supported the idea of one island government. The plan for political unification on the island of Hispaniola had not been easy because of the turbulent years after Haitian independence.⁴⁸ On March 10, 1822, the president of Haiti left the eastern part of Santo Domingo to finish the business of the government. It is important to note that the population of the eastern part was very divided and under populated, Haiti was a state that politically claimed the territory as a part of the island, and this was why political unification was easier to implement at this time. Some Spanish-Creoles who supported Nunez de Caceres were willing to cooperate with the politically unified republic, while the rest opted to leave.⁴⁹

The rumor of a French invasion against Haiti had been circulating among the people, pointing out the strategic military and political importance of Santo Domingo as part of the island state. The Haitian political authorities expelled the French coffee planters. The colonists had been there since the time of the French occupation from 1802-1809 and remained there with the approval of the Spanish Colonial authorities. The pro-Haitian leadership of eastern Santo Domingo and the government of Haiti believed that it was in the best interests for all the inhabitants to unite the entire island against any foreign military invasion.⁵⁰

Political unification included the eastern inhabitants as citizens who began serving in the military ranks of the army. The military force was made up of the last group of slaves freed in Santo Domingo. It was called Battalion Thirty-Two. Approximately 8,000 soldiers from Santo Domingo became instrumental, which increased the number of soldiers serving in the Haitian military. Now the Haitian government, which consisted of the executive, legislature, and judiciary, was extended to the new provinces within eastern Santo Domingo. Political representatives from Santo Domingo served in the Haitian Senate and Chamber of Deputies for the provinces of the eastern part. The Haitian state, including the addition of eastern Santo Domingo was reorganized into six provincial departments; North, South, West, Artibonite, Cibao, and Ozama as in the first political unification of the Saint Domingue State in 1801.⁵¹

President Boyer of Haiti had been a protégé of the late President Petion of Southern Haiti during the divided period. President Boyer wanted to continue President Petion's policies. The policy was to establish the independence of the agrarian peasantry throughout the island. The very idea of agriculture reigned supreme in all of Haiti and

was protected by the political authority of the island.⁵² On June 15, 1822, the cultivation of coffee, cacao, sugarcane, cotton, tobacco and other important crops for edible consumption was encouraged. At the end of the summer of 1822, President Boyer continued securing the political unification of the island. The outcome was that property belonging to those who left the island when Santo Domingo was not united with Haiti was now state owned property. Land distribution among the people was one of the first orders for the new united country under Haitian President Boyer. The diplomatic aims used to gain popular support of the Haitian government was what finally achieved the unification between the western and eastern sections of the island of Hispaniola.⁵³

CONCLUSION

The beginnings of a unified state in Hispaniola emerged by legally declaring the state of Saint Domingue in 1801. The political leadership of the French part of Hispaniola united Spanish Santo Domingo and French Saint Domingue under one constitutional government. The unified state became known as Saint Domingue, which was important because it was the first state to succeed in the implementation of military and political unification. The *Treaty of Basel* of 1795 had united both eastern Santo Domingo and western Saint Domingue. The treaty became the justification for the completion of a one state solution by the local leadership of Governor-General Toussaint L'Overture. However, the state was not officially declared independent and remained a province of France. The early leadership of Saint Domingue may have thought that by establishing a province as a preparatory stage, it would ultimately lead to eventual independence. European colonialism and the institution of slavery were powerful forces during this period. A free independent Black State on the island of Hispaniola would never have been accepted by the European colonial powers without the threat of subjugation or enslavement. The government of Governor-General Toussaint continued to have an association with France on the grounds that it was an international contender against potential threats from other European powers.

In 1801, Governor-General Toussaint believed that internal political unification was the solution to the stability of one functioning state on the island of Hispaniola. However, the French government of the time did not trust the local government of Saint Domingue despite its claims to French loyalty. The French government was not willing to accept a province of free blacks participating in government and therefore invaded

Saint Domingue with the intent of dismantling the state and restoring colonial order and slavery. After the French military invaded Saint Domingue in 1802, those who represented the political authority of the island believed that it was important to uphold the idea that the island of Hispaniola constituted one political entity.

In 1804, Governor-General Jean-Jacques Dessalines proclaimed Haitian independence throughout the island of Hispaniola. The new Black Haitian government was under the leadership of former slaves who defeated the French military. Haiti was completely an independent state with no association to any European power. Since the territory was regarded as part of Haiti, Governor-General Dessalines resorted to a military solution in order to liberate French occupied Santo Domingo. Such a plan was unsuccessful because the devastating war against the French invasion caused setbacks within independent Haiti. However, when Governor-General Dessalines proclaimed himself Emperor Jacques I, he developed the political claims through the implementation of a constitution that regarded eastern Santo Domingo as an integral part of Haiti. The white-Spanish Creole elite of eastern Santo Domingo would never accept the political leadership of a Black Haitian state. The white-Spanish Creole elites would rather that eastern Santo Domingo remain a colony of any foreign power than have a political union with Haiti. Unlike other islands in the Caribbean, the island of Hispaniola was revolutionized by the black population who had emancipated themselves through use of force, which eventually led to the creation of a political authority made up of former slaves. Since eastern Santo Domingo was within Hispaniola, it was at the forefront of political and military events in western (Saint Domingue) Haiti.

After the assassination of Emperor Jacques in 1806, the responsibility of managing the island's government fell to his successors Henry Christophe and Alexander Petion. Neither Christophe nor Petion was able to transform their claims for political unification on a constitutional basis. The failure initiated the phase for a divided Haitian State, beginning in 1807 and lasting until 1820. Eastern Santo Domingo had been occupied by France since 1802, and reoccupied by Spain in 1809. The restoration of Spain's rule in eastern Santo Domingo was the work of local white Spanish-Creole elites. The local elites of Eastern Santo Domingo led a rebellion against the French Colonial Authorities with the assistance of Great Britain's military. These local elites were not willing to establish an independent state in Santo Domingo and did not have any inclination to do so for two reasons. The first reason was that these local elites were a minority within a majority colored population which contained a class of slaves sympathetic to Haiti. The second reason was that eastern Santo Domingo was already regarded a part of Haiti as defined by the two Haitian governments in the western part of the island. A declaration of independence would have been opposed by the two Haitian governments. However, the Spanish had political sovereignty over Eastern Santo Domingo during the period of a divided Haitian state.

The reason the state of Haiti remained divided and unable to unify the entire island of Hispaniola was failure to compromise two kinds of political ideologies. The two political ideologies were autocracy and republicanism. Henry Christophe, who favored an autocratic government, continued to defend this kind of political ideology in northern Haiti. Alexander Petion who remained as president of southern Haiti was a defender of the republican government. The political conflict divided the Haitian state militarily.

Both states of Haiti continued to claim eastern Santo Domingo. The government of Northern Haiti attempted to use diplomacy in order to obtain eastern Santo Domingo from Spain, by purchasing the territory as a way of securing its territorial claims. Henry Christophe, who was proclaimed a king in Northern Haiti, had an effective political establishment when the monarchy was created in 1811. As a constitutional monarchy, King Henry Christophe focused on internal political and military development in order to strengthen his claims to legitimate power that could eventually unite the entire island. During the division of Haiti, the northern part had the upper edge over the southern part. The government of Southern Haiti continued to defend the political claims to Eastern Santo Domingo. The republic of Southern Haiti was politically unstable from within and had to contend with preventing the military of Northern Haiti from taking control of the south. President Petion of Southern Haiti could not formulate any kind of solution to unite Eastern Santo Domingo with Haiti. However, the Southern state of Haiti was able to hold out politically and militarily against the North for the time that it did. During the period from 1815-1816, President Petion was also known for his military assistance to General Simon Bolivar in the Latin American war of independence against Spain. Haitian soldiers also joined General Bolivar's army in the struggle for Latin American independence.

In 1818, the unification of the western part of the island was left to Jean-Pierre Boyer, who became president of southern Haiti upon the death of President Petion. However, the monarchy of Northern Haiti remained a functioning state until 1820 when rebellion broke out against King Henry. The political collapse of the Northern Haitian monarchy was a military advantage to President Boyer of Southern Haiti, who effectively

united western Haiti under his republican authority. President Boyer upheld the political claims of his predecessor that eastern Santo Domingo was part of Haiti and, therefore, remained important to the completion of political unification. The use of military force had been unsuccessful since the independence of Haiti in 1804. President Boyer relied on diplomatic negotiations between Haitian political agents and pro-Haitian political factions in Eastern Santo Domingo.

President Boyer's diplomatic strategies were aimed at gaining popular support mainly among the People of Color of eastern Santo Domingo. A last attempt was made to avoid black Haitian rule in Santo Domingo when the Spanish-Creole elites declared the independence of Santo Domingo in 1821. The independent state of Santo Domingo would be renamed the Spanish State of Haiti. The republic was headed by Jose Nunez de Caceres, who could be regarded as the founder of Santo Domingo's independence. Yet he knew that the State of Spanish Haiti (Santo Domingo) could not be politically maintained nor militarily protected as an independent state. The local authority of Nunez de Caceres, who was declared president, decided to seek a political union with the Great Colombian Republic in Latin America while maintaining a military alliance with Haiti for the protection of the whole island. However, the state of Spanish Haiti was short lived and the government of the Great Colombia paid little attention to the matter. The majority of the inhabitants of eastern Santo Domingo did not accept the creation of Spanish Haiti (Santo Domingo) and opted to support political unification with Western Haiti under one government.

In 1822, President Boyer's diplomacy was enough to steer the population of Eastern Santo Domingo in favor of political unification. The event came about after years

of devastating political conflicts within the Haitian government that led to divided military loyalties. Political leaders initiated division and loyalties were questioned within the government which at times made unification impossible. However, the infant state of Haiti was able to maintain independence. The peaceful annexation of eastern Santo Domingo enlarged the Haitian state in 1822 and lasted until 1844. The period from 1801-1822 was a time when eastern Santo Domingo became an important part in the struggle for uniting the Haitian state. The early history of eastern Santo Domingo was rooted in early Haitian history. Haiti is the second oldest county in the Western Hemisphere to proclaim independence upon the defeat of a European colonial power, after the United States.

Since unification of the Haitian Republic throughout the island of Hispaniola had been achieved, maintaining that secured union was another matter. The roots of island instability would begin soon after it was united in 1822. In 1825, the government of Haiti as a unified island state signed the *Indemnity Agreement*, paying the government of France a total of 150,000,000 francs. The event settled the status of Haiti which was officially recognized by France as a sovereign country. However, the government of France only recognized Haitian sovereignty in the western part of the island. Haitian sovereignty over eastern Santo Domingo was not recognized by France according to this agreement. A foreign policy on the international level was in favor of a divided island of Hispaniola. The foreign policy of the French was aimed at containing the Black Republic of Haiti in a remote corner of Hispaniola. A foreign policy was formulated because of fear that Caribbean slaves might revolt against European colonial powers in other neighboring islands.

Nevertheless, the government of Haiti held on to eastern Santo Domingo on the claims that the island was one state. In fact President Boyer believed that Haiti was a free homeland for people of African descent. He offered land in eastern Santo Domingo to Free African Americans from the northern part of the United States. During the mid 1820s, free African Americans settled in Haitian Santo Domingo. However, the project was unsuccessful and many returned to the United State, while others remained. Many African American emigrants to Haiti had difficulties getting accustomed to the lower economic standards of living on the island republic. These Free African Americans did enjoy a comfortable economic standard of living in the United States despite the political, social inequalities and the institution of slavery.

In 1826, the government of Haiti and its program for land distribution came to a slow pause. The idea of land distribution created a class of small independent farmers who practiced subsistence agriculture. The result was a shortage of labor power for the class of landowners and the import and export agrarian economy that President Boyer intended to create. The government of the unified state of Haiti also needed to collect a sufficient amount of taxes which had declined as a result of the prevailing subsistence agrarian economy. President Boyer decided to create a strict plantation economic system by enacting the *Rural Code* of 1826. The problem of the economy was based on the freedom of the independent agrarian peasantry that emerged from the distributions of lands. The distribution of lands also benefited the inhabitants of the poorer classes in Eastern Santo Domingo. The *Rural Code* would reestablish a captive workforce similar to slavery. President Boyer's political decision to enact the *Rural Code* did not improve the agrarian economy which jeopardized the unification process that brought the island

together. The local population throughout the island of Haiti was highly taxed, which caused popular opposition to President Boyer.

The *Indemnity Agreement* also imposed a major debt because the Haitian treasury did not have enough money to make the annual payments to the government of France. In order to pay the money, the Haitian government had to rely on seeking loans from creditors, which plunged the country into more debt. The *Rural Code* would also remain ineffective and this contributed to the impoverishment of the island state. By 1828 the economy was not doing any better. The Haitian Government had to negotiate a new deal with France about the *Indemnity Agreement* of 1825 but that was unsuccessful. In 1829, another agreement was attempted, but it could not be carried out because the government of France plainly refused to agree. The people of Haiti and members within the government were opposed to this action and wanted to terminate the agreement at the risk of provoking a possible war with France.

In 1830, King Charles X was ousted from the throne of France. The new King Louis Philippe approved another favored agreement between France and Haiti concerning repayment. This agreement was another disadvantage to the Republic of Haiti which caused more economic impoverishment. President Boyer's political-economic decisions were no longer improving the quality of life in unified Haiti. In 1830, there was a potential possibility of war between Haiti and France. However, the possibility of war never resulted in anything but the continuity of an agreement that worked to the advantage of France.

In 1830, Haitian Santo Domingo was still peacefully stabilized and no opposition existed at this time. The outcome of 1830 was that the government of Haiti won its

legitimacy over Santo Domingo and any attempt to separate was illegal. President Boyer's actions were responsible for the internal problems of Haiti and in the name of protecting independence on the international level that resulted in economic ruination. However, such decisions caused political suicide and basically paved the way for more local opposition against President Boyer. In the mid 1830s, opposition in the Northwestern part of Haiti began but was immediately suppressed. In order to save his presidency, Boyer resorted to repression within the government as well as with the eastern section of the republic. In the long run the indivisible republic was reverting back to divided political and military loyalties that were similar to those that had occurred from 1807-1820. The island was headed in a direction that was leading to a permanent division between western Haiti and eastern Haiti (Santo Domingo) that exists to this day.

In 1836, (*La Trinitaria*) The Trinity Movement was organized as an underground clandestine movement in Eastern Santo Domingo. The new leadership had emerged under the direction of three important leaders Juan Pablo Duarte, Francisco Del Rosario Sanchez and Ramon Mella. In 1838, the Trinity Movement was secretly working toward creating an independent state in Eastern Santo Domingo from underneath the authority of the Haitian Government. The Trinity Movement was led by Spanish-Creole elites whom were advocating complete independence with no association to a foreign power. The Trinity movement was eventually discovered by local Haitian authorities. However, the secret organization was not disbanded due to local Haitian political collaboration among those opposing President Boyer.

The leadership among the smaller population of eastern Santo Domingo became increasingly divided in the same pattern of what had happened in early Western Haiti.

The pro-Haitian political faction continued to adhere to island unity with the support of the majority within the black population and some Afro-Spanish Mulattos of eastern Santo Domingo. However, the Afro-European Mulatto and other Black Creole elites, regardless of whether French or Spanish speaking, became divided between those against and those loyal to President Boyer's government. Other Haitian elites of color collaborated with the Trinity Movement, whereas others joined forces in advocating independence for Eastern Santo Domingo.

President Boyer tried to hold on to power but was finally forced to flee Haiti in 1843. The new and last president of a united Haitian Republic was Charles Riviere-Herard, who had to contend with the division of the country with no success for reunification. The first order of the day for President Herard was to do away with any political opposition existing in Haiti, which included the Trinity movement of eastern Santo Domingo. President Herard called for general elections in which members of Eastern Santo Domingo were elected to the Haitian Legislature. Some elite representatives of eastern Santo Domingo had expressed dissatisfaction with the presence of the Haitian military. The belief has led some modern historical researchers to label this situation as the Haitian occupation of eastern Santo Domingo during the period from 1822-1844. Haiti's history of political-militarism as one interconnected institution has existed since the beginning of independence and extended into eastern Santo Domingo upon unification. However, such practices that connect political-militarism within the government would also continue in the later history of eastern Santo Domingo as a separate state. The historical situation should be understood within the context of the

conditions that existed during this period. Haiti was the first Black Republic in a world of European colonial domination where slavery existed throughout the western hemisphere.

However, the final outcome was the division of Haiti, in 1844, when eastern Santo Domingo was declared independent and was renamed the Dominican Republic. This division was primarily due to the economic problems and political conflicts that created disloyalties that divided the military of the island. Since Juan Pablo Duarte had been in Venezuela, the act of separation from Haiti would be declared by Francisco Del Rosario Sanchez and Ramon Mella. Since the Haitian military was poorly coordinated, the event was not confrontational and the political authorities and soldiers loyal to Haiti withdrew.

The establishment of the Dominican Republic was considered an act of treason by the government of Haiti on the grounds that the island was officially united since 1822. In 1844, the military forces loyal to the Haitian government invaded the Dominican Republic without success, and again from 1849-1850. The military conflict was a victory for the small forces loyal to the new Dominican government. The Dominican military success was attributed to the poor coordination and divided loyalties in what remained of the Haitian military and also because of the political conflicts within its government. The Haitian military again invaded the Dominican Republic and a war lasted from 1855-1856. This war did not resolve the issue of unification and the island remained divided.

After the Dominican Republic was established in 1844, the pattern of internal political conflicts and divided military loyalty continued in the new state. The Dominican Trinity movement which stood for complete independence was soon ousted from power. Political leaders like Duarte, Sanchez, Mella, and others were expelled from the

provisional government and exiled by the forces of annexation. These new Dominican annexationists were headed by General Pedro Santana, who believed the new state could not survive politically and militarily as a republic against Haiti or on an international level. The Dominican annexationists advocated for a protectorate status either from France, Spain, or Great Britain. However, the protectorate status was unsuccessful, but Spain's colonial authority was restored and achieved in the Dominican Republic from 1861-1865, despite the local opposition which was repressed. Francisco Del Rosario Sanchez and Ramon Mella returned from exile to join the struggle against Spain but were immediately defeated, in 1861. Juan Pablo Duarte, who was the founder of complete independence for the Dominican Republic, would die in exile in Venezuela by 1876 without ever taking part in the government. General Pedro Santana, who supported a French protectorate without success, was able to achieve the restoration of Spanish colonialism. Santana became the Spanish Captain-General of the Maritime Province of Santo Domingo. Captain-General Santana soon became disillusioned and left his post to retire in 1862. However, the Spanish military was defeated by a new wave of revolutionaries that led an uprising that began in 1863 and lasted until 1865. The new Dominican leadership received assistance from the Haitian government, which did not want the presence of a colonial power in eastern Hispaniola. The second Dominican Republic was restored in 1865.

These events led to historical debates as to when the Dominican Republic became independent, whether in 1844 or 1865. The independence of 1844 was not against any colonial power but an internal political conflict within Haiti that can be viewed within the context of a civil war. The independence of 1865 was distinct from the previous one

because it involved the ousting of a colonial power. Therefore, it can be stated that the true independence of a sovereign Dominican Republic as we know of today had its beginnings in 1865.

Today the island of Hispaniola continues to remain divided into two separate republics. The political conflicts that have plagued Haiti also continued in the Dominican Republic. The two countries remain economically poor with political relations that at times have been uneasy. A course syllabus on the history of Hispaniola would be important because such a course would examine the historical complexities that have existed in this island. The focus would concentrate from the period of colonialism to the Dominican-Haitian relationship of today. The course explores the colonial period of Hispaniola from a Spanish possession to a divided island colony shared by Spain and France beginning in 1697. The topic continues with the Haitian Revolutionary period of 1791-1801, which concluded with the unified state of Saint Domingue as a part of the French Empire. These years of struggle always included Spanish Santo Domingo in the unification of Hispaniola.

The course continues by examining the role of the Haitian war for complete independence after the French invasion of 1802-1803 that concluded with the establishment of the Black Haitian State in 1804. The course explores how the new Haitian state became the contending force to challenge colonial rule on the island of Hispaniola. The topic continues to examine the Haitian struggle to unite the island during the years of independence from 1804, until finally uniting eastern Santo Domingo with the rest of Haiti, functioning as one republic beginning in 1822 and lasting until 1844. The course will conclude with the division of Hispaniola into two states, the Dominican

Republic and Haiti, and the relations that developed on the island between the two countries. The course would help students to understand the historical development that occurred in Hispaniola, which helps to clarify the origins of this uniquely divided island.

APPENDIX A

EDUCATIONAL COMPONENT SYLLABUS

Hispaniola from Colonialism to Dominican-Haitian Relations

Graduate Course

Course Description:

This course examines the history of Hispaniola, from the time of colonialism to the present Dominican Republic and Haiti. The history includes the periods of division by two colonial powers and the struggle for Haitian independence. The course will define the idea of Haiti as one country attempting to liberate the island of European colonial rule. The course will explore the eventual division of the island into two separate states and the history that developed from this point forward.

The course discusses the period of colonialism in Hispaniola that began with Spain in 1493 until the division of the island with France in 1697. These two colonies were then known as French Saint Domingue and Spanish Santo Domingo. The slave revolution that occurred in French Saint Domingue in 1791 engulfed the whole island, which included Spanish Santo Domingo. This event led to the intervention of Spain, France and Great Britain and had a significant impact on the Caribbean as the first successful slave revolution. The course explores the formation of the state of Saint Domingue of 1801, when the French part decided to unite the Spanish part into one island state of Hispaniola. This act of unification, according to the *Treaty of Basel* was one in which Spain ceded to the French the Spanish part of Santo Domingo.

The entire island of Hispaniola was renamed Haiti in 1804 and by 1822 Spanish Santo Domingo and Haiti achieved their unification, and became known as the Republic of Haiti. After 1844, Spanish Santo Domingo separated due to internal conflicts within the Haitian Government and was renamed the Dominican Republic. The Dominican-Haitian military conflicts that had arisen in the mid 1840s and continued throughout 1850s, initiated the development of Dominican-Haitian relations that currently exist to this day.

Credits: 3

Prerequisites: None

Course Objective:

1. The course will explain what the historical connection was between Haiti and Spanish Santo Domingo during the early colonial history of Hispaniola.

2. The course will analyze the origins of the political, economic, military, and the division of society within the island of Hispaniola into two parts: a) The division of Hispaniola during the French and Spanish colonial periods: b) The Haitian independence and the attempt to unite Hispaniola by capturing Spanish Santo Domingo and doing away with the divisions caused by Spanish and French colonialism.
3. The course will examine why the island of Hispaniola remains divided into two separate states from what was once united as one country by finding an explanation to the causes.

Course Rationale:

The primary focus of this course is to connect the history of Spanish Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic) and Haiti as the history of one island divided by two colonial powers (Spain and France), rather than two separate histories. The course will analyze and discuss the historical connection that Spanish Santo Domingo had to the early history of Haiti, from 1801-1844, and the history that developed after the separation of 1844 until the present day. It is important to note that the state of Haiti, in the western part of Hispaniola, functioned as an independent government that regarded itself to be the legitimate political authority of all Hispaniola. The purpose of this course is to discuss what happened and why the island became divided. These two states share a common history in the early part of their beginnings and throughout early Haitian history after independence. The division of the island has given rise to certain perceptions, creating hostilities from one side toward the other and straining relations between the two republics. In order to understand this reality, it is important to focus on social and cultural developments regarding class, language, religion, and race in Haiti and the Dominican Republic. The course will be of interest to those students who wish to study the history of Hispaniola and the impact of colonialism.

Course Outline:

1. The Conquest of Hispaniola:
 - A. The island of Hispaniola becomes a colony of Spain.
 - B. Taino-Arawaks (Native Americans) come into conflict with the Spanish Empire.
 - C. The enslaved Africans arrive on the island of Hispaniola.
2. The Division of Hispaniola:
 - A. The *Treaty of Ryswick* divides the island between Spain and France, in 1697.
 - B. The colony of Spanish Santo Domingo becomes the eastern part of the island.
 - C. The colony of French Saint Domingue becomes the western part of the island.

3. The Society of a Divided Hispaniola:
 - A. The social status of African Creoles during the colonial period.
 - B. The social status of Spanish and French Creoles during the colonial period.
 - C. The Afro-European Mulattos emerge into a separate social class.
 - D. The Slaves and Free People of Color develop into two separate societies.
 - E. The populations of escaped slaves become the Maroon community.

4. Political Struggles in French Saint Domingue (1790-1791):
 - A. The impact of the French Revolution of 1789, in French Saint Domingue.
 - B. The slaveholders attempt to establish independence of Saint Domingue, in 1790.
 - C. The Afro-French Mulatto population demands social equality, from 1790-1792.
 - D. The slave's rebel and the Saint Domingue (Haitian) Revolution begin in 1791.
 - E. The Saint Domingue (Haitian) revolution spreads into Spanish Santo Domingo.

5. The War in Hispaniola (1791-1801):
 - A. The military of Spain, France and Great Britain intervenes in Saint Domingue.
 - B. The former slaves in Saint Domingue are transformed into a fighting army.
 - C. The French government abolishes slavery in French Saint Domingue, in 1794.
 - D. Spain surrenders Eastern Santo Domingo to France, in the *Treaty of Basel* 1795.

6. Eastern Santo Domingo and the Unification of the Haitian State (1801-1804):
 - A. The island of Hispaniola is united by the government of French Saint Domingue.
 - B. French Saint Domingue becomes a state within the French Empire, in 1801.
 - C. The French government invades the State of Saint Domingue, from 1802-1803.
 - D. The Black revolutionaries defeat the French Empire, in 1803.
 - E. French Saint Domingue becomes the independent state of Haiti, in 1804.
 - F. The French retain control of Spanish Santo Domingo from 1802-1809.
 - G. The Haitian State invades French occupied Santo Domingo in 1804 and 1805.

7. Conflict in Hispaniola After Haitian Independence (1807-1822):
 - A. The state of Haiti is divided into a southern and northern state from 1807-1820.
 - B. Spanish-Creoles revolt against the French in Santo Domingo from 1808-1809.
 - C. Southern Haiti assists the Latin American struggle against Spain from 1815-1816.
 - D. The state of Spanish Haiti (Santo Domingo) declares independence, in 1821-1822.
 - E. Spanish Santo Domingo is united as part of the Haitian Republic, in 1822.

8. The Republic of Haiti as a United Country (1822-1844):
 - A. The Republic of Haiti becomes the free black homeland for the former slaves.
 - B. The politics and economy of the united Republic of Haiti.
 - C. Civil and military institutions become interconnected in the Haitian Republic.

9. Opposition Against the Government of Haiti (1835-1844):
 - A. The internal political conflicts that existed in Haiti as a united republic.
 - B. The Trinity Movement 1838 becomes a political force in Santo Domingo.
 - C. The Haitian President is overthrown by the opposition, in 1843.

10. The Island of Hispaniola Becomes Divided (1844-1861):
 - A. The Dominican Republic declares independence in Eastern Haiti, in 1844.
 - B. The Haitian Republic invades the Dominican Republic, in 1844 with no success.
 - C. The Haitian-Dominican wars from 1849-1850 keep the island unstable.
 - D. The Haitian-Dominican wars reoccur from 1855-1856 without success for unity.

11. The Island of Hispaniola Remains Divided:
 - A. Spanish Colonialism is restored in the Dominican Republic from 1861-1865.
 - B. The Dominican revolutionaries orchestrate a revolt against Spain, in 1863.
 - C. The Dominican Republic is declared independent for a second time, in 1865.

12. Hispaniola During the Late 19th and Early 20th Century:
 - A. The political situation in the Dominican Republic and Haiti during this period.
 - B. The United States invades and militarily occupies Haiti from 1915-1934.
 - C. The United States militarily invades the Dominican Republic from 1916-1924.

13. The Dominican-Haitian Relations:
 - A. The Dominican Government's policy towards Haitian laborers during the 1930s.
 - B. The diplomatic relations that developed between the two republics.
 - C. Authoritarian governments become the only political solution in both republics.

14. A Final Review of the Course:
 - A. A class discussion will be focused on a review of the course.
 - B. The final papers will be collected in class.

Evaluations of Student Course Performance:

1. Final Research Papers 60 %
2. Two Class Projects 20%
3. Class Participation 20%

Class Requirement Guidelines:

1. Students will be expected to read the required readings for the course and be prepared to discuss the readings in class, followed by an in class lecture on the topics assigned in the course syllabus. Any required readings will be placed on reserve in the university library.
2. A final term paper will be on a topic of choice in relation to the history of Hispaniola. Since there is no class examination, all term papers must be from 15-20 pages doubled space.
3. The last day of class will be an overall review of the course and all term papers will be collected in class.
4. Two class projects will be assigned to students and they will choose a date in which to make their class presentations.
5. Class participation and active discussions are encouraged and very important during the fourteen sessions of the course.
6. Students must attend classes and may contact the professor by phone, email, and scheduled office hours.

Office Hours:

Monday 4:00 pm-5:30 pm Wednesday 1:00 pm-3:00 pm and Friday 9:00 am-12:00 pm

Email: Aarosadol@aol.com

Phone Number: (212) 686-8123

Readings:

1. James, C.L.R. *Black Jacobins; Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution*, New York: Vintage Books, 1989
3. Fischer, Sybille. *Modernity Disavowed, Haiti and Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004
4. Wucker, Michele. *Why the Cocks Fight, Dominicans, Haitians and the Struggle for Hispaniola*, New York: Hill and Wang, a Division of Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999

Supplementary Bibliography for the Course:

Works on Haiti:

Chin, Pat, Greg Dunkel, Flounders, Sara and Ives, Kim, Eds. *Haiti A Slave Revolution 200 Years After 1804*, New York: International Action Center, 2004

Dubois, Laurent. *Avengers of the New World, The Story of the Haitian Revolution*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004

Fick, Carolyn E. *Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below*, Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990

Fraginals, Manuel Moreno, Moya Pons, Frank and Engerman, Stanley L., Eds. *Between Slavery and Free Labor: The Spanish-Speaking Caribbean in the Nineteenth Century*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1985

Works on Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic:

Cambeira, Alan. *Quisqueya la Bella: The Dominican Republic in Historical and Cultural Perspective*, Armonk: New York: Sharpe, M. E., Inc, 1996

Pons, Frank Moya. *The Dominican Republic, A National History*, Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998, Available in Both English and Spanish

Sagas, Ernesto. *Race and Politics in the Dominican Republic*, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000

San Miguel, Pedro Luis. *Imagined Island: History, Identity, and Utopia in Hispaniola*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005

Websites:

Haiti:

[Http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-5512.html](http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-5512.html)

[Http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/africa/cuvl/diaspora.html](http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/africa/cuvl/diaspora.html)

Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic):

[Http://www.onwar.com/aced/data/hotel/haitisantodom1822.htm](http://www.onwar.com/aced/data/hotel/haitisantodom1822.htm)

[Http://www.tcnj.edu/~library/dempf/caribbean.html](http://www.tcnj.edu/~library/dempf/caribbean.html)

APPENDIX B

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

- 1492 A navigator named Christopher Columbus first located an island in the Caribbean which he called (*La Isla Espanola*) Hispaniola and claimed it for Spain.
- 1493 The island of *Ayti-Quisqueya-Bohio* was colonized by Spain, which also gave it the name of Santo Domingo.
- 1495 The Taino-Arawak (Native Americans) in Hispaniola revolt against the Spanish military.
- 1503 The first African slaves are brought by the Spanish to the island of Hispaniola and would soon replace the decreasing Taino-Arawak population who were also subjected to slavery by the Spanish.
- 1521 The first African slaves revolted against the Spanish in Hispaniola.
- 1606 The Spanish colonial authorities begin to relocate its settlements in Hispaniola to others areas of South America. The residents leave Eastern Santo Domingo, which leaves a small population to reside in this part of Hispaniola. The population consists of a small group of black slaves, white Spanish Creoles, and a larger increasing population of Afro-Spanish Mulattos.
- 1697 The *Treaty of Ryswick* divides the island of Hispaniola between France in the west and Spain in the east. The island was divided into French Saint Domingue and Spanish Santo Domingo.
- 1698 The French begin to cultivate the lands in the western part of Hispaniola. The French continue to import African slaves to work the developing plantations of French Saint Domingue.
- 1759 A slave revolt was led by Francois Mackandel of Saint Domingue but was unsuccessful
- 1777 The *Treaty of Aranjuez* established a quasi-demarcation line to divide French Saint Domingue and Spanish Santo Domingo.
- 1781 Juan Batista Santiago led a successful slave revolt in the southern area known as the Bahoruco-Anse between French Saint Domingue and Spanish Santo Domingo. The event led the French and Spanish colonial authorities to give some land to Santiago and those slaves that supported him in this area of southern Hispaniola.

- 1789 The French Revolution begins and the “*Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen*,” are proclaimed, which has an impact on People of Color, whether free or slave and the French-European population of French Saint Domingue.
- 1790 French-European Creole planters prefer independence for Saint Domingue as a slaveholding state. Afro-French Mulattos led by Vincent Oge and Jean-Baptist Chavannes revolt in favor of social equality for Free People of Color in Saint Domingue.
- 1791 The black slaves joined by Maroons (Escaped Slaves) in French Saint Domingue revolt against the French-European planters and the Haitian Revolution begins. Toussaint L’Overture, a Free Person of Color, becomes part of the slave rebellion and becomes an ally of the Spanish military in Santo Domingo which was an opponent of the French Revolution. General Toussaint earns his military rank as an ally of the Spanish army and becomes a symbol of the revolution.
- 1792 The French government grants Free People of Color the right to equal citizenship and social equality in order to gain their support against the slaves in rebellion.
- 1793 The British military with the support of local French-European Creole planters intervene in French Saint Domingue. The British remain until its military was defeated by General Toussaint’s forces and the remaining French military, in 1798.
- 1794 The French government abolishes slavery as a way to gain support among the black population against Great Britain and Spain. General Toussaint L’Overture’s army of former slaves which had been aided by the Spanish in Santo Domingo abandons his alliance with Spain. General Toussaint joins the French in Saint Domingue to fight both Great Britain and Spain.
- 1795 Spain’s military is defeated by the forces of General Toussaint and the French military and cedes Spanish Santo Domingo to the France in the *Treaty of Basel*. The treaty officially unites French Saint Domingue and Spanish Santo Domingo. Spain’s military presence remains because the French military was unable to take over Spanish Santo Domingo. The French government did not have an effective colonial authority and had to depend on General Toussaint’s army of former slaves in their defeat of the British military in the southern part of French Saint Domingue.
- 1796 French Commissioner Leger-Felicite Sonthonax appoints General Toussaint as governor-general of French Saint Domingue. Governor-General Toussaint’s authority also extended into Spanish Santo Domingo, which had been ceded to France by Spain. However, Governor-General Toussaint’s forces were busy in their military campaigns against the British military in French Saint Domingue.

- 1798 The British military was finally defeated in the southern part of French Saint Domingue by the forces of Governor-General Toussaint and the remains of the French military.
- 1799 A civil war erupts between Governor-General Toussaint's forces of Northern French Saint Domingue and the forces led by General Andre Rigaud of Southern French Saint Domingue.
- 1800 Governor-General Toussaint's forces defeat the forces of General Rigaud and the civil war is over in French Saint Domingue.
- 1801 Governor-General Toussaint's forces enter into Spanish Santo Domingo to enforce the *Treaty of Basel*. Governor Joaquin Garcia of the Spanish Colonial authorities reluctantly surrenders Santo Domingo to General Toussaint. General Toussaint dissolves the separation between French Saint Domingue and Spanish Santo Domingo by unifying the territories under one government, as the State of Saint Domingue, which was declared a province within the French Empire. He also abolishes slavery throughout Hispaniola.
- 1802 The French military under the command of Charles Victor Emanuel Leclerc invades the State of Saint Domingue in order to establish effective colonial control that was lost during the leadership of General Toussaint, who was still loyal to France. The war in Saint Domingue between the French military and black revolutionary forces led to the capture of General Toussaint, who eventually died in prison, in 1803.
- 1803 After the internal struggle within the black revolutionary forces was resolved, they went on to defeat the French military. Generals Jean-Jacques Dessalines, Henry Christophe and Alexander Petion became important figures that emerge within the Black revolutionary hierarchy of French Saint Domingue.
- 1804 French Saint Domingue is declared the Black independent state of Haiti. The French under General Jean Louis Ferrand retain control of Eastern Santo Domingo. Governor-General Dessalines, who was head of the new Haitian government, invades Eastern Santo Domingo on the claims that the territory was part of the new state of Haiti. Eastern Santo Domingo was occupied by France from 1802-1809. The Haitian military was unsuccessful against the French military. The French reintroduce slavery in Eastern Santo Domingo.
- 1805 The government of Haiti declares the Empire of Haiti with Governor-General Dessalines, who declared himself Emperor Jacques I. The emperor launches a second invasion of Eastern Santo Domingo but was again unsuccessful. A Haitian Constitution was also proclaimed which establishes one government authority for the whole island of Hispaniola despite the French presence in Eastern Santo Domingo.

- 1806 Emperor Jacques I was assassinated by political opposition, which left his second in command General Henry Christophe, who took the title Chief-Governor of Haiti. The Empire of Haiti comes to an end and the Republic of Haiti was born with Henry Christophe as president.
- 1807 The Black leadership of President Christophe opposes the Republic of Haiti in favor of an autocratic government. The republican forces were led by the Afro-French Mulatto leadership of General Alexander Petion. The autocratic forces were in control of Northern Haiti under President Christophe and Southern Haiti remained under the republican forces of General Petion, who became president.
- 1808 The Spanish-Creoles of Eastern Santo Domingo rebelled against the French with the assistance of the British military.
- 1809 The French military was defeated by the British military, which gave Eastern Santo Domingo over to Spain with the support of the Spanish-Creole population. The two states of Haiti remain divided. The Spanish-Creoles continue to preserve slavery in Santo Domingo.
- 1811 The Northern State of Haiti becomes a monarchy and President Christophe is declared a King. The Southern State of Haiti remains a republic under the leadership of President Petion. Both Haitian governments continue to claim Eastern Santo Domingo, which was under Spanish colonial sovereignty.
- 1818 President Petion of Southern Haiti dies and is succeeded by President Jean-Pierre Boyer.
- 1820 A popular revolt against King Henry Christophe of Northern Haiti led to his suicide. President Boyer of Southern Haiti marches with the military to unite Northern and Southern Haiti in the western part of Hispaniola.
- 1821 Spanish Creoles under the leadership of Jose Nunez de Caceres in Santo Domingo, the eastern part of Hispaniola, was declared the State of Spanish Haiti as a federated province of the Great Colombia. People of Color in Eastern Santo Domingo tend to oppose this Spanish-Creole provisional government.
- 1822 Eastern Santo Domingo is united with Haiti as one country by President Boyer of Haiti and the pro-Haitian leadership of Santo Domingo. The leadership of Spanish-Creole proponents of Spanish Haiti opposes the measure and many flee the island of Hispaniola.

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER ONE: THE EMERGENCE OF THE SAINT DOMINGUE STATE (1801)

1. Toussaint L'Overture. "The Unification of Western French Saint Domingue and Eastern Spanish Santo Domingo as the Unified State of Saint Domingue", in The. *General Advertiser*, (Philadelphia, March 16, 1801), [Available Online] [Http://www.webmaster.edu](http://www.webmaster.edu) , 1-2. See Edward Stevens. "Letter to Timothy Pickering", (Cape Francois, April 27, 1800), in Toussaint L'Overture and Edward Stevens, Consul General of the United States: *Letters of Toussaint Louverture and of Edward Stevens 1798-1800*, (American Historical Review, Volume 16, No.1 October, 1910), 97-98. The letter actually demonstrates awareness of the preparatory stages that were witnessed during the time that Eastern Santo Domingo colony was in the military plans of General Toussaint's revolutionary forces. Also See The. "Stipulations of the Treaty of Basel", (July 22, 1795), in, *The Dominican People A Documentary History*, ed. Ernesto Sagas and Orlando Inoa (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2003), 58-61. Also See Edward Stevens. "Letter to Secretary of State Timothy Pickering" (L'Arcahaye, June 23, 1799), in Toussaint L'Overture and Edward Stevens, Consul General of the United States. *Letters of Toussaint Louverture and of Edward Stevens 1798-1800*, (American Historical Review, Volume 16, No.1 October, 1910), 76-81.
2. Wendell G. Schaeffer. *The Delayed Cession of Spanish Santo Domingo to France 1795-1801, Hispanic*, (American Historical Review 29, February, 1949), 68. See Lester D. Langley. *Struggle for the American Mediterranean United States-European Rivalry in the Gulf-Caribbean 1776-1904*, (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1976), 32. Also See Alejandro Lienas. "La Invasion de Toussaint L'Overture", in *Invasiones Haitianas de 1801, 1805, y 1822*, ed. Emilio Rodriguez Demorizi: (Santo Domingo, Ciudad Trujillo, 1955), 185-188. On November 6, 1798 General Toussaint was making contact with the United States government to discuss the ports of Saint Domingue. The United States Secretary of State Timothy Pickering regarded General Toussaint as an independent leader of all Hispaniola. The U. S government had an economic policy that did not favor the establishment of trade relations with colonies under the sovereignty of a foreign colonial power. In the case of Saint Domingue, such colonial power was non-existent despite of the small Spanish military presence in Eastern Santo Domingo, waiting for the French takeover of that section of the island. Since French Commissioner Hedouville had departed the island, French colonial sovereignty could not be enforced in any part of Hispaniola. On December 19, 1798, General Toussaint decided to send Saint Domingue representative Joseph Bunel to meet with U.S Secretary of State Timothy Pickering and President John Adams. Joseph Bunel was an Afro-French Mulatto married to a Black Creole woman from Saint Domingue and was the first non-white foreign dignitary to sit with a U.S president. The representations of the southern states along with Albert Gallatin of Pennsylvania, a Northern State were opposed to this historic meeting. See Alexander DeConde. *The Quasi-War, The Politics and Diplomacy of the Undeclared War with France 1797-1801*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966), 135. Also See Edward Steven. "Letter to Secretary of State Timothy Pickering", (Cap Francois, May 24 & 28, 1800), in Toussaint L'Overture and Edward Stevens, Consul General of the United States: *Letters of Toussaint Louverture and of Edward Stevens 1798-1800*, (American Historical Review, Volume 16, No.1 October, 1910), 99-100. It is also important to note that General Toussaint had prepared for war with the southern state controlled by General Rigaud. The restoration of the state of Saint Domingue according to General Toussaint was an absolute necessity, and in June 1799, conflict began between these two divided armies. In eastern Santo Domingo, Spanish Colonial Governor Garcia actually was willing to send a representative to speak with those of General Rigaud for an alliance against General Toussaint but that was unsuccessful. The United States representative and commercial agent Edward Stevens and Great Britain's representative and Brigadier General Maitland came to aid Toussaint against Rigaud whose forces were well armed but smaller in numbers. The southern state was already conducting commerce through its ports from the islands of Jamaica and St. Thomas. U.S Secretary of State Pickering, wanted to arm General Toussaint's

forces, with a total of 4,000 muskets manufactured in Prussia along with other ammunitions, his naval agent in Boston Stephen Higginson wanted Secretary of the Navy Stoddert to accept this idea. General Toussaint's forces were at 20,000 in Leogane and not highly equipped as the one of General Rigaud with only 5,500 soldiers. When representative Stevens wrote to Secretary of State Pickering in late June, 1799 he indicated that General Rigaud had tyrannical tendencies which is why General Toussaint must be supported in his offensive attacks. Edward Stevens. "Letter to Secretary of State Timothy Pickering", (L'Arcahaye, June 24, 1799), 76-81. Also See Wendell G. Schaeffer. *The Delayed Cession of Spanish Santo Domingo to France, 1795-1801*, (Hispanic American Historical Review 29, February, 1949), 65. There was also acknowledgement that the island of Jamaica may be in the plans for an invasion by both The Directory of France and General Rigaud of the South. General Toussaint had originally rejected French Commissioner Hedouville's offer to invade the British island colony of Jamaica. General Toussaint had negotiations with Lieutenant Colonel Maitland of Great Britain promising not to invade Jamaica. See Edward Stevens. "Letter to Brigadier General Maitland", (Gonaives, May 23, 1799), in Toussaint L'Overture and Edward Stevens, Consul General of the United States. *Letters of Toussaint Louverture and of Edward Stevens 1798-1800*, (American Historical Review, Volume 16, No.1 October, 1910), 73-74. Also See Michael A Palmer. *Stoddert's War: Naval Operations during the Quasi-War with France, 1798-1801*, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1987), 158-159. The north and south was a struggle between the Black Creole leadership and the southern Afro-French Mulatto leadership. In 1800, the outcome was that the forces of General Toussaint defeated General Rigaud and, Spanish Cuba became the destination point for a total of 700 soldiers which abandoned the south. General Toussaint did not seize the plantations of the Afro-French Mulatto elites, but did distribute the revenues between the laborers, the treasury and the owners. General Toussaint appointed Jean-Jacques Dessalines to become the administrator of the south after he offered the job to Agustin Clairveaux an Afro-French Mulatto commander. Once General Rigaud was defeated, the north and south were united in western Saint Domingue and the remains of the southern army were united with the rest of the army of General Toussaint. C.L.R. James. *Black Jacobins, Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 139. 235-236. There were Afro-French Mulatto women within the elite class that were supposedly plotting against General Toussaint who refused to take action by deciding not to wage war against females. He would only incarcerate any females caught plotting against the new administration if they were proven to be involved, but made sure they were not violated. The General could not spare any punishment that remained of the military that General Rigaud had created during the conflict. Three Hundred soldiers were executed in Leogane, and 50 in Port Republic (Port-au-Prince) were also executed and these were officers. The evidence is overwhelming proof that General Toussaint had a reputation for keeping his promises and historian C.L.R. James points this out throughout his research. France was where Andre Rigaud was loyal too, because of its principles on granting Freedom and Equalities to People of Color regardless of ancestral makeup. Those elites of African-French ancestry (Afro-French Mulattos) remained loyal to France and supported its government. A letter written by commercial agent Edward Stevens in Saint Domingue, to U.S secretary of state Timothy Pickering, in 1800, clearly acknowledge that military and political unification of the island of Hispaniola was the ultimate plan for General Toussaint's forces in western Saint Domingue. See Edward Stevens, Commercial Agent of the United States. "Letter to United States Secretary of State Timothy Pickering", (Cap Francois, May 28, 1800), in Toussaint L'Overture: and Stevens, Edward Consul General of the United States. *Letters of Toussaint Louverture and of Edward Stevens 1798-1800*, (American Historical Review, Volume 16, No.1, French and English Letters and Correspondences, October, 1910), 99-100. American merchants were trading in Saint Domingue and the U.S government did not indicate that these commercial activities were illegal. According to Historian Wendell G. Schaeffer. *The Delayed Cession of Spanish Santo Domingo to France, 1795-1801*, (1949) supported the contention based on the evidence that President John Adams who served the United States from 1796-1801, believed that Saint Domingue was not French or Spanish. The military takeover and the political union of eastern Santo Domingo with western Saint Domingue on the island of Hispaniola would continue to conduct commercial relations with the United States. Also See Kerverseau, General de la Militar Francesa. "Carta al Ministro de la Marina y de las Colonias Francesa", (Santo Domingo, Septiembre 9, 1800), Traductor Jose Manuel Hernandez, in *La Era*

de Francia en Santo Domingo Contribucion a Su Estudio, ed. Emilio Rodriguez Demorizi (Ciudad Trujillo, Santo Domingo: Editoria del Caribe, 1955), 228. 237-238.

3. Ernesto Sagas and Orlando Inoa, Ed. *The Dominican People A Documentary History*, (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2003), 64-65. General Kerversau did become aware of General Devaux of the revolutionary forces and a ranking officer under General Toussaint indicated he was moving into Puerto Plata, Santiago, and Cotui. Many revolutionary agents began to operate within the Black Creole population of eastern Santo Domingo who were in favor of ending Spain's rule. General Kerversau personally regarded the slave revolution as one of violence towards the European-Creoles. The United States policy of intervention totally dismissed the idea of French occupation, Spanish withdrawal, General Kerversau or Governor Garcia, in favor of General Toussaint who already had representative Bunel dealing with the President Adams administration. President Adams acknowledged that the government of the revolutionaries was the authority of all Saint Domingue and was not affiliated to either Spain or France. General Kerversau argued that control of eastern Santo Domingo should be authorized without the consent of the French Directory by neither General Toussaint's revolutionaries nor anyone else. Since many revolutionary agents were dwelling among the Black Creole Population of Eastern Santo Domingo, French General Kerversau felt that General Toussaint did not treat French Commissioner Roume as having any authority concerning the political affairs of Saint Domingue. See Kerverseau, General de la Militar Francesa."Carta al Ministro de la Marina y de las Colonias Francesa", (Santo Domingo, Septiembre 9, 1800), Traductor Jose Manuel Hernandez, in *La Era de Francia en Santo Domingo Contribucion a Su Estudio*, Ed. Emilio Rodriguez Demorizi (Ciudad Trujillo, Santo Domingo: Editorial del Caribe, 1955), 234-235. Edward Stevens. "Letter to Secretary of State Timothy Pickering", (Leogane, January 16, 1800), in Toussaint L'Overture and Edward Stevens, Consul General of the United States. *Letters of Toussaint Louverture and of Edward Stevens 1798-1800*, (American Historical Review, Volume 16, No.1 October, 1910), 88-92.
4. Emilio Rodriguez Demorizi, ed. *Milicias de Santo Domingo 1786-1821*, (Santo Domingo: Editora del Caribe, 1978), 215-217. Francisca Valerio. "Relacion Dirigida Por Dona Francisca Valerio al Presbitero Doctor Don Francisco Gonzales y Carrasco", (Residente en Santiago, Cuba, 1801), in *Invasiones Haitianas de 1801, 1805, y 1822*, ed. Emilio Rodriguez Demorizi (Santo Domingo, Ciudad Trujillo, 1955), 71-84. Also See Antonio del Monte y Tejada. *Historia de Santo Domingo*, (Santo Domingo, 1890), 170-171. It's important to make not that a slave revolt on a smaller scale had occurred in Spanish Santo Domingo in 1796, at a place called Boca Nigua against the slaveholders. See Joaquin Garcia. "Spanish Lieutenant Governor of Santo Domingo, Letter to the Prince of Peace with Regards to the Slave Uprising of the Hacienda de Boca Nigua in the Spanish Colony of Santo Domingo", (Santo Domingo, December 13, 1796), in *The Dominican People A Documentary History*, ed. Ernesto Sagas and Orlando Inoa (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers 2003), 62-64.
5. Toussaint L'Overture, General e Jefe del Ejercito de Santo Domingo. "Proclamacion de la Union de la Isla", (Cuartel General de Azua, 1801), in *Invasiones Haitianas de 1801, 1805, y 1822*, ed. Emilio Rodriguez Demorizi (Santo Domingo, Ciudad Trujillo, 1955), 266. Toussaint L'Overture. "The Unification of Western French Saint Domingue and Eastern Spanish Santo Domingo as the Unified State of Saint Domingue", in *The General Advertiser*, (Philadelphia, March 16, 1801), Also See Michel Emilio Cordero. *La Revolucion Haitiana y Santo Domingo*, (Santo Domingo: Editora Nacional, 1968), 57.
6. Francisca Valerio. "Relacion Dirigida Por Dona Francisca Valerio al Presbitero Doctor Don Francisco Gonzales y Carrasco", (Residente en Santiago, Cuba, 1801), in *Invasiones Haitianas de 1801, 1805, y 1822*, ed. Emilio Rodriguez Demorizi (Santo Domingo, Ciudad Trujillo, 1955), 71-84. Also See Antonio del Monte y Tejada. *Historia de Santo Domingo*, (Santo Domingo, 1890), 170-171.

7. Antonio del Monte y Tejada: Santo Domingo, 1890, The Quoted Statement was used and extracted from an English Translation found in, Sybille Fischer. *Modernity Disavowed, Haiti and Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 131.
8. C.L.R. James. *Black Jacobins; Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 246-248.
9. Sybille Fischer. *Modernity Disavowed, Haiti and Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), Reverend John R. Beard. *The Life of Toussaint L'Overture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), Chapter XIV. See Frank Moya Pons. *The Dominican Republic, A National History*, (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998, Available in Both English and Spanish), Its also important to note that Governor-General Toussaint attempted to win the white Spanish-Creole elites of eastern Santo Domingo by giving them their own court of appeals to handle cases that dealt with crimes in relation to stealing. Two courts of appeals were established in western Saint Domingue and eastern Santo Domingo and both were military courts. Governor-General Toussaint invited the elite Spanish Creole classes to become involved in the cultivation of production that was developed under French colonialism in western Saint Domingue. Michel Emilio Cordero. *La Revolucion Haitiana y Santo Domingo*, (Santo Domingo: Editora Nacional, 1968), 110-112. C.L.R. James: *Black Jacobins; Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 244-248. General Toussaint had originally been born into slavery and was freed before the Saint Domingue (Haitian) Revolution began in 1791. General Toussaint became a landowner and himself an owner of slaves. General Toussaint assisted Bayon de Libertat in his escape from the slave revolutionaries. Bayon de Libertat was responsible for General Toussaint's emancipation from slavery. General Toussaint became involved with the revolution as an advocate for the end of slavery in French Saint Domingue. Free Persons of Color within the elite class of pre-revolutionary Saint Domingue had acquired slaves and this was due to the economic conditions of a time. The society of the time determined one's socio-economic status on ownership of land and slaves. Free People of Color that were economically prosperous did not fully enjoy social and political equality with the elite white-French Creole population of Saint Domingue. The Free People of Color were a result of individuals who worked to obtain their freedom or had good relations with their former owners. The population of Free People of Color consisted of those who were economically wealthy and those of the poorer classes. The elite slaveholding classes of Free People of Color were usually Afro-French Mulattos and a smaller group of Black Creoles. General Toussaint belonged to the smaller elite class of Black Creoles who owned land and slaves. See Adam Hochschild. *Bury the Chains Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free Empires Slaves*, (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005), 258.
10. Michel Emilio Cordero. *La Revolucion Haitiana y Santo Domingo*, (Santo Domingo: Editora Nacional, 1968), 110-111.
11. Sybille Fischer. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 148-149.
12. Michel Emilio Cordero. (Santo Domingo: Editora Nacional, 1968), 49. Also See Reverend John R. Beard. *The Life of Toussaint L'Overture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), Chapter XIV.
13. The. *Constitution of Saint Domingue, 1801*, (Paris De'Y'imprimerie du Depot des Lois, 1801, English Translation, [Available Online] [Http://www.HaitianArchives](http://www.HaitianArchives), 1-13.
14. Essential Thinkers, Plato. *The Republic*, (New York: Barnes and Nobles Books), 85-362.

15. Antonio Del Monte y Tejada. "Statement on General Toussaint's Character When he Entered the Territory of Santo Domingo, 1801", The Extracted Statement is Found in English Translation in Selden Rodman. *Quisqueya, A History of the Dominican Republic*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), 38-39.
16. Toussaint L'Overture. "Primera Carta al Ciudadano Consul Napoleon", (Santo Domingo, Febrero 12, 1801), y la "Segunda Carta", (Febrero 12, 1801), in. *Segunda Campana de Santo Domingo: Guerra: Dominico Francesa de 1808*, ed. Jean-Baptiste Lemonnier Delafosse (Memoirs of French Military Officer Describing the Siege of Santo Domingo), (Santiago: Editorial El Diario, 1946), 211-212. Also See C.L.R. James. *Black Jacobins; Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1989). 238, and Emilio Rodriguez Demorizi, ed. *Milicias de Santo Domingo 1786-1821*, (Santo Domingo: Editora del Caribe, 1978), 211-215.
17. Toussaint L'Overture. "Dictatorial Proclamation", (Cap François, 4 Frimmaire, Year X, (November 25, 1801), English Translation [Available Online] [Http://www.HaitianArchives](http://www.HaitianArchives), 1-6. originally from Victor Schoelcher. *Vie de Toussaint Louverture*, (Paris: Paul Ollendorf, 1889)
18. Toussaint L'Overture expressed these views during the period in which he had liberated the slaves of Spanish Santo Domingo in 1801. This information can also be seen in certain quotes by General Toussaint, found in Selden Rodman. *Quisqueya, A History of the Dominican Republic*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), 39.
19. Toussaint L'Overture. "Dictatorial Proclamation", (Cap François, 4 Frimmaire, Year X (November 25, 1801), originally from Victor Schoelcher. *Vie de Toussaint Louverture*, (Paris: Paul Ollendorf, 1889), 1-6.
20. The. *Constitution of Saint Domingue, 1801*, (Paris De'l'imprimerie du Depot des lois, 1801), English Translation [Available Online] [Http://www.HaitianArchives](http://www.HaitianArchives)
21. Toussaint L'Overture. "Letter to Bonaparte on the Constitution", (27 Messidor, Year IX (July 16, 1801), English Translation [Available Online] [Http://www.HaitianArchives](http://www.HaitianArchives), 1. originally from Victor Schoelcher. *Vie de Toussaint Louverture*, (Paris: Paul Ollendorf, 1889), Also See the same letter in Spanish Toussaint L'Overture: "Carta al Ciudadano Consul Napoleon", (Santo Domingo, Julio 16, 1801), in *Segunda Campana de Santo Domingo: Guerra: Dominico Francesa de 1808*, ed. Jean-Baptiste Lemonnier Delafosse (Memoirs of French Military Officer Describing the Siege of Santo Domingo), (Santiago: Editorial El Diario, 1946), 213-214. Also See Frank Moya Pons. *The Dominican Republic, A National History*, (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998) (Available in Both English and Spanish), 107-108. See Sybille Fischer. *Modernity Disavowed, Haiti and Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 229-230.
22. Toussaint L'Overture. "Carta al Ciudadano Consul Napoleon", (Santo Domingo, Julio 16, 1801), 213-214.
23. The. *Constitution of Saint Domingue, 1801*, (Paris De'l'imprimerie du Depot des lois, 1801), English Translation [Available Online] [Http://www.HaitianArchives](http://www.HaitianArchives), 1-10. Also See Map No 9 for territorial division within Saint Domingue found in Vicente Tolentino Rojas. *Historia de la Division Territorial, 1492-1943*, (Santiago: Editorial La Nacion de L. Sanchez Andujar, 1944), 73.
24. Michel Emilio Cordero. (Santo Domingo: Editora Nacional, 1968), 58-59. The governments of both the United States and Great Britain tolerated military and political unification in Hispaniola. The historic event concluded with the taking of the Spanish territory of eastern Santo Domingo for the sake of protecting its commercial interests and this was the advantage to the unified state of Saint Domingue. The inter-connected civil and military government of Saint Domingue was also tolerated by the United States and Great Britain as part of its overall policy during the period of

1801. Governor Toussaint became a key link to the commercial capitalists from the United States and Great Britain, the former planters, and the formerly enslaved.
25. Antonio del Monte y Tejada. (Santo Domingo, 1890), 171.
 26. Michel Emilio Cordero. (Santo Domingo: Editora Nacional, 1968), 52-53.
 27. William Jay. *An Inquiry into the Character and Tendency of the American Anti-Slavery Societies*, (Stereotyped By Conner and Cooke, New York: Published By Leavitt, Lord & Co. 180 Broadway. Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 47 Washington-Street, 1835), (Reprinted by Kraus Reprint Co., New York, 1969), 176-177. See Colonel Malefant: *Historique et Politique des Colonies et Particulier de Celle de Saint Domingue*, (Paris Audibert, 1814), 57-58.
 28. The. *Constitution of Saint Domingue, 1801*, (Paris De'I'imprimerie du Depot des lois, 1801), 3.
 29. The development of the Caribbean colonies depended on slavery that was part of the local political organization and the social order. The United States, which emerged from a colonial status, became politically divided on the issue of slavery from 1776-1865 and then by the issues of racial equality, which resulted in the civil rights movement of modern times. France was also divided and wrestled with the idea of slavery by abolishing the institution from 1794-1803 as well as reinstating it again from 1803-1848. The colonies were not the sole cause of all the wealth for western European colonial powers but did provide a substantial part of the generated profits for capitalists and revenue that enriched the states wealth. The accumulation of capital from developing the agrarian economy paved the way for the industrial revolution which was the quest for technological innovations that began in England. The economic transformation was important to the industrial development that occurred in Western European states. Yet, in Saint Domingue, General-Governor Toussaint felt that there was unfairness about the slave society in terms of human equality in this modern economic development. The institution of slavery that was immoral sustained such a society. If modernization was to take place, a moral standard was to be included in a new standard of ethics and values of human equality.
 30. Michel Emilio Cordero. (Santo Domingo: Editora Nacional, 1968), 52.
 31. The. *Constitution of Saint Domingue, 1801*, (Paris De'I'imprimerie du Depot des lois, 1801), 8-10. Also See Antonio del Monte y Tejada. *Historia de Santo Domingo*, (Santo Domingo, 1890), 173.
 32. C.L.R. James. (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 240. 264.
 33. The. *Constitution of Saint Domingue, 1801*, (Paris De'I'imprimerie du Depot des lois, 1801), 11-13. It's important to make note that Toussaint L'Ouverture adopted the French Tricolor Flag of blue, white, and red to be official in the State of Saint Domingue. See Fleurimond W. Kerns. "The Haitian Flag Birth of a Symbol", in *Haiti A Slave Revolution 200 years after 1804*, ed. Pat Chin Greg Dunkel Sara Flounders and Kim Ives (New York: International Action Center, 2004), 99-100. See Dov Gutterman. *Historical Flags of Haiti and its Designs*, (Presented in Copies put together in Chronological order by Dov Gutterman) [Http://www.fahnenversand.de/fotw/flags/ht-hist.html](http://www.fahnenversand.de/fotw/flags/ht-hist.html) , 1.

CHAPTER TWO: THE HAITIAN STATE AND SANTO DOMINGO (1802-1806)

1. Napoleon Bonaparte: First Council of the Empire of France. "The First Consul to the Inhabitants of Saint Domingo", (Brumaire 17, November 8, 1801), in *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, ed. Reverend John R. Beard (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 163-164. Also See

C.L.R. James. *Black Jacobins; Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 237. See Napoleon Bonaparte. "The Expedition to Saint Domingue", (November 18, 1801), English Translation [Available Online] [Http://www.HaitianArchives](http://www.HaitianArchives), 1-2. originally from Victor Schoelcher. *Vie de Toussaint Louverture*, (Paris: Paul Ollendorf, 1889), In the United States, as perceived by the government of France, was fearful of a transplanted free Black State in the western Hemisphere made up of the formerly enslaved. The end of the state of Saint Domingue meant that the French Empire under First Consul Napoleon wanted to extend the empire to include Louisiana, Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Saint Domingue. An outcome like this would not be favorable to American Foreign Policy because it included Louisiana located in North American territory and west of the United States. See Lester D. Langley. *Struggle for the American Mediterranean United States-European Rivalry in the Gulf-Caribbean 1776-1904*, (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1976), 32.

2. Napoleon Bonaparte: First Council of the Empire of France. "Letter to Citizen General Toussaint L'Overture of the Army of Saint Domingo, 1801", in *The Life of Toussaint L'Overture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, ed. Reverend John R. Beard (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 172-175.
3. Napoleon Bonaparte: First Council of the Empire of France. "The Expedition to Saint Domingue", (November 18, 1801), English Translation [Available Online] [Http://www.HaitianArchives](http://www.HaitianArchives), 1-3. from Victor Schoelcher. *Vie de Toussaint Louverture*, (Paris: Paul Ollendorf, 1889), Also See Laurent Dubois. *Avengers of the New World, The Story of the Haitian Revolution*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 251. See C.L.R. James. *Black Jacobins; Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 288.
4. C.L.R. James. *Black Jacobins; Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 295-296.
5. Napoleon Bonaparte: First Council of the Empire of France. "The Expedition to Saint Domingue", (November 18, 1801), English Translation [Available Online] [Http://www.HaitianArchives](http://www.HaitianArchives), 1. originally from Victor Schoelcher. *Vie de Toussaint Louverture*, (Paris: Paul Ollendorf, 1889)
6. Lester D. Langley. *Struggle for the American Mediterranean United States-European Rivalry in the Gulf-Caribbean 1776-1904*, (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1976), 33.
7. It is important to make note that President Jefferson of the United States believed that Saint Domingue, which had an organized government created by the former slaves was a place that would be suitable to colonize African Americans. President Jefferson believed that General Toussaint could accept those individuals of African decent whom had committed acts considered a crime in the United States, which was considered "meritorious" by the government of Saint Domingue. Africa was not necessarily the place but rather the last resort according to this president if all other plans for colonization proved unsuccessful. See Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States. "Letter to Governor of Virginia James Monroe", (Washington City, November 24, 1801), in *Thomas Jefferson Selected Writings*, ed. Merrill D. Peterson (The Library of America, 1984), 1096-1099.
8. Toussaint L'Overture. "Autobiography by Toussaint L'Overture, Memoir of General Toussaint L'Overture", Originally Published by M. Saint Remy: *Memoires de la Vie de Toussaint L'Overture*, (French Language) and than By J. R. Beard: *Toussaint L'Overture: A Biography and Autobiography*, (English Language), 1863, English Translation [Available Online] [Http://www.HaitianArchives](http://www.HaitianArchives), 2-5. Also See Vicente Tolentino Rojas. *Historia de la Division Territorial, 1492-1943*, (Santiago: Editorial La Nacion de L. Sanchez Andujar, 1944), 74. See Fradique Lizardo Barinas. *Cultura Africana en Santo Domingo, Dibujos Primarios y Dibujos Definitivos*, (Santo Domingo: Sociedad Industrial Dominicana en Editora Taller, 1979), 65.

9. Toussaint L'Overture. "Autobiography by Toussaint L'Overture, Memoir of General Toussaint L'Overture", Originally Published by M. Saint Remy: *Memoires de la via de Toussaint L'Overture*, (French Language) and than By J. R. Beard: *Toussaint L'Overture: A Biography and Autobiography*, (English Language), 1863, English Translation [Available Online] [Http://www.HaitianArchives](http://www.HaitianArchives), 6-12.
10. Charles Victor Emmanuel Leclerc: General in Chief of the Army of Saint Domingo, and Captain General of the Colony. "Statement on the Unconditional Surrender of the Saint Domingue Revolutionaries of the Le Cap Port", (1802), in *The Life of Toussaint L'Overture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, ed. Reverend John R. Beard (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 161-162.
11. Michel-Rolph Trouillot. *Silencing the Past, Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 38.
12. Charles Victor Emmanuel Leclerc. "Proclamation to the Inhabitants of Saint Domingo", (Headquarters of the Cape, Pluiose 28, February 17, 1802), in *The Life of Toussaint L'Overture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, ed. Reverend John R. Beard (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 179-180. See Vicente Tolentino Rojas. *Historia de la Division Territorial, 1492-1943*, (Santiago: Editorial La Nacion de L. Sanchez Andujar, 1944), 74-75. Also See Laurent Dubois. *Avengers of the New World*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 267.
13. Toussaint L'Overture. "Autobiography by Toussaint L'Overture, Memoir of General Toussaint L'Overture", Originally Published by M. Saint Remy: *Memoires de la via de Toussaint L'Overture*, (French Language) and than By J. R. Beard: *Toussaint L'Overture: A Biography and Autobiography*, (English Language), 1863, English Translation [Available Online] [Http://www.HaitianArchives](http://www.HaitianArchives), 13-14. Colonel Jean-Baptiste San Souci was an African born soldier who had been serving under General Christophe and was not willing to surrender to the French military. However, Colonel San Souci was in the French military circle for a brief period during the month of June, 1802, but than he defected back to the rebel side. Colonel San Souci was in command of a battalion and was able to continue the resistance against the French military. Historian Michel-Rolph Trouillot: *Silencing the Past, Power and the Production of History* (1995), indicated that there was no historical evidence to suggest that Colonel San Souci went over to the French military side like Generals Dessalines and Christophe. He indicated that the only possible link was that San Souci was a Colonel and this may suggest his affiliation in the French military, but it only lasted for a month. In July 1802, the French military would face local guerrilla warfare by small groups of island revolutionaries in Saint Domingue. The appointed French General Fressinet stated the following to General Leclerc: "I am warning you, general that San Souci has just rebelled and tries to win to his party as many cultivators as he can. He is even now encircling the Cardinio camp. General Christophe is marching against him." During the months from July-November, 1802, Colonel San Souci organized his loyal followers into a small army. Black Creole Generals like Dessalines and Christophe went to war against the army of Colonel San Souci, under the command of French General Fressinet, but could never subdue him. There were other important leaders besides Colonel San Souci whom were also born in Africa. These commanders were Makaya and Sylla who also led forces that resisted the French and the Black Creole revolutionary hierarchy of Generals Dessalines and Christophe. People of Color regardless of ancestry, were not allowed to enter France and needed a request from the government to enter the country as long as war continued in Saint Domingue. Michel-Rolph Trouillot. *Silencing the Past, Power and the Production of History*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 41-43. 210-211. See Reverend John R. Beard: *The Life of Toussaint L'Overture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of*

its History to the Present Period, (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 271. 234-235. Philibert Fressinet: General in the French Military. "Statement Regarding San Souci's Forces of Resistance", (1802), As Quoted in English Translation in Michel-Rolph Trouillot: *Silencing the Past, Power and the Production of History*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 42. See The. *Constitution of Saint Domingue, 1801*, (Paris De'Imprimerie du Depot des lois, 1801), English Translation [Available Online] [Http://www.HaitianArchives](http://www.HaitianArchives), 1-13. Also See Michele Wucker. *Why the Cocks Fight, Dominicans, Haitians and the Struggle for Hispaniola*, (New York: Hill and Wang A Division of Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999), See Antonio del Monte y Tejada. *Historia de Santo Domingo*, (Santo Domingo, 1890), 210. Reverend John R. Beard. *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 238-240. Also See Laurent Dubois. *Avengers of the New World, The Story of the Haitian Revolution*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: London, England, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 285.

14. Toussaint L'Overture. "Autobiography by Toussaint L'Overture, Memoir of General Toussaint L'Overture", Originally Published by M. Saint Remy: *Memoires de la via de Toussaint L'Overture*, (French Language) and than By J. R. Beard: *Toussaint L'Overture: A Biography and Autobiography*, (English Language), 1863, English Translation [Available Online] [Http://www.HaitianArchives](http://www.HaitianArchives), 13-16.
15. Charles Victor Emmanuel Leclerc: General of all the French Military. "Letter to the Minister of Marine", (April 21, 1802), in *Black Jacobins; Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution*, ed. C.L.R. James (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 323-324.
16. Charles Victor Emmanuel Leclerc: General of all the French Military. "Letter to the Minister of Marine", (May 8, 1802), in *Black Jacobins; Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution*, ed. C.L.R. James (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 330-331. Tobias Lear. "Letter to Secretary of State James Madison", (March 1, 1802), in *The Papers of James Madison, Secretary of State Series Volume Two, August 1, 1801-February 28 1802*, ed. Mary A. Hackett, J.C.A. Stagg, Jeanne Kerr Gross, Susan Holbrook Perdue (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 521. See Garry Wills. *Negro President, Jefferson and the Slave Power*, (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2003), 42-43. The news reached the United States and Alexander Hamilton argued back in July of 1803, that the French war effort had gone wrong in Saint Domingue. The defeat of the French military by the black revolutionaries of Saint Domingue secured American expansionism into the west by acquiring the Louisiana Territory for 15,000,000 dollars. Alexander Hamilton stated the following: "To the deadly climate of St. Domingo and to the courage and obstinate resistance made by its black inhabitants are we indebted for the obstacles which delayed the colonization of Louisiana, till the auspicious moment, when a rapture between England and France gave a new turn to the projects of the latter, and destroyed at once all her schemes as to this favourite object of her ambition." Alexander Hamilton. "Purchase of Louisiana", (New York Evening Post, July 5, 1803), in *Alexander Hamilton Selected Writings*, ed. Joanne B. Freeman (The Library of America, 2001), 996-1001. Back in 1802, President Jefferson saw economic problems in France. The war in Saint Domingue did not allow the French empire to take over Louisiana Territory as he expressed to the appointed French Envoy of the time James Monroe. However, the president was sympathetic to France, unlike Hamilton who was not and opted for Great Britain and Saint Domingue instead. Thomas Jefferson: President of the United States. "Letter to The Special Envoy of France James Monroe", (Washington City, November 29, 1802), in *Thomas Jefferson Selected Writings*, ed. Merrill D. Peterson (The Library of America, 1984), 1111-1113. In the United States, President Thomas Jefferson became the 3rd president from 1801-1809, who terminated the policy that the administration of President Adams had helped to formulate with regards to the unified Saint Domingue state. Edward Stevens lost his post as Consul General in exchange for a commercial agent named Tobias Lear who was an affiliate of President George Washington. Tobias Lear indicated in a letter written on March 1, 1802 to the Secretary of State James Madison a future U.S president from 1809-1817, that in the

Southern and Western parts of the Saint Domingue state contained areas in which property and towns were not destroyed. The white Creole population had lost their lives elsewhere but not too much in the south and west of Saint Domingue. An estimate of about roughly 800,000 dollars in American property was lost as well as the debt owned by those ruined as a result of the war. General Toussaint was very disappointed after all the progress that was achieved in unifying the island. The diplomatic relations were technically over between the United States and Saint Domingue. Merchants from the United States in Saint Domingue were actually ordered to take a lower price for their goods by General Leclerc. However, the cargos of goods were seized if the offer was refused, by General Leclerc. Tobias Lear the quasi commercial agent was eventually ousted from Saint Domingue. Special notes with the intent to promise repayment at a specific sum of money by a certain time were offered for the cargo of goods in the trading establishments linked to France, at a total of 30 percent discount, was rejected in the United States because such notes had no real value. The destruction of the Saint Domingue state would end American merchant activity on the island and these strained relations between the United States and France. Garry Wills. *Negro President, Jefferson and the Slave Power*, (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2003), 42-43. See Timothy M. Matthewson. *Jefferson and Haiti*, (Journal of Southern History Volume 61, No. 2, May, 1995), 227. It's important to note that General Leclerc became a huge obstacle to American economic interests in Saint Domingue. French Minister Charles Talleyrand appointed Louis A. Pichon to handle the economics of commerce with merchants from the United States and to supply food to the French military. Pichon indicated that if American cargos were taken, than this would cause problems for the United States commerce, but would be an aid to the triumph of the French military in Saint Domingue.

17. Charles Victor Emmanuel Leclerc: General of all the French Military. "Letter to the Minister of Marine", (June 6 1802), in *Black Jacobins; Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution*, ed. C.L.R. James (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 331-332.
18. Charles Victor Emmanuel Leclerc: General of all the French Military. "Letter to General Toussaint L'Overture, Army of Saint Domingue" (Headquarters at Cap Francois, June 5, 1802), and Jean-Baptiste Brunet, General of the Division within the French Military. "Letter to General of the Division Toussaint L'Overture, Army of Saint Domingue", (Headquarters at Georges, June 7, 1802), in Toussaint L'Overture: "Autobiography by Toussaint L'Overture, Memoir of General Toussaint L'Overture", English Translation [Http://www.HaitianArchives](http://www.HaitianArchives), 16-18. Originally Published By M. Saint Remy. *Memoires de la Via de Toussaint L'Overture*, (French Language) and than By J. R. Beard: *Toussaint L'Overture: A Biography and Autobiography*, (English Language), 1863, It's important to note that General Henry Christophe also feared getting arrested that he refused to show up for a banquet in which General Leclerc was attending at the time.
19. Toussaint L'Overture. "Autobiography by Toussaint L'Overture, Memoir of General Toussaint L'Overture", English Translation [Available Online] [Http://www.HaitianArchives](http://www.HaitianArchives), 19.
20. Toussaint L'Overture. "Autobiography by Toussaint L'Overture, Memoir of General Toussaint L'Overture", 20-21. However, the governments of Great Britain and the United States did not allow the state of Saint Domingue to have a navy or interact entirely independent in external political and diplomatic matters but were willing to tolerate the island state.
21. Toussaint L'Overture. "Autobiography by Toussaint L'Overture, Memoir of General Toussaint L'Overture", 23-24. Also See Lester D. Langley. *Struggle for the American Mediterranean United States-European Rivalry in the Gulf-Caribbean 1776-1904*, (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1976), 31-32.
22. Charles Victor Emmanuel Leclerc: General of all the French Military. "Letter to the Minister of Marine", (July 4, 1802), in *Black Jacobins; Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution*, ed. C.L.R. James (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 335-336.

23. Quoted. "From An Anonymous Eyewitness Account in a Letter to a Fellow Exile Residing in Spanish Cuba, 1801", in Michel Emilio Cordero. *La Revolucion Haitiana y Santo Domingo*, (Santo Domingo: Editora Nacional, 1968), 60. Also see the extracted English Translation which was used in this research essay as Quoted in Sybille Fischer. *Modernity Disavowed, Haiti and Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 171.
24. By September of 1802, General Toussaint was defending his honor and military service to France, when he wrote to Napoleon, who was now First Consul for life. General Toussaint was actually a descendant of an African Arada King. He was born a slave and became a freeman, a soldier, general, diplomat and statesman who took command of the former slaves. He then transformed the slaves into a unified army of soldiers by learning the militarism, diplomacy and political-economy especially from France, Spain, Great Britain, and the United States. His mission was to bring unification on all levels to the whole island of Saint Domingue and succeeded in doing so, only to be interrupted by this French military invasion. General Leclerc did not want a specific trial for General Toussaint because an outcome would not pacify the rebellion in Saint Domingue but intensify the struggle, which is why he was sent straight to prison. When General Toussaint had arrived in Brest, France. His family was put under house arrest according to the Minister of the Marine who had written a letter to the Maritime Prefect. General Toussaint quickly responded back to the Minister of the Marine asking for an investigation into the deception that entrapped him. The outcome of this event was separation from his family while the government of France turned the other way. General Toussaint wrote to First Consul Napoleon. In this letter, General Toussaint pleaded that he was deceived by Generals Leclerc and Brunet. In France, General Toussaint was imprisoned in Fort de Jeoux in a region near Switzerland where the climate was cold. He was not allowed to keep any possessions of his own and was denied any visitation rights, and was under constant scrutiny and this became a torturous slow death. General Toussaint L'Overture died alone in prison from pneumonia. He had continued to plea for mercy in his letters, but no answer ever came from First Consul Napoleon. See Toussaint L'Overture. Second Letter to Bonaparte, (Fort de Joux, September 16, 1802), English Translation [Available Online] [Http://www.HaitianArchives](http://www.HaitianArchives), 1. originally from Victor Schoelcher: *Vie de Toussaint Louverture*, (Paris: Paul Ollendorf, 1889), Toussaint L'Overture. "Letter to the Minister of the Marine", (1802), in *The Life of Toussaint L'Overture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, ed. Reverend John R. Beard (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 230. Toussaint L'Overture. "July Letter to Bonaparte", (On Board Le Heros, 1 Thermidor, Year X,) (July 20, 1802), English Translation [Available Online] [Http://www.HaitianArchives](http://www.HaitianArchives), 1-2. originally from Victor Schoelcher. *Vie de Toussaint Louverture*, (Paris: Paul Ollendorf, 1889), Toussaint L'Overture. "Letter to the Commandant", (Fort de Joux, 1802), English Translation [Available Online] [Http://www.HaitianArchives](http://www.HaitianArchives), 1. originally from *Toussaint Louverture Fonde a Saint Domingue la Liberte et l' Egalite*, ed. General Neomours, Port-Au-Prince, 1945, Also See Minister of the Marine to the Maritime Prefect. "Letter", (Brest, 5 Thermidor, Year X), (July 24, 1802), English Translation [Available Online] [Http://www.HaitianArchives](http://www.HaitianArchives), 1. originally from Victor Schoelcher. *Vie de Toussaint Louverture*, (Paris: Paul Ollendorf, 1889), Also See Reverend John R. Beard. *The Life of Toussaint L'Overture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 274-275. 283. See Toussaint L'Overture. "Letter to First Council Napoleon", (Fort Joux, Vendemiaire 7, September 29, 1802), 271. 278-283. See Laurent Dubois. *Avengers of the New World, The Story of the Haitian Revolution*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 251. Also See Adam Hochschild. *Bury the Chains Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free Empires Slaves*, (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005), 294. In the United States, President Jefferson actually did not accept the capture of General Toussaint, in 1802, for his own expansionist interest in North America. The territory in mind was Louisiana to the west and therefore did not support General Leclerc from this period onward. See

Lester D. Langley. *Struggle for the American Mediterranean United States-European Rivalry in the Gulf-Caribbean 1776-1904*, (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1976), 34-35.

25. Michel-Rolph Trouillot. (Boston: Beacon Press: 1995), 39.
26. Charles Victor Emmanuel Leclerc: General of all the French Military. "Letter to the Minister of Marine", (July 6, 1802), in *Black Jacobins; Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution*, ed. C.L.R. James (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 336-337.
27. Charles Victor Emmanuel Leclerc: General of all the French Military. "Letter to the Minister of Marine", (August 6, 1802), in *Black Jacobins; Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution*, ed. C.L.R. James (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 342-343. From 1797-1798, the government of France became more lenient on the former planters who began to return to Guadeloupe claiming property and slave labor. According to the Governor of the island, Victor Hugues who was there at this time before being arrested and deported in 1798, had said that antagonisms were revived between the former slaves and the slaveholding planters. These planters became very influential upon the colonial authorities concerning the issue of discarding abolition and reinstating slavery. Pierre Gedeon an officer and Free Person of Color who had helped to settle the conflict that began in the town of Lamentin, Guadeloupe, revolted against the colonial authorities on behalf of French Republicanism and freedom for all people regardless of race or ethnicity, in 1801, but defeated by 1802. The historic event was due to the repression by the pro-slavery French colonial authorities on the island of Guadeloupe which had arrived to replace the former republican administrators. The fact was that in Saint Domingue under the government of Toussaint L'Overture, there was already a semi-independent state and these new appointed authorities from France wanted to prevent this from happening in Guadeloupe. See Laurent Dubois. "The Promise of Revolution", in *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World*, ed. David Patrick Geggus (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001), 114-117. Also See William Jay. *An Inquiry into the Character and Tendency of the American Anti-Slavery Societies*, (Stereotyped By Conner and Cooke, New York, Published By Leavitt, Lord & Co. 180 Broadway. Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 47 Washington-Street, 1835, (Reprinted by Kraus Reprint Co., New York, 1969), 177. Also See Hubert Cole. *Christophe: King of Haiti*, (New York: Viking Press, 1967), 116.
28. Charles Victor Emmanuel Leclerc: General of all the French Military. "Letter to the First Council Napoleon", (August 6, 1802), in *Black Jacobins; Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution*, ed. C.L.R. James (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 344-345.
29. Moya Pons. *The Dominican Republic, A National History*, (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998) (Available in Both English and Spanish), 108.
30. Michel-Rolph Trouillot. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 39. Dantes Bellegarde. *President Alexander Petion, Founder of Agrarian Democracy in Haiti and Pioneer of Pan-Americanism*, (Third Quarter, Volume 2, No. 3, 1941), 207. Also See Laurent Dubois. *Avengers of the New World, The Story of the Haitian Revolution*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 288-289. Some former slaves were actually enslaved again and sold throughout the Caribbean island which was admitted by General Leclerc. San Souci argued that he was the champion of freedom who never really gave in and was true to the revolution of the slaves. See Michel-Rolph Trouillot. *Silencing the Past, Power and the Production of History*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 67-69. See Laurent Dubois. *Avengers of the New World, The Story of the Haitian Revolution*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 265. and C.L.R. James. *Black Jacobins; Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 324. Generals Petion and Clerveaux were Afro-French Mulattos who made a unified alliance with African born forces of Makaya and declared an all out battle against the French military. Loyalty could not be detected by the French military, so General Leclerc wanted to detain all People of Color serving France. General Petion had a following among the Maroon population which were

the decedents of escaped slaves, whom were not supportive of Black Creole General Dessalines. The African born officer, Colonel San Souci agreed to accept the Black Creole leadership of Saint Domingue. Yet, San Souci's Congolese-African war tactics proved detrimental to the French military. San Souci was willing to compromise with Black Creole General Dessalines but not to General Christophe. However, General Christophe deceived San Souci into meeting with him and in turn had him killed. The killing of Colonel San Souci did not go without retaliation on the part of the Congolese-African military faction who in turn captured Paul L'Overture the brother of General Toussaint and killed him. Colonel San Souci was a power force that threatened the Black Creole leadership especially that of General Christophe. The Black Creole revolutionaries were delayed in the war efforts in Saint Domingue because the African born military faction would consistently on the attack against the Black Creole forces. Michel-Rolph Trouillot. *Silencing the Past, and the Production of History*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 44.

31. Reverend John R. Beard. (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 271. 248-254. Also See C.L.R. James. *Black Jacobins; Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 257-358. It's important to note that the French Tricolor Flag Blue, White and Red were used by the Black revolutionaries of Saint Domingue until the flag was changed. The French military was of the opinion that Black Creole and the Afro-French Mulatto military leadership was not struggling for an independent Saint Domingue because they used the French Flag. However, the Saint Domingue leadership created a new flag that used only blue and red vertical strips with the French Inscription "Liberte' Ou La Mort" (Liberty or Death) which was made official on May 18, 1803. See Fleurimond W. Kerns. "The Haitian Flag Birth of a Symbol" in, *Haiti A Slave Revolution 200 years after 1804*, ed. Pat Chin Greg Dunkel Sara Flounders and Kim Ives (New York: International Action Center, 2004), 99-100. See Dov Gutterman. *Historical Flags of Haiti and its Designs*, (Presented in Copies put together in Chronological order by Dov Gutterman) [Available Online] [Http://www.fahnenversand.de/fotw/flags/ht-hist.html](http://www.fahnenversand.de/fotw/flags/ht-hist.html), 2.
32. Marcus Rainsford. *A Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti*, (London, 1805), 423-429. Also See Reverend John R. Beard. *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 271. 248-254. and for more contemporary sources refer to C.L.R. James. *Black Jacobins; Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 256-257. 359-360. One-thousand-five hundred bloodthirsty dogs were imported from France to be used against the black revolutionaries of Saint Domingue. It's also important to note that this method of terror was used by Christopher Columbus against the Taino-Arawaks of Hispaniola. General Rochambeau learned this method from the Spanish Colonial Authorities in Cuba and the British Colonial Authorities in Jamaica. See Adam Hochschild. *Bury the Chains Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free Empires Slaves*, (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005), 283. Also see J. N Leger. *Haiti, Her History and Her Detractors*, (New York: Washington: Neale Publishing Company, 1907), 113-116. General Leclerc issued a Proclamation on September of 1802 as an attempt at trying to improve the local economic conditions. In Article I of a Proclamation issued by General Leclerc placed restrictive measures that favored French merchants when importing molasses, syrup, rum, dyewoods, woods, and coffee into Saint Domingue, which was very unfavorable to merchants of other lands. Keeping the island divided was basically a strategy to prevent the growing power of a unified revolt made up of slaves that could insight war in other areas of the Caribbean. The destruction of unified Saint Domingue would become a message to other potential revolts of slaves who may come together and set up similar states like Saint Domingue. Charles Victor Emmanuel Leclerc, General of all the French Military. "Proclamation for the Economics of Saint Domingue", (Headquarters of the Cape, September 8, 1802), in Appendix Marcus Rainsford. *A Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti*, (London, 1805), 420-422. In comparison to General Leclerc's economic plans, General Rochambeau was more lenient. On December 19, 1802, he allowed the importation of different articles of produce into the island at a ten percent duty charge. He also allowed foreign merchants to import to the colony on a twenty percent duty charge a much more conservative

approach to the more lenient six percent during the time of Governor-General Toussaint's political unification of the island. Donatien Marie-Joseph de Vimeur Rochambeau: General of the French Military. "The First Colonial Regulation Issued under the French Colonial Government", (December 19, 1802), in Appendix Marcus Rainsford. *A Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti*, (London, 1805), 430-431.

33. Laurent Dubois. *Avengers of the New World*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 294-295. Also See Also See Jean-Jacques Dessalines, Henry Christophe, and Agustin Clairveaux, Generals of the Military of Saint Domingue. "In the Name of the Blacks, and Men of Colour", (November 22, 1803) in *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, ed. Reverend John R. Beard (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 287-289. It's important to note that General Alexander Petion was to be a signer of this proclamation for independence but was too ill to attend the meeting. Also See C.L.R. James. *Black Jacobins; Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 369. Also See Ernesto Sagas and Orlando Inoa, ed. *The Dominican People A Documentary History*, (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2003), 66.
34. Michel Emilio Cordero. *La Revolucion Haitiana y Santo Domingo*, (Santo Domingo: Editora Nacional, 1968), 75. Also See W.W. Harvey. *Sketches of Hayti*, (London: L.B. Seeley and Son, 1827), (Reprinted Queens College, Cambridge University Press, Negro University Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1870), 234-235. Also See Sybille Fischer. *Modernity Disavowed, Haiti and Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 21.
35. Michel Emilio Cordero. (Santo Domingo: Editora Nacional, 1968), 76-77. Also See W.W. Harvey: *Sketches of Hayti*, (London: L.B. Seeley and Son, 1827), (Reprinted Queens College, Cambridge University Press, Negro University Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1870), 234.
36. Jean Jacques Dessalines: General and Chief. "Proclamation for the Republic of Haiti", (Gonaives, January 1, 1804), in *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, ed. Reverend John R. Beard (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 290. 300-301. See American Missionary Register. *A Brief History of Dessalines*, (From The Missionary Journal, October, 1825, Volume 5, No. 10), 291. 296. The Declaration of Independence for Haiti was not written By Jean Jacques Dessalines for he could not read or write. The declaration of independence for Haiti was the work of Afro-French Mulattos inspired by the writings of President Thomas Jefferson of the United States. It's important to make note that Jean-Jacques Dessalines was a slave of another Black Creole who was a proprietor named Dessalines. Jean-Jacques took the name Dessalines which was the last name of this proprietor. The proprietor named Dessalines was still alive in 1805, and saw his former slave as Emperor Jacques I of Haiti rise to power. Dessalines the proprietor actually became a personal butler for the Emperor. See J.A Rogers. *World's Great Men of Color*, Volume II, (London, New York, Toronto, Sydney, Tokyo, Singapore: A Touchstone Book, Published By Simon & Schuster, 1947 original, [reprinted] 1996), 243. To find out the origins of the indigenous name for Hispaniola; See M.L.E Moreau de Saint-Mery. *Descripcion de la Parte Espanola de Santo Domingo, 1790s*, (Ciudad Trujillo, Santo Domingo: Editora Montalvo, 1944), 49-50. Also See Hubert Cole. *Christophe: King of Haiti*, (New York: Viking Press, 1967), 141. Meanwhile, military unification for the island was not working for the imperial government in Haiti for recognition from abroad was not favorable to its already existing independent status. However, other contrary views came from William Plumer (1759-1850), a United States Senator from 1802-1807, from New Hampshire who believed that Haiti was an independent state on November 8, 1804 and that despite of the war with France, commerce should continue. Since he argued that the United States was neutral, it can trade with both belligerents. The island of Saint Domingue had revolted from France with the intent of becoming independent and since the French Empire

opposed the measure it decided to wage war. Senator Plumer was basically arguing that these were two separate states in conflict and because Saint Domingue had its own government functioning under its own laws, the United States government had to recognize the island state as it regarded other sovereign states. This contention obviously acknowledged independence as well as the unification for the island. William Plumer: United States Senator from New Hampshire. "Memorandum of the Proceedings of the second session of the Eight Congress commencing November 5, 1804-March 3, 1805", in *William Plumer's Memorandum of Proceedings in the United States Senate, 1803-1807*, ed. Editor Everett Somerville Brown, PhD (University of Michigan, The Macmillan Company, London: Macmillan & Company, Limited, New York, 1923), 186-189. It's important to make note that when the United States government agreed to the embargo on Haiti, Senator Plumer voted against the measure. Wendell G. Schaeffer. *The Delayed Cession of Spanish Santo Domingo to France, 1795-1801*, (*Hispanic American Historical Review* 29, February, 1949), 60.

37. Max H. Dorisinvillle. *Haiti and its Institutions: From Colonial Times to 1957*, in *The Haitian Potential, Research and Resources of Haiti*, ed. Vera Rubin, and Richard P. Schaedel (New York and London: Teachers College Press, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1976), 196. In terms of economics, the exports of Haiti had been a value of 45,000,000 dollars in 1789, but dropped to 1,935,000 dollars from 1794-1796, and under the unified state of Saint Domingue had increased to 14,400,000 dollars due to the work of Governor-General Toussaint in 1801.
38. Moya Pons. (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998) (Available in Both English and Spanish), 110. Also See Baron de Vastey, Par Monsieur le Baron de Vastey, Chancelier du Roi, Membre de son Conseil Prive Marechal de Camp de Ses Armces Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal et Militair de Saint Henry. *Essai Sur Les Causes de la Revolution et les Guerres Civiles d' Hayti Guerres Civiles D'Hayti*, (San Souci, De l'Imprimerie Royale, 1819), 41-46.
39. Jean-Jacques Dessalines: Governor-General of the Independent State of Haiti. "Extracted from an Earlier Proclamation Issued", (April, 1804), in *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, ed. Reverend John R. Beard: (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 294-296. American Missionary Register. *A Brief History of Dessalines*, (From the American. *Missionary Journal*, October, 1825, Volume 5, No. 10), 292. See W.W. Harvey: *Sketches of Hayti*, (London: L.B. Seeley and Son, 1827), (Reprinted Queens College, Cambridge University Press, Negro University Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1870), 237. Also see Hubert Cole: *Christophe: King of Haiti*, (New York: Viking Press, 1967), 141.
40. Jean Jacques Dessalines: Governor-General of the Independent State of Haiti. "Extracted from an Earlier Proclamation Issued", (April, 1804), 294-297.
41. American Missionary Register. *A Brief History of Dessalines*, (From The Missionary Journal, October, 1825, Volume 5, No. 10), 293. Also See W.W. Harvey. *Sketches of Hayti*, (London: L.B. Seeley and Son, 1827), (Reprinted Queens College, Cambridge University Press, Negro University Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1870), 236. Also See Hubert Cole. *Christophe: King of Haiti*, (New York: Viking Press, 1967), 143.
42. Jean-Jacques Dessalines: Governor-General of the Republic of Haiti. "Proclamation Against Foreign Invasion and in the Name of the Haitian Republic" (1804), in *Christophe: King of Haiti*, ed. Hubert Cole (New York: Viking Press, 1967), 144-145. In the United States, Senator Timothy Pickering who was now serving in this office for the State of Massachusetts did not agree with President Jefferson's foreign policy that politically isolated Haiti. Some Americans acquainted with Haiti perceived Governor Dessalines as a dictator but never mentioning the same for Napoleon of France. Senator Pickering was courageous enough to state the following to the President in a letter: "Dessalines is pronounced by some as a ferocious tyrant; but whatever atrocities may have been committed under his authority have they surpassed, have they equaled in

their nature those of the French Revolution when infuriated men were seeking as you once said “through blood and slaughter their long lost liberty”? If there could ever be an apology for Frenchmen, will it not apply with tenfold priority and force to the rude blacks of Santo Domingo? If Frenchmen, who were more free than the subjects of any monarch in Europe, the English excepted, could find in you an apologist for cruel excesses of which the world had furnished no example are the hapless, the wretched Haitians emancipated by a great national act and declared free are they after enjoying freedom many years, having maintained it in arms. Resolved to live free or die; are these men not merely abandoned to their own efforts but to be deprived of those necessary supplies which for a series of years, they have been accustomed to receive from the United States, and without which they cannot subsist.” Historian Garry Wills: *Negro President, Jefferson and the Slave Power*, (2003), points out that American Historians do not place any emphasis on the impact of the Haitian Revolution and war of independence. This particular letter by Timothy Pickering has gone relatively ignored and Wills does indicate this in his historical research. Wills goes on to state that the United States expelled Great Britain’s colonial authority but the social order continued. In Saint Domingue, the slave revolution overthrew the social order and was instrumental to the eventual political unification of the island. Timothy Pickering, Senator of Massachusetts. “Letter To President Thomas Jefferson”, (1804), in *Negro President, Jefferson and the Slave Power*, ed. Garry Wills: (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2003), 44-45.

43. William Wells Brown. “The Rising Sun”, (Chapter XVI) in *The Antecedent and Advancement of the Colored Race*, , (Author of “Sketches of Places and People Abroad” The Black Man” “The Negro in the Rebellion”, Clotelle, Etc., 1874, This source is just an example of the 19th century perceptions of the present conditions of the island of Haiti. Primary source material from this period must also be examined carefully due to limited or bias perspective during the period in which these were written.
44. Jean Jacques Dessalines: Gobernador-General de Haiti. “Proclamacion a los Inhabitantes de Santo Domingo” (Mayo 8, 1804), in *La Republica de Haiti y la Republica Dominicana*, ed. Jean Price-Mars (Three Volumes, Port –au Prince, Coleccion del Tercer Cincuentenario de La Independencia de Haiti, 1953), 87-90. Also found in *Invasiones Haitianas de 1801, 1805, y 1822*, ed. Emilio Rodriquez Demorizi (Santo Domingo, Ciudad Trujillo, 1955), 97-98.
45. The Quote used was the English Translation, Jean-Jacques Dessalines: Emperor of the Empire of Haiti. “Proclamation to the Spaniards and Spanish-Creoles of Santo Domingo Territory”, (1804), in Reverend John R. Beard. *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 296-298. Also See the Spanish Version, Jean Jacques Dessalines: Gobernador-General de Haiti. “Proclamacion a los Inhabitantes de Santo Domingo”, (Mayo 8, 1804), in *La Republica de Haiti y la Republica Dominicana*, ed. Jean Price-Mars (Three Volumes, Port –au Prince, Coleccion del Tercer Cincuentenario de La Independencia de Haiti, 1953), 87-90.
46. See Map No 10 in Vicente Tolentino Rojas. *Historia de la Division Territorial, 1492-1943*, (Santiago: Editorial La Nacion de L. Sanchez Andujar, 1944), 75. See American Missionary Register. *A Brief History of Dessalines*, From The Missionary Journal, October, 1825, Volume 5, No. 10), 293-294. Also See Antonio del Monte y Tejada. *Historia de Santo Domingo*, (Santo Domingo, 1890), 193.
47. Alexander Petion: General in the Haitian Military. “The Planned Coronation of Jean-Jacques Dessalines as Emperor of the Empire of Haiti”, (September 8, 1804), in Appendix Marcus Rainsford. *A Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti*, (London, 1805), 456-458. Reverend John R. Beard. *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press,

1970), 298-299. Also See William Wells Brown. "The Rising Sun" (Chapter XVI), *The Antecedent and Advancement of the Colored Race*, (Author of "Sketches of Places and People Abroad" "The Black Man" "The Negro in the Rebellion", Clotelle, Etc., 1874) Also See American Missionary Register. *A Brief History of Dessalines*, From The Missionary Journal, October, 1825, Volume 5, No. 10), 294.

48. Reverend John R. Beard. (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 298-299.
49. Jean Price-Mars: *La Republica de Haiti y la Republica Dominicana*, (Three Volumes, Port –au Prince, Coleccion del Tercer Cincuentenario de La Independencia de Haiti, 1953), 91-92. See Vicente Tolentino Rojas. *Historia de la Division Territorial, 1492-1943*, (Santiago: Editorial La Nacion de L. Sanchez Andujar, 1944), 77-78. Also See Alejandro Lienas. *La Invasion de Dessalines*, in *Invasiones Haitianas de 1801, 1805, y 1822*, ed. Emilio Rodriguez Demorizi (Santo Domingo, Ciudad Trujillo, 1955), 189-193.
50. Jean Louis Ferrand: General de la Militar Francesa en Santo Domingo. "Proclamacion de la Esclavitud de los Haitianos", (Enero 6, 1805), in *La Republica de Haiti y la Republica Dominicana*, ed. Jean Price-Mars (Three Volumes, Port –au Prince, Coleccion del Tercer Cincuentenario de La Independencia de Haiti, 1953), 83-85. Also found in *La Revolucion Haitiana y Santo Domingo*, ed. Michel Emilio Cordero (Santo Domingo: Editora Nacional, 1968), 85-87.
51. Jean Price-Mars. (Three Volumes, Port –au Prince, Coleccion del Tercer Cincuentenario de La Independencia de Haiti, 1953), 93-97. Jean-Baptiste Lemonnier- Delafosse. *Segunda Campana de Santo Domingo: Guerra: Dominico Francesa de 1808*, (Memoirs of French Military Officer Describing the Siege of Santo Domingo), (Santiago: Editorial El Diario, 1946), 114-118. See Map No. 10 found in Vicente Tolentino Rojas. *Historia de la Division Territorial, 1492-1943*, (Santiago: Editorial La Nacion de L. Sanchez Andujar, 1944), 76. These sources describe the towns that were destroyed and those towns that were not. Also See Gaspar de Arredondo y Pichardo. "Memoria de mi Salida de la Isla de Santo Domingo", (Abril 28, 1805), in *Invasiones Haitianas de 1801, 1805, y 1822*, ed. Emilio Rodriguez Demorizi (Santo Domingo, Ciudad Trujillo, 1955), 121-160. 144-145. 159-160.
52. Jean-Baptiste Lemonnier- Delafosse. *Segunda Campana de Santo Domingo: Guerra: Dominico Francesa de 1808*, (Memoirs of French Military Officer Describing the Siege of Santo Domingo), (Santiago: Editorial El Diario, 1946), 114-118. It's important to note that Rear Admiral Missiessy of the French Squadron had battled the navy of Great Britain and laid siege to the islands of Dominica, Montserrat, and St. Kitts by sinking its ships. This French Squadron had departed from Aix Island, on January 11, 1805. When the Admiral arrived according to this French Officer it seemed as the population was about to be driven into the sea.
53. The quote used was the English Translation in *The Dominican People A Documentary History*, ed. Ernesto Sagas and Orlando Inoa (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2003), 67-70. Jean-Baptiste Lemonnier- Delafosse. *Segunda Campana de Santo Domingo: Guerra: Dominico Francesa de 1808*, (Memoirs of French Military Officer Describing the Siege of Santo Domingo), (Santiago: Editorial El Diario, 1946), 114-118.
54. Jean-Baptiste Lemonnier- Delafosse. (Memoirs of French Military Officer Describing the Siege of Santo Domingo), (Santiago: Editorial El Diario, 1946), 117-118.
55. Marcus Rainsford. *A Historical Account of the Black Empire of Haiti*, (London, 1805), X-XI. Marcus Rainsford was a Captain in the British Navy who wrote extensively on the Empire of Haiti. Captain Rainsford had been accused of spying on local political and military affairs of Saint Domingue by the local black revolutionary leadership. Haitian General Henry Christophe was

presiding over his trial. He was found guilty and sentenced to death, but American friends helped to obtain his release and he was expelled from Saint Domingue, back in 1799.

56. Reverend John R. Beard. (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 299.
57. Max H. Dorisinvill. "Haiti and its Institutions: From Colonial Times to 1957", in *The Haitian Potential, Research and Resources of Haiti*, ed. Vera Rubin, and Richard P. Schaedel (New York and London: Teachers College Press, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1976), 198.
58. American Missionary Register. *A Brief History of Dessalines*, (From The Missionary Journal, October, 1825, Volume 5, No. 10), 295-296. Also See Reverend John R. Beard. *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 300-301.
59. The. *Constitution of the Empire of Haiti, 1805*, [Available Online] [Http://www.webmaster.edu](http://www.webmaster.edu) , 2. Also in Appendix, *Modernity Disavowed Haiti and Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, ed. Sybille Fischer. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 275-281.
60. Sybille Fischer. *Modernity Disavowed, Haiti and Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 233. Also See J.A Rogers. *World's Great Men of Color*, (Volume II, (London, New York, Toronto, Sydney, Tokyo, Singapore: A Touchstone Book, Published By Simon & Schuster, 1947 original, [Reprinted] 1996), 243.
61. The. *Constitution of the Empire of Haiti, 1805*, (1805) [Available Online] [Http://www.webmaster.edu](http://www.webmaster.edu) , 2.
62. The. *Constitution of the Empire of Haiti, 1805*, (1805), 3-4.
63. The. *Constitution of the Empire of Haiti, 1805*, 5. Also refer for comparisons to The: *Constitution of the United States of America, 1789*, It's important to make note that the Black Creole leadership of Haiti from Governor General Toussaint and Dessalines was not outwardly open to the Vodun Religion of West Africa with roots in Dahomey. Obviously, the Catholic Religion of the French-European interpretation became the basis for progress and power in Haiti, but not Vodun. Yet, in many ways, Vodun inspired the Haitian Revolution against the religion of the French planters, which was Catholicism because it came to be associated with oppression. African slaves choose to live in their various traditional cultures and religions from their ancestral homelands in Africa. French-European Creole planters never push Catholicism on them, which was not the case in Spanish Santo Domingo because the economy there was based on cattle with limited slavery and smaller plantations, instead of having large slave plantation enterprise, which existed in French Saint Domingue. Therefore, the Catholic Church was active in the local political and economic affairs of the colony of Spanish Santo Domingo which was not the case in French Saint Domingue. The Haitian masses mainly African born taken from a continent against their will, Black Creole slaves born on the island, and escaped Maroons became the basis of the united peasantry and Vodun were the spiritual beliefs that united the people. However, Vodun being the religion of the slaves became revolutionary during the rebellion and embraced by those who believed in liberty. The rest of the modern world who proclaimed the superficial theories of freedom for states simply continued to contemplate the status of Haiti. See Eugene D. Genovese. *Roll Jordon Roll, The World the Slaves Made*, (New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, 1974), 174-176. 183-184. See David Nicholls. *A Work of Combat: Mulatto Historians and the Haitian Past, 1847-1867*, (Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs, Vol. 16, No. 1, February, 1974), 23-24.
64. Jean Price-Mars. (Three Volumes, Port –au Prince, Collecion del Tercer Cincuentenario de La Independencia de Haiti, 1953), 102.

65. Sybille Fischer. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 8.
66. Sybille Fischer. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 146.
67. American Missionary Register. (From The Missionary Journal, October, 1825, Volume 5, No. 10), 292. Reverend John R. Beard. *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 302-303.
68. William Wells Brown. (Chapter XVI), (Clotelle, Etc., 1874), On January 15, 1806, a bill was presented before the United States Senate placing an embargo on Haiti with 27 for and 7 against. The embargo was a strategic measure for the United States that would be satisfactory to France in order to avoid a war. The Senate was predicted to vote 21 to 7 on the embargo against Haiti and that was true for on February 20, 1806 it passed by a large majority. The southern states voted on political, social, and economic measures and for fear of slave revolts. The historic event initiated a dormant period in the relations between the United States and Haiti. The first republic in the western Hemisphere had outwardly rejected the Black State of Haiti. The event placed the Haitian State in a quest for survival and military and political unification of the island meant prevention against its destruction. Haiti did take a heavy toll and the quest for unification was not even close to achievement. The Empire of Haiti was isolated to a remote corner of western Hispaniola, now that the first republic in the Western Hemisphere, the United States proved no different then Great Britain, Spain, and France in the recognition of the island state. However, a clandestine trade did continue, where United States trading vessels could enter various port towns of Haiti that could not trade in return. Since unification was an unfinished business other matters became of focus like the issue of slavery lingering on which left Emperor Jacques to devise a commercial measure. The government offered to open the Haitian ports to slave ships allowing slave traders from Jamaica to sell slaves in Haiti. The Haitian imperial government only allowed the sale of males that would be guaranteed freedom, but utilized for the military. The justification of the Haitian government was to save these slaves from chattel slavery that existed in other plantation societies in the Caribbean. The Empire of Haiti continued to focus on other matters like the economic institution of the plantation labor which became absolute. Emperor Jacques began to terminate the giving of land to those high ranks of the military as well as the elite classes of those whom were Afro-French Mulattos, back in 1804. The emperor took control of lands that was to be state controlled while the plantation economy became supreme. The plantation economy of Haiti became an obstacle for the new peasantry because it now replaced slave servitude with labor paid by a small wage salary. The economic and political institutions were now under a militaristic type of authority. See The. "Proceedings of the United States Senate", (January 15, 1806), in *William Plumer's Memorandum of Proceedings in the United States Senate, 1803-1807*, ed. Everett Somerville Brown, PhD (University of Michigan, The Macmillan Company, London: Macmillan & Company, Limited, New York, 1923), 186-189. 379. The. "Proceedings of the United States Senate", (January 21, 1806), 386. The. "Proceedings of the United States Senate", (January 25, 1806), 390. The. "Proceedings of the United States Senate", (February 20, 1806). 435, Greg Dunkel. "U.S Embargos Against Haiti from 1806-2003", (October 16, 2003), in *Haiti A Slave Revolution 200 years after 1804*, ed. Pat Chin Greg Dunkel Sara Flounders and Kim Ives. (New York: International Action Center, 2004), 103-105. W.W. Harvey. *Sketches of Hayti*, (London: L.B. Seeley and Son, 1827), (Reprinted Queens College, Cambridge University Press, Negro University Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1870), 237-238. Frank Moya Pons. "The Land Question in Haiti and Santo Domingo: The Social Political Context of the Transition from Slavery to Free Labor, 1801-1843", in *Between Slavery and Free Labor: The Spanish-Speaking Caribbean in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Manuel Moreno Fraginals, Frank Moya Pons, and Stanley L. Engerman (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1985), 181-182.
69. Frank Moya Pons. "The Land Question in Haiti and Santo Domingo: The Social Political Context of the Transition from Slavery to Free Labor, 1801-1843", (1985), 182.

70. Reverend John R. Beard. (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 305.

CHAPTER THREE: THE DIVISION OF HAITI AND SANTO DOMINGO (1807-1820)

1. The: *Constitution of the Republic of Haiti, 1806, (Constitution et Rapport Fait a L'Assemble)*, (December 27, 1806), (The Constitution of 1816 was based on the one of 1806 which was only for the South and than the North, 1820, and Santo Domingo, 1822), (Historical Document Microfilm, ScMicroF1179), 1-25. Specific pages are 9. 13-14. 15-18. 21.
2. Reverend John R. Beard. *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 305.
3. Dantes Bellegarde. *President Alexander Petion, Founder of Agrarian Democracy in Haiti and Pioneer of Pan-Americanism*, (Third Quarter, Volume 2, No. 3, 1941), 209. Also See Max H. Dorisinvillie. "Haiti and its Institutions: From Colonial Times to 1957", in *The Haitian Potential, Research and Resources of Haiti*, ed. Vera Rubin, and Richard P. Schaedel (New York and London: Teachers College Press, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1976), 199.
4. H.P. Davis. *Black Democracy*, (New York: L. MacVeagh, The Dial Press, 1929), 100-104. Also See Max H. Dorisinvillie. "Haiti and its Institutions: From Colonial Times to 1957", (1976), 199.
5. The. *Constitution of Haiti, 1807, (1807)* [Available Online] [Http://www.webmaster.edu](http://www.webmaster.edu), 1-5.
6. The. *Constitution of Haiti, 1807, (1807)*, 3.
7. The. *Constitution of Haiti, 1807, (1807)*, 4. The religion of Vodun was a predominant observance among the masses. Judaism as a result of a small population dispersed throughout the island of Hispaniola remained there. The remnants of Islam which may have existed among some various African ethnic groups and denominations of Christianity also existed to a small degree and were tolerated but could not be practiced in public according to this constitution.
8. Max H. Dorisinvillie. "Haiti and its Institutions: From Colonial Times to 1957", (1976), 199. For Separation of Powers within the Government of Haiti, Refer to The. *Constitution of the United States of America*, By Consent of the first Nine States in a Convention on, September 17, 1787, and the ratification was proclaimed by the Continental Congress On September 13, 1788 and went into full effect in March 4, 1789, The "*Bill of Rights*" (First Ten Amendments) effective as of December 15, 1791, (Printed by the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company), Its also important to note that the separation of powers derives from a French Philosopher named Charles de Secondat (1689-1755) also known as Montesquieu the Baron de la Brede. Montesquieu identified three kinds of government, the monarchy, republic, and despotic. The monarchy was ruled by a king or queen with limited power, a republic can either go aristocratic or democratic while despotic was a tyrant with absolute power. He argued for human liberty and idea that influenced President Alexander Petion of Haiti but only in theory as oppose to practice. Montesquieu also proposed the separation of powers between executive, legislative and judicial branches of government.
9. H.P. Davis. (New York: L. MacVeagh, The Dial Press, 1929), 104.

10. Sybille Fischer. *Modernity Disavowed, Haiti and Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 239. Also See Reverend John R. Beard. *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 305-306. Emperor Jean- Jacques Dessalines and the creation of the Empire of Haiti supposedly meant to indicate the supremacy of the Black State. According to this political terminology, it was important to consider that everyone was black by definition. The inserted vertical black strip in the Haitian Flag was included over the blue and red colors found in the French Flag but with the removal of the white strip. President Petion of Southern Haiti, was different, he removed the vertical black strip and left it with the vertical blue and red strip, which Emperor Jacques had originally done but changed it with the inclusion of a the black vertical strip. According to President Petion's Haitian Republic, the blue and red vertical strips represented the unity of Afro-French Mulattos and Black Creoles. President Petion chose this because he personally believed that both were equal yet distinguished the two groups, while Dessalines did not and said all where black. The contention was suggested by Historian J.A Rogers. See J.A Rogers. *World's Great Men of Color*, Volume II, (London, New York, Toronto, Sydney, Tokyo, Singapore: A Touchstone Book, Published By Simon & Schuster, 1947 original), (reprinted 1996), 252. It was in 1805 that the Black vertical strip was placed on the flag and was suppose to represent liberty and the people of the Haitian Empire. However, red may have meant liberty as well, but these are suggestions only, that may have a different interpretation, but the answer is not certain. See Dov Gutterman. *Historical Flags of Haiti and its Designs*, (Presented in Copies put together in Chronological order by Dov Gutterman) [Available Online] [Http://www.fahnenversand.de/fotw/flags/ht-hist.html](http://www.fahnenversand.de/fotw/flags/ht-hist.html). 3. See Sybille Fischer. *Modernity Disavowed, Haiti and Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 268-269.
11. Frank Moya Pons. "The Land Question in Haiti and Santo Domingo: The Social Political Context of the Transition from Slavery to Free Labor, 1801-1843", in *Between Slavery and Free Labor: The Spanish-Speaking Caribbean in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Editors Manuel Moreno Fragnals, Frank Moya Pons, and Stanley L. Engerman (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1985), 182-183.
12. Frank Moya Pons. *The Dominican Republic, A National History*, (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998), (Available in Both English and Spanish), 113.
13. Jean Price-Mars. *La Republica de Haiti y la Republica Dominicana*, (Three Volumes, Port –au-Prince, Colleccion del Tercer Cincuentenario de La Independencia de Haiti, 1953), 103-105.
14. Antonio del Monte y Tejada. *Historia de Santo Domingo*, (Santo Domingo, 1890), 214-215.
15. V H.S Carmichael: Mayor General Comandante de las fuerzas de su Majestad Britanica. "Pieza Justificativa, Copia de Una Comunicacion del Mayor General Carmichael al Visconde Castlereigh, Fechada en San Carlos, frente a la Ciudad se Santo Domingo", (firmado por el General Carmichael, Julio 8, 1809) in *Segunda Campana de Santo Domingo: Guerra: Dominico Francesa de 1808*, Appendix V ed. Jean-Baptiste Lemonnier Delafosse (Memoirs of French Military Officer Describing the Siege of Santo Domingo), (Santiago: Editorial El Diario, 1946), 226-230.
16. Max H. Dorisinvile. "Haiti and its Institutions: From Colonial Times to 1957", (1976), 200. Also See V H.S Carmichael: Mayor General Comandante de las fuerzas de su Majestad Britanica. "Pieza Justificativa, Copia de Una Comunicacion del Mayor General Carmichael al Visconde Castlereigh, Fechada en San Carlos, frente a la Ciudad se Santo Domingo", (firmado por el General Carmichael, Julio 8, 1809), 226-230. See Jean Price-Mars. *La Republica de Haiti y la Republica Dominicana*, (Three Volumes, Port –au Prince, Colleccion del Tercer Cincuentenario de La Independencia de Haiti, 1953), 105.

17. Frank Moya Pons. (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998), (Available in Both English and Spanish), 115-116.
18. John Edward Baur. *Mulatto Machiavelli, Jean Pierre Boyer, and The Haiti of His Day*, (The Journal of Negro History, Volume 32, No. 3 July, 1947), 316.
19. Frank Moya Pons. (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998), (Available in Both English and Spanish). 116, Also See Sybille Fischer. *Modernity Disavowed, Haiti and Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 148-149. Also See La. "Pobulacion de El Pueblo de Santo Domingo", in *La Dominacion Haitiana 1822-1844*, ed. Frank Moya Pons (Santiago, 1973), 75-76.
20. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator, ed. *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 52.
21. Jean Price-Mars. (Three Volumes, Port-au-Prince, Collection del Tercer Cincuentenario de La Independencia de Haiti, 1953), 105-106.
22. Baron de Vastey. Par Monsieur le Baron de Vastey, Chancelier du Roi, Membre de son Conseil Prive Marechal de Camp de Ses Armces Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal et Militair de Saint Henry. *Essai Sur Les Causes de la Revolution et les Guerres Civiles d' Hayti Guerres Civiles D'Hayti*, (San Souci, De l'Imprimerie Royale, 1819), 113. Also See Reverend John R. Beard. *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 307.
23. J.A Rogers: *World's Great Men of Color*, Volume II, (London, New York, Toronto, Sydney, Tokyo, Singapore: A Touchstone Book, Published By Simon & Schuster, 1947 original), (reprinted 1996), 251. Reverend John R. Beard. *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 307. Also See Sybille Fischer. *Modernity Disavowed, Haiti and Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 202.
24. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator, ed. (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 51.
25. Sybille Fischer. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 248. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator, ed. *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 42. The flag of Northern Haiti was similar to the one Jean-Jacques Dessalines had created for the Empire of Haiti. The flag of Northern Haiti included red and black vertical strips with a monarchical coat of arms bearing the Latin words "*Ex Cinerebus Nascitur*", See Dov Gutterman. *Historical Flags of Haiti and its Designs*, (Presented in Copies put together in Chronological order by Dov Gutterman) [Available Online] [Http://www.fahnenversand.de/fotw/flags/ht-hist.html](http://www.fahnenversand.de/fotw/flags/ht-hist.html), 4.
26. The. *Constitution of the Kingdom of Haiti, 1811*, [Available Online] [Http://www.webmaster.edu](http://www.webmaster.edu), 1-2.
27. Baron de Vastey. (San Souci, De l'Imprimerie Royale, 1819), 149-15.
28. Reverend John R. Beard. (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 307.
29. The: *Constitution of the Kingdom of Haiti, 1811*, 3. See Ludwell Lee Montague. *Haiti and the United States 1714-1938*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1940) There was no

official diplomatic relationship between the United States and the two divided Haitian States, during the early 1810s. However, commercial relations existed between the two Haitian States and the United States. The king turned to foreign relations as an attempt to secure recognition for his government's legitimacy in order to unite southern Haiti and eastern Santo Domingo. In order to move towards this goal, King Henry slashed the port duties in half at 50 percent to the discontent of business merchants from the United States. When the government of the Northern State would not obtain the payment on the goods that were brought by Von Kapf and Brune, a trading company from Baltimore, Maryland, the King ordered the confiscation of an investment of \$ 132, 428.52 worth of cargo goods and this affected the commercial relations between the two countries. A sum of \$124,955.19 was what the king of Haiti sent to the United States to buy various supplies. The fact here was that the money was kept in the United States and the government of Northern Haiti was treated dishonorably. The Haitian seizure of American investments worth of cargo goods was claimed by the U.S government which sent an agent named Septimus Tyler as an attempt to try and settle this problem. King Henry responded with rejection to the U.S claims. The U.S claims continued until 1817, and by 1820 it happened again without triumph for recognition of Northern Haiti by the United States was non-existent according to the administration of President Monroe and his Secretary of State Adams. The U.S government responded on behalf of the capitalists by justifying the claims in economic damages in property because of the wars that began with Generals Toussaint L'Overture and Jean-Jacques Dessalines. Commercial relations between the United States and Northern Haiti were strained by these difficulties. In January 11, 1811, King Henry stated: "Seeing that not only the articles have been detained in the United States by the aid of Von Kapf and Brune and McFaden, but that the said funds have been unjustly withheld to this day notwithstanding the many fruitless steps that his most serene highness has taken, especially the useless mission of Mr. Marple, merchant of this business thinking its just to use the means which are in his power to reposes himself of this property, especially where it is thus fraudulently withheld in contempt of all that is sacred among men, his most serene highness has decided on the following measure, repugnant alike to his feelings and policy but which is the sole resource left him for the recovery of the property of the state." Henry Christophe: King of Northern Haiti. "Letter Regarding the Money Held in the United States", (January 11, 1811), As Quoted in *The United States and Santo Domingo 1798-1873, A Chapter on Caribbean Diplomacy*, ed. Charles Callan Tansill (Gloucester, Massachusetts: P. Smith, 1967), 115. Rayford W. Logan. *The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti 1776-1891*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 184. 189-190.

30. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator, ed. (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 44.
31. Baron de Vastey. (San Souci, De l'Imprimerie Royale, 1819), 152-157.
32. W.W. Harvey. *Sketches of Hayti*, (London: L.B. Seeley and Son, 1827), (Reprinted Queens College, Cambridge University Press, Negro University Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1870), 238-241. 261-262. The. *Code Henry*, in *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968). 45. 46. 55.
33. W.W. Harvey. *Sketches of Hayti*, (London: L.B. Seeley and Son, 1827), (Reprinted Queens College, Cambridge University Press, Negro University Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1870), 185-186.
34. Baron de Vastey was a defender of the kingdom's ideology. The statement is quoted in English exactly how it appears in *Modernity Disavowed, Haiti and Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, ed. Sybille Fischer (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 255. King Henry began to build these lavish chateaus, residences, and his Citadel Henry at the La Ferriere mountain top. The building walls were 140 feet in height, a 30 feet wide corridor which was 270 feet high and was 4 stories high. The weaponry was installed and about 20,000 former slaves was said to have built this fortress which today has been forgotten as an architectural masterpiece. The Citadel Henry of the Northern part of Haiti is a fortress built on a mountain top 865 meters (3,000

Feet) in height above sea level. Michel-Rolph Trouillot: *Silencing the Past Power and the Production of History*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 34-35. It's important to note that King Henry did not see the ultimate completion of the Citadel La Ferriere, which was struck by an earthquake in 1842. The building was never use for the military. See H.P. Davis. *Black Democracy*, (New York: L. MacVeagh, The Dial Press, 1929), 111-112. The construction of San Souci Palace was supposedly inspired by a Potsdam Palace built for King Frederick II of Prussia. Historian Michel-Rolph Trouillot actually indicated that according to Haitian Architect Patrick Delatour who is restoring the palace that it was not inspired by anything but rather King Henry's quest for royalty. Trouillot explains that according to Delatour, it was the French urban planning of the late 18th century that led to the German connection. The explanation basically means that there was some sort of romanticist outlook on the part of some European observers in their perceptions of King Henry's Kingdom which was isolated in a remote corner of northwestern Hispaniola. The king authorized the building of his own home the San Souci Palace located at an old plantation near Milot named after the man he killed during the war of independence who was a potential threat to his personal ambitions. The palace was two floors decorated in mahogany with mirrors, paintings and lavish furniture. The windows were unequal and small but that was planned that way with streams of water collected into one area of the palace and frontal steps carved out of rock. The Citadel Henry has the height of 140 feet, with passages, galleries, dungeons, weapon storage rooms, a courtyard, military barracks, and the symbolic tomb of King Henry. The fortress contain cisterns for storing rain water and cannons for fire power with 30 feet walls in thickness making this structure a modern architectural and engineering ingenuity of its time and a wonder of the world. The reason that support from Great Britain came to the kingdom was not from its government for there was no recognition but from abolitionist organizations that helped to set up the educational institutions of Northern Haiti. However, the educational institutions of Northern Haiti and those of Southern Haiti did not attract the people of the rural communities or any other except those of the upper classes. The arts were important to King Henry and from eastern Santo Domingo he brought in an artist by the name of Francisco Velasquez to paint his palace. In 1816, a British artist named Richard Evans worked in developing an art school at San Souci Palace and under the supervision of a local Haitian painter named Charles Several. Evans was the artist who painted the portrait of King Henry. A painting of characters found in old legends and myths of the Roman-Greco period were painted as Black Africans which is an indicator of the king's pride in his origins and making him a man of art and culture. The description indicates the King's African roots. However, the king gravitated to the European interpretations and reversed them to give it an African interpretive depiction. The king has preserved the European version of the stories and myths of the old Roman-Greco period. These stories and myths were still not African and did not have its origins in the ancient continental civilizations of Africa. The intellectualism of the academic establishment lacked in the Northern Kingdom, but was strength for the southern Republic against the autocratic government of King Henry. Baron de Vastey among a small number of others was the academic intellectuals useful to the monarchy of the North. See painting of King Henry by Richard Evans in Hubert Cole. *Christophe: King of Haiti*, (New York: Viking Press, 1967), 60. Also See Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator, ed. *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 51. The other small luxury residences were Victory, The Cloak, the Scepter, The Necklace, Ambuscade, and Belle-vue-le-Roi. Yet, San Souci Palace was the main place for retreat for the King from government business, Also See W.W. Harvey. *Sketches of Hayti*, (London: L.B. Seeley and Son, 1827), (Reprinted Queens College, Cambridge University Press, Negro University Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1870), 133-135.

35. Karin Schuller. "From Liberalism to Racism", in *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World*, ed. David Patrick Geggus (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001), 23-24. 29.
36. Jean Price-Mars. (Three Volumes, Port –au Prince, Colleccion del Tercer Cincuentenario de La Independencia de Haiti, 1953), 106-107. Four French officers of the enlisted ranks that remained in eastern Santo Domingo continued to resent Spanish colonial sovereignty. These four officers

orchestrated a small revolt against Spanish authorities in order to restore French colonial authority in Santo Domingo but were unsuccessful.

37. Richard Peters was to urge the United States into buying eastern Santo Domingo for the sake of colonizing free African Americans headed the Triennial Convention, which linked all different kinds of abolitionist movements in the United States. The United State government would give the territory of eastern Santo Domingo to the Kingdom of Haiti, but this attempt was unsuccessful and unification remained an unfinished struggle for the two Haitian governments of the time. See Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator, ed. *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 68.
38. Frank Moya Pons. (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998), (Available in Both English and Spanish), 118. Also See Fradique Lizardo Barinas. *Cultura Africana en Santo Domingo, Dibujos Primarios y Dibujos Definitivos*, (Santo Domingo: Sociedad Industrial Dominicana en Editora Taller, 1979), 66.
39. John Edward Baur. (The Journal of Negro History, Volume 32, No. 3 July, 1947), 316. Also See Fradique Lizardo Barinas. *Cultura Africana en Santo Domingo, Dibujos Primarios y Dibujos Definitivos*, (Santo Domingo: Sociedad Industrial Dominicana en Editora Taller, 1979)
40. Frank Moya Pons. (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998), (Available in Both English and Spanish), 118. Also See Fradique Lizardo Barinas. *Cultura Africana en Santo Domingo, Dibujos Primarios y Dibujos Definitivos*, (Santo Domingo: Sociedad Industrial Dominicana en Editora Taller, 1979), 66.
41. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator, ed. (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 55-56. Also See W.W. Harvey. *Sketches of Hayti*, (London: L.B. Seeley and Son, 1827), (Reprinted Queens College, Cambridge University Press, Negro University Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1870), 362. The capitol city of Port-au-Prince in Southern Haiti was a much more sophisticated commercial port than Cap Henry in the Northern Haiti for vessels carrying cargo passed through here than any other town. The southern state had existing commercial relations with the United States to a greater extent than the North. The U.S economic interest was more flexible in dealing with President Petion. William Taylor had been sent in 1813, as a key agent to help develop the commercial relations between the two governments. He was accepted in the south as the chief American negotiator and this became highly effective. A divided Haiti had difficulties in sustaining commercial relations for its governments claimed legitimacy as the authority in power, but none were recognized internationally so in many ways both states could be considered separate countries. The aim of seeking foreign recognition, which is what both governments had originally planned, was crucial to its legitimate authority over the whole island of Hispaniola, which included eastern Santo Domingo. Charles Callan Tansill. *The United States and Santo Domingo 1798-1873, A Chapter on Caribbean Diplomacy*, (Gloucester, Massachusetts: P. Smith, 1967), 111.
42. Frank Moya Pons. "The Land Question in Haiti and Santo Domingo: The Social Political Context of the Transition from Slavery to Free Labor, 1801-1843", (1985), 183-184.
43. Hubert Cole. *Christophe: King of Haiti*, (New York: Viking Press, 1967), 248. By 1815, Prussian officers offered to assist the army of the Northern Kingdom, but King Henry was skeptical for fear of a French invasion of the island. The king eventually accepted the offer as a way to build a stronger army that could one day launch that successful unification of the island of Hispaniola. The pay of these officers was not too good and caused disagreements. Some wanted to leave but were refused because of the king's desire to benefit from their services. The outcome was that some of these officers fled into the southern republic while some stayed in the north. The officers whom fled to the south did manage to return to Prussia after these series of difficulties. See W.W. Harvey: *Sketches of Hayti*, (London: L.B. Seeley and Son, 1827), (Reprinted Queens College, Cambridge University Press, Negro University Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1870), 142-145.

44. King Henry. *Letter to Emperor Alexander Czar of Russia*, March 20, 1819, in *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 132-135. King Henry would express these sentiments regarding Haitian political division in a letter that he dictated someone else to write to be read by Thomas Clarkson in 1819, to Czar Alexander I who ruled Russia from 1801-1825. The new monarchical government of France refused to extend diplomatic recognition to the Southern Haitian Republic and Northern Monarchy, but intended to conquer it for the sake of obtaining the wealth of the slaveholding planters long since banished from the island. See Reverend John R. Beard. *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 308-309. Also See W.W. Harvey: *Sketches of Hayti*, (London: L.B. Seeley and Son, 1827), (Reprinted Queens College, Cambridge University Press, Negro University Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1870), 363-367.
45. The: *Constitution of the Republic of Haiti*, (1816), which was copied, refer to The: *Constitution of the Republic of Haiti 1806*, (December 27, 1806, Printed Copy Historical Document Microfilm, ScMicroF1179), Also See Baron de Vastey: Par Monsieur le Baron de Vastey, Chancelier du Roi, Membre de son Conseil Prive Marechal de Camp de Ses Armces Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal et Militair de Saint Henry. *Essai Sur Les Causes de la Revolution et les Guerres Civiles d' Hayti Guerres Civiles D'Hayti*, (San Souci, De l'Imprimerie Royale, 1819), 315-316. Also See Extracts from The. "Constitution of the Republic of Haiti", (1816) in *Historia de la Division Territorial, 1492-1943*, ed. Vicente Tolentino Rojas (Santiago: Editorial La Nacion de L. Sanchez Andujar, 1944), 91.
46. Dantes Bellegarde. (Third Quarter, Volume 2, No. 3, 1941), 211-212. Also See David Nicholls. *A Work of Combat: Mulatto Historians and the Haitian Past, 1847-1867*, (Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs, Vol. 16, No. 1, February, 1974), 24. Also See H.P. Davis. *Black Democracy*, (New York, 1929), 109.
47. The: *Constitution of Haiti*, (1816), was based on the: *Constitution of the Republic of Haiti, 1806, (Constitution et Rapport Fait a L'Assemble)*, (December 27, 1806), (The Constitution of 1816 was based on the one of 1806 which was only for the South and than the North, 1820, and Santo Domingo, 1822), (Historical Document Microfilm, ScMicroF1179), 16-17.
48. King Henry. "Letter to Thomas Clarkson Member of the African Institution", (San Souci Palace, November 18, 1816) in *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 97-102. Also See Baron de Vastey: Par Monsieur le Baron de Vastey, Chancelier du Roi, Membre de son Conseil Prive Marechal de Camp de Ses Armces Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal et Militair de Saint Henry. *Essai Sur Les Causes de la Revolution et les Guerres Civiles d' Hayti Guerres Civiles D'Hayti*, (San Souci, De l'Imprimerie Royale, 1819), 374.
49. Alexander Petion: President of the Republic of Southern Haiti 1807-1818. "Republic of Hayti Proclamation Preserving the Independence of the Country", in the, *Niles, Weekly Register*, (Baltimore, Maryland, January 4, 1817), (Signed November 12, 1816), [Available Online] [Http://www.webmaster.edu](http://www.webmaster.edu), 1-2. Also See the Original French Alexander Petion: President d' Hayti 1807-1818. "A Messieurs Les Commissaires de La Majeste Tres-Chretienne", (Au Port-au-Prince, Novembre 12, 1816), in Baron de Vastey: Par Monsieur le Baron de Vastey, Chancelier du Roi, Membre de son Conseil Prive Marechal de Camp de Ses Armces Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal et Militair de Saint Henry. *Essai Sur Les Causes de la Revolution et les Guerres Civiles d' Hayti Guerres Civiles D'Hayti*, (San Souci, De l'Imprimerie Royale, 1819), 130-132.
50. King Henry. "Letter to Thomas Clarkson: Member of the African Institution", (San Souci Palace, November 18, 1816) in *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, ed. Earl

Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 97-102. Also See *Les Commissaires du Roi Francais, Le Vicomte de Fontanges Esmangart, 1816*, in Baron de Vastey: Par Monsieur le Baron de Vastey, Chancelier du Roi, Membre de son Conseil Prive Marechal de Camp de Ses Armces Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal et Militair de Saint Henry. *Essai Sur Les Causes de la Revolution et les Guerres Civiles d' Hayti Guerres Civiles D'Hayti*, (San Souci, De l'Imprimerie Royale, 1819), 76-79.

51. Alexander Petion: President d' Hayti 1807-1818. *A Messieurs Les Commissaires de La Majeste Tres-Chretienne*, (Au Port-au-Prince, Novembre 12, 1816), in Baron de Vastey: Par Monsieur le Baron de Vastey, Chancelier du Roi, Membre de son Conseil Prive Marechal de Camp de Ses Armces Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal et Militair de Saint Henry. *Essai Sur Les Causes de la Revolution et les Guerres Civiles d' Hayti Guerres Civiles D'Hayti*, (San Souci, De l'Imprimerie Royale, 1819), 132. On September of 1819, Laisne de Villeveque was in the Chamber of Representatives in France saying that a liberal policy recognizing independence was not a problem. Yet, Villeveque felt the Haitian government should pay the former colonists for their loss of property and allow commercial relations. If such a treaty was offered with the guarantee of independence and security but in exchange for free trade like other states, Clarkson advised King Henry to accept the deal if it works this way. Many ex-colonists depended on pensions from the government of France in exchange for their loyal support but now were impoverished economically. The concerns of the ex-colonists was economics which was why they pressed the government of France to respond while at the same time acting hostile towards the two states of Haiti. Thomas Clarkson: Member of the African Institution. "Letter to King Henry", (September 7, 1819) in *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 154-156. The Duke of Limonade wrote to Clarkson on November 20, 1819, which indicated that if a treaty were signed than it would disregard any indemnification to the French ex-colonists or any claims on exclusive rights to Haitian commerce. He was committed to integrity above all concerning the principles of the Haitian state, which preserved the freedom of its people from enslavement. The Haitian government sold the property of the French ex-colonists to those that sacrificed their lives to earn the right to acquire such property. They invested in the property and made it productive because it had been destroyed by the war of Haitian independence. The Duke of Limonade indicated that the French ex-colonists mistreated the Haitian people when they had the power. He also said that the French ex-colonists did not oppose any mistreatment of the Haitian people. He was arguing this point from a moral perspective, that to ask the Haitian government for compensation of individuals such as these was unacceptable. The state of Haiti was free and sovereign in all aspects. King Henry supported these measures to preserve the integrity of the state. The negotiation of foreign recognition was very important to the Haitian governments and this was one way to gain support to move forward with the process of political unification now that Haitian independence had been established, against external threats which was why Eastern Santo Domingo remained important to these objectives. Duke of Limonade. "Letter to Thomas Clarkson Member of the African Institution", (San Souci Palace, November 20, 1819) in *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 173-177.
52. W.W. Harvey. (London: L.B. Seeley and Son, 1827) (Reprinted Queens College, Cambridge University Press, Negro University Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1870), 411-412.
53. Dantes Bellegarde. (Third Quarter, Volume 2, No. 3, 1941), 213. In August 14, 1818, General Simon de Bolivar the Latin American liberator of the Great Colombia, communicated with Haitian President Jean Pierre Boyer, stating that he was saddened by the death of President Petion whom he called a man of "virtues, generosity, and true patriotism". The general personally expressed his dislike for the political and military division of Haiti and personally believed in political unification, but endorsed the government under the presidency of Boyer's Haitian Republic of the south. General Bolivar admired republican political authority of representative government as oppose to autocratic rule as the one practiced in Northern Haiti. Simon Bolivar: General del la Militar Revolucionaria Para la Independencia Latino America. "Carta al Presidente Jean Pierre

- Boyer de Haiti del Sur”, (Cuartel General de Angostura, Agosto 14, 1818) in *Petion y Bolivar: Cuarenta Anos de Relaciones Haitiano-Venezolanas y Su Aporte a la Emancipacion de Hispanoamerica*, ed. Paul Verna (Caracas: Imprenta Nacional, 1969), 534-536. It was difficult to bring the government of the United States into this point of view regarding the recognition of Haiti. The United States government had imperialist designs on North America and the Caribbean, and therefore did not desire island unification between Haiti and Eastern Santo Domingo or the existence of a state created by former slaves.
54. King Henry. “Letter to Thomas Clarkson Member of the African Institution”, (San Souci Palace, April 26, 1818) in *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 104-109.
 55. John Edward Baur. (The Journal of Negro History, Volume 32, No. 3 July, 1947), 312. Governor Sebastian Kindelan had been governing Cuba before he was called to Santo Domingo.
 56. Frank Moya Pons. (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998), (Available in Both English and Spanish), 118-119.
 57. Henry Christophe. “Proclamation, Le Roi, Aux Haytiens, de l’Ouest et du Sud, Haytiens, Le Secretaire d’Etat, Ministre des Affaires Etrangeres Comte de Limonade”, (Palais Royal de Saint Marc, Juin 9, 1818), in Baron de Vastey: Par Monsieur le Baron de Vastey, Chancelier du Roi, Membre de son Conseil Prive Marechal de Camp de Ses Armces Chevalier de l’Ordre Royal et Militair de Saint Henry. *Essai Sur Les Causes de la Revolution et les Guerres Civiles d’ Hayti Guerres Civiles D’Hayti*, (San Souci, De l’Imprimerie Royale, 1819), 133-135.
 58. King Henry. “Letter to Thomas Clarkson Member of the African Institution”, (San Souci Palace, April 26, 1818) in *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 108-109.
 59. Thomas Clarkson: Member of the African Institution. Letter to King Henry, (London, August 26, 1818) *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 110-117.
 60. Thomas Clarkson: Member of the African Institution. “Letter to King Henry”, (October 30, 1818) in *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 120-123. Rumors were circulating in a French newspaper that President Boyer had made a proposal to pay a yearly payment to France by giving all its commerce as if it were basically a colony for the sake of recognizing independence. Clarkson himself did not believe that rumor and did not agree that President Boyer should even consider such measures. However, he did mention that the French government was attempting to conduct trade with Southern Haiti in exchange for recognition during the time of October, 1818. Clarkson did say that President Boyer should reject such a plan, for it was not beneficial to the republic. If such a plan were accepted, Southern Haiti would become a semi-colony of France. A French colony in Southern Haiti would be an automatic threat to Northern Haiti and the unification plans for the island. Eastern Santo Domingo remained under Spanish Colonial Sovereignty during this period.
 61. Hubert Cole. (New York: Viking Press, 1967), 248.
 62. John Edward Baur. (The Journal of Negro History, Volume 32, No. 3 July, 1947), 312-313.
 63. Thomas Clarkson: Member of the African Institution. “Letter to King Henry”, (February 20, 1819) in *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 124-125. Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce told King Henry that if the United States purchased Santo Domingo and ceded to the Northern State than he should take in the Free African Americans into that part of the

island, which was part of the original plan. Thomas Clarkson again turned his attention to the Free African Americans especially those with economic resources that would be useful to the Northern State of Haiti and its quest for unification. Clarkson's argument was that these African Americans would become the middle class, which has been an intermediary class that links the wealthy with the laboring or poorer classes and was the great cause of economic prosperity back in Europe. In the two Haitian States there was an absence of the middle class, the south and north had its elites and the peasantry. Free African Americans of the middle class had acquired 3,000 dollars worth of property. Clarkson felt that if they immigrated to Haiti they would not have the same opportunity. However, in the United States there was a mechanism in the Constitution that allowed the freedom of speech as well as the "right to petition the government for a redress of grievances" as indicated clearly in the First Amendment". The. *Constitution of the United States of America*, By Consent of the first Nine States in a Convention on, September 17, 1787, and the ratification was proclaimed by the Continental Congress On September 13, 1788 and went into full effect in March 4, 1789, The "*Bill of Rights*" (First Ten Amendments) effective as of December 15, 1791, (Printed by the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company), 17. See Also See Ludwell Lee Montague. *Haiti and the United States 1714-1938*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1940), 67-73.

64. King Henry. "Letter to Thomas Clarkson Member of the African Institution", (San Souci Palace, March 20, 1819) in *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 128-131.
65. Thomas Clarkson: Member of the African Institution. "Letter to King Henry", (June 28, 1819) in *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 140-146.
66. Thomas Clarkson. (June 28, 1819), 143. The French policy makers such as Laisne de Villeveque was firmly convinced that if constitutional government could be granted to Haiti than its population would agree to become a colony that was once prosperous and wealthy. Clarkson was the vehicle between Europe and Haiti and was sincerely committed in telling King Henry to continue with his firm position on the independence of Haiti as well as political unification for the whole island of Hispaniola. Clarkson's advice was that such an offer should be rejected in reference to the French monopoly over commerce with Haiti or any other state including his own Great Britain, if it's going to interfere with the sovereign will and survival of the Haitian people. In many ways, Clarkson continued to remind King Henry with all his enthusiasm towards Great Britain that even this European power had colonies populated with Black slaves brought from Africa and stripped of their liberty and humanity.
67. Thomas Clarkson. (September 28, 1819), 162-163. Free African Americans created their own segregated abolitionist societies managed by them in the United States and were able to express their concerns regarding the policy of the American government with regards to slavery and justice. This right did not exist in the Northern or Southern States of Haiti for conditions in these states were quite different due to threats of French military invasions as well as slavery in Spanish Santo Domingo and Clarkson did comprehend the reasons, which was European imperialism in the Caribbean.
68. Baron de Vastey: Private Secretary and Member of the Privy Council for the Kingdom of Haiti. "Letter to Thomas Clarkson Member of the African Institution", (San Souci Palace, November 29 1819) in *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 178-182.
69. Thomas Clarkson: Member of the African Institution. "Letter to King Henry", (April 28, 1820) in *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 196-199.
70. John Edward Baur. (The Journal of Negro History, Volume 32, No. 3 July, 1947), 313.

71. Thomas Clarkson: Member of the African Institution. "Letter to King Henry", (July 10, 1820) in *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 200-201.
72. William Wilson. "Letter to Thomas Clarkson", (December 5, 1820) in *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 213-219.
73. George Clarke. "Letter to Thomas Clarkson", (Au Cap, November 4, 1820) in *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator (New York, Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 210-212. Also See W.W. Harvey. *Sketches of Hayti*, (London, 1827), 147-149. William Wilson. "Letter to Thomas Clarkson", (Cap Haytian, December 5, 1820), 216-217. According to William Wilson in his December Letter to Thomas Clarkson he heard soldiers shout "*Vive La Liberte! Vive L'Independence! A Bas le Tyran! A Bas Christophe!*", during the internal rebellion. Wilson witnessed the Duke of Marmelade as one who headed the soldiers against the Haitian King as well as many students from the academies of higher learning and many liberated criminals who were imprisoned.
74. George Clarke. (November 4, 1820), 211. Also See Reverend John R. Beard. *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 310.
75. William Wilson. "Letter to Thomas Clarkson", (December 5, 1820) in *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 216. King Henry had a son born from an illegitimate union named Eugene who was with loyal soldiers to King Henry, but eventually surrendered to the rebels against the Haitian monarchy.
76. Duncan Stewart. "Letter to Thomas Clarkson", (Cap Haytian, December 8, 1820) in *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 223. King Henry owed money to Duncan Stewart, a three months salary worth 20,000 dollars to attend the royal family and before his death told the Baron de Dupuy that he was going to give him 40,000 dollars. Supposedly, Thomas Clarkson had some money which he obtained from King Henry. Stewart did not want any of the money until he can prove to the Republican Government in the South, which extended its authority over the North, by indicating that the Northern Haitian government owed the money to him. However, the government of the southern Republic of Haiti did not want to take responsibility for the debts of the Northern Haitian Monarchy.
77. Niles. *Weekly Register, End of the Divided Haiti: Death of Christophe*, (Baltimore, November 25, 1820, Volume VII, No. 13, New Series) [Available Online] [Http://www.webmaster.edu](http://www.webmaster.edu), 1-2.
78. Niles. (November 25, 1820, Volume VII, No. 13, New Series), 1. Also See W.W. Harvey: *Sketches of Hayti*, (London: L.B. Seeley and Son, 1827, (Reprinted Queens College, Cambridge University Press, Negro University Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1870), 124-125.
79. Niles. (November 25, 1820, Volume VII, No. 13, New Series), 2. The monarchy of Northern Haiti prohibited the French from entering this part of the island. The two governments of Haiti restricted European visitations, wherever there was weaponry, fortifications, and military installations. These areas were off limits for every European visiting the two Haitian States.
80. Jean-Pierre Boyer: President of the Republic of Haiti, (1818-1843) and B. Inginac Secretary General of the Republic of Haiti. "The Tyrant is no More; He has Done Himself Justice", The Unification of Northern and Southern Haiti of the Western Part, (The National Palace of Saint

Mark), in the Niles. *Weekly Registrar*, (October 17, 1820), [Available Online] [Http://www.webmaster.edu](http://www.webmaster.edu), 197.

81. George Clarke. "Letter to Thomas Clarkson", (Au Cap, November 4, 1820) in *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 211.
82. J. N Leger. *Haiti, Her History and Her Detractors*, (New York: Washington: Neale Publishing Company, 1907), 176-177.
83. Frank Moya Pons. "The Land Question in Haiti and Santo Domingo: The Social Political Context of the Transition from Slavery to Free Labor, 1801-1843", (1985), 184. Also See Frank Moya Pons. *La Dominacion Haitiana 1822-1844*, (Santiago, 1973), 20-21.
84. Paul Romain (Duke of Limbe): General of the Northern Military of Haiti. "Letter Proclaiming Loyalty to the Republic of Haiti", in the Niles: *Weekly Registrar*, October 21, 1820, [Available Online] [Http://www.webmaster.edu](http://www.webmaster.edu), 199. General Romain surrendered because he wanted to secure his family's rights, social status and to become citizens of the unified Haitian state. President Boyer catered to his request and bestowed his privileges. Also See W.W. Harvey. *Sketches of Hayti*, (London: L.B. Seeley and Son, 1827), (Reprinted Queens College, Cambridge University Press, Negro University Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1870), 407-408.
85. Frank Moya Pons. (Princeton, Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998), (Available in Both English and Spanish). 120, Also See Frank Moya Pons. "The Land Question in Haiti and Santo Domingo: The Social Political Context of the Transition from Slavery to Free Labor, 1801-1843", in *Between Slavery and Free Labor: The Spanish-Speaking Caribbean in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Manuel Moreno Fraginals, Frank Moya Pons, and Stanley L. Engerman (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1985), 184-185.
86. Jean Price-Mars. *La Republica de Haiti y la Republica Dominicana*, (Three Volumes, Port –au-Prince, Colleccion del Tercer Cincuentenario de La Independencia de Haiti, 1953), 109-110.

CHAPTER FOUR: HAITI AND SANTO DOMINGO UNITE (1821-1822)

1. Sybille Fischer. *Modernity Disavowed, Haiti and Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 144-145.
2. Jose Justo de Sylva. "Carta al Presidente de Hayti, Santo Domingo", (Enero 8, 1821), in *La Republica de Haiti y la Republica Dominicana*, ed. Jean Price-Mars. (Three Volumes, Port –au-Prince, Colleccion del Tercer Cincuentenario de La Independencia de Haiti, 1953), 115-116.
3. Sebastian Kindalen, Felipe Davila Fernandez Castro, D. Vicente Moscoso, Andres Martinez de Valdez, Jose Basora, D. Antonio Maria Pineda y Francisco Brenes, Secretario. "Exposicion de la Diputacion Provincial de la Espanola, Santo Domingo", (Enero 16, 1821), 168-170. Departamentos Colonial de Espana Sobre sus Islas Colonial en las Antillas. "Real Orden al Jefe Superior Politico de la Habana, sobre la Amenazas de Invasion Haitiana", (Madrid, Enero 25, 1821), in *Santo Domingo y la Gran Colombia; Bolivar y Nunez de Caceras*, ed. Emilio Rodriquez Demorizi. (Santo Domingo: Editora del Caribe, 1971), 171-172.
4. Frank Moya Pons. *The Dominican Republic, A National History*, (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998), (Available in Both English and Spanish), 118-119.
5. Frank Moya Pons. *La Dominacion Haitiana 1822-1844*, (Santiago, 1973), 28-29.

6. Jean Pierre Boyer, President of the Republic of Haiti. "Letter to Thomas Clarkson", (Port-au-Prince, July 30, 1821), in *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson A Correspondence*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator (New York, Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 229-230. The royal Christophe family was still under President Boyer's protection. President Boyer gave them permission to take refuge in Great Britain.
7. Reverend John R. Beard. *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 311-312. General Paul Romain was actually a Crowned Prince of Limbe; during the monarchical period in Northern Haiti. General Romain declared himself the head of state upon the death of King Henry. However, many suggested that King Jacques Victor-Henry should be the new king but such an idea was unsuccessful. General Romain and his supporters decided to establish a Republic in Northern Haiti. General Romain's loyal military forces decided to take up arms against the republic, in 1822, and the outcome was defeat and execution. President Boyer was reluctant to take military action against the northern resistance, but needed to stress clearly that treason against Haitian political unification will not be tolerated and this event was the testing grounds that enforced the unified state.
8. Frank Moya Pons. (Santiago, 1973), 31.
9. Diego Polanco: Comandante en el Territorio del Oeste de la Frontera de Santo Domingo. "Carta al General Magny de Haiti y Comandante de el Distrito de Cabo Haitiano", (Montichristo, Noviembre 15, 1821), in *La Republica de Haiti y la Republica Dominicana*, ed. Jean Price-Mars: (Three Volumes, Port -au Prince, Coleccion del Tercer Cincuentenario de La Independencia de Haiti, 1953), 116.
10. Selden Rodman. *Quisqueya, A History of the Dominican Republic*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), 44-45.
11. Vicente Tolentino Rojas. *Historia de la Division Territorial, 1492-1943*, (Santiago: Editorial La Nacion de L. Sanchez Andujar, 1944), 9.
12. Selden Rodman. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), 44-45.
13. Hugo Dipp Tolentino. *Raza e Historia en Santo Domingo: Los Origenes del Prejuicio Racial en America*, (2nd Edicion, Santo Domingo, Fundacion Cultural Dominicana, 1992), 227-229. Also See Frank Moya Pons. *La Dominacion Haitiana 1822-1844*, (Santiago, 1973), 25-26.
14. Jose Nunez de Caceres: Lieutenant Governor of Spanish Colonial Santo Domingo. "Declaration of Independence for the Republic of Spanish Haiti", (December 1, 1821), in *The Dominican People A Documentary History*, ed. Ernesto Sagas and Orlando Inoa (Princeton, Markus Wiener Publishers, 2003). 70-74, "La Declaracion de la Independencia del Haiti Espanol" (Diciembre 1, 1821), in *Santo Domingo y la Gran Colombia; Bolivar y Nunez de Caceres*, ed. Emilio Rodriquez Demorizi (Santo Domingo: Editora del Caribe, 1971), 45-53. 56-60.
15. John Locke. *Second Treatise of Government*, Book II, 1689, in *Modern Political Thought, Readings from Machiavelli to Nietzsche*, ed. David Wootton (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company Inc., 1996), 311-386. Also See The. *Constitution of Saint Domingue, 1801*, (Paris De'l'imprimerie du Depot des lois, 1801), English Translation [Available Online] [Http://www.Haitianarchives](http://www.Haitianarchives) , John Locke (1632-1704) the British philosopher influenced the American Declaration of Independence of 1776. The concept of "life, liberty and property" was argued in John Locke: *Second Treatise of Government*, (1689), which holds these principles as the basic essential rights for individuals.

16. Continental Congress. *The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America*, (July 4, 1776, Historical Document) [Available Online]
[Http://www.ushistory.org/declaration/document/](http://www.ushistory.org/declaration/document/)
17. Jose Nunez de Caceres: Lieutenant Governor of Spanish Colonial Santo Domingo. *Declaration of Independence for the Republic of Spanish Haiti*, (December 1, 1821), 73.
18. Jose Nunez de Caceres. (December 1, 1821), 73-74. It's important to note that the Spanish State of Haiti adopted the Flag of the Great Colombia because the leadership of Nunez de Caceres was not intending to establish a complete independent state. The flag had the three horizontal strips which consisted of yellow, blue and red which included five stars over the blue strip. See Dov Guterman. *Historical Flags of Haiti and its Designs*, (Presented in Copies put together in Chronological order by Dov Guterman) [Available Online]
[Http://www.fahnenversand.de/fotw/flags/ht-hist.html](http://www.fahnenversand.de/fotw/flags/ht-hist.html), 5.
19. John Edward Baur. (The Journal of Negro History, Volume 32, No. 3 July, 1947), 317.
20. Jean Price-Mars. *La Republica de Haiti y la Republica Dominicana*, (Three Volumes, Port –au Prince, Coleccion del Tercer Cincuentenario de La Independencia de Haiti, 1953), 107-108. 111-112. It's also important to make a notation that the Spanish military was still present in Latin America until 1825. The Spanish military was finally defeated in Upper Peru, which emerged as the state of Bolivia in that same year.
21. Jose Nunez de Caceres. “Proclama a Los Velerosos Dominicanso y Amados Compatriotas”, (Diciembre 1, 1821), in *Santo Domingo y la Gran Colombia; Bolivar y Nunez de Caceres*, ed. Emilio Rodriguez Demorizi (Santo Domingo: Editora del Caribe, 1971), 63-67.
22. Gobierno Provicional. “Acta Constitutiva del Estado Independiente de la Parte Espanola de Hayti”, (Diciembre 1, 1821), 69-79. For similarities with the U.S Constitution, Also See The. *Constitution of the United States of America*, By Consent of the first Nine States in a Convention on, September 17, 1787, and the ratification was proclaimed by the Continental Congress On September 13, 1788 and went into full effect in March 4, 1789, The “*Bill of Rights*” (First Ten Amendments) effective as of December 15, 1791, (Printed by the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company). 16, Emilio Rodriguez Demorizi. *Santo Domingo y la Gran Colombia; Bolivar y Nunez de Caceres*, (Santo Domingo: Editora del Caribe, 1971), 172.
23. Joaquin Bidos, Luis Rodriguez Plantes y Francisco Antonio de Campo Consejeros Municipales de la Ciudad de Puerto Plata y Jurisdiccion de la Misma Ciudad. “Carta al Presidente Boyer y a Su Ausencia, al General Magny, Gobernador del Cabo Haitiano”, (San Felipe de Puerto Plata, Diciembre 13, 1821) in *La Republica de Haiti y la Republica Dominicana*, ed. Jean Price-Mars (Three Volumes, Port –au Prince, Coleccion del Tercer Cincuentenario de La Independencia de Haiti, 1953), 119-120.
24. Andres Amaranthe, Jose Dominguez Arias, y Joaquin Oliva. “Carta al General Magny Comandante del Distrito del Cabo Haitiano”, (Laxavon, Diciembre 15, 1821) in *La Republica de Haiti y la Republica Dominicana*, ed. Jean Price-Mars (Three Volumes, Port –au Prince, Coleccion del Tercer Cincuentenario de La Independencia de Haiti, 1953), 117.
25. Jose Nunez Blanco, Fernando Morel de Santa Cruz y Jose Maria Saliedo. “Carta al Presidente Boyer de Haiti”, (Saint-Yague, Diciembre 20, 1821), in *La Republica de Haiti y la Republica Dominicana*, ed. Jean Price-Mars (Three Volumes, Port –au Prince, Coleccion del Tercer Cincuentenario de La Independencia de Haiti, 1953), 117-118.
26. Guy-Joseph Bonnet: General de la Militar Haitiana. “Carta a Presidente Boyer Sobre el Territorio del Haiti Espanol”, (Diciembre 27, 1821), in *Santo Domingo y la Gran Colombia; Bolivar y Nunez de Caceres*, ed. Emilio Rodriguez Demorizi (Editora del Caribe, Santo Domingo, 1971),

140. Emilio Rodriguez Demorizi. *Invasiones Haitianas de 1801, 1805, y 1822*, (Santo Domingo, Ciudad Trujillo, 1955), 100-105.
27. Junta Central de Saint-Yague. "Documentos Adjuntos a Este Mensaje", (Diciembre 29, 1821) in *La Republica de Haiti y la Republica Dominicana*, ed. Jean Price-Mars (Three Volumes, Port –au Prince, Colleccion del Tercer Cincuentenario de La Independencia de Haiti, 1953), 120-121.
28. Antonio Lopez Villanueva: Comandante de la Fortaleza de Puerto Plata. "A Los Ciudadanos que Componen la Junta Central de la Ciudad de Saint-Yague", (Puerto Plata, Diciembre 31, 1821), 121-122. Carlos Arrieu: Coronel Comandante de La Division del Norte. "Su Proclama", (Quartel General de Montechristo, El Oeste del Estado de Hayti Espanol, 1821), 141-142. Antonio del Monte y Tejada. *Historia de Santo Domingo*, (Santo Domingo, 1890), 28. The term *El Pueblo Dominicano* (The Dominican State) was used in the declaration of independence for Spanish Haiti (Santo Domingo), by Nunez de Caceres, in 1821. The term Dominican comes from a religious order that was instrumental in Spanish Haiti, which has its origins in France. The Dominican order was organized by St. Dominic in 1215. The Dominican order was very instrumental to the educational establishments of the Catholic Church. In Spanish Haiti, the religious connotations were also associated with Christian Catholicism and the alliances that existed between the elite Spanish-Creole leadership and the Church. The elite Spanish-Creole classes referred to Eastern Santo Domingo in 1821, as the state of the Dominicans, which was due to the influences of what remained of Catholic Spain and to some extent France. According to Historian Antonio del Monte y Tejada. *Historia de Santo Domingo*, (1890), describes the term Dominican as being a white Spanish-Creole who belonged to the Dominican order of the Catholic Church even before the Republic of Haiti was established, in 1804. The white Spanish Catholic Creole elites were not enthusiastic about the unification government created in Saint Domingue, by General Toussaint, which was why many chose to abandon the island. However, ethnicity may be hard to define due to Spanish legal institutions that defined Catholic Afro-Spanish Mulattos as white in Eastern Santo Domingo. However, the term Dominican was primarily defined as association to Christian European Spanish not African and its various religious traditions.
29. Selden Rodman. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), 45.
30. Victor Garrido. *Antecedentes de la Invasion Haitiana de 1822*, (Santo Domingo, 1972), 167-170.
31. Juan Ramon: Comandante de la Ciudad de La Vega. "Carta al Presidente Boyer", (La Vega, Enero 4, 1822) in *La Republica de Haiti y la Republica Dominicana*, ed. Jean Price-Mars (Three Volumes, Port –au Prince, Colleccion del Tercer Cincuentenario de La Independencia de Haiti, 1953), 122.
32. Jose Nunez de Caceres: Presidente de La Parte Espanola de Hayti. "La Paz del Intentado Por el Gobierno Haitiano entre las dos Partes", (Enero 7, 1822), in *Santo Domingo y la Gran Colombia; Bolivar y Nunez de Caceres*, ed. Emilio Rodriguez Demorizi (Editora del Caribe, Santo Domingo, 1971), 140. Emilio Rodriguez Demorizi. *Invasiones Haitianas de 1801, 1805, y 1822*, (Santo Domingo, Ciudad Trujillo, 1955), 28.
33. Damiano de Herrera, Comandante de San Juan de Magua, Jose Damiano de Herrera, Camilio Wuero, Francisco de los Santos, Manuel del Castillo, Luis de los Santos, Remigio Alcanter y Andres Hedrera. "Carta al Presidente Boyer", (San Juan, Enero 10, 1822), 123. Jose Roman Hernandez y Francisco Lopez. "Carta al Presidente Boyer", (Enero 10, 1822), 123-124. Pablo Baez, Jose Diaz, Manuel Feliz, Angel Noboa, Roman Pichardo, Rafael Garcia Cazuela, Jose Joaquin Irpo, Ramon Martinez, Juan de la Cruz, y Jose Maria Belanez. "Carta al Presidente Boyer", (Azua, Enero 10, 1822), 125. Manuel Zerano y Julian Borya. "Carta al Presidente Boyer", (Neiba, Enero 19, 1822), in *La Republica de Haiti y la Republica Dominicana*, ed. Jean Price-Mars (Three Volumes, Port –au Prince, Colleccion del Tercer Cincuentenario de La Independencia de Haiti, 1953), 124.

34. Jean Pierre Boyer: Presidente de la Republica de Haiti. "Oreden del Dia", (Polacio Nacional, Port-au-Prince, Enero 12, 1822), 128-129. Nunez Blanco: Comandante de Saint-Yague. "Carta al Presidente Boyer", (Saint-Yague, Enero 14, 1822), in *La Republica de Haiti y la Republica Dominicana*, ed. Jean Price-Mars (Three Volumes, Port –au Prince, Colleccion del Tercer Cincuentenario de La Independencia de Haiti, 1953), 129-130.
35. Sybille Fischer. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 151-152.
36. Jose Nunez de Caceres: Presidente de Haiti Espanol. "Carta al Presidente Boyer de Haiti", (Santo Domingo, Enero 19, 1822), in *La Republica de Haiti y la Republica Dominicana*, ed. Jean Price-Mars (Three Volumes, Port –au Prince, Colleccion del Tercer Cincuentenario de La Independencia de Haiti, 1953), 130.
37. Jose Dias, Manuel Reyes, Manuel Feliz, Agustin de Castro, Juan Clemente Obando, Jacinto Ortiz. "Carta al Presidente Boyer", (Azua, Enero 21, 1822), (Enero 22, 1822), 125. Jose Diaz, Manuel de los Reyes, Manuel Feliz, Agustin de Castro y Angel de Noboa. "Carta al Presidente Boyer", (Azua, Enero 21, 1822), 125-126. Angel de Noboa. "Carta al Presidente Boyer", (Azua, Enero 21, 1822), 127.
38. Manuel Machado, Comandante de Samana. "Carta al Presidente Jose Nunez de Caceres", (Samana, Febrero 6, 1822), 131.
39. Victor Garrido. (Santo Domingo, 1972), 172-175. Also See David Nicholls. *A Work of Combat: Mulatto Historians and the Haitian Past, 1847-1867*, (Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs, Vol. 16, No. 1, February, 1974)
40. Selden Rodman. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), 45.
41. Jose Nunez de Caceres. "Discurso Ante Presidente Boyer, en el Ayuntamiento de Santo Domingo", (Febrero 9, 1822), in *Santo Domingo y la Gran Colombia; Bolivar y Nunez de Caceres*, ed. Emilio Rodriquez Demorizi (Editora del Caribe, Santo Domingo, 1971), 140. Also See Emilio Rodriquez Demorizi. *Invasiones Haitianas de 1801, 1805, y 1822*, (Santo Domingo, Ciudad Trujillo, 1955), 93-96.
42. Jean-Pierre Boyer: President of the Republic of Haiti. "Proclamation to the People of a United Haiti", The Unification of Spanish Santo Domingo of the Eastern Part with Western Haiti, Santo Domingo, (February 9, 1822), in *The Dominican People A Documentary History*, ed. Ernesto Sagas and Orlando Inoa (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers 2003), 75-77.
43. Jean-Pierre Boyer: President of the Republic of Haiti. "Proclamation to the People of a United Haiti", The Unification of Spanish Santo Domingo of the Eastern Part with Western Haiti, Santo Domingo, (February 9, 1822), 75.
44. Jean-Pierre Boyer. (February 9, 1822), 77.
45. Jean-Pierre Boyer: President of the Republic of Haiti. "The Liberation and Prevention of Civil War Among the Factions of the Santo Domingo Territory", (1822), As Quoted in John Edward Baur: *Mulatto Machiavelli, Jean Pierre Boyer, and The Haiti of His Day*, (The Journal of Negro History, Volume 32, No. 3 July, 1947), 317. Refer to the Spanish version in which President Boyer does address the constitutional justification for union that is also found in Vicente Tolentino Rojas. *Historia de la Division Territorial, 1492-1943*, (Santiago: Editorial La Nacion de L. Sanchez Andujar, 1944), 98.
46. Sybille Fischer. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 149-150.

47. "La Proclamacion al Pueblo de Samana", (Samana, Febrero 10, 1822), in *La Republica de Haiti y la Republica Dominicana*, ed. Jean Price-Mars (Three Volumes, Port-au-Prince, Collection del Tercer Cincuentenario de La Independencia de Haiti, 1953), 132-134. Jose Nunez de Caceres turned away from Haitian political unification and found refuge in the Great Colombia, on April 22, 1823 and remained in that state. Those who remained owners of the land because of friendship or family relations were not regarded as the owners of the land according to Haiti's property law under unification. The Haitian government confiscated land, which created problems among the white Spanish-Creole landowners and the Catholic Church who opposed Haitian unification. As long as the Spanish-Creoles elites were not in power, there was no alarm for dissent in Eastern Santo Domingo. In a letter to South American General Carlos Soublette who was currently the vice president of the Great Colombia, Nunez de Caceres only said that conditions in his own land have simply forced him to reside in Great Colombia. Nunez de Caceres hoped that the government of the Great Colombia would allow him to reside there with his family. He admired the independence of the Great Colombia and only wished that his state were liberated from Haitian political unification. The state of Spanish Haiti was created by Spanish-Creole elites that were discontent with the politics and economics of the Spanish colonial period. The colony of Spanish Santo Domingo was in neglect and this caused dissatisfaction among the local elite class. However, the social order in which they upheld during the colonial period had legalized slavery in Eastern Santo Domingo when it was renamed Spanish Haiti, would never have been viable as an independent state with Haiti next door claiming this part of the island. However, Nunez de Caceres believed that the defenses of Spanish Haiti could not be secured against a Spanish invasion. Nunez de Caceres did not want Haitian political unification so instead of permanently uniting with Haiti; his governments choose a military alliance with Haiti. He in turn chose another direction by politically maneuvering his leadership to join the Great Colombia. However, in the long run what occurred in the state of Spanish Haiti was not an independence movement. The reason for this was that the Spanish Creole leadership was divided between pro-Colombian and pro-Spanish political factions. The Spanish-Creole leadership was a minority within the pro-Haitian majority in a small under populated part of Haiti regarded as Eastern Santo Domingo. Yet, Nunez de Caceres was attempting to define Spanish Haiti as the first liberated territory of Latin America, in 1821. The contention has always been upheld by the white-Spanish Creole leadership who did not accept the first liberation of this island, which was accredited to the Black Revolution of Haiti that began in 1791. The historic event engulfed the whole island of Hispaniola and headed in a direction of political unification after Haiti became independent, in 1804. Yet, Nunez de Caceres defined the territory of Eastern Santo Domingo, as the Spanish portion of Haiti, which may have been a political move to gain Haitian government support in the political opposition against Spain. The plans were unsuccessful and in the end, the government of Haiti united the Eastern Santo Domingo with the rest of the country. General Soublette was not much helpful on the matter concerning the union of Haiti and Eastern Santo Domingo. General Soublette replied to Nunez de Caceres and said that he was welcomed to stay in the Great Colombia, along with the political faction that supported the government of Spanish Haiti. The Spanish-Creole leadership of Santo Domingo who resided in the Great Colombia was a remnant of the political faction that opposed the Haitian unification of Hispaniola. See Jose Nunez de Caceres. "Carta a el General Carlos Soublette", (Abril 22, 1823), *La Condesta del General Carlos Soublette*. "Carta a Jose Nunez de Caceres", (1823), in *Santo Domingo y la Gran Colombia; Bolivar y Nunez de Caceres*, ed. Emilio Rodriguez Demorizi (Santo Domingo: Editora del Caribe, 1971), 121-132. Frank Moya Pons. "The Land Question in Haiti and Santo Domingo: The Social Political Context of the Transition from Slavery to Free Labor, 1801-1843", (1985) in *Between Slavery and Free Labor: The Spanish-Speaking Caribbean in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Manuel Moreno Fraginals, Frank Moya Pons, and Stanley L. Engerman (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1985), 189-190.
48. Jean-Pierre Boyer: President of the Republic of Haiti. "Proclamation to the People of a United Haiti", *The Unification of Spanish Santo Domingo of the Eastern Part with Western Haiti*, (Santo Domingo, February 9, 1822), 75-77.

49. John Edward Baur. (The Journal of Negro History, Volume 32, No. 3 July, 1947), 317-318. Also See J. N Leger. *Haiti, Her History and Her Detractors*, (New York: Washington: Neale Publishing Company, 1907). 178. There was a historic belief in reference to the rejection of Haiti from representation as an independent state along with other newly formed states that participated in the Congress of Panama, in 1826. According to this historic belief, the Great Colombian government rejected the Haitian minister as a result of the political and diplomatic efforts that united Western Haiti and Eastern Santo Domingo into one country. The rejection of the Haitian minister from representing Haiti in the Congress of Panama was supposedly in defense of the minority pro-Colombian factions of Santo Domingo, which wanted union with the Great Colombian Federation. The contention was supported by Sumner Welles: *Naboth's Vineyard, The Dominican Republic 1844-1924*, (1928), and Historian John Edward Baur. However, Historian Paul Verna: *Petion y Bolivar: Cuarenta Anos de Relaciones Haitiano-Venezolanas y Su Aporte la Emancipacion de Hispanoamerica*, (1969), backs the contention that there was no evidence. None of Simon de Bolivar's writings suggest anything about Spanish Santo Domingo and the only references made are to the independence of Cuba and Puerto Rico. The fact here was that Santo Domingo was regarded as part of Haiti before the independence was achieved in 1804. The Haitian political claims to Santo Domingo could be traced back to General Toussaint's Saint Domingue State of 1801 and the *Treaty of Basel* of 1795, which officially unites the whole island under French Sovereignty. General Simon de Bolivar personally did not favor the division of Haiti, but desired unification for the island as a measure of security under his preferred republican ideologues in Southern Haiti. The unification of Haiti was in a stage that was now being tested, whether such a plan could remain in place or revert to division. Another reason for the exclusion of Haiti from the Congress of Panama in 1826 was due to the United States Government policy, which did not recognize the Black Republic of Haiti. The Latin American republics yielded to the pressures of American foreign policy and excluded the unified island of Haiti from the Panama Congress, if the United States government were to send representatives to this congress. See Sumner Welles. *Naboth's Vineyard, The Dominican Republic 1844-1924*, (New York: Payson & Clarke Ltd., 1928), 53. and See Paul Verna. *Petion y Bolivar: Cuarenta Anos de Relaciones Haitiano-Venezolanas y Su Aporte la Emancipacion de Hispanoamerica*, (Caracas: Imprenta Nacional, 1969), 448. Also See Simon Bolivar: General of the Revolutionary Armies of South America. "The Jamaica Letter", (Kingston, British Jamaica, September 6, 1815), in *The Political Thought of Bolivar, Selected Writings*, ed. Gerald E. Fitzgerald (Published in the Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff The Hague, 1971), 40. The "Jamaica Letter" does make references to the independence of Puerto Rico and Cuba. Also see all the letters of Simon de Bolivar. "Contestacion de un Americano Meridional a un Caballero de Esta Isla", (Setiembre 6, 1815), in *Cartas del Libertador*, ed. Vicente Lecuna (Tomo XI, 1802-1830, New York: Colonial Press, Inc., 1948), 37-58.
50. Frank Moya Pons. (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998), (Available in Both English and Spanish), 124.
51. Ernesto Sagas and Orlando Inoa, ed. (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers 2003), 74. Rayford W. Logan. *The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti 1776-1891*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 201. See Ludwell Lee Montague. *Haiti and the United States 1714-1938*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1940) For trade relations between the United States and Haiti from 1821-1825, 53-56. James Monroe the 5th president who served the United States from 1817-1825, was one to acknowledge that Santo Domingo was now being unified with the rest of Haiti and obviously had no policy against this action of unification. President Monroe's only solution was to reject the recognition of Haiti despite of what was taking place in the unified state. The U.S government did not want to recognize what was still considered a country governed by rebel slaves. Back on February 25, 1823, President James Monroe stated the following to the Congress of the United States: "In the exercise of sovereignty the government has not been molested by any European power. The invasion of the island has not been attempted by any power. It is however understood that relations between the government of France and the island have not been adjusted that its independence has not been recognized by France nor peace been formerly reestablished between the parties." "Regarding the interests of our happy union and

looking at every circumstance which may by any possibility affect the tranquilly of any part. However, remotely and guarding against such injury by suitable precautions it is the duty of this government to promote by all the means of its power and by a fair and honorable policy the best interests of every other part and thereby of the whole. Feeling profoundly the force of this obligation, I shall continue to exert with unwearied zeal my best faculties to give it effect.” Haitian President Boyer feared a French conquest of the island of Hispaniola, the pro-Haitian leadership of Eastern Santo Domingo shared the mutual feeling, and this was why there was such an effective cooperation in politically uniting the island through diplomatic negotiations. By December 2, 1823, the United States president issued the *Monroe Doctrine* during the time that the Latin American Revolutionaries were defeating the Spanish military. The main concern here was the Western Hemisphere. The *Monroe Doctrine* did not save the Black Haitian State from imperialism, which was why island unification was the determining factor that prevented Haiti from being extinguished as an independent state. American expansionism throughout North America had to be secured by keeping the European Empires out of the Western Hemisphere. The peaceful annexation of Santo Domingo by the Haitian government was because this part of Hispaniola could easily fall to an imperialist design of any foreign power instigating either island division or threatening the independence of Haiti. The *Monroe Doctrine* did not guarantee Haitian independence from France. The reality simply denied the sovereignty of Haiti and the United States government did not want to risk diplomatic relations with France that could lead to eventual war. James Monroe: The 5th President of the United States (1817-1825). “Address to the Senate of the United States”, (February 25, 1823), in *Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents 1789-1897*, ed. James D. Richardson (Volumes I-X, Washington D.C., 1898-1899, Volume II), 204-205. James Monroe, The 5th President of the United States (1817-1825).” The Monroe Doctrine”, (1823), (Historical Document), [Available Online] [Http://www.ushistory.org/documents/monroe.htm](http://www.ushistory.org/documents/monroe.htm) , 1-3. and also found in *Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, ed. James D. Richardson (Volume II, 1907), 287. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams and President James Monroe also wanted to achieve an objective, which was to keep the Czarist Empire of Russia in Alaska, at 55 degree north latitude. John Quincy Adams: Secretary of State of the United States. “Memoirs Russia and the Non-Colonization Principle”, (June 28, 1823), in *John Quincy Adams American Continental Empire, Letters, Papers and Speeches*, ed. Walter Lafeber (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965), 97-99. In the autumn of 1823, the Northern States of the United State, had abolitionist organizations and progressive intellectuals made up of those who addressed the existence of Haiti. Haiti was a unified island, and these Northern abolitionist organizations and progressive intellectuals wanted the U.S government to recognize the Haitian republic. There was criticism of the late King Henry but that was usually to be expected in republican states where monarchical governments were plainly rejected. The Niles. *Weekly Register*, (1823) indicated that the annexation of the Eastern Santo Domingo by the Haitian government was not only justified but a necessary measure. The act of liberating the rest of Haitian territory on the island of Hispaniola did not inflict harm on the population, and those who choose to leave departed with no problem. “A Request for the Recognition of Hayti by the United States”, (1823), in the Niles. *Weekly Register*, (Baltimore, Maryland, September 27, 1823), [Http://www.webmaster.edu](http://www.webmaster.edu), 1-4.

52. Dantes Bellegarde. (Third Quarter, Volume 2, No. 3, 1941), 210-211. On April 17, 1825, the government of unified Haiti paid an indemnity to France for a sum of 150,000,000 francs. The government of Haiti had to pay 1,500,000 francs to the government of France for a five-year period as stated in Article II of the agreement. However, since France received the first position in preferred commerce with Haiti, the indemnity was set at 60,000,000 francs. The agreement with France impoverished the island but benefited the former colonial slaveholding planters. The port duties for import-export goods were set at 12% as stated in Article I of the *Indemnity Agreement* which also established the commercial standards and therefore reduced the port duties in half at six percent for French goods. However, the indemnification act had an advantage because it finally settled the status of Haiti which was recognized by France. In 1826, Haiti was recognized by Great Britain, but not the United States. The port duties for import-export products was set at twelve percent and British Goods were given preferential treatment of seven percent and five percent if Haitian owned commercial vessels were carrying the goods back and forth. Yet, another

disadvantage occurred at the same time, which threatened unification. The monarchical government of France under King Charles X did not recognize Eastern Santo Domingo as part of a unified Haitian Republic. Article III of the *Indemnity Agreement*, only recognized the western part of Haiti as independent on the island of Hispaniola. The *North American Review* (1825) stated the following: "There is no party to the instrument but the King of France, who grants the terms of indulgence to Boyer and his people in the same form that he would to any other rebellious subjects. All the stipulations of a treaty were left for future negotiations, Boyer placing himself entirely at the mercy of his more sagacious antagonists." The Minister-Secretary of State for the Navy and the Colonies Comte de Chabrol and King Charles X. "The Agreement in Favor of the Indemnity Agreement", (Palace of Tuileries, Paris, April 17, 1825) in *Haiti, Her History and Her Detractors*, ed. J. N Leger (New York: Washington: Neale Publishing Company, 1907), 178-179. 182-183. The *North American Review*, (Volume XXXVIII, 1825), (Boston: Hilliard & Metcalf, Cambridge Massachusetts, 1827), 162. In 1826, the government of Haiti had completed its distribution of land as a result of unification which came to a slow pause, but created a shortage of labor power for its import-export agrarian economy. To solve the problem, President Boyer turned away from the vision of his predecessor Alexander Petion's independent peasant agriculture, in favor of the plantation economic system like that of the old rival Henry Christophe of Northern Haiti. President Boyer enacted the *Rural Code*. The island of Haiti was politically united, but the president was facing depleting state funds within the treasury, which was already occurring before the *Rural Code* and coming into ruins with the *Indemnity Agreement* of 1825. In order to correct the situation and sustain the economic stability of the unified state of Haiti, President Boyer needed to find some solution to the economic problem. The *Rural Code* was perceived as the solution and was passed by the Chamber of Deputies headed by its President Muzaine, on April 21st, and approved by the Senate headed by its President P. Rouanez on May 4, 1826. By May 6, 1826, President Boyer and the Secretary General B. Inginac, proclaimed the *Rural Code* as law for the island of Haiti with the intention of correcting the depletion of funds caused especially by the indemnification of 1825. The agriculture of Haiti was supreme and supported by the bureaucracies of both civil and military. Those citizens whom were laborers within the field of agriculture were to be kept in the same status. The concept of citizenship in Haiti was based on service to the state which was determined by industry, civil, military, and the professional levels. The laboring effort was applied to those who could not justify any means in terms of how they existed. These series of laws tied the laborer to the land making it a semi-modern kind of feudal system. The military was to be responsible for reporting the actual conditions regarding the cultivation of the lands in Haiti as stated in Law No I. The surveying of land began in 1827 which belonged to private landowners. The land was surveyed for one dollar for every three acres of land as prescribed by Law No II of the *Rural Code*. The lands that were granted prior or after the *Rural Code*, which were not cultivated a year after, than that land was to be taken by the state. The Haitian government was not willing to practice a hands off policy, but one that was determined to take land if it was not put to use for what the government believed was for the betterment of the common good. A rural police was also organized to operate effectively. The commanding officers of the rural police were in cooperation with the Council of Agriculture as stated in Law No II and VI. The proprietors were obligated to have a shared expense if cultivated lands were bordering each other; any problems were subjected to the law. The code imposed its laws on the proprietors who could not cut down wood near areas that provided moisture around the banks of the rivers. A twenty-four hour notice was given to proprietors if they decided to set on fire, old sugarcane, and woodlands. If a notice was not provided by these specific proprietors, than they would have to be responsible for paying the damages to other proprietors. Destruction of the environment like burning gardens, fields or savannas, within the plantation was prohibited unless there was permission granted by management. The plantations were required to grow corn, fruits, trees, and bread fruit in order to provide the laborers. The *Rural Code* imposed a penalty if production was unsuccessful because of mismanagement. The penalty was set from three to fifteen dollars for farmers, overseers, and management of gardens of produce, provisions and corn that was to be cultivated carefully under their supervision. A plot of land was designated to the labor force to be cultivated for subsistence purposes on days of rest. The crops of indigo, coffee, and cotton were actually primary in the plantation establishments for commerce abroad. These crops were to be divided every six months. Those who were entitled to a share were categorized according to how much work was put into

cultivation. Law No III, established rules for work ethics concerning the relationship between laborer and proprietor. The *Rural Code* established a disciplinary relationship between production and labor to stimulate commerce through import-export economy and accumulate wealth for the state. However, the accumulation of wealth was insignificant to the Haitian peasantry who preferred subsistence agriculture. The *Rural Code* of Haiti intended to increase agrarian production and solve the problem of a shortage in labor. The *Rural Code* would initiate a conflict of political and economic interests on the island of Hispaniola. The divisions would occur within President Boyer's government, the elite classes, the population, and between Haiti and Eastern Santo Domingo, during the late 1830s. See the Translator. "Letter on the Haitian Rural Code, Written to Earl Bathurst, K.G. One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State", (1827) in *West Indian Slavery, Selected Pamphlets* (London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, Strand, 1816-1827), (Negro University Press, Westport, Connecticut, Reprinted 1970), 4-5. The Government of Haiti. "Code Rural D'Haiti (Rural Code)", (Port-au-Prince, De l'imprimerie du Gouvernement, Juillet, 1826), (English and French Translations, London: Sold By James Ridgeway, 169 Piccadilly, Printed By B McMillan, Bow-Street, Covent-Garden, 1827) in *West Indian Slavery, Selected Pamphlets* (London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, Strand, 1816-1827), (Negro University Press, Westport, Connecticut, Reprinted 1970), 1-5. 14-19. 9-22. 27-36. 59-69. 84-98. 98-100.

53. Frank Moya Pons. "The Land Question in Haiti and Santo Domingo: The Social Political Context of the Transition from Slavery to Free Labor, 1801-1843", (1985) in *Between Slavery and Free Labor: The Spanish-Speaking Caribbean in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Manuel Moreno Fraginals, Frank Moya Pons, and Stanley L. Engerman (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1985), 188. See Map 13 in Vicente Tolentino Rojas. *Historia de la Division Territorial, 1492-1943*, (Santiago: Editorial La Nacion de L. Sanchez Andujar, 1944), 102. Also See Rayford W. Logan. *The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti 1776-1891*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 201. Haitian Santo Domingo continued to remain tranquil from 1825-1836, when a secret organization known as (*La Trinitaria*) the Trinity Movement was formed, in 1838. It's important to make note that in 1843, the government of Haiti adopted the horizontal strips for the new flag, which included the blue and red strips. The Trinity Movement adopted the Haitian horizontal blue and red strips with a white Christian cross that included four stars to the left and four stars to the right with two center stars, one on the top middle and one in the bottom middle of the flag. The Trinity Movement adopted the Haitian flag colors as a symbol of unity between the Trinity Movement and the Haitian political faction that was opposed to President Boyer's government. The second flag was the same and was the first symbol to be used when the Dominican Republic was declared independent on February 27, 1844. The new white cross was a design based on the Cross of Konstantin the Great of Byzanz. On November 6, 1844, a new flag came to symbolize the Dominican Republic. The stars were removed from the flag, keeping the horizontal blue and red strips with a white Latin cross. See Dov Gutterman. *Historical Flags of the Dominican Republic and its Designs*, (Presented in Copies put together in Chronological order by Dov Gutterman) [Available Online] [Http://www.fahnenversand.de/fotw/flags/ht-hist.html](http://www.fahnenversand.de/fotw/flags/ht-hist.html), 1. See the Proclamation of Napoleon Bonaparte: First Council of the Empire of France. "The First Consul to the Inhabitants of Saint Domingue", (Brumaire 17, November 8, 1801), in *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti, Comprising An Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island and A Sketch of its History to the Present Period*, ed. Reverend John R. Beard (Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1853), (Reprinted By Negro University Press, 1970), 163-164. The overthrow of President Boyer was a division within the elite classes of Afro-European Mulattos regardless of whether they spoke French or Spanish. Haitian anti-Boyer political factions were led by Alcuis Ponthieux General Etienne Desgrotte and Juan Pablo Duarte who worked together and came under the idea of Haitian progress and the preservation of sovereignty. However, the secret political agenda of the Trinity Movement was to declare the independence of Eastern Santo Domingo as a protest to President Boyer's government. These representatives were in opposition to President Boyer, in 1843. The military forces of Haitian General Maximilian Borgella had allowed Ramon Mella of the Trinity Movement to conduct his activities in Eastern Santo Domingo. When President Boyer was exiled from Haiti in 1843, a new Haitian provisional government was

established to reform the political situation. The Trinity Movement was part of a coalition of liberal progressive Haitian reformists, which were part of a process that elected local representatives to sit in a Constitutional Assembly with the intent of creating a Constitution. On June 15, 1843, the Haitian government authorized the general elections throughout the island of Hispaniola. The elections were on a local municipal level and accepted by the political leadership in the region of Eastern Santo Domingo. The political sector of the eastern leadership within the Haitian popular reform council had expressed discontent because of Haitian soldiers stationed in election posts. However, Santo Domingo was an integral part of Haiti and could not be defined as an occupied region during this historic period. In Haitian Santo Domingo, the Spanish speaking leadership wanted their language and Catholicism to be taken into account within the Republic of Haiti, which in turn caused them to entirely separate from the French speaking leadership whom were also observant of Catholicism. These series of cultural debates were taking place within the Constitutional Assembly among the elected representatives. The Spanish speaking leadership made up of mainly Afro-Spanish Mulattos some Black Creole elites who split from the elite classes of Haitian Mulattos and Black Creoles that were opposed to President Boyer joined a small group of white Spanish-Creole elites and became a stronghold in Eastern Santo Domingo. The new leadership of the east decided to declare Santo Domingo a separate state from Haiti for political-economic reasons as oppose to language and religion and this created friction with the Haitian Reformist and Pro-Haitian Factions within Santo Domingo. The (*Los Trinitarios*) the Trinity headed by cells of three, Juan Pablo Duarte, Ramon Mella and Francisco del Rosario Sanchez became secretly involved in the struggle for complete independence from Haiti, that began, in 1836 as a measure of defiance against President Boyer. In 1843, Duarte actually attempted to connect with reform Haitian movements, but when President Boyer was ousted from power, President Herard took control and was determined to do away with political opposition suspected of treason and descent from those trying to insight rebellion in Santo Domingo. See Frank Moya Pons. *La Dominicion Haitiana 1822-1844*, (Santiago, 1973), 15-29. Duarte went to Venezuela and tried to get assistance from its government, but did not receive any aid; he also appealed to the government of New Grenada (Colombia) and no response in return. However, Duarte received support from Spanish-Creole exiles living in Venezuela who rejected the Haitian Government as the authority of Santo Domingo. In 1843, the independence movement of Santo Domingo also included three other political factions struggling for separation from Haiti, but wanted a foreign protectorate for the state against Haiti than under the administration of President Charles Rivere-Herard. The three other political factions were divided into pro-Great Britain, pro-France and pro-Spain. The pro-Haitian political faction of Santo Domingo rejected separation from the Republic of Haiti. The pro-Spain and pro-Great Britain political factions were unsuccessful for these imperial powers were uninterested in the deal. The pro-France faction emerged from those Spanish-Creoles serving with the Haitian Mulatto elite classes during the administration of President Boyer who than turned on the Haitian Government after the overthrow of President Boyer, in 1843. Buenaventura Baez and Manuel Joaquin Delmonte who served in the Haitian Government led the pro-France political faction. On January 1, 1844, this political faction declared the independence of Santo Domingo from Haiti to establish a protectorate under France. The Trinity Movement made an alliance with Tomas Bobadilla, a Spanish-Creole who held a post in the Spanish Colonial Government from 1809-1821 and who cooperated with the government of President Boyer during the political unification of the island. Bobadilla was a conservative opponent of President Herard's liberal Haitian reformist movement. The Trinity Movement utilized Tomas Bobadilla along with Pedro Santana to gather a small unit of armed individuals to march into Santo Domingo City. On February 28, 1844, Francisco Del Rosario Sanchez began talks with the Haitian local authorities who surrendered without military resistance. The taking Santo Domingo City was a relatively peaceful event and the local Haitian military and civil administration withdrew. Eustache Juchereau de Saint Denys, a French Consul was a mediator in these secret negotiations and was ordered by a French minister to Haiti. The French minister Andre Levasseur wanted to move from Cap Haitian to Santo Domingo and establish the protectorate that never occurred. Haitian Santo Domingo became the Spanish State of Haiti renamed the Dominican Republic, in 1844. For letters and correspondences, see the edited works in Emilio Rodriguez Demorizi, ed. *Correspondencia de Levassuer y de Otros Agentes de Francia Relativa a la Proclamacion de la Republica Dominicana, 1843-1844*, (Ciudad Trujillo, Santo

Domingo, 1944), The letters of correspondences begin with Henri Etienne Desgrotte. “Libertad O La Muerte Republica Haitiana”, (Santo Domingo, Febrero 28, 1844), 29-30. M. R. Mella, Remigo del Castillo, Echavarria, Castro, y Castro de la Concha, F. Sanchez de La Junta Gubernativa de Santo Domingo. “Carta Al Consulado de Francia”, (Febrero 28, 1844), 30-32. Eustache Juchereau de Saint Denys, Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores de Francia. “Carta Sobre las Intallaciones Navales”, (Enero 15, 1844), 9-13. D. Herard, I Jacques, L. A. Roy, Doucette, Auguste, Brenier and Ponthieux Representantes de Haiti, and Abreu, Pedro Ramon Mella, Aybar, Caminero, V. Duart, Cabral Bernal Representantes de Santo Domingo. “Capitulacion de la Autoridad Haitiana en Santo Domingo”, (Febrero 28, 1844), 33-34. The process for independence of the Dominican Republic took approximately fifteen days until the counties and towns of the east seceded from Haiti. Duarte returned, on March 14, 1844, to the Dominican Republic only to see that the movement of independence was not a reality but a divided movement of groups competing for various interests. The Dominican Republic was a result of French foreign policy. The French government intended to establish a presence on the island through political-economic and military domination which was unsuccessful from the time Haiti was declared independent in 1804. On March 1, 1844, (*La Junta Central Gubernativa*) the Central Governing Council was organized and this was unacceptable to the Haitian Government, which waged a war to regain the territory. The Haitian military invaded the Dominican Republic on March 10, 1844. The failure of Haiti in capturing the Dominican Republic was due to the Piquet Revolt, which consisted of farmers and peasants led by General Jean-Jacques Acaau in the southwestern city of Les Cayes. The rebels defeated the military loyal to the Haitian government. A revolt also occurred in northwestern Haiti as an opposition force to President Herard. The result of this event was that President Herard was forced out of the executive office and out of Haiti by the political opposition. The Haitian military invaded the Dominican Republic again from 1849-1850 and finally from 1855-1856 but was unsuccessful. The Presidency under Haitian leaders like Charles Rivere-Herard (1843-1844), Philippe Guerrier (1844-1845), Jean Louis Pierrot (1845-1846), Jean Baptiste Riche (1846-1847) and Faustin Soulouque (1847-1859) were unsuccessful in the attempt to unite Hispaniola, because of the internal military conflicts within Western Haiti. These presidents of Haiti either died in office or were overthrown by popular revolt. Faustin Souluoque became Emperor of Haiti from 1849-1859, and was also overthrown by internal revolt and forced to leave Haiti. For letters and correspondences see the edited works in Emilio Rodriguez Demorizi, ed. *Guerra Dominico-Haitiana*, (Ciudad Trujillo, Santo Domingo, 1957), The letters and correspondences begin with Tomas Bobadilla: Presidente de la Junta Central Gubernativa de la Republica Dominicana, Manuel Jimenez y Juan Pablo Duarte. “Comunicacion de la Junta Central Gubernativa al Presidente de Haiti”, (Marzo 17, 1844), 65-66. Pedro Santana and Tomas Bobadilla were originally advocates of President Boyer’s government and their leadership proved to be pro-French for the time being which in turn ousted the Trinity leadership from the Central Governing Council, on March 8, 1844. However, negotiations continued with plans to allow power sharing between Trinity members like Duarte, and Pro-France conservatives like Pedro Santana over control of civil government and military. However, this never materialized and the Trinity Movement orchestrated a Coup d’ Tat, by expelling conservatives like Tomas Bobadilla and Pedro Santana and replacing them with another Trinity member, Francisco del Rosario Sanchez as president of the Dominican Republic. Juan Pablo Duarte worked to discard the idea of a French protectorate, on June 20, 1844, in the Cibao region of Northern Dominican Republic. Ramon Mella actually wanted Juan Pablo Duarte to become president of the Dominican Republic immediately, but Duarte refused because he wanted a fair and balanced election in order to guarantee that the people elected him. Duarte upheld the principles of democracy and true republicanism as essential to his own personal convictions. The outcome was that Duarte never became president and the French protectorate never materialized. Duarte was eventually exiled to Venezuela where he became materially impoverished until his death in 1876. He never participated in the politics of governing the Dominican Republic after his exile by Pedro Santana. The Duarte family was one of those Spanish Creole families from Santo Domingo which found refuge in Puerto Rico when General Toussaint marched with the military into Santo Domingo in 1801. The Duarte family returned to Santo Domingo when Spain’s colonial authority was restored in Santo Domingo, in 1809. Juan Pablo Duarte was born in Santo Domingo, in 1813. On July 12, 1844, General Santana’s victory over the Trinity Movement was secured with the assistance of

French diplomacy which helped to outlaw the Trinity Movement as treasonous, but kept the Central Governing Council, which General Santana wanted to eliminate. The presidency of the Dominican Republic was shared between Pedro Santana, Manuel Jimenez, Jose Desiderio Valverde and Buenaventura Baez during the late 1840s and throughout the 1850s. The Dominican Republic remained a quasi-independent state where the local political authorities awaited for the opportunity to have the state become a protectorate under any foreign power. See Pedro Santana. "Decreto el Poder Ejecutivo Creando Comisiones Militares Para Juzga a loz Conspiradores", (Enero 18, 1845), 143-151. Buenaventura Baez. "Guerra Maritima Acciones de l'ans a Pitre y Sale Trou, Proclamacion", (Noviembre 15, 1849), 238-239. Buenaventura Baez. "Proclamacion al Pueblo de Haiti", (Noviembre 16, 1849), 240-242. Buenaventura Baez. "Guerra Maritima Acciones de Petite Riviere Dame Marie y Ensendada de Los Cayos, Proclamacion", (Enero 2, 1850), 242-244. Manuel de Regla Mota: Vice Presidente de Republica Dominicana. "Decreto el Poder Ejecutivo Declarado en Estado de Sitio Todo El Territorio de la Republica", (Diciembre 13, 1855), 276-277. Manuel de Regla Mota. "Proclama al Pueblo y al Ejercito", (Diciembre 14, 1855), 277-280. Manuel de Regla Mota. "La Batalla de Santome Relato de Marcos a Cabral, Sitio de Santome", (Diciembre 23, 1855), 291-293.

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