

“OUR HERO”: TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE IN BRITISH REPRESENTATIONS

Grégory Pierrot

For most students and scholars outside of Haiti, finding out about the Haitian Revolution remains to this day an epiphany of sorts. To be sure, however much one learns of other countries' histories depends on personal interest and access to documents and information, but comparing the historical importance of the Haitian Revolution to what little credit it is given outside of higher education never fails to provoke deep incredulity. Not only did the former slaves of Santo Domingo defeat three of the most powerful countries of their time, they also created the first independent Caribbean nation. As students of the Haitian Revolution come across the “innumerable popular and partisan works”¹ inspired by the revolution and its charismatic leader Toussaint Louverture, they often feel that they are (re)discovering an event buried in historical record. This feeling, of course, is quite paradoxical: from its beginning in 1791, the Haitian Revolution was followed closely across the world; journalists covered the events as they unfolded, politicians discussed it in the courts and parliaments of Europe and America, authors used it as background for their stories, and philosophers as fodder for theory. The recent resurgence in scholarly interest in the Haitian Revolution cannot hide the fact that authors never stopped writing about it. The revolution, this whole time, was hiding in plain sight, covered by the very pages written about it. The Haitian Revolution has always been a thorn in the side of Western liberal democracy for the way it revealed contradictions inherent to the Enlightenment. Impossible to defeat militarily, Haiti was mastered culturally in a process that started with the revolution itself.

In the bibliography of *The Black Jacobins*, the groundbreaking historiography of the Haitian Revolution first published in 1938, C. L. R. James mentions that “during the Napoleonic war, Marcus Rainsford and James Stephen wrote panegyrics of Toussaint in English. These books are little more than propaganda pamphlets.”² James's scathing assessment of Stephen's

1803 *Buonaparte in the West Indies; or the History of Toussaint Louverture, the African Hero*³ and Rainsford's 1805 *Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti* is not wide of the mark, and it is echoed by Geggus's comments some fifty years later. Stephen at least recognized that the ulterior motive in writing his book was to sway British opinion against Napoleon at a time when the French leader had found short-lived popularity across the English Channel. Yet, the very fact that these publications seem to James so clearly partisan is what makes them especially interesting. These books, among other literary and pictorial treatments of the Haitian Revolution, participated actively in the deliberate obfuscation of Haitian history that C. L. R. James eventually did so much to reverse. Ironically, this obfuscation was organized around the appropriation of Toussaint Louverture by British culture. Studying Toussaint's representations in British contexts is crucial to uncover the role Haitian general Toussaint played in this process. In caricatures, newspaper articles, and books of the time, Toussaint was systematically presented as a British figure, in spirit if not in fact. Simultaneously, in making Toussaint into a lone hero separated from his political actions and background, journalists and writers were working on the erasure of the Haitian Revolution from British history. In the last years of his life, but even more so immediately after his death, Toussaint Louverture was turned into a British literary character to neutralize his political legacy and dissolve it into British culture and hegemony.

The Rise of Toussaint

The British expedition in the Caribbean was at first a success: early in 1793, British troops had managed to take over most French possessions in the Caribbean, with strong support from the local white planters. The tide turned when the French Convention officially abolished slavery in all French colonies in February 1794. On hearing the news around June of the same year, Toussaint Louverture joined the French side and rekindled the war against the British, who at that point had all but completely defeated the French.⁴ Toussaint's name was mentioned for the first time in British documents in October 1793 when, on entering the port of Gonaïves, the British found "a Negroe, who they called the Spanish general, commanding the place." His name was "Tusan."⁵ It is as "POUISSAINT L'OUVERTURE, ci-devant Negro . . . Commander of a Division of the troops of the Republic, under the orders of general Lavaud" that he is mentioned for the first time in the *Times of London* on 7 November 1794. While spelling mistakes were quite common at the time, especially for foreign names, much could

be made of this one, which turns a religiously charged name such as Toussaint (All Saints) into a variation of the French *puissant*, which means “mighty, powerful.” This sentence already displays much of what would become characteristic of the British treatment of Toussaint: his name, enhanced in capital letters, literally overpowers his allegiance to the French and typographically isolates him. Though made lieutenant governor of the island in 1796 and commander in chief by French commissioner Léger-Félicité Sonthonax in May 1797, Toussaint was not mentioned much in the news until 1798. The war in Europe was turning to England’s disadvantage, and the name of another French general successful against British troops, Napoleon Bonaparte, was on all lips in England.

Although the British had at first been globally victorious in the West Indies, taking over several French islands, continuing resistance in Santo Domingo along with tales of disease and atrocities on both parts did much to diminish British morale at home. The British began losing ground in Santo Domingo, and Toussaint became their main, if not sole, interlocutor on the island. Against the advice of Directoire envoy General Gabriel Hédouville, Toussaint Louverture struck a separate peace with British general Frederick Maitland in August 1798. British troops left the island in the following months. The evacuation, quelling as it did voices in the British Parliament that were opposed to the costly expedition, appeared in the news as a doubly positive move: not only were British troops out of the Haitian quagmire, General Maitland had also secured a secret economic treaty with Toussaint “whereby goods should come to certain selected ports in British and American ships, to be paid for by San Domingo produce.”⁶ This secret agreement, along with a later one allowing American and British ships into Santo Domingo ports, were made very public in English newspapers, which did not hesitate to analyze them as signs of an impending split between Santo Domingo and France.⁷ On leaving Santo Domingo, the British had offered to make Toussaint king of the entire island of Hispaniola and to help defend it with their fleet, hoping to sever the connection between the island and continental France.⁸ Even though Toussaint Louverture did not accept the offer, the British government and the press never ceased to present Santo Domingo under Toussaint as close to independence.

The withdrawal of British troops from Santo Domingo certainly did much to make Toussaint famous in England, where he was soon presented as a virtual British ally in the war against France. Playing him against France could turn a military defeat into a strategic move, with Britain benefiting no matter the outcome: a successful revolution in Santo Domingo could set a dangerous precedent in the region, but seeing French troops

sailing far from British shores was also a welcome prospect. On a different level, by singling out the person of Toussaint and presenting him erroneously as a “negro chief or king” and potential ally against France, the focus could shift from a discussion of England’s own involvement in the history of Santo Domingo to one of character; from reality to a form of fiction. England could conveniently “forget” its engagement against the black revolutionaries of Santo Domingo just as it tightened its grip on its own slave populations. This strategic forgetting was paradoxically performed through an intense mediatization of Toussaint.

Toussaint and “the Character of the English”

There are no known pictorial representations of Toussaint Louverture made prior to 1802 in France, in the United Kingdom or in Santo Domingo. Constant war on the island might be reason enough for this, yet one is hard put to find caricatures or satires representing Toussaint, even though by 1798 he was known to both France and England as one of the main actors in this war. Mary Dorothy George’s *Catalogue of political and personal satires preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*¹⁰ for the years of the expedition shows very few British satires and caricatures on the topic of the Santo Domingo expedition. When Santo Domingo is mentioned, it is usually indirectly, as one of the many West Indian islands, a single item in a list of conflicts. It also was not until British troops left the island that Toussaint became a staple in British articles and reports related to Santo Domingo. Accounts concerning Toussaint between 1799 and 1802 portrayed him as a benevolent monarchlike figure. This was not just meant to draw the ire of Republican France: people who had actually met the general all agreed that he was an admirable and honorable man.¹¹ Tales of his magnanimity and anecdotes on his generosity and valor were by 1802 as common as reports on the state of Santo Domingo.¹² Yet, in singling out Toussaint for praise and in presenting him often and ambiguously as a “negro chief,” the British were also separating the general from his troops, his struggle, and his country. This trend would only accelerate in 1802, when almost immediately after signing the Treaty of Amiens (France) and thus striking peace with England for the first time in ten years, Napoleon sent General Charles Leclerc at the head of twelve thousand men to subdue Toussaint Louverture and reestablish slavery in the French West Indies. British public opinion at first supported the Leclerc expedition: its success would prove a deterrent to potential slave rebellions in their own islands, and though Great Britain

was now at peace with France, it was satisfied to see French troops travel far from British shores.

Landing in Santo Domingo in early February 1802, Leclerc first achieved military success in his war against Toussaint. As the war lingered, though, and they started losing ground, French troops soon resorted to terror. News of the atrocities they perpetrated in Santo Domingo traveled fast around Europe, and with France declaring war on England again in May 1803, the Leclerc expedition became another example of “typical” French behavior. It was regularly mentioned along with other examples of war crimes perpetrated by Napoleon’s armies, such as the mass poisoning of French troops sick with the plague in Jaffa, Palestine, during the Egyptian campaign, or political assassinations such as the summary execution of the Duke of Enghien, as in Ansell’s¹³ *The Corsican Usurper’s New Imperial French Arms* (figure 1). By contrast, Toussaint was praised for his poise and dignity, for a behavior often clearly identified as typically British. Toussaint Louverture was tricked into a meeting with Leclerc, who had him arrested and shipped to France, where he was thrown in a dungeon and badly mistreated until he died of pneumonia in April 1803. This last and tragic episode supplied precious fodder for British propaganda. It made Toussaint a symbol of vain but universal heroism in the face of tyranny, an example of British-like behavior contrasting with French villainy, a theme employed later to describe the relations of England, France, and Haiti at large in a January 1804 engraving by Ansell that was subtitled *French alias Corsican Villainy, or the Contrast to English Humanity* (figure 2). The engraving opposes, on the left, Napoleon ordering the poisoning of his troops at Jaffa and the slaughter of Turkish troops and, on the right, British soldiers preventing Haitian soldiers from killing their unarmed French prisoners. The British have these words for the irate Haitian soldiers: “We know they are our Enemies, and yours, and the Enemies of all Mankind; nevertheless Humanity is so strongly planted in the Breast of an Englishman that he can become an humble beggar, for the lives, even of his Enemies, when they are subdued.”¹⁴ By October, this notion was asserted again in another caricature by Ansell that was subtitled *Boney’s Inquisition: Another Specimen of his Humanity on the person of Madame Toussaint*. It showed French soldiers under Napoleon’s supervision torturing Madame Toussaint, whose comments read, “Oh Justice, Oh Humanity, Oh Deceitfull Villain, in vain you try to blot the Character of the English; t’is their Magnanimity which harasses your Dastard Soul.”¹⁵ The construction of Toussaint as a symbol of Britishness was undertaken through a series of portraits, literary and pictorial, among which the works of James Stephen and Marcus Rainsford stand prominent.

Figure 1. From Ansell [Charles Williams], The Corsican Usurpers New Imperial French Arms, etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

The Contrast between French Villainy and British Humanity

A closer look at two books published in 1802 and 1803 in Great Britain will help one understand how Toussaint Louverture was gradually integrated into British culture. In 1802, at the onset of the Leclerc expedition, Captain Marcus Rainsford of the West India regiment published *A Memoir of Transactions that took place in St. Domingo in the spring of 1799*, a thirty-one-page account of his personal misadventures in Santo Domingo, complete with a character description of Toussaint Louverture.¹⁶ Rainsford was



Figure 2. Ansell [Charles Williams], *French alias Corsican Villainy and the Contrast to English Humanity*, etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

“[b]orn of a respectable family in the kingdom of Ireland” in 1750. A career officer, he fought in the American War for Independence under the Earl of Moira and under the Duke of York in York’s ill-fated Dutch campaign in 1794, before he was sent to join “a black corps to be raised in the West Indies”¹⁷ in 1795. Rainsford was sailing from Jamaica to British-occupied Martinique to join his regiment in the spring of 1799 when, hit by a hurricane, the ship he was in had to put into Santo Domingo for repairs. According to his account, once on shore, Rainsford almost immediately met Toussaint Louverture; he would see him many times during his stay in the city, and have conversations and play billiards with him. Later, believed to be a spy, Rainsford was arrested and was condemned to death by a military jury.¹⁸ Rainsford spent some time in prison awaiting his execution, only to be saved by the intervention of the “perfect black . . . of a venerable appearance,” Toussaint Louverture, who let him leave the island unharmed.¹⁹

Rainsford shows much of the common racist prejudices of his time: in a paragraph eventually deleted in the much-expanded 1805 version on his work, *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti*, he describes the 1793 fire of the Cape as entirely indebted to Republican Commissioners Sonthonax and Étienne Polverel, who with “the Blacks and the Mulattos . . .

used every woman with savage barbarity . . . ; exterminated the Whites; and revelled in their cruelty eighteen days!”²⁰ In his descriptions, French Republicans and Haitians alike are often presented as bloodthirsty barbarians. Yet, at the moment of its publication in January 1802, Rainsford’s *Memoir* ran against the grain. Against English public opinion, which at the time was supportive of the Leclerc expedition, Rainsford asserted that an independent Haiti would pose no threat to British colonies. He contended that “with respect to any views [Haitians] may be imagined to contemplate of extending their possessions, none who know the respectable state of defense in which our Islands are kept will ever entertain the smallest fear respecting them.”²¹ Furthermore, Rainsford thought that the Haitian revolutionaries had no desire to attack British possessions. He also thought that the French expedition was bound for failure for logistical but also more deeply moral reasons. In a contemporary text, Rainsford warned the armies of Napoleon: though they had been victorious throughout Europe because their revolutionary, democratic cause had carried them,

how different is the object at present: detachments from armies . . . are embarked to expel their own spirit from another land . . . to again fill the furrows of a smiling country with blood—the blood of FREEMEN, WHOM THEY HAD THEMSELVES CREATED.²²

What marked Rainsford’s text as strikingly original was its purpose as a token of admiration for the man who had saved his life, “a small emanation of gratitude to a singular man, who in the possession of extraordinary power, did not use it unworthily.”²³ It was also meant to counter attacks on Toussaint’s character from France and England, “fabrications of the idle and the ignorant,” misrepresentations of “popular prejudice.”²⁴ Rainsford’s memoir was submitted to the public “in a crude and imperfect state,” seemingly rushed by moral urgency. Later that year in France, Louis Dubroca and Cousin D’Avallon published their negative accounts of the life of Toussaint Louverture. In his 1805 *Account*, Rainsford would present his work as a righteous and factually accurate answer to Louis Dubroca’s *Vie de Toussaint L’Ouverture* (1802), a slanderous work “distorted for the purposes of party.”²⁵ The memoir’s purpose had been to oppose “the mania spread into England with the beauties of the Consular court.”²⁶ At peace for a short time with the France of First Consul Napoleon Bonaparte after the Treaty of Amiens, “that nation where the ministry and people had blindly desired the abolition . . . still more blindly joined in the popular wish of returning to slavery those who were completely emancipated.”²⁷

Though not a supporter of emancipation, Rainsford seemingly resented the hypocrisy of the European powers on the topic: England's government had revealed its merely strategic attachment to abolition, and France had forgotten its revolutionary promises. In expressing these doubts, Rainsford was showing himself an acute political analyst. He had also accurately predicted the fate of the Leclerc expedition and announced deep changes in the British cultural landscape. While critical of the negative opinions held regarding Santo Domingo in England, Rainsford's book mostly defends Toussaint as an individual rather than the military and political force behind the "perfect system of equality"²⁸ Rainsford asserts—not without irony—having found in Santo Domingo. Rainsford's 1802 *Memoir* effectively separates Toussaint from his cultural background—and this strategy would prove central in the British treatment of Toussaint Louverture.

Furthermore, Rainsford's Irish origins hint at the underlying function his writings and others would come to have. Tales of the atrocities committed by both British and Irish sides before and after the failed French invasion of 1798 were still fresh in British minds and regularly addressed in the press;²⁹ focusing on Santo Domingo was especially profitable for England in that it could direct attention toward a conflict that no longer directly involved the country, and connect notions of immorality and atrocity to French perpetrators and black victims. The character of Toussaint provided a figure on which both the English and the Irish, specifically Catholics, could agree. In that regard, the way Toussaint's faith is regularly defined in British letters is exemplary. Toussaint is praised for being a "devout man and sincere worshipper of Christ," "found faithful in the great duties to which it pleased God to call him."³⁰ Yet, the fact that he is specifically a Catholic is rarely raised by mostly Protestant English writers at a time when anti-Catholic resentment was high and Catholics were still barred from public office. Thus, further in his 1803 book *Buonaparte in the West Indies; or the History of Toussaint Louverture, the African Hero*, James Stephen mentions Toussaint's Catholicism to better discard it: "[H]e was a Roman Catholic, it is true, but he knew no better faith."³¹ Toussaint's faith is opposed to the French's alleged lack of it, and his being defined as a Christian situates him by implication on the British side.³²

The pamphlet was published anonymously by the famed abolitionist "soon after the recommencement of the war with France, with a view chiefly to its probable influence on the minds of the lower classes of the English readers."³³ His publication was more widely reviewed than Rainsford's the year before, and the reception was enthusiastic, a reaction clearly influenced by the new war against France.³⁴ In the words of the 1814 advertisement for the second edition of this work, the book "was designed to counteract the false impressions which many [British readers] had received

of the character of Buonaparte . . . , and to enlist their best feelings against that dangerous enemy of their country, as a monster of perfidy, cruelty, and baseness.”³⁵ Stephen had even more in mind when publishing the book in 1803, however. As noted in the October 1803 review of the book in the *Anti-Jacobin*, two other goals were to “elevate the negro character in the estimation of Europeans” and “to excite a prejudice against the slave-trade.” These aims were nevertheless dismissed in most reviews and chastised when mentioned at all: in the same review, it was thus said that,

[a]s to the slave-trade, the author deals in abuse solely, without deigning to employ an argument on the subject, which, in no case, is justifiable; but in a question, in which not a difference of opinion subsists, between men equally enlightened, and equally honourable, particularly indecorous and reprehensible.³⁶

With the righteousness of a man living in a country apparently set on doing away with the slave trade, Stephen asserts that “every well-informed man knows already” about “the dreadful effects of West India slavery upon the minds, both of the master and the slave.”³⁷ To substantiate this point, he chooses an example out of Bryan Edwards’s *History of the Island of St. Domingo* (1791) in which the cruelty of the torture inflicted on a slave by the French—whom he characterizes as “White Savages”—is opposed to the clemency of British sailors:

At the end of forty minutes, some English seamen, who were spectators of the tragedy, strangled him in mercy. As to all the French spectators . . . it grieves me to say, that they looked on with the most perfect composure and sang froid. Some of the ladies, as I was told, even ridiculed with a good deal of unseemly mirth, the sympathy shewn by the English at the sufferings of the wretched criminals.³⁸

Stephen’s stellar portrait of “the pious and humane” Toussaint regularly opposes examples of French barbarity with the civilized (re)actions of the British: mentioning a meeting between General Maitland and Toussaint, Stephen explains that Maitland was so trusting of Toussaint Louverture that he “did not scruple to go to him with only two or three attendants,” even though the two sides had but recently been at war. Commissioner Philippe Roume “did not think so well of the honor of this virtuous Chief. It is very natural for wicked men to think badly of mankind.”³⁹

“The French,” Stephen adds, “are an odd people, and their words never mean the same thing that meet the ear.”⁴⁰

Lamenting the cruel behavior of Leclerc, he exclaims, “O shame to the white skins that cover French hearts!”⁴¹ Further, discussing how the French under Leclerc would drown their prisoners, Stephen mentions how their dead bodies floating close to shore “continually shocked the eyes of the British and American seamen who were passing near that horrible coast.”⁴² As in the engravings discussed earlier, French barbarity is contrasted with the alleged natural barbarity of blacks, only to reinforce the idea of English humanity. As Stephen insists time and again, “[T]he only savages in St Domingo . . . were savages with white faces.”⁴³ Stephen’s goals are most transparent when he addresses the circumstances of the British invasion of Santo Domingo in 1794; the sole justification Stephen provides is that the local white planters had intrigued and invited Great Britain to invade the island. Stephen avoids any other mention of British presence in Domingo, under the pretext that it is a topic “upon which an Englishman cannot like to enlarge.” Yet, he assures his readers that

there is nothing in the conduct of our brave soldiers in that field, but what does them honour, yet I chuse to be silent as to that unhappy attempt, and shall only say, that Toussaint through the whole of the long contest with our army, acted so as to win the admiration of his enemies as well as the praise of his ungrateful country.⁴⁴

A telling ellipse: in Stephen’s otherwise scathing pamphlet, all that is left of the close to four-year-long British expedition is glory on the battlefield, next to that of “our hero,” Toussaint Louverture. The English are idealized and identified by correspondence neither to their European *frères ennemis*, the French, nor to the revolted slaves, but to a single figure of ideal moral purity in the person of Toussaint Louverture.

Rainsford’s *Account*: Portraits and Erasures

Rainsford’s 1805 book was in effect the third version of his 1802 account, following an intermediary, sixty-three-page-long second edition entitled *St. Domingo; or an historical, political and military Sketch of the Black Republic, with a view of the life of Toussaint L’Ouverture, and the effects of his newly-established dominion in that part of the world*. The *Account* came complete with chapters on the history of Santo Domingo from Columbus

to the revolution, a detailed account of the revolutionary wars leading up to independence, and various considerations of the author on attendant subjects. Rainsford, as he explained clearly in the introduction, meant this book to be the first “correct and comprehensive account . . . of this interesting country.”⁴⁵ Illustrations by J. Barlow were the most striking addition to the earlier pieces; one of them would become the first published portrait of Toussaint with a decent claim to veracity (figure 3). The engraving was allegedly based on drawings made by Rainsford during his stay in Santo Domingo in 1799. It is displayed in the section in which Rainsford repeats the description of Toussaint Louverture present in all versions of his work:

To the English he is by no means inimical, and, in possession of many of the blessings of humanity, he courts the acceptance of the world. He is a perfect black, at present about fifty-five years of age—of a venerable appearance, but possessed of uncommon discernment . . . He wears as a uniform, a kind of blue spencer, with a large red cape falling over his shoulders, and red cuffs with eight rows of lace on his arms, and a pair of large gold epaulettes thrown back on his shoulders; a scarlet waiscoat, pantaloons and half-boots; a round hat with a red feather and national cockade; and an extreme large sward is suspended from his side.”⁴⁶

This description of the general is rather vague; we are not offered any indication of his physical appearance or his facial traits. Rainsford comments regularly throughout his book on Toussaint’s moral character, yet leaves us blind to the revolutionary’s physical appearance. He describes Toussaint’s clothes more than the man himself, a seemingly odd choice, considering Rainsford purports to be the first Englishman to produce an authentic appraisal of Toussaint Louverture. Yet, even these clothes raise a few issues. The uniform Rainsford describes here is considerably different from the French uniforms Toussaint is seen wearing in every French portrait of the time, or “the undress uniform of a regimental officer” and “resplendent uniforms on state occasions”⁴⁷ that C. L. R. James tells us about. More interesting yet, Barlow’s engraving does not quite match Rainsford’s description.

It indeed rather seems to emulate an 1802 engraving by Scottish caricaturist John Kay (figure 4), who himself had never seen Toussaint in person, although one cannot discount the rather interesting possibility that this

Figure 3. J. Barlow, Toussaint Louverture, engraving, in Marcus Rainsford, An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti (1805). Reproduced with the permission of Rare Books and Manuscripts, Special Collections Library, Pennsylvania State University Libraries.



Figure 4. John Kay, *Toussaint Louverture*, etching, in *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings. With Biographical Sketches and Illustrative Anecdotes* (Edinburgh: A & C Black, 1877).

first engraving might have been originally inspired by Rainsford's own description, as it had already been published twice in 1802. Kay and Barlow obfuscate specifically French details of Toussaint's uniform in their drawings: without the typical French bicorne, or the lace, there is nothing to mark his rank as a French general. But, these drawings, like Rainsford's description, even add unmistakably British elements to his uniform: the feathered round hat was part of the standard issue for the British West Indian regiments from 1795 onward,⁴⁸ but it never was worn by French armed forces. Similarly, downward chevrons were not used in the French army; chevrons (upward in France, downward in England) started appearing on army uniforms at the turn of the nineteenth century to indicate years of service among lower ranks, but not among commanding officers. Actually, Toussaint's uniform appears to be very similar to the one that British black colonial troops would have worn in Haiti itself during their campaign, an aspect Rainsford could not but have been aware of: "[F]rom early 1796, there was a basic uniform, common to all black *Chasseurs* units in Haiti . . . This consisted of a round hat with a cockade and a plume, a red jacket with collar and cuffs of a facing color chosen by the colonel, a shirt and coarse trousers."⁴⁹ These portraits effectively mobilize Toussaint into British auxiliary troops; they could be portraits of Jean Kina, a former Haitian slave turned British colonel and one of Toussaint's main opponents during the British campaign.⁵⁰

Toussaint is also made to look different from the other blacks represented in the book. His facial features are clearly defined, but the main difference appears in the sternness of the general's traits. All other blacks are portrayed with round cheeks, and the depictions of French soldiers with evil smirks and furrowed brows err on the side of caricature. Rainsford and Barlow, each in slightly different fashion, ignore all of Toussaint's personal characteristics and portray him as a convergence of two types: the regal military officer and the heroic black chief. If we can recognize Toussaint, it is mostly because Barlow's illustration depicts a cliché of military valor and dignified demeanor. In this portrait, we do not see Toussaint so much as an image of England itself, a reflection of what the British saw on Toussaint's artfully altered surface. The appropriation of Toussaint by England was twofold, in image and in the written text. Both aspects show clear intent to rein in the myth and position it in phase with themes typical of writings about the West Indies. The imminent threat of slave revolution embodied by Toussaint had to be culturally neutralized, much in the way other incarnations of the same issue were also dealt with in literature. In his study of the role of the magical practice of obeah in British literature written between 1797 and 1807, Alan Richardson shows that British

rewritings of black West Indian resistance function as an exorcism of sorts for the constant fear of slave rebellion:

[I]t was largely through denying a coherent ideology or political aspirations to black insurgents, representing them instead as “savages,” stirred up by African sorcerers and European demagogues and giving vent to uncontrollable, barbaric fury, that English fears of black empowerment could most readily be vented if not entirely allayed.⁵¹

Richardson further asserts that the figure of the obeahman was “made to embody British colonial anxiety in the critical decade of 1797–1807,” whereas by 1802 Toussaint was “no longer a seemingly invincible revolutionary leader, but could be assimilated to the popular anti-slavery image of the dying, chained, or supplicating slave.”⁵² Richardson suggests rightly that Toussaint’s image was appropriated by Britain to defuse the threat he represented. But the images of Toussaint produced by Britain always show him standing, even when in chains; he is never so much the supplicating slave as the hero subdued. Richardson fails to realize that, as a symbol of organized slave revolution, Toussaint was as much the embodiment of British, but also Western, anxiety as the obeahmen. He embodied a much more palpable and immediate political threat. Yet, even as such, Toussaint was already at the confluence of two literary templates Britons of the time would have been highly familiar with: the “black avenger” and its literary exorcism, the tragic black hero.

From Black Avenger to Tragic Black Hero

The character of the black hero successfully avenging his people—which I shall hereafter call the black avenger—was first evoked in a 1771 book by French author Louis Sébastien Mercier: *L’An 2440: Rêve s’il en fût jamais*. The hero of this book, following a political discussion with an English friend about the sorry state of French affairs, falls into a profound sleep only to awaken in the year 2440. Exploring this brave new world, the protagonist makes an interesting discovery:

[I] observed toward the right, on a magnificent pedestal, the figure of a negro; his head was bare, his arm extended, his eye fierce, his attitude noble and commanding . . . and at his feet I read these words: *To the avenger of the new world . . . [N]ature*

*has at last produced this wonderful man . . . he has broke asunder the chains of all his countrymen . . . The soil of America drank with avidity that blood for which it had so long thirsted; and the bones of their ancestors, cowardly butchered, seemed to rise up and leap for joy . . . [H]e was the exterminating angel, to whom God resigned his sword of justice.*⁵³

This figure would be popularized a few years later by Guillaume-Thomas François Raynal, a Catholic abbot, in his *Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies* (1776; originally published 1770). Drawing heavily on Mercier's anticipative fiction, Raynal warned against the foreseeable consequences of slavery in the West Indies:

Where is he, this great man, that nature owes to her afflicted, oppressed, and tormented children? Where is he? He will undoubtedly appear, he will show himself, he will lift up the sacred banner of liberty . . . The planes of America will suck up with transport the blood which they have so long expected, and the bones of so many wretches, heaped upon one another, during the course of so many centuries, will bound for joy. In all parts the name of the hero, who shall have restored the rights of the human species, will be blest; in all parts trophies erected to his glory. Then will the black code be no more; and the white code will be a dreadful one, if the conqueror only regards the right of reprisals!⁵⁴

Raynal's book went through several reprints and was translated and read across Europe. Its influence is obvious in the echoes to it that can be heard in comments surrounding Toussaint Louverture in the press, but also from political figures of the time. C. L. R. James later advanced that Toussaint himself read the passage "over and over again" and that he was convinced to be the man described by Raynal.⁵⁵ According to a visitor of the island, busts of Raynal were "'respectfully conserved' in all the various offices Toussaint Louverture used throughout the colony."⁵⁶ The literary characterization of Toussaint had therefore started even before he had appeared on the political stage; but this black avenger was too threatening a character. In his *Account*, Rainsford credits French general Jean-Charles Laveaux, whose life was saved by Toussaint, with calling Toussaint "the negro, the Spartacus foretold by Raynal, whose destiny it *was* to avenge the wrongs committed on his race."⁵⁷ Rainsford's correcting Laveaux's quote with

italicized past tense is telling: he is safely speaking after the crucifixion of the slave leader. By 1805, his abduction by Leclerc and later death coupled with the opportunism of Stephen and Rainsford had already turned him into a more palatable literary template, one that could neutralize the prospect of black agency. Toussaint became a literary character most English people at the turn of the nineteenth century would be more familiar and comfortable with. As a lonely, tragic negro chief, Toussaint necessarily became the tool of fate, a passive if highly dramatic pawn acting out a well-known scenario.

Accounts regarding Toussaint between 1798 and 1802 made him into a benevolent monarchlike figure. In December 1798, a *London Gazette* article thus celebrated the general: “[Toussaint Louverture] is a negro born to vindicate the claims of this species and to show that the character of men is independent of exterior colour . . . Every Liberal Briton will feel proud that this country brought about the happy revolution.”⁵⁸ The article also presented Toussaint as a “negro chief or king.” Although Toussaint’s origins are ultimately unverifiable, many have claimed that he was possibly of royal African extraction.⁵⁹ True or not, these claims participated in taking Toussaint out of the realm of politics and into that of Western, and more specifically British, literature.

The template for this characterization had been defined in the main characters of Aphra Behn’s 1688 novel *Oroonoko* and William Earle Jr.’s 1800 novel *Three-Fingered Jack*, based on the real-life renegade Jamaican slave Jack Mansong. There are many similarities between the two characters: they are both of royal African stock, treacherously sold to slave traders and deported to the Americas, where they end up leading ill-fated slave rebellions. Jack’s mother raises him to become the “savior of our country, the abolisher of the slave trade”: the man of Raynal’s prophecy.⁶⁰ But, upon trying to incite rebellion among plantation slaves in Jamaica and Surinam, both Oroonoko and Jack are unsuccessful: during their first fight against the slavers, the slaves abandon Oroonoko, leaving him to fight the British with his pregnant wife and another slave. In *Three-Fingered Jack*, the “affrighted negroes” flee at first sight of British soldiers, at which point Jack decides to “seek the woods alone,” loathing the slaves “more than [his] enemies, under whose whip [they] would rather die than by one exertion shake off the thing [they] hate.”⁶¹ Collective slave revolt, ever the fear of British proprietors in the West Indies, is thus evacuated early. Revolutionary *manqués*, Oroonoko and Jack become tragic heroes instead.

This rhetorical displacement is achieved through idealization; Oroonoko and Jack are constantly shown as unique among blacks for their physical might, intelligence, and royal extraction, all of which make them

honorary Europeans.⁶² Jack in particular is presented as a potential Briton: Earle indeed declares that Jack, “had he shone in a higher sphere, would have proved as bright a luminary as . . . ever boldly asserted the rights of a Briton.”⁶³ Jack’s physical description not only evokes Behn’s description of Oroonoko: “[H]e was of the most manly growth . . . His face was rather long; his eyes black and fierce; his nose was not like the generality of blacks, squat and flat, but rather aquiline, and his skin remarkably clear.”⁶⁴ But, in its insistence on the black hero’s uncommon facial features, it also evokes Barlow’s illustration of Haitians in general and Toussaint in particular, whose peculiarity was not entirely lost on the British commentators of the time.⁶⁵ This aspect shows the ultimate level of Toussaint’s appropriation by Britain: with Toussaint a literary character, his very blackness could be summoned to serve different purposes, a strategy used in the news of the time.

A Black Pen in White Hands

For years, articles in the *Times of London* seemed to use randomly the three racial markers of *black*, *negro*, or *mulatto* to characterize Toussaint. Whereas the two first terms were arguably used indifferently to mean the same thing, the latter could not have been considered equivalent, especially in a context where much of the war opposed three categories referred to as whites, blacks, and mulattoes. This trend shifts around the time when the Leclerc expedition sets out for Santo Domingo. From then on, Toussaint is more systematically described as a Negro, sometimes disparagingly so, as in a 1 October 1803 article in the *Times of London*, where it is implied that Toussaint could neither read nor write and was actually “selected by some of the *white* people as a fit instrument to favour their escape from a rigid and inhuman persecution.”

Further in the article, Jean-Jacques Dessalines is mistakenly presented as a freeborn mulatto “of a very brutal and ferocious disposition.” As Toussaint before him, Dessalines is presented in turn as black, negro, or mulatto. Yet, in this case, the choice seems especially strategic when contrasted with the way Toussaint himself is subtly denied agency as a negro backed by white people. As an active general, Toussaint could possibly have some white blood; defeated and imprisoned, he became completely black again, when Dessalines, the new leader of the Haitian Revolution, suddenly became a mulatto. The convenient and strategic representations of Toussaint and Dessalines as mulattoes bring to mind a well-known literary figure: the stereotypical “tragic mulatto,” who would soon become a

staple of its own in race literature. In Sterling Brown's words, in white literary representations, "the mulatto is a victim of a divided inheritance; from his white blood come his intellectual strivings, his unwillingness to be a slave; from his Negro blood come his baser emotional urges, his indolence, his savagery."⁶⁶ The racial implications of these comments seem clear enough: besides suggesting that Toussaint is only known secondhand, *through white men's writings*, they help explain part of the interest of defining him as the unique specimen of a "perfect black." Like Three-Fingered Jack, Toussaint has to be unique as an example of black intelligence and valor because blacks remain inherently inferior to whites. As Richardson writes about the obeah,

[T]he insistence upon [its] African provenance . . . enables the wishful removal of the threat—political as well as cultural—associated with it . . . ; both obeah and the larger threat of black resistance it metonymically evokes can be exposed as futile, empty gestures doomed to fail when met by European superiority whether in arms or in civilization.⁶⁷

When he was fighting the British, Toussaint could be a mulatto sometimes because mixed bloods were supposed to be somewhat savage for being somewhat black; ferocious, cruel, and perverse for being mixed; but also intelligent for being somewhat white.⁶⁸ Once dead, much in the way of Jack Mansong, Toussaint the "*African hero*" was turned from a real-life revolutionary into a more poignant version of the *literary* character Three-Fingered Jack.

The role played by William Wordsworth in the appropriation of Toussaint cannot be underestimated. On 2 February 1803, London's *Morning Post* published *To Toussaint L'Ouverture*, a poem by Wordsworth. While Richardson sees in the poem an "early example of British sympathy for the Haitian cause," it also shows the same ambivalence Richardson sees in the treatment of obeah in the literature of the time.⁶⁹ Sympathy for Toussaint conveniently comes as he languishes, utterly powerless, in his cell at the Fort de Joux (in La Cluse-et-Mijoux, France). The sympathy it expresses is not for the revolutionary but rather for this tragically passive figure. Wordsworth encourages the soldier to "wear a cheerful brow" in bondage and to "take comfort" in the fact that nature, rather than humankind, will never forget him. His "friends are exultations, agonies, / And love, and man's unconquerable mind," and Toussaint's troops and actual friends are erased and replaced by abstract emotions and natural elements.⁷⁰ Though this "sublime turn" to nature is typical of Wordsworth's poetry, it shows,

in the words of Mary Persyn, a turn “back to nature, to self, and to natural race rather than to political nation.”⁷¹ In performing this sublime turn for Toussaint Louverture, Wordsworth also designates him as a literary figure and in the same movement strips him of his connection to a political nation, obfuscation reminiscent of that performed by Barlow’s illustration. Persyn suggests that “Wordsworth stops short of turning Toussaint into a poet”; instead, he has already turned Toussaint into a romantic literary hero and performed on him the type of literary reconstruction inflicted on Jack Mansong a few years earlier. In both cases, the erasure of the political agency of black victims of European hegemony was used to bolster a sense of national pride and superiority.

Aftermath

The presence of Toussaint Louverture in British culture, popular or otherwise, subsided with Napoleon’s final defeat at Waterloo in 1815. With the United Kingdom strongly established as the new hegemonic power in Western Europe, Toussaint was no longer so necessary. England had abolished the slave trade in 1807; although this seemingly did not stop British involvement in and profiteering off slavery,⁷² it served a purpose in asserting the country’s alleged moral superiority. It would take another twenty-six years for slavery itself to be abolished in Great Britain, and by then the foundations of British economic and political might would be well secured. Toussaint did not completely disappear from literature though; more biographies would be published in France and in the United States. In England, Reverend John Rely Beard would publish two, in 1853 and 1863.

In his 1853 book, an illustration entitled *Toussaint captured by stratagem* shows the scene of Toussaint’s arrest by French officers in 1802. A frowning, bareheaded, young-looking Toussaint draws his sword on the French officers in uniform around him. He is wearing a nondescript tailcoat, boots, and breeches, nothing to mark him as a soldier, much less a French officer. When he describes Toussaint, Beard makes a point of underlining his racial purity: “Toussaint was a negro. We wish emphatically to mark the fact that he was wholly without white blood . . . Though of negro extraction, Toussaint, if we may believe family traditions, was not of common origin.”⁷³ Although Beard wants to show “a proof that the much misunderstood and downtrodden negro race are capable of the loftiest virtues, and the most heroic efforts,”⁷⁴ he also asserts that “the negro race is inferior to the highest style of man. Individuals belonging to that race have risen very high in the scale of civilized life . . . But the race at large cannot

be accounted equal to some others, if only because as yet it has no history.”⁷⁵ Toussaint is commended for his unusual moral qualities, but also for having explicitly proclaimed “the great doctrine of free-trade.”⁷⁶ For being inferior, blacks could also be very useful—even without being slaves—to England’s new world economic order and had proven so before and after abolition. Toussaint, constantly compared to mythical heroes and figures of antiquity, had been evacuated as a man of the future and confined to a literary role more fitting with British purposes, a polished surface on which England could see its own reflection. Ironically, Dessalines, the man who eventually liberated Haiti, is disparaged by Beard as a “ferocious monster,” “by nature cruel.” The man who would turn out to be the actual “avenger of America”⁷⁷ could not be granted the same humanity as Toussaint for fear the mirror would crack.

In his introduction, Beard repeats a claim made time and again by Toussaint’s *white writers*: “[I]t might be found in the fact that no detailed life of TOUSSAINT L’OVERTURE [*sic*] is accessible to the English reader, for the only memoir of him which exists in our language has long been out of print.”⁷⁸ Rainsford’s account was indeed out of print in 1853. It still is. The very fact that, some fifty years after the Haitian Revolution, British writers felt that recent Haitian history already had to be recovered says something of the success with which it had been obfuscated in collective memory. This obfuscation was performed, among other means, through Toussaint’s integration into literary and symbolic, rather than historical, British culture. With Toussaint turned literary character, the political relevance of the Haitian Revolution to the worldwide struggle against slavery—but also to the spread of scientific racism—could be sidelined even when the Haitian Revolution had occupied a central position in European political and philosophical debates as it unfolded.

Just how crucial Haitian independence was to the rise of the modern European notion of the nation—one usually connected to the French Revolution—has become the focus of many historical, but also literary and philosophical, studies in Atlantic history.⁷⁹ British portraits of Toussaint Louverture show how modern Europe eliminated the paradox inherent to the coexistence of modern ideas of freedom, nation, and slavery by erasing them in and through literature and representation. Representations of Toussaint were used as a glass through which the rising United Kingdom could look, darkly, at a more dignified and righteous version of itself. Great Britain fought against the Haitian Revolution and lost. In fiction, it did its best to correct the mistake by defeating time and again the black avenger. A century later, C. L. R. James was well aware of this problem when he compared Toussaint’s story to a classical tragic hero’s.⁸⁰ Yet, he also signaled

his intent to eliminate it by choosing in his title to focus on the anonymous Haitian masses. In doing so, James certainly meant to remind his readers that the most insulting aspect of the Haitian Revolution to its opponents was probably that the former slaves of Santo Domingo had proven they could do without a written scenario and had shown themselves, for a time, to be “arbiters of their own fate.”⁸¹

—Pennsylvania State University

NOTES

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1. David Geggus, “Unexploited Sources for the History of the Haitian Revolution,” *Latin American Research Review* 18, no. 1 (1983): 95.
2. C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint Louverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (New York: Vintage, 1989), 388.
3. James Stephen, *Buonaparte in the West Indies; or the History of Toussaint Louverture, the African Hero*, parts 13 (London: J. Hatchard, 1803).
4. James, *Black Jacobins*, 143.
5. Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 177.
6. James, *Black Jacobins*, 213.
7. “We mentioned some weeks since that St Domingo was likely to become an independent Black Colony . . . It appears that the natives are determined to have no intercourse with France under its present government” (*Times of London*, 30 October 1798).
8. James, *Black Jacobins*, 211–12.
9. French historian Ernest Renan famously declared in his renowned 1882 lecture “What Is a Nation?” that “forgetting . . . is a crucial factor in the creation of a nation, which is why progress in historical studies often constitutes a danger for [the principle of] nationality. Indeed, historical enquiry brings to light deeds of violence which took place at the origin of all political formations, even of those whose consequences have been altogether beneficial” (in *Becoming National: A Reader*, ed. Geoff Eley and Ronald G. Suny [New York: Oxford University Press, 1996], 45).
10. Mary Dorothy George, *Catalogue of political and personal satires preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, vols. 7–8 (London: British Museum, 1938–42).
11. James, *Black Jacobins*, 165, 272.
12. See *Times of London*, 26 January and 24 March 1802.
13. A pseudonym used by Charles Williams.
14. For a complete description of the engraving, see entry 10224 in George, *Catalogue*.
15. See entry 10280 in George, *Catalogue*.

16. Marcus Rainsford, *A Memoir of Transactions that took place in St. Domingo in the spring of 1799; affording an idea of the present state of that country, the real character of its Black governor, Toussaint [sic] L'Ouverture, and the safety of our West-India islands from attack or revolt; including the rescue of a British officer under sentence of death* (London: R. B. Scott, 1802), 3.
17. *Ibid.*, 5.
18. The Haitian general Henry Christophe is not mentioned in the 1802 Marcus Rainsford *Memoir* but is in Rainsford's *St. Domingo; or an historical, political and military Sketch of the Black Republic, with a view of the Life and Character of Toussaint Louverture, and the effects of his newly established dominion* (London: R. B. Scott, 1802), the second edition published the same year; Christophe is presented as a member of the jury.
19. Rainsford, *Memoir*, 22.
20. *Ibid.*, 13–14.
21. *Ibid.*, 18.
22. Marcus Rainsford, *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti, comprehending a view of the principal transactions in the revolution of St Domingo, with its antient [sic] and modern state* (London: J. Cundee, 1805), 409.
23. Rainsford, *Memoir*, i.
24. *Ibid.*, 5.
25. Rainsford, *Historical Account*, xiv.
26. It bears noting that two of the most prominent “beauties of the Consular court” were Creoles born in Martinique (Napoleon's wife, Josephine) and Santo Domingo (Fortunée Hamelin). Hamelin's father, Jean Lormier-Lagrave, was a rich sugar planter in St. Domingo.
27. *Ibid.*, 262.
28. Rainsford, *Memoir*, 8.
29. See Peter Jupp, “Britain and the Union, 1797–1801,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 10 (2000): 197–219.
30. Stephen, *Buonaparte*, part 1, pp. 2–3.
31. *Ibid.*, 3.
32. Stephen adds that “Toussaint had nothing to gain but the favour of God by openly giving him glory; for his Negroes had been taught little religion, and the people of France who had sided with them, were for the most part sworn foes to Christianity” (*ibid.*).
33. In the advertisement for the 1814 edition of this work, published as M. D. Stephens [James Stephen], *The History of Toussaint Louverture: A New Edition, with a Dedication to his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias* (London: J. Butterworth and Sons, 1814), at Bob Corbett's home page, Haiti, History, <http://www.webster.edu/~corbette/haiti/history/revolution/toussaint-stephens.htm> (accessed 29 April 2007).
34. For example, see the *Gentleman's Magazine*, November 1803, 1047: “This detail of the proceedings at St Domingo, where the ambition of Buonaparte has been completely baffled . . . , is a fresh series in the life of that wretch, who finds, even in our country, a few to pity him as a poor man borne down by calomny.”
35. Stephens, *History*, vii.

36. *Anti-Jacobin*, October 1803, 206.
37. Stephen, *Buonaparte*, part 1, p. 4.
38. Quoted in *ibid.*
39. Stephen, *Buonaparte*, part 1, p. 9.
40. *Ibid.*, part 2, p. 13.
41. *Ibid.*, part 1, p. 8.
42. *Ibid.*, part 2, p. 13.
43. *Ibid.*, part 1, p. 9.
44. *Ibid.*, 13.
45. Rainsford, *Historical Account*, xvi.
46. Rainsford, *Memoir*, 21–22.
47. James, *Black Jacobins*, 246, 251.
48. “[I]n May 1795, soldiers going to serve in the West Indies were to have the following kit: ‘a round hat as is furnished to recruits on foreign service, a plain red jacket so made to button close to the body and to have a stand up collar, under flannel waistcoat and draw’” (in René Chartrand and Paul Chappell, *British Forces in the West Indies, 1793–1815*, Men at Arms Series 294 [London: Osprey, 1996], 8).
49. *Ibid.*, 16.
50. On Jean Kina, see David Geggus, “Slave, Soldier, Rebel: The Strange Career of Jean Kina,” in *Haitian Revolutionary Studies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 137–56.
51. Alan Richardson, “Romantic Voodoo: Obeah and British Culture, 1797–1807,” *Studies in Romanticism* 32, no. 1 (1993): 12.
52. *Ibid.*, 12, 23–24.
53. Louis Sébastien Mercier, *Memoirs of the Year Two Thousand Five Hundred*, trans. W. Hooper, MD (London: G. Robinson, 1772), 1:171–72, at Gale, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://gale.com/EighteenthCentury/> (accessed 9 December 2008). Louis Sébastien Mercier’s book was also translated into English in 1797 as *Astraea’s return; or, the halcyon days of France in the year 2440: a dream*, by Harriot Augusta Freeman (London: 1797), at Gale, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (accessed 29 April 2007). One notable difference can be found in Freeman’s translation of the same passage: “It was the figure of an AMERICAN raised upon a pedestal; his head was bare, his eyes expressed a haughty courage, his attitude was noble and commanding . . . He has dissolved the chains of his countrymen. Unnumbered slaves, oppressed under the most odious slavery, seemed only to wait his signal to become so many heroes” (93). Freeman’s altered translation, published at the height of England’s involvement in Haiti, provides a striking illustration of the ways in which British anxiety regarding slave emancipation literally translated into the erasure of the slaves’ political agency, even in fiction.
54. Guillaume-Thomas François Raynal, *Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, trans. J. O. Justamond (London: W. Strahan, 1783), 6:128–29, at Gale, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://gale.com/EighteenthCentury/> (accessed 29 April 2007).
55. James, *Black Jacobins*, 25.

56. Dubois, *Avengers*, 203.
57. Rainsford, *Historical Account*, 227.
58. James, *Black Jacobins*, 227.
59. James says that Toussaint's father was "the son of a petty chieftain in Africa" (ibid., 19). Toussaint's son Isaac claimed that Toussaint's father "was a prince . . . the son of an Arada king" and that other Arada slaves on the plantation "recognized him as their prince" (Dubois, *Avengers*, 171). Historian Ralph Korngold, in his *Citizen Toussaint* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1944), argued that Toussaint's father was really Pierre Baptiste, the Haitian slave usually credited with educating Toussaint and considered his godfather.
60. William Earle, *Obi; or, the History of Three-Fingered Jack*, ed. Srinivas Aravamudan (Toronto: Broadview, 2005), 95.
61. Ibid., 111.
62. "[Oroonoko] had nothing of barbarity in his nature, but in all points addressed himself as if his education had been in some European court" (Aphra Behn, *Oroonoko*, ed. Janet Todd [New York: Penguin Classics, 2004], 15).
63. Earle, *Obi*, 68.
64. Ibid., 72. Srinivas Aravamudan suggests in the appended footnote that this very description "is likely inspired by Aphra Behn's famed description in *Oroonoko; or, the Royal Slave*."
65. A review of the book (*Edinburgh Review* 15 [April 1806]: 64) criticized the illustrations in these terms: "We cannot give [the illustrations] any great commendation for taste or skill; and we are certain that, in some particulars, they have no claims to accuracy. There is not, for example, a single negro represented with any of the features peculiar to the race. Every one has the high skull, and nose, and thin lips, and general expression of the European; so that the negroes of Mr Rainsford's pencil [*sic*], are exactly whites with their faces blackened."
66. Sterling Brown, "Negro Characters as Seen by White Authors," *Journal of Negro Education* 2, no. 2 (1933): 179–203, reprinted in *Dark Symphony: Negro Literature in America*, ed. James A. Emanuel and Theodore L. Gross (New York: Free Press, 1968), 160.
67. Richardson, "Romantic Voodoo," 25.
68. Rainsford was thus arrested by "four blacks and a mulatto officer of great ferocity" (*Historical Account*, 230).
69. Richardson, "Romantic Voodoo," 21.
70. William Wordsworth, *The Complete Poetical Works* (London: Macmillan, 1888), in *Project Bartleby* (New York: Bartleby.com, 1999), <http://www.bartleby.com/145/> (accessed 29 April 2007).
71. Mary Persyn, "The Sublime Turn Away from Empire: Wordsworth's Encounter with Colonial Slavery, 1802," in *Romanticism on the Net*, 26 May 2002, <http://www.erudit.org/revue/ron/2002/v/n26/005700ar.html> (accessed 29 April 2007).
72. For a compelling discussion of the profits made by Great Britain off of slavery after 1807, read Marika Sherwood's *After Abolition: Britain and the Slave Trade Since 1807* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007).
73. Rev. John Rely 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* (London: Ingram, Cooke, 1853), 26, at University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill, *Documenting the American South*, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/beardj/beard.html> (accessed 29 April 2007).

74. *Ibid.*, 1.
75. *Ibid.*, 316.
76. *Ibid.*, 139.
77. Dessalines famously declared in an April 1804 proclamation, “I have saved my country. I have avenged America” (quoted in Dubois, *Avengers*, 301).
78. Beard, *Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture*, v.
79. The work of historian David Geggus on Caribbean history comes to mind, but also Susan Buck-Morss's seminal essay on how the Haitian Revolution inspired Hegel's master-slave dialectic and political philosophy (“Hegel and Haiti,” *Critical Inquiry* 26, no. 4 [2000]: 821–65).
80. James, *Black Jacobins*, 289–92.
81. *Ibid.*, 292.