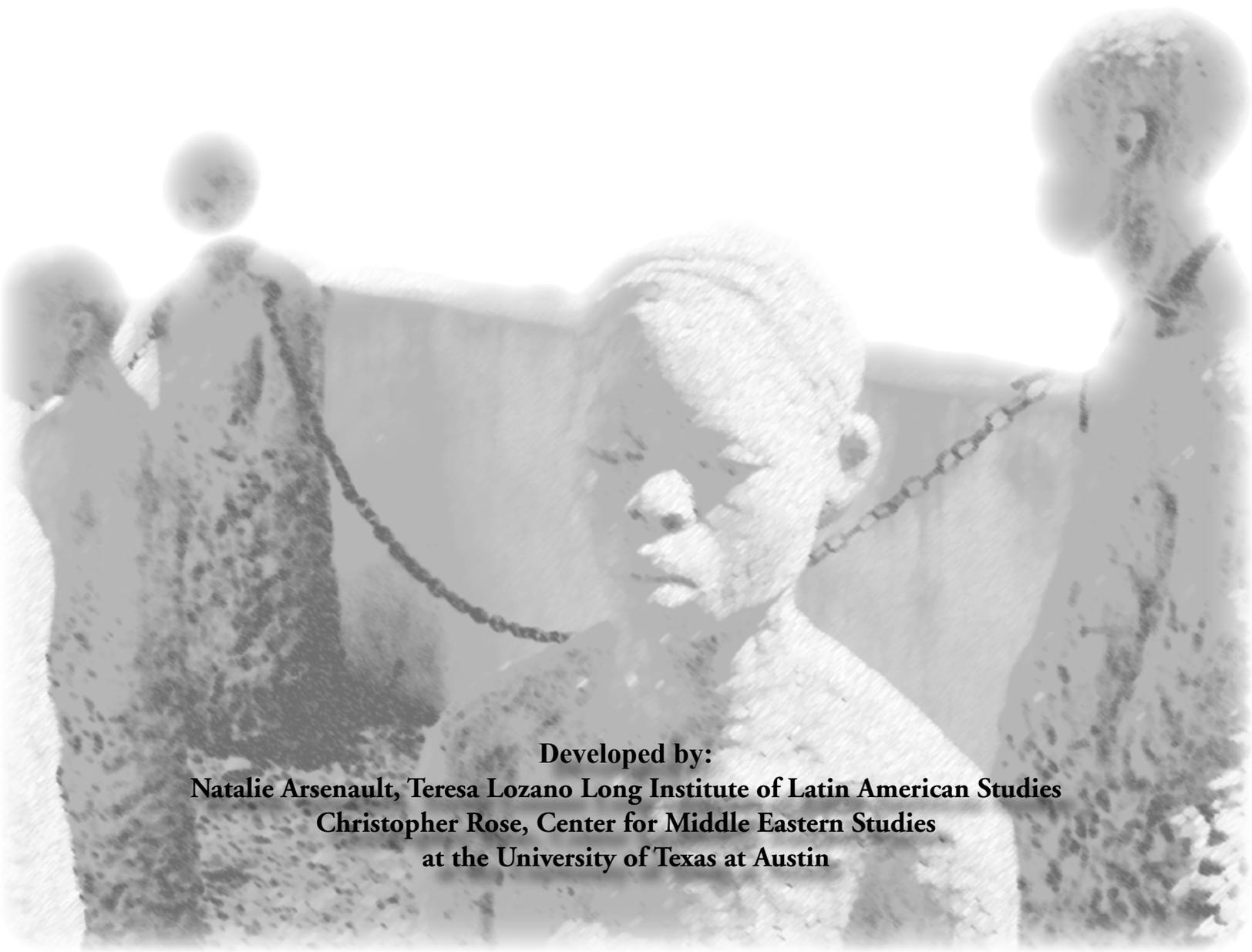


Africa Enslaved

**A Curriculum Unit on Comparative Slave Systems
for Grades 9-12**



Developed by:

Natalie Arsenault, Teresa Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies

Christopher Rose, Center for Middle Eastern Studies

at the University of Texas at Austin

About the Authors

Natalie Arsenault is Outreach Coordinator at the Teresa Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies at the University of Texas at Austin. She holds an M.A. in Latin American Studies from the University of Florida. She has worked extensively on Latin American content-based activities with educators at all levels; has presented on her own research at regional and national educator conferences; and has developed multiple standards-aligned curriculum units related to Latin America. She can be reached at n.arsenault@mail.utexas.edu

Christopher Rose is Outreach Coordinator at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Texas at Austin, where he obtained his M.A. in Middle Eastern Studies. He is responsible for educational outreach to classrooms, business, the media, and community groups to increase awareness on matters related to the Middle East and its many diverse cultures. He is a frequent guest speaker in schools throughout the Austin area, and he has developed many curriculum resources to supplement K-12 curricula in world studies. He can be reached at csrose@mail.utexas.edu

Africa Enslaved: A Curriculum Unit on Comparative Slave Systems for Grades 9 -12

Compilation date: March 2006

Permission is granted to reproduce this unit for classroom use only.
Please do not redistribute this unit without prior permission.

For more information, please see:
<http://inic.utexas.edu/hemispheres/>

Cover photo: The slave monument, Stone Town, Zanzibar, Tanzania
© 2003, Christopher Rose



CIA World Factbook, 1988.

SLAVERY IN HAITI

Hispaniola, the island currently shared by Haiti and the Dominican Republic, was “discovered” by Christopher Columbus in 1492. Santo Domingo, as the Spanish called it, became an outpost of the Spanish Empire, important for its position as a launching place for conquests of new territory in the Americas.

The course of history for Santo Domingo was quickly set in motion: slaves were introduced in 1502 and the first sugar mill was erected in 1516. The first slaves were Taíno Indians, who dwindled from a population of hundreds of thousands in 1492 to 150 in 1550. As the indigenous population was dying of abuse and disease, African slaves were brought in; the first 15,000 Africans arrived in 1517. The Spanish settled on the eastern part of the island but focused on their more prosperous colonies in other parts of the Americas. This led, in the early 1660s, to an incursion into the western part of the island by the French.

The French originally cultivated indigo but quickly exhausted the soil, so they turned to the more profitable crop of sugarcane in the 1690s. In 1697, after decades of fighting over the territory, the Spanish ceded the western part of the island to the French, who henceforth called it Saint-Domingue (modern-day Haiti).

Now fully settled in Saint-Domingue, the French focused on sugar. More than 100 sugar plantations were established between 1700 and 1704. Sugar production was very profitable and Saint-Domingue quickly became the richest of France’s colonies. As sugar expanded, so did the slave population, necessary for the labor-intensive crop. In 1681, there had been 2000 slaves in Saint-Domingue; in 1701, there were 10,000. By 1720, the French were importing 8,000 slaves each year from Africa.

When the French began to plant coffee, around 1734, profits in Saint-Domingue soared and more slaves were needed for yet another labor-intensive crop. By the mid-18th century, Saint-Domingue was producing 60% of the world’s coffee. Crop expansion required additional labor, as did the high mortality of the slave population due to harsh working conditions. Between 1764-1771, 10,000-15,000 slaves were arriving each year; 25,000 arrived in 1786; and more than 40,000 arrived in 1787. By 1787, there were 450,000 slaves in Saint-Domingue. At this time, 60% of the French slaves in the Americas were in Saint-Domingue and two-thirds of those slaves were African-born.

With such a lopsided population—where slaves vastly outnumbered free colonists—slaves had always practiced forms of resistance. Groups of runaway slaves, known as maroons, would escape to the mountains to hide. They armed themselves and would attack plantations for supplies. François Makandal, the most famous maroon leader, led a six-year rebellion from 1751-1757 that sought to overthrow the white regime. Maroons were the most common form of resistance along with the continuing practice of voodoo, a slave religion whose practice was forbidden by law; suicide, infanticide, arson, and poison also provided slaves with ways to rebel against their masters.

Then came 1789, a decisive year in the history of France. The cry of “Liberty! Equality! Fraternity!” opened the French Revolution. The impact of the revolution reached Saint-Domingue, escalating tensions between *grands blancs* (big whites: the elites, plantation owners and the like), *petits blancs* (little whites: merchants, shopkeepers, etc.), and free *gens de couleur* (mulattoes, who were often wealthy landowners but did not have the same rights as white colonists). *Grands blancs* wanted local autonomy from France; mulattoes saw their chance for citizenship and equality; and *petits blancs* were eager to protect their position in the color-based class system. All of these groups were against freeing the slaves. Amid all of this infighting, the slaves, who outnumbered the free population more than 10 to 1, began to organize. Why was liberty and equality not meant for them as well?

In August 1791, the rebellion began with a voodoo priest predicting that a revolt would free the slaves of Saint-Domingue. The slaves set about burning plantations and killing all of the whites they encountered. Saint-Domingue was an inferno for months. The revolution had begun. During the following two years, the attacks continued and eventually France sent agents to try to quell the uprising. In 1793 the remarkable Toussaint L’Ouverture, a former slave, rose to power. L’Ouverture battled French, Spanish, and British forces and, by 1801, had control of Santo Domingo (current-day Dominican Republic), where he eradicated slavery. At this point, Napoleon tried to regain control of Saint-Domingue so as to restore French rule. L’Ouverture was captured in 1802, deported to France, and killed in 1803, but the former slaves were still strong without him. On November 18, 1803, the French were dealt a mortal blow and Saint-Domingue was no more. Independence was proclaimed on January 1, 1804 for the new country of Haiti (*hayti* was the Taíno word for “mountainous place”). Haitian independence marks the first achieved in Latin America and the only successful slave revolt in modern history.

Comprehension Exercises:

1. Create a time line from 1492-1804 based on the overview.
2. Briefly describe the setting in Saint-Domingue at the end of the 18th century. Discuss the colony's history, economy, and societal structure.
3. How did the French Revolution play a key role in Haiti's independence?
4. Why do you think the Haitian Revolution took 13 years to achieve its goal?

LEGAL STATUS

Reading 1: Justification of Slavery, Bishop Bossuet, French Theologian (1627-1704)

To condemn this state ... would be not only to condemn human law [i.e., the Roman *jus gentium*] where servitude is admitted, as it appears in all laws, but also it would be to condemn the Holy Spirit which, speaking through St. Paul, ordered slaves to remain in their condition and which did not in any way oblige masters to free them.

Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1491-1800* (New York: Verso, 1997), 291.

Comprehension Exercises:

1. On what two grounds does Bishop Bossuet justify slavery?
2. Based on this justification, how might one argue against him?

Reading 2: From the *Code Noir*, 1685

The Code Noir (Black Code) established the legal framework for slavery in the French colonies. Various articles defined the condition of slavery and set up harsh controls over the slaves.

Edict of the King:

On the subject of the Policy regarding the Islands of French America

Our authority is required to settle issues dealing with the condition and quality of the slaves in said islands. We desire to settle these issues and inform them that, even though they reside infinitely far from our normal abode, we are always present for them, not only through the reach of our power but also by the promptness of our help toward their needs. For these reasons ...we have declared, ruled, and ordered, and declare, rule, and order, that the following pleases us: ...

Article XII. Children born from marriages between slaves shall be slaves, and if the husband and wife have different masters, they shall belong to the masters of the female slave, not to the master of her husband.

Article XIII. We desire that if a male slave has married a free woman, their children, either male or female, shall be free as is their mother, regardless of their father's condition of slavery. And if the father is free and the mother a slave, the children shall also be slaves....

Article XV. We forbid slaves from carrying any offensive weapons or large sticks, at the risk of being whipped and having the weapons confiscated. The weapons shall then belong to he who confiscated them. The sole exception shall be made for those who have been sent by their masters to hunt and who are carrying either a letter from their masters or his known mark.

Article XVI. We also forbid slaves who belong to different masters from gathering, either during the day or at night, under the pretext of a wedding or other excuse, either at one of the master's houses or elsewhere, and especially not in major roads or isolated locations. They shall risk corporal punishment....

Article XVIII. We forbid slaves from selling sugar cane, for whatever reason or occasion, even with the permission of their master, at the risk of a whipping for the slaves and a fine of ten pounds for the masters who gave them permission, and an equal fine for the buyer.

Article XIX. We also forbid slaves from selling any type of commodities, even fruit, vegetables, firewood, herbs for cooking and animals either at the market, or at individual houses, without a letter or a known mark from their masters granting express permission. Slaves shall risk the confiscation of goods sold in this way, without their masters receiving restitution for the loss, and a fine of six pounds shall be levied against the buyers....

Article XLII. The masters may also, when they believe that their slaves so deserve, chain them and have them beaten with rods or straps. They shall be forbidden however from torturing them or mutilating any limb, at the risk of having the slaves confiscated and having extraordinary charges brought against them....

Article XLVII. Husband, wife and prepubescent children, if they are all under the same master, may not be taken and sold separately. We declare the seizing and sales that shall be done as such to be void. For slaves who have been separated, we desire that the seller shall risk their loss, and that the slaves he kept shall be awarded to the buyer, without him having to pay any supplement....

Édit du Roi, Touchant la Police des Isles de l'Amérique Française (Paris: 1687), 28–58. George Mason University, Center for History and New Media, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/335/>.

Comprehension Exercises:

1. Through which parent is the condition of slavery passed? Discuss why slavery might pass through one parent and not the other. How might the slave owners benefit from this system?
2. What prohibitions are placed on slaves by the Code Noir?
3. What rights do the masters have over the slaves in the articles above? What limitations are placed on the masters?
4. Look closely at Article XLVII (the last one listed). What does this article say? Do you think the same limitation would have been placed on the selling of livestock? Why or why not?

Reading 3: Count Mirabeau (Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, 1749-1791) on Representation in the States-General

Mirabeau takes issue with how the colonists in Saint-Domingue counted their population in order to secure seats in the States-General, the assembly that advised the King of France.

You claim representation proportionate to the number of the inhabitants. The free blacks are proprietors and tax-payers, and yet they have not been allowed to vote. And as for the slaves, either they are men or they are not; if the colonists consider them to be men, let them free them and make them electors and eligible for seats; if the contrary is the case, have we, in apportioning deputies according to the population of France, taken into consideration the number of our horses and mules?

C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, 2nd ed. rev. (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 60.

Comprehension Exercises:

1. What are the rights of free blacks in Saint-Domingue?
2. Considering Readings 2 and 3 together, why would Mirabeau ask for clarification from the colonists about the status of slaves? What are the colonists doing that seems contradictory?
3. If slaves are not men, what are they? Why?

SLAVE LABOR

Reading 1: Description of Slave Duties

Those who survived [the first few years] and were fully inducted into the plantation system occupied a variety of positions. In general, slave laborers on all plantations were organized into work groups, or *ateliers*, usually one or two major ones and a smaller one. The first were composed of the strongest and healthiest slaves, both men and women, doing the heaviest and hardest work, such as the tilling and clearing of the soil, digging the ditches and canals, planting and picking on the coffee estates, or cutting the cane on the sugar plantations, as well as the cutting and clearing of trees and extraction of rocks, which were tasks undertaken by the men....

In the smaller or secondary *atelier*, then, one would find the less robust: the newly arrived Africans not yet integrated into the regular work force, women in their seventh or eighth month of pregnancy and others who were nursing infants, as well as children between eight and thirteen who were not yet ready for the major *atelier*. Work in these smaller *ateliers* was generally lighter and more varied, such as planting foodstuffs, fertilizing plants, or weeding and clearing dried leaves from the cane.... Slaves were awakened at five in the morning by the sound of the *commandeur*'s whistle or by several cracks of his whip or, on the large plantations of over a hundred slaves, by a huge bell. After the recital of perfunctory prayers by the steward, slaves began work in the fields until eight, were allowed to stop for a meager breakfast, and then returned until noon. The midday break lasted until two, when they returned at the crack of the whip to labor in the field until sundown. On many plantations slaves were forced at the end of the day to gather feed for the draft animals, often having to travel considerable distances from the plantation. Finally, firewood had to be gathered, and dinner, consisting of beans and manioc, or a few potatoes, but rarely, if ever, any meat or fish, had to be prepared. During the grinding season on the sugar plantations, slaves then faced what must have seemed like interminable hours of night work at the mills, or of husking and sorting on the coffee plantations.

Carolyn E. Fick, *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990), 27-28, 32.

Comprehension Exercises:

1. How were slaves divided into work groups? In general, did women have easier jobs than men on the plantations? Briefly summarize the division of labor.
2. Plot out the schedule for a typical day of a plantation slave. How much free time is there? How much rest do you estimate they got?

Reading 2: Observations from Girod-Chantrons, a Swiss Traveler, 1785

They were about a hundred men and women of different ages, all occupied in digging ditches in a cane-field, the majority of them naked or covered with rags. The sun shone down with full force on their heads. Sweat rolled from all parts of their bodies. Their limbs, weighed down by the heat, fatigued with the weight of their picks and by the resistance of the clayey soil baked hard enough to break their implements, strained themselves to overcome every obstacle. A mournful silence reigned. Exhaustion was stamped on every face, but the hour of rest had not yet come. The pitiless eye of the Manager patrolled the gang and several foremen armed with long whips moved periodically between them, giving stinging blows to all who, worn out by fatigue, were compelled to take a rest—men or women, young or old.

C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, 2nd ed. rev. (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 10.

Comprehension Exercises:

1. What words and phrases in this text help you form a visual image of the scene? How clear is the image in your head? What one or two adjectives best describe the feeling of that image?
2. What can you intimate about the bias of the writer of this piece? What clues in the text help you to determine bias?
3. This reading is a primary source document; the first was a secondary source. Does the primary source add to your understanding of slave labor in Saint-Domingue? Why, or why not?

Reading 3: Observations from Moreau de Saint-Méry, a French Colonist, 1789

In Saint-Domingue everything takes on a character of opulence such as to astonish Europeans. That crowd of slaves who await the orders and even the signals of one man, confers an air of grandeur upon whomever gives the orders. It is in keeping with the dignity of a rich man to have four times as many domestics as he needs. The women, especially, have the talent of surrounding themselves with a useless lot of their own sex. And what is difficult to reconcile with the jealousy caused to them sometimes by these dark-skinned servants is the care given to choose pretty ones and to make their costumes elegant. How true it is that vanity can take charge of everything! Since the highest good for a European man is supposedly to have servants, he rents them until he can buy them....

Moreau de Saint-Méry, "A Civilization that Perished: The Last Years of White Colonial Rule," in *Libète: A Haiti Anthology*, eds. Charles Arthur and Michael Dash (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1999), 34.

Comprehension Exercises:

1. What does this excerpt tell you about other duties performed by slaves?
2. How did the colonists show their status in Saint-Domingue?
3. How do you think the life of house slaves was different from that of field slaves?

RIGHTS & RESPONSIBILITIES

Reading 1: From the *Code Noir*

Article VI. We enjoin all our subjects, of whatever religion and social status they may be, to observe Sundays and the holidays that are observed by our subjects of the Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Faith. We forbid them to work, nor make their slaves work, on said days, from midnight until the following midnight. They shall neither cultivate the earth, manufacture sugar, nor perform any other work, at the risk of a fine and an arbitrary punishment against the masters, and of confiscation by our officers of as much sugar worked by said slaves before being caught.

Article XI. We forbid priests from conducting weddings between slaves if it appears that they do not have their masters' permission. We also forbid masters from using any constraints on their slaves to marry them without their wishes.

Article XXVII. Slaves who are infirm due to age, sickness or other reason, whether the sickness is curable or not, shall be nourished and cared for by their masters. In the case that they be abandoned, said slaves shall be awarded to the hospital, to which their master shall be required to pay six sols per day for the care and feeding of each slave....

Édit du Roi, Touchant la Police des Isles de l'Amérique Française (Paris: 1687), 28–58. George Mason University, Center for History and New Media, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/335/>.

Comprehension Exercises:

1. What was forbidden on Sundays and religious holidays? Why? Do you think this was out of concern for the slaves? Why, or why not?
2. What particular slave “rights” are outlined above? What “rights” do the owners have?

Reading 2: Kitchen Gardens and Markets

By allotting small plots to the slaves for their own subsistence, the owner freed himself from the cost and responsibility of feeding them; yet these “kitchen gardens,” meager as they were and with as little time as the slaves had to plant and tend to their crops, came to be seen by the slaves as their own and thus eventually contributed to the development of a sense, if not of “proprietorship,” at least of the firm notion that the land belonged to those who cultivated it....

For those slaves fortunate enough to have produced a small surplus from their gardens, Sundays and holidays meant market day, and they were allowed to sell their produce in town.... Permission to go into town was not, however, given out gratuitously to whoever wished to go. Passes were distributed selectively and in rotation, most often to creole slaves and especially to the women, on Saturday night. Those who received a pass were allowed to leave on the following Sunday morning but were required back at sundown, whereupon they were to give up their passes....

However, until 1784, the practice of allotting small pieces of land to the slaves for their own cultivation was not a legally recognized system and was not necessarily the rule on all plantations. Where this was the case, the master would be required to supply the minimum food rations stipulated in the Black Code: 2½ pots of manioc and either 2 pounds of salt beef or 3 pounds of fish per week. Rarely, if ever, were *any* of the Code’s provisions governing the conditions of the slaves enforced in Saint Domingue. In reality, an average slave’s diet provided by the master to sustain an entire day’s work amounted to little more than seven or eight boiled potatoes and a bit of water.

Under slavery, it has been written, “all is a question of practice; the will of the master is everything. It is from his will, and his will alone, that the slave may expect misery or well-being.”

Carolyn E. Fick, *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990), 32-33.

Comprehension Exercises:

1. How did the kitchen gardens help slaves to feel a sense of ownership? How did the gardens help to sustain them?
2. Do you think that masters granted kitchen gardens as a favor to their slaves? Why, or why not? Cite reasons from the text.
3. Briefly restate the sentiment in the final quotation. What does it mean? Is there evidence of this in the reading?

SLAVES & RELIGION

Reading 1: From the *Code Noir*

Article II. All slaves that shall be in our islands shall be baptized and instructed in the Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Faith. We enjoin the inhabitants who shall purchase newly-arrived Negroes to inform the Governor and Intendant of said islands of this fact within no more than eight days, or risk being fined an arbitrary amount. They shall give the necessary orders to have them instructed and baptized within a suitable amount of time.

Article III. We forbid any religion other than the Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Faith from being practiced in public. We desire that offenders be punished as rebels disobedient of our orders. We forbid any gathering to that end, which we declare to be conventicle, illegal, and seditious, and subject to the same punishment as would be applicable to the masters who permit it or accept it from their slaves.

Édit du Roi, Touchant la Police des Isles de l'Amérique Française (Paris: 1687), 28–58. George Mason University, Center for History and New Media, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/335/>.

Comprehension Exercises:

1. What religion are the slaves required to practice?
2. Who must ensure that the slaves are baptized and instructed? And must those people practice the same religion?
3. Do you think that this policy was enacted out of concern for the slaves' souls or as a way to ensure the dominance of the Church in the colony? Explain your answer.

Reading 2: Boukman's Cry, 1791

On August 22, 1791, Boukman Dutty, a former slave and voodoo priest, led the first revolt of what would become the Haitian Revolution. The insurrection began with a voodoo ceremony, during which Boukman spoke the following words. This moment is considered pivotal in Haitian history.

God who made the sun that shines on us from above, who makes the sea to rage and the thunder roll, this same great God from his hiding place on a cloud, hear me, all of you, is looking down upon us. He see what the whites are doing. The God of the whites asks for crime; ours desires only blessings. But this God who is good directs you to vengeance! He will direct our arms, he will help us. Cast aside the image of the God of the whites who thirsts for our tears and pay heed to the voice of liberty speaking in our hearts....

Libète: A Haiti Anthology, eds., Charles Arthur and Michael Dash (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1999), 36.

Comprehension Exercises:

1. How effective do you think conversion to Catholicism was? Explain your answer.
2. How might it have been possible for slaves to have kept religious traditions from Africa alive? [Note: look for reasons in the overview of slavery in Haiti.]
3. What juxtapositions does Boukman set up between the “God of the whites” and his God? What is the “crime” of the God of the whites?

REBELLIONS, RUNAWAYS & EMANCIPATION**Reading 1: From the *Code Noir***

With almost 60 articles establishing the rule for slavery, the Code Noir focuses on emancipation in only two.

Article XXXVIII. The fugitive slave who has been on the run for one month from the day his master reported him to the police, shall have his ears cut off and shall be branded with a fleur de lys on one shoulder. If he commits the same infraction for another month, again counting from the day he is reported, he shall have his hamstring cut and be branded with a fleur de lys on the other shoulder. The third time, he shall be put to death.

Article XXXIX. The masters of freed slaves who have given refuge to fugitive slaves in their homes shall be punished by a fine of three hundred pounds of sugar for each day of refuge.

Article LV. Masters twenty years of age may free their slaves by any act toward the living or due to death, without their having to give just cause for their actions, nor do they require parental advice as long as they are minors of 25 years of age.

Article LVI. The children who are declared to be sole legatees by their masters, or named as executors of their wills, or tutors of their children, shall be held and considered as freed slaves....

Édit du Roi, Touchant la Police des Isles de l'Amérique Française (Paris: 1687), 28–58. George Mason University, Center for History and New Media, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/335/>.

Comprehension Exercises:

1. What are the punishments for fugitive slaves? What is the punishment for a master who gives refuge to fugitive slaves?
2. Reread Article LVI. Why would people serving in these positions be considered freed slaves?
3. Brainstorm a list of reasons, from what you know about slavery in other countries, of why slaves might be freed by their owners. Did any of those apply in Saint-Domingue? Do you think many slaves were freed in Saint-Domingue? Why, or why not?

Reading 2: Report on the Presence of Maroons, 1775

Marronage, or the desertion of the black slaves in our colonies since they were founded, has always been regarded as one of the possible causes of their destruction. . . . The Minister should be informed that there are inaccessible or reputedly inaccessible areas in different sections of our colony which serve as retreat and shelter for maroons; it is in the mountains and in the forests that these tribes of slaves establish themselves and multiply, invading the plains from time to time, spreading alarm and always causing great damage to the inhabitants.

Carolyn E. Fick, *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990), 50.

Reading 3: Letter from a Colonist, 1763

François Makandal, one of the great maroon leaders, led a 6-year rebellion to overthrow the white regime in Saint-Domingue. Maroons allowed for more than escape; they allowed slaves to organize.

The hatred which slavery aroused in them against us has given rise to extraordinary thoughts of vengeance, the sad effects of which we have suffered in seeing three-quarters of our laborers perish from sickness of a cause unknown even to doctors. When we discovered who the followers of Makandal were, they admitted that they had put to death a large number of whites and an even larger number of blacks, and that the only reason they did this was to restrict their masters to a small number of slaves in order to prevent them from undertaking production that would cause them to be overworked.

Carolyn E. Fick, *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990), 68.

Comprehension Exercises:

1. Based on Readings 2 and 3, do maroons seem like peaceful places? Was there a political quality to them? Why, or why not?
2. Reading 2 is about escaped slaves; Reading 3 is about slaves on the plantations. How might slaves still on the plantations have known about the rebellion and learned how they could participate?

TRANSITION TO FREEDOM

Reading 1: From the *Code Noir*

Article LVIII. We declare their freedom is granted in our islands if their place of birth was in our islands. We declare also that freed slaves shall not require our letters of naturalization to enjoy the advantages of our natural subjects in our kingdom, lands or country of obedience, even when they are born in foreign countries.

Article LIX. We grant to freed slaves the same rights, privileges and immunities that are enjoyed by freeborn persons. We desire that they are deserving of this acquired freedom, and that this freedom gives them, as much for their person as for their property, the same happiness that natural liberty has on our other subjects.

Édit du Roi, Touchant la Police des Isles de l'Amérique Française (Paris: 1687), 28–58. George Mason University, Center for History and New Media, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/335/>.

Comprehension Exercises:

1. What rights did freed slaves have, according to the *Code Noir*?
2. Based on the other readings you have completed on Saint-Domingue, do you think freed slaves were given all of the rights to which they were entitled? Why, or why not? Use examples to support your answer.

Reading 2: Historian P. Boissennade on the Treatment of Mulattoes in Saint-Domingue

Mulattoes were free men of color in Saint-Domingue, not former slaves. Mulattoes often had white fathers and were educated and wealthy. The following reading summarizes their treatment by white society.

Even though [the mulattoes] possessed a quarter of the landed property, even though they rendered great services by their industry, their activity, their participation in land development, in military service and in the constabulary ... since the first third of the 18th century the government, and above all the white colonists, had multiplied the measures of distrust and molestation against them. They forbade them to practice the liberal professions and a certain number of trades. They assigned them special sections in public places. They even tried to force them to wear a special dress; finally they prohibited marriage between them and the whites.... Without scruples, the whites committed against the mulattoes all sorts of denials of justice.... As one colonist put it, these men, who still bore on their foreheads the mark of slavery, had to be reminded constantly of their origin, through the weight of scorn and opprobrium and the breaking of their spirits. The whites refused them all rights of legitimate defense, while for themselves they claimed the right to deal out justice without trial. One magistrate even dared to propose taking property rights away from the mulattoes.

Anna Julia Cooper, *Slavery and the French Revolutionists (1788-1805)*, trans. Frances Richardson Keller (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1988), 47-48.

Comprehension Exercises:

1. How were mulattoes treated by white society? Cite examples from the text.
2. If mulattoes were treated this way, how do you think freed slaves were treated?
3. Reread Articles LVIII and LIX in Reading 1. Was the law followed in Saint-Domingue? What might explain the way the white colonists treated mulattoes and freed slaves?

ABOLITION

Reading 1: Letter from Toussaint L'Ouverture, 1793

Brothers and friends. I am Toussaint L'Ouverture, my name is perhaps known to you. I have undertaken vengeance. I want Liberty and Equality to reign in San Domingo. I work to bring them into existence. Unite yourselves to us, brothers, and fight with us for the same cause, etc.

Your very humble and very obedient servant.

(signed) TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE,
General of the Armies of the King, for the Public Good.

C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, 2nd ed. rev. (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 125.

Comprehension Exercises:

1. Briefly restate the letter in your own words. Is the message clear? Why do you think Toussaint L'Ouverture was so concise?
2. What terms from this letter are taken from the French Revolution? Do you think this was a coincidence?
3. According to this letter, how would abolition come about?

Reading 2: Sympathy from Europe

Historian C.L.R. James, writing in 1938, reflects on the feelings of workers in France toward the slaves in Saint-Domingue.

“Servants, peasants, workers, the labourers by the day in the fields” all over France were filled with a virulent hatred against the “aristocracy of the skin.” There were many so moved by the sufferings of the slaves that they had long ceased to drink coffee, thinking of it as drenched with the blood and sweat of men turned into brutes. Noble and generous working-people of France... These are the people whom the sons of Africa and the lovers of humanity will remember with gratitude and affection....

C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, 2nd ed. rev. (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 139.

Comprehension Exercises:

1. Why would servants and peasants in France align with the slaves? How did they show their sympathies?
2. Does this reading seem to have bias? Why, or why not? Cite examples from the text.

Reading 3: The Maritime Bourgeois on Abolition, 1794

The National Convention in France abolished slavery in the colonies in 1794. This response came from the maritime bourgeois of France, whose wealth had been amassed through the slave trade as well as trade with the colonies.

Bravo! One hundred times bravo, our masters. This is the cry with which all our places of business resound when the public press comes each day and bring us details of your great operations. Certainly, we have all the time to read them at leisure since we have no longer any work to do. There is no longer any ship-building in our ports, still less any construction of boats. The manufactories are deserted and the shops even are closed. Thus, thanks to your sublime decrees, every day is a holiday for the workers. We can count more than three hundred thousand in our different towns who have no other occupation than, arms folded, to talk about the news of the day, of the Rights of Man, and of the Constitution. It is true that every day they become more hungry, but whoever thinks of the stomach when the heart is glad!

C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, 2nd ed. rev. (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 142.

Comprehension Exercises:

1. What is the tone of this piece? Cite examples from the text to support your answer.
2. Why might the maritime bourgeois be unhappy about abolition?
3. Do they seem preoccupied by the conditions of slavery? What differentiates the bourgeois from the workers (see Reading 2)?

Reading 4: From Haiti's Proclamation of Independence, 1804

Statement from Jean-Jacques Dessalines, hero of Haiti's war of independence and Emperor of Haiti (1804-1806). With Haiti's declaration of independence, slavery was officially abolished.

It is not enough to have thrown out of your country those barbarians who have soaked it in blood for two centuries.... To guarantee the triumph of freedom in the country that you have seen born, you must make one last act of national authority. If the inhuman government that has held our spirits in the most humiliating torpor for so long is to give up all hope of subjugating us again, we must live free or we must die....

Generals and leaders, gathered here next to me to the delight of our country, the day has come, this day that must linger on in our glory, our independence.

Libète: A Haiti Anthology, eds., Charles Arthur and Michael Dash (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1999), 44.

Comprehension Exercises:

1. When did the United States achieve independence? What, if anything, in this speech reminds you of the kind of language used in the U.S.?
2. What is the tone of this speech? Why do you think Dessalines would speak this way?

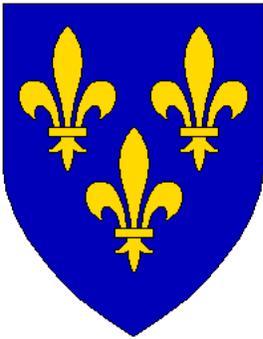
GLOSSARY

An **atelier**, as the term was used in Saint-Domingue, was a slave work group, organized according to strength and abilities.

Bourgeois is a person who belongs to the middle class. The term is also an adjective for those whose attitudes and actions conform to the standards and conventions of the middle class.

A **commandeur** was a slave who served as overseer/driver of the slaves who worked on the plantations.

The **Code Noir** (Black Code) was the decree passed by France's King Louis XIV in 1685. It defined the condition of slavery in the French colonies and regulated the institution of slavery.



The **fleur de lys** was a symbol of the French monarchy and remains an unofficial symbol of France.

Gens de couleur, or mulattoes, were the free people of color in Saint-Domingue. They were people of mixed French and African descent who had been born free. *Gens de couleur* generally had white fathers, and were often wealthy, plantation-owners, and educated in Europe. While they enjoyed many privileges, *gens de couleur* had limits placed on their participation in colonial society.

Grand blancs were the elite French colonists in Saint-Domingue. They were the wealthy landowners with political power in the colony.

A **maroon** was a fugitive slave. The term maroon generally refers to a slave or group of slaves that rebelled or escaped from their owners. Communities of maroons flourished in Saint-Domingue and were often able to survive in the mountainous jungles for years.

Marronage refers to the act of escape on the part of the slave.

Mulatto – see *gens de couleur*.

Petits blancs were the lower class French colonists in Saint-Domingue. They were the tradespeople (overseers, skilled craftsmen, merchants, plantation managers, etc.).

Voodoo is a religion that combines elements of Roman Catholicism with West African religions. Haitian voodoo (or vodou) has strong elements from Central Africa, but includes traditions of many different peoples of Africa. Haitian voodoo believes that there is single creator God (often the same as that of the Catholic Church), but that other deities, saints, and ancestors respond to our requests for help and communicate with us in dreams, trances, and ritual possessions.

About Hemispheres

Created in 1996, Hemispheres is the international area studies outreach consortium at the University of Texas at Austin. Hemispheres utilizes University resources to promote and assist with world studies education for K-12 and postsecondary schools, businesses, civic and non-profit organizations, the media, governmental agencies, and the general public.

Comprised of UT's four federally funded National Resource Centers (NRCs) dedicated to the study and teaching of Latin America; the Middle East; Russia, East Europe & Eurasia; and South Asia, Hemispheres offers a variety of free and low-cost services to these groups and more. Each center coordinates its own outreach programming, including management of its lending library, speakers bureau, public lectures, and conferences, all of which are reinforced by collaborative promotion of our resources to an ever-widening audience in the educational community and beyond.

Hemispheres fulfills its mission through: coordination of pre-service and in-service training and resource workshops for educators; promotion of outreach resources and activities via exhibits at appropriate state- and nation-wide educator conferences; participation in public outreach events as organized by the consortium as well as by other organizations; and consultation on appropriate methods for implementing world studies content in school, business, and community initiatives.