

Source A: Lesson 1
Teacher Copy

*Letter from François Dominique Toussaint L'Ouverture to Napoleon
Student copy has excerpts from this original source.*

Source

The impolitic and incendiary discourse of Vaublanc has not affected the blacks nearly so much as their certainty of the projects which the proprietors of San Domingo are planning: insidious declarations should not have any effect in the eyes of wise legislators who have decreed liberty for the nations. But the attempts on that liberty which the colonists propose are all the more to be feared because it is with the veil of patriotism that they cover their detestable plans. We know that they seek to impose some of them on you by illusory and specious promises, in order to see renewed in this colony its former scenes of horror. Already perfidious emissaries have stepped in among us to ferment the destructive leaven prepared by the hands of liberticides. But they will not succeed. I swear it by all that liberty holds most sacred. My attachment to France, my knowledge of the blacks, make it my duty not to leave you ignorant either of the crimes which they meditate or the oath that we renew, to bury ourselves under the ruins of a country revived by liberty rather than suffer the return of slavery.

It is for you, Citizens Directors, to turn from over our heads the storm which the eternal enemies of our liberty are preparing in the shades of silence. It is for you to enlighten the legislature, it is for you to prevent the enemies of the present system from spreading themselves on our unfortunate shores to sully it with new crimes. Do not allow our brothers, our friends, to be sacrificed to men who wish to reign over the ruins of the human species. But no, your wisdom will enable you to avoid the dangerous snares which our common enemies hold out for you....

I send you with this letter a declaration which will acquaint you with the unity that exists between the proprietors of San Domingo who are in France, those in the United States, and those who serve under the English banner. You will see there a resolution, unequivocal and carefully constructed, for the restoration of slavery; you will see there that their determination to succeed has led them to envelop themselves in the mantle of liberty in order to strike it more deadly blows. You will see that they are counting heavily on my complacency in lending myself to their perfidious views by my fear for my children. It is not astonishing that these men who sacrifice their country to their interests are unable to conceive how many sacrifices a true love of country can support in a better father than they, since I unhesitatingly base the happiness of my children on that of my country, which they and they alone wish to destroy.

I shall never hesitate between the safety of San Domingo and my personal happiness; but I have nothing to fear. It is to the solicitude of the French Government that I have confided my children.... I would tremble with horror if it was

into the hands of the colonists that I had sent them as hostages; but even if it were so, let them know that in punishing them for the fidelity of their father, they would only add one degree more to their barbarism, without any hope of ever making me fail in my duty.... Blind as they are! They cannot see how this odious conduct on their part can become the signal of new disasters and irreparable misfortunes, and that far from making them regain what in their eyes liberty for all has made them lose, they expose themselves to a total ruin and the colony to its inevitable destruction. Do they think that men who have been able to enjoy the blessing of liberty will calmly see it snatched away? They supported their chains only so long as they did not know any condition of life more happy than that of slavery. But to-day when they have left it, if they had a thousand lives they would sacrifice them all rather than be forced into slavery again. But no, the same hand which has broken our chains will not enslave us anew. France will not revoke her principles, she will not withdraw from us the greatest of her benefits. She will protect us against all our enemies; she will not permit her sublime morality to be perverted, those principles which do her most honour to be destroyed, her most beautiful achievement to be degraded, and her Decree of 16 Pluviôse which so honors humanity to be revoked. But if, to re-establish slavery in San Domingo, this was done, then I declare to you it would be to attempt the impossible: we have known how to face dangers to obtain our liberty, we shall know how to brave death to maintain it.

This, Citizens Directors, is the morale of the people of San Domingo, those are the principles that they transmit to you by me.

My own you know. It is sufficient to renew, my hand in yours, the oath that I have made, to cease to live before gratitude dies in my heart, before I cease to be faithful to France and to my duty, before the god of liberty is profaned and sullied by the liberticides, before they can snatch from my hands that sword, those arms, which France confided to me for the defence of its rights and those of humanity, for the triumph of liberty and equality.

Source: François Dominique Toussaint L'Ouverture, Letter, in C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins*, 2d ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), 195-197.

Selections from Thomas Jefferson's writings from 1791-1793

Source: <http://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/st-domingue-haiti>
Selections from Thomas Jefferson's writings

Source B:

1791 March 24. (Jefferson to Martha Jefferson Randolph).

"Their islands, but most particularly St. Domingue and Martinique are involved in a horrid civil war. Nothing can be more distressing than the situation of the inhabitants, as their slaves have been called into action, and are a terrible engine, absolutely ungovernable...An army and fleet from France are expected every hour to quell the disorders."[3]

1791 August 30. (William Short to Jefferson).

"The intelligence which continues to arrive from S. Domingo increases the alarms here. It is probably much exaggerated [sic] by the different parties for different purposes, but is in reality bad enough. The troops there have taken side with the white inhabitants who are unanimously against the decree in favor of the *gens de couleur*. The commissaries intended to be sent there so long ago have resigned--others named have set out--whilst at Brest the assembly determined (a few days ago) that their departure should be suspended until the colonial committee should have made their report on the late troubles. It is said they sailed before this determination could be announced to them. This is the more unfortunate as they will go with orders to enforce the decree of May 15. and it is probable the assembly will either repeal or modify it. The colonial committee however are so much divided on this subject that several of its members have quitted it."[7]

1791 September 8. (Sylvanus Bourne to Jefferson).

"A new and alarming Catastrophe hath assailed this devoted island. About the 23d. of August. an insurrection among the negroes took place at Lembay about 3 or 4 Leagues distant and from thence to Lemonade, being about 10 Leagues they have burned and laid waste all the Plantations. Their whole plan is marked with bitter resentment for former injuries and the cry of "les droits de l'homme" is echoed thro their camp. They still continue their depredations and Government, for want of regular troops is unable to act offensively against them, and I fear it will be a long contest, and ruinous to the property of the Island. The City is now a perfect Garrison Passisaded all around and Cannon mounted at every avenue. The noble plain which fronts this City and which perhaps had not a parallel on the Globe for the rich luxuriance of its soil, elegance of its Buildings and the various decorations of art that the highly cultivated taste of its opulent possessors had given to it, is now again but a barren waste...Here we have a lively instance of the baneful effects of Slavery, and I wish that America might add another laurel to her wreath of Fame, by leading the way to a general emancipation."[9]

1791 October 27. (Delamotte to Jefferson).

"All of France is dismayed by the recent arrival of news of the 'desastre de St. Domingue.'"[12]

1792 March 10. (Jefferson to Gouverneur Morris).

"Indeed our wishes are cordial to the reestablishment of peace and commerce in those colonies, and to give such proofs of our good faith both to them and the mother country, as to suppress all that jealousy which might oppose itself to the free exchange of our mutual productions so essential to the prosperity of those colonies and to the preservation of our Agricultural interests. This is our true interest and our true object, and we have no reason to conceal views so justifiable, tho' the expression of them may require that the occasions be proper and the terms chosen with delicacy."[19]

Source C:

Title: The Haitian Revolution

Author: Thomas Jefferson

Year: 1793

Document Link:

<http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/documents/searchdisplay.cfm?ID=328>

Source Text:

St. Domingo has expelled all its whites, has given freedom to all its blacks and coloured people, and seems now to have taken its ultimate form, and that to which all of the West Indian islands must come.

Napoléon letter to Toussaint Louverture (1801)

(November 18, 1801)

Citizen General:

The peace with England and all the European powers, which has established the Republic in the highest degree of power and grandeur, now allows the government to occupy itself with the colony of Saint-Domingue. We are sending there Citizen Leclerc, our brother-in-law, in his quality as General to serve as first magistrate of the colony. He is accompanied by a considerable force in order to ensure the respect of the sovereignty of the French people.

It is in these circumstances that we hope that you will prove to us, and to all of France, the sincerity of the sentiments that you have regularly expressed in the letters that you wrote to us.

We hold you in esteem, and we are happy to recognize and proclaim the great services that you have rendered the French people. If its banner flies over Saint-Domingue it is to you and the brave blacks that this is owed.

Called by your talents and the force of circumstances to the leading position of command, you have done away with civil war, put a brake on the persecution by several ferocious men, and returned to its place of honor the cult of God, from which everything emanates.

The constitution you made, while including many good things, contains some that are contrary to the dignity and sovereignty of the French people, of which Saint-Dominique forms only a portion.

The circumstances in which you found yourself, surrounded on all sides by enemies without the metropole being able to either assist or revictual you, rendered articles of that constitution legitimate that otherwise would not be. But today, when the circumstances have changed for the better, you should be the first to render homage to the sovereignty of the nation that counts you among its most illustrious citizens thanks to the services you have rendered it and by the talents and the force of character with which nature has graced you. A contrary conduct would be irreconcilable with the idea we have conceived of you. It would have you lose the many rights to recognition and the benefits of the republic, and would dig beneath your feet a precipice which, in swallowing you up, could contribute to the misfortune of those brave blacks whose courage we love, and whose rebellion we would, with difficulty, be obliged to be punished.

We have made known to your children and their tutor the sentiments that animate us. We are returning them to you.

Assist the General with your counsels, your influence and your talents. What could you wish for? Freedom for blacks? You know that in all the countries we've been we have given it to people who didn't have it. Consideration, honors, fortune? After the services you have rendered us, that you can yet render us, and the particular

sentiments that we have for you, can you possibly be unsure about your fortune and the honors that await you.

And General, think that if you are the first of your color to have arrived at such a great power, and to have so distinguished himself for his bravery and military talents, you are also before God and ourselves principally responsible for the conduct of the people of Saint-Domingue.

If there are evil ones who say to the individuals of Saint-Domingue that we arrive to investigate what they did during the time of anarchy, assure them that we are informing ourselves only of their conduct in those circumstances, and that we are only investigating the past in order to learn of the traits that distinguished them in the war they carried out against the English and the Spaniards, who were our enemies.

Count without any reservation on our esteem, and conduct yourself as should one of the principal citizens of the greatest nation in the world.

The First Consul, Bonaparte.

Source: Schoelcher, Victor (1889). *Vie de Toussaint Louverture*. Paris: Paul Ollendorf. (Available online: Google books) 1882 reprint: Karthala. Paris ISBN 2-86537-043-7

Source E: Lesson 1
Starter Source



Vorstellung der auf der Französischen Colonie St. Domingo von denen schwarzen Sklaven eingeübte
Französischen demokratische Freiheit, welche selbige durch unerhörte Grausamkeit zu erwerben gedachten. Sie räumten viele
hundert Löss- und Zucker-Mantagen und verbrannten die Mühlen, sie mördeten auch ohne Unterschied alle Weiße die
in ihre Hände fielen, dabei ihnen ein weißes Kind zur Schau dienle, schändeten Frauen und schlepten sie in dende Gefangen-
schaft, 1791. allein ihr Vorhaben wurde zu nichts.

Source F: Lesson 1
Model Source

Napoleon Bonaparte Explains the Need to Sell
Louisiana to the United States, 1803

I know the full value of Louisiana, and I have been desirous of [getting it back from Spain]. A few lines of a treaty have restored it to me... But if it escapes from me, it shall one day cost dearer to those who oblige me to strip myself of it than to those to whom I wish to deliver it. The English have successively taken from France, Canada, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the richest portions of Asia. They shall not have the Mississippi which they covet. Louisiana is nothing in comparison with their conquests in all parts of the globe, and yet the jealousy they feel at the restoration of this colony to the sovereignty of France, acquaints me with their wish to take possession of it, and it is thus that they will begin the war. They have twenty ships of war in the Gulf of Mexico, they sail over those seas as sovereigns...The conquest of Louisiana would be easy, if they only took the trouble to make a descent there. I have not a moment to lose in putting it out of their reach. I know not whether they are not already there. It is their usual course, and if I had been in their place, I would not have waited. I wish, if there is still time, to take from them any idea that they may have of ever possessing that colony. I think of ceding it to the United States. I can scarcely say that I cede it to them, for it is not yet in our possession. If, however, I leave the least time to our enemies, I shall only transmit an empty title to those republicans whose friendship I seek. They only ask of me one town in Louisiana, but I already consider the colony as entirely lost, and it appears to me that in the hands of this growing power, it will be more useful to the policy and even to the commerce of France, than if I should attempt to keep it. . . .

I renounce [formally give up] Louisiana...It is not only New Orleans that I will cede, it is the whole colony without any reservation. I renounce it with the greatest regret. To attempt obstinately to retain it would be folly. I direct you to negotiate this affair with the envoys of the United States. Do not even await the arrival of Mr. Monroe: have an interview this very day with Mr. Livingston; but I require a great deal of money for this war, and I would not like to commence it with new contributions. For a hundred years France and Spain have been incurring expenses for improvements in Louisiana, [but never made a profit]. Large sums, which will never be returned to the treasury, have been lent to companies and my terms, according to the value of these vast regions to the United States... I will be moderate, in consideration of the necessity in which I am of making a sale. But keep this to yourself. I want fifty millions and for less than that sum I will not treat...I require money to make war on the richest nation in the world.

Perhaps it will also be objected to me, that the Americans may be found too powerful for Europe in two or three centuries: But my foresight does not embrace such remote fears. Besides, we may hereafter expect rivalries among the members of the Union. The confederations, that are called perpetual, only last till one of the

contracting parties finds it to its interest to break them, and it is to prevent the danger, to which the colossal power of England exposes us, that I would provide a remedy. . . .strengthens for ever the power of the United States; and I have just given to England a maritime rival, that will sooner or later humble her pride.

This document can be found in Barbe Marbois, *The History of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: Carey & Lea, 1830), pp. 263-264, 274-275, 276, 312.

