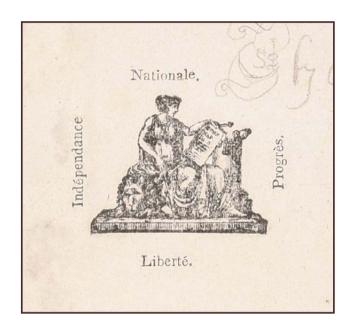


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Above: item 21, Madiou Cover from item 16, Moreau De Saint-Méry

HAITI 1763-1848

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## ARREST

DU CONSEIL SUPERIEUR

## DU CAP-FRANÇOIS

ISLE SAINT-DOMINGUE,

QUI ordonne aux ci-devant soi-disans Jésuites de sortir de toute l'étendue du Ressort; & qu'il sera pourvû par d'autres Ecclésiastiques à la Desserte des Paroisses qui étoient occupées par ces Religieux.

Du 24 Novembre 1763.

Extrait des Registres du Conseil Supérieur du Cap François, Isle & Côte Saint-Domingue.

V U par la Cour l'Arrêt d'icelle du 7 Octobre 1762, rendu sur la Remontrance du Procureur Général du Roi, qui ordonne que le Frere Langlois, Supérieur des soi-disans Jésuites dans le Ressort, déposera au Gresse de la Cour les Constitutions, Bulles, Lettres Apostoliques, & autres Actes ou Titres concernans le Régime, Institut, Gouvernement & Priviléges de la Société dite de Jesus, & notamment les deux volumes petit insolio, intulés: Institutum Societatis Jesu, Praga 1757, ledit Arrêt duement signissé audit Frere Languere.

#### The End of Jesuits in Saint-Domingue

1 DUHAMEAU Conseil Supérieur. Arrest du Conseil Supérieur du Cap-François Isle Saint-Domingue, qui ordonne aux ci-devant soi-disans Jésuites de sortir de toute l'étendue du Ressort; et qu'il sera pourvu par d'autres Ecclésiastiques à la Desserte des paroisses qui étaient occupées par ces Religieux. Du 24 novembre 1763.

First edition. 16mo. Later wrappers, text a little toned. 8pp. [Paris?, 1763].

A scarce copy of this order which brought to an end the Jesuits' sixty-year mission in Saint-Domingue.

"The Haitian government began to operate against the Jesuits in 1762, when the Council of Cap François demanded that the Order present its constitution and other regulations to the court to insure that they contained nothing contrary to the authority of the king, the liberties of the Gallican Church, and the maintenance of law, order, and public tranquility. To strengthen the case the Procurer General of the Crown informed the council that ever since the installation of the 'self-styled' Society of Jesus, there had been frequent excitement in almost all the Catholic states against its doctrines and moral teachings, as well as against certain practices of the society's members. He asserted further that the Order had met with a number of condemnations throughout the years for failure to submit to the laws of the states and had censured the theology faculty of the Sorbonne when it disagreed with several articles of Jesuit doctrine. The Society of Jesus was accused, further, of economic misconduct, distortion of the Catholic faith to suit its own purposes, corruption of the slaves, and insubordination to the Crown. The Order was tried as charged and found guilty on November 24, 1763, and ordered to withdraw from its parish in Haiti within six weeks."

OCLC locates three copies in Minnesota, Lyon, and Heidelberg. Libraryhub adds another at the BL.

*Backer-Sommervogel*, vol 11, col. 707, no.5.; Breathett, G., "The Jesuits in Colonial Haiti" in *The Historian*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (February, 1962) pp.169–170.

#### A Rare Passport Granting an Enslaved Man Passage to Haiti

# **2** BREÜILLY (M.) [Passport allowing an enslaved man to travel to Saint-Domingue.]

Printed document, completed in manuscript. Single sheet measuring 335 by 215mm. Old folds, very good. Brest, 13 November, 1771. £3,750

A rare survival. This passport grants the right of Calvin, an enslaved man of African descent, passage to Saint-Domingue.

He would sail under Capitaine le S. Dutertre (du Terte?) at Nantes and was required to present himself to the commissioner of the relevant department. It further states that he should be allowed to pass freely ("laisser librement passer") and without any impediment. This pre-printed form has been slightly, but significantly, amended in that one of the key words "disarmed" ("désarmé") has been struck through.

Saint-Domingue's economy underwent rapid expansion in the years following the Seven Years' War (1756–63), and continued until the 1791 Haitian Revolution – during this time it was known as the "Pearl of the Antilles."

DE PAR LE ROI. Noux Comminaire der Claner dela maime en ce post ordonnous à Calvin, negre Lanageo

Caille Poil âgé de Du lieu de Département de provenant du n'ét Brinseme Capitaine le Butertoe pour aller as Domingue, Couli à fond dans désarmé en de se retirev chezo sui, & de se presentev à son arrivée au Commissaire de son Département. : prionit toux ceux qui four à spriev, de le laissev librement spassev, faux lui sportev aucun empêchement.
Fair au Bureau Général de Classer de la Marine, à Bress, le 13? novembre 2771. Conduite 9 ".



Brigadier des Armées du Roi, Commandant la Colonie de Saint-Domingue.

L'EMPLOI de con Sinternan de la Compagnie de lugres Sibres Milices de la Paroisse Milices de la Paroisse Ser gonnives ctant vacant par sapremetre sufficient du Nous avons cru ne pouvoir faire un meilleur choix que du

Nous avons cru ne pouvoir faire un meilleur choix que du Sieur Mexane Orifon ex devane Deagen.

A CES CAUSES & en vertu des pouvoirs à Nous confiés par Sa Majesté, avons provisoirement commis, ordonné & établi, & par ces présentes signées de notre main, commettons, ordonnons & établissons provisoirement, comme dit est, ledit Sieur Alexandres Confrag four livelement de ladite Compagnie de des neignes Lives Milices de la Paroisse des genaires

#### Compagnie Des Nègres Libre: Service in Exchange for Manumission

**3** FERRON (Etienne Louis), Vicomte de Le Ferronnays & CRESSAC (Alexandre de). Compagnie des Nègres Libre.

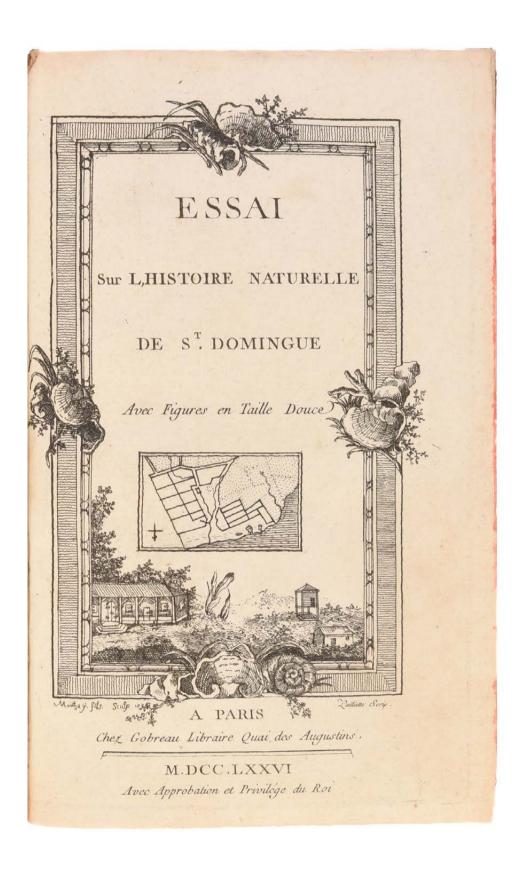
Printed document on laid paper completed in manuscript, wax seal to verso. Folio. Slightly frayed and stained, small hole at the centre-fold and one on the blank leaf, not affecting text. [2]pp. Port-au-Prince, January, 1772. £3,750

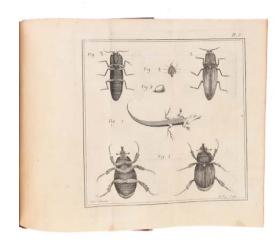
A rare survival from Saint-Domingue. This document appoints Alexandre de Cressac as Sous-Lieutenant of the *Compagnie des Nègres Libres* which was a division of the Gonâves parish militia. It was signed in Port-au-Prince on April 1, 1772 by the commander of the colony, De la Ferronnays. Formed in 1724, the Compagnie des Nègres Libres consisted of Black men who were promised to be manumissioned (liberated) in exchange for serving in the army, typically to counter rebellions by the island's enslaved workforce.

A Haitiain creole, Alexander de Cressac, was a coffee, sugar and indigo planter and slave owner. The family's large plantation was in Gros Morne. His son, Jean-Baptiste de Cressac, became the commander of the white National Guard forces in Gros Morne during the Revolution. A substantial correspondence by him is kept in the New York Public Library (see De Cressac Papers). The De Cressac family was originally from Dompierre-les-Églises (Haute-Vienne, France). We traced a 1768 document appointing a "De Cressac" as captain of the *Compagnie des Nègres*, who may have been Alexander's father.

Etienne Louis Ferron de la Ferronnays became Governor of Saint-Domingue on January 15, 1772, so the present appointment of Alexander de Cressac as lieutenant on April 1st was one of his earliest acts. The Le Ferronnays family ran the most extensive and productive sugar plantation of the Saint-Domingue colony, located just behind the Haitian capital Port-au-Prince on the Cul-de-Sac plain. This massive area extends eastward from the Gulf of Gonâves into the Dominican Republic, and is bordered to the north and south by mountain ranges. The document is signed by notary Louis Armand Dehaumont de Saint-Marc.

Cheney, Paul. Cul de Sac: Patrimony, Capitalism, and Slavery in French Saint-Domingue (Chicago, 2016). New York Public Library, West Indian Collection, Santo Domingo, De Cressac Papers.





With Handsome Engraved Plates

**4** [NICOLSON (Father Jean-Barthelemy).] Essai sur l'Histoire Naturelle de l'Isle de Saint-Domingue, avec des figures en taille-douce.

First edition. 10 folding engraved plates, plus extra engraved title-page. 8vo. Nineteenth-century half calf over mottled paper covered boards, spine gilt, all edges stained red, integral blue silk place-marker. xxi, 374, [2]pp. Paris, Chez Gobreau, 1776. £5,000

A crisp, clean copy of this important contribution to the natural history of Saint-Domingue. Nicolson served as Apostolic Prefect of the Dominicans in Saint-Domingue and Superior in Léogane from 1769 to 1773. He was also a naturalist and this work was published posthumously from his notes.

Four hundred species of plants are discussed as well as the economic prospects, government, population, climate, and even archaeology of the island. The text is enhanced by the ten engraved plates which depict flowers, insects, and artefacts.

The work also notes the severe earthquake which struck the island in 1770: "the plain of the Cul-de-Sac especially [the chief plantation district outside Port-au-Prince], if one believes the talk, was unrecognizable the morning after that awful night. On several plantations the earth opened up as if a plow has passed there" (126–27).

Nicolson also discusses the island's enslaved population and, though not exactly an abolitionist stance, he certainly isn't in favour of their condition. On page 54 he notes that "With regards to this portion of humanity, which is only despicable because it is weak, nothing is worse than its situation. We see most blacks languish in extreme poverty."

Rare Book Hub lists just four copies at auction, the last at Sotheby's in 1984. Notes Bio-Bibliographiques: Medecins et Naturalistes de l'Ancienne Colonie Française de St.-Domingue (Port-au-Prince, 1933), pp.21–26; Sabin, 55259 "a valuable supplement to Charlevoix. See Vol. III., No. 12127."



F3/1-

#### Taxing Ships Inbound from Saint-Domingue

5 LA CROIX CASTRIES (Charles). Arrest du Conseil d'état du Roi, qui ordonne que le droit de Demi pour cent, accordé à la Chambre de Commerce de Marseille par l'Arrêt du Conseil du 18 Août dernier, sera perçu à son profit dans les Ports du Ponant, sur les Bâtimens armés à Marseille pour les Isles Françoises d'Afrique, d'Amérique ou de l'Inde, lors de leur retour dans ces ports.

Letterpress broadside measuring 445 by 345mm. Woodcut devices. Old folds, a little toned, but very good. Rennes, Veuve François Vatar, 18 November, 1782. £1,750

Very rare. This handsome order is evidence of how the sheer wealth generated by the French colonies in the Caribbean – Saint-Domingue being the most prosperous – rippled throughout French society.

The order relates to the half-percent tax collected on goods brought by ships returning from the French colonies abroad in Marseille. The king notes that as this tax is only levied in Marseille it has suited many ships to return to other ports instead and avoid the levy. As such, and so as not to disadvantage Marseille, this scope of this law now applies to all ships *armed* at Marseille regardless of which port they dock at on their return. Ships returning to other ports, such as Bordeaux which also charged a tax would be exempt from being double-charged.

OCLC locates two copies (both Lille imprints) at BnF and Minnesota.

MAGGS BROS LTD

# ARREST DU CONSEIL D'ETAT DU ROI,

Oui ordonne que le droit de Demi pour cent, accordé à la Chambre du Commerce de Marseille par l'Arrêt du Conseil du 18 Août dernier, sera perçu à son prosit dans les Ports du Ponant, sur les Bâtimens armés à Marseille pour les Isles Françoises d'Afrique, d'Amérique ou de l'Inde, lors de leur retour dans ces Ports.

Du dix-huit Octobre mil sept cent quatre-vingt-deux.

#### EXTRAIT DES REGISTRES DU CONSEIL D'ÉTAT.

YU au Conseil d'Etat du Roi, l'Arrêt du 18 Août dernier, qui autorife la Chambre du Commerce de Marfeille à percevoir à fon profit, pour les causes y spécifiées, un droit de Demi pour cent sur tous les Bâtimens revenans dans le Port de ladite Ville, tant du Levant que de l'Afrique & des Isles Fran-coites de l'Afrique : Sa Majesté considé-rant que si des Navires expedies de Mar-feille pour le commerce de l'Amérique, faisoient leur retour dans des Ports de l'Océan, où la perception dudit droit n'est pas établie, ils obtiendroient un avantage marqué fur ceux qui reviendroient à Marfeille; en forte que les premiers éludant ainfi la perception du Demi pour cent, qui est une contribution de tout le commerce de cette Place, en prolongeroient la durée sans jamais en supporter leur por-tion; Sa Majesté a jugé convenable de prévenir cette inégalité entre les Armateurs d'un même Port. A quoi voulant pourvoir: oui le rapport du fieur Joly de Fleury, Conseiller d'Etat ordinaire, & au Conseil Royal des Finances, LE Rot ETANT EN SON CONSEIL, a ordonné & ordonne que tous les Bâtimens armés à Marseille pour les Colonies Françoises, foit d'Afrique, d'Amérique ou de l'Inde, & qui feront leur retour en un autre Port du Royaume, seront tenus d'y payer le droit de Demi pour cent, impolé par l'Arrêt du 18 Août dernier: enjoint en conféquence aux Prépofés de l'Adjudicataire des Fermes dans les Ports de l'Océan, d'exiger ledit droit dans tous les cas ci-



devant énoncés, & d'en rendre compte à la Chambre du Commerce de Marleille. Veut Sa Majesté que si aucuns desdits Navires faisoient leur retour à Bordeaux, ils soient déchargés du paiement du Demi pour cent qui s'y perçoit au profit du Commerce, & seulement obligés à payer le droit de même nature assecté particulièrement à la Chambre du Commerce de Marseille. MANDE Sa Majesté aux sieurs Intendans & Commissaires départis dans les Provinces maritimes, de tenir la main à l'exécution du présent Arrêt. FAIT au Conseil d'Etat du Roi, Sa Majesté y étant, tenu à la Muette, le dix-huit Octobre mil sept cent quatre-vingt deux.

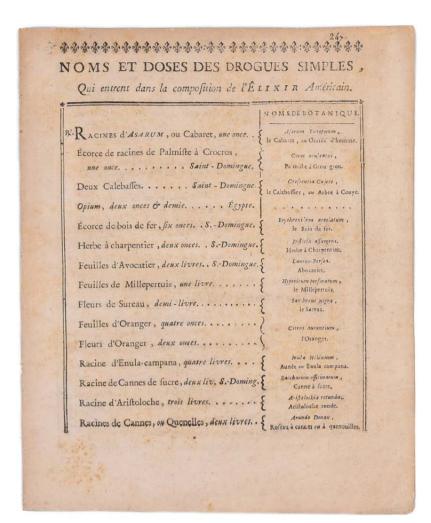
Signé LA CROIX CASTRIES.

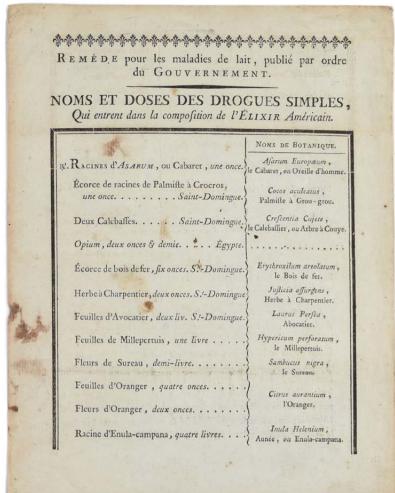
GASPARD-LOUIS CAZE, BARON DELA BOVE, Conseiller du Roi en ses Conseils, Maitre des Requêtes bonoraire de son Hôtel, Intendant & Commissaire départi par Sa Majesté pour l'exécution de ses Ordres en la Province de Bretagne.

U l'Arrêt du Conseil ci-dessus, enfemble les ordres à nous adresses;

NOUS ordonnons que ledit Arrêt sera imprimé, publié & affiché dans l'étendue de notre Département, à ce que personne n'en puisse prétendre cause d'ignorance. FAIT à Rennes, le 13 Novembre 1782. Signé CAZE DE LA BOVE. Et plus bas: Par Monseigneur, Jausions.

A RENNES, Chez la Veuve FRANÇOIS VATAR (De B. D. R.) Imprimeur du Roi & du Parlement,





Haitian Plants to Cure Women's Complaints

6 DECOURCELLE (Gilles-Joseph). Noms et Doses des Drogues Simples, Qui entrent dans le composition de l'Elixir Américain.

4to. Slightly browned, ms numbering in ink to recto pages. 3, [1]pp. Moulins, C.J. Pavy, 1789. [With:] Remède pour les maladies de lait, publié par ordre du Gouvernement. 4to. on blue paper. Old folds, ink blot signature offset across inner margin, a small hole where ink has burned through. 3, [1]pp. Nancy, veuve Leclerc, 1789.

Two rare brochures giving the recipe for French physician Gilles-Joseph Decourcelle's patent medicine, l'élixir Américain, as well as advertising the third edition of his medical text of the same name.

Decourcelle lived in Saint-Domingue for thirteen years before establishing a practice as an obstetrician in Vitry-le-François. He claimed to have learned the medicinal properties of Caribbean herbs by observing the way in which they were used by women of African descent, including enslaved women, in the French colony. Upon his return to France, he marketed his élixir Américain by prominently emphasising the exotic origin of the ingredients, and promoting their benefits for a myriad of gynaecological and birth-related conditions. The Nancy imprint describes the elixir as a cure for "les maladies de lait", and his medical text contains many endorsements from women whose health problems had been relieved by this remedy.

The plants in the recipe which are specifically described as originating in Saint-Domingue are: Cocos aculeatus (root of grugru palm), Crescentia cujete (calabash), Erythroxilum areolatum (bark of smoke wood), Justicia assurgens (sixangle foldwing), Laurus-Persea (avocado leaves) and Saccharum officinarum (root of cane sugar). Given that Erythroxylaceae are natural producers of cocaine, and that one of the other ingredients is listed as Egyptian opium, the medicine would certainly have been potent, if not prescriptively effective.

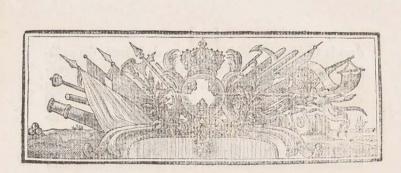
The different type-settings and regional

imprints of these two versions of the same bifolium can be explained by the fact that they were job-printed locally by the distributors of the elixir. In the back of the 1787 third edition of *L'Élixir Américain*, as advertised in this brochure, there is a list of authorised dispensaries. For Nancy "chez M. Mandel, Directeur de Bureau de confiance" and for Moulins "chez M. Gueriot, capitaine d'Artillerie".

Whilst revealing the specific instructions for the preparation of such patent medicines seems counter intuitive, the exotic ingredients and complex method outlined in the text of the brochure were perhaps more to endorse the product than to inspire the purchaser to attempt to make their own batch at home. These brochures were likely distributed gratis with a bottle of the elixir.

OCLC records a single copy only of this pamphlet, printed in Chaalons, held at the US National Library of Medicine.

MAGGS BROS LTD MAGGS BROS LTD



#### ORDONNANCE

DE MM. LES ADMINISTRATEURS,

Sur la sureté générale de la Colonie.

Du fept Janvier mil fept cent quatre-vingt-dix.

Extrait des registres du Conseil supérieur de Saint-Domingue.

Louis-Antoine Thomassin, Comte de Peinier, Chef d'escadre des armées navales, Commandeur de l'ordre royal & militaire de Saint-Louis, Gouverneur-Lieutenant-Général des îles françoises de l'Amérique sous le vent, & Inspecteur général des troupes, artillerie, milices & fortifications desdites îles.

Et VINCENT-RENÉ DE PROISY, Commissaire des Colonies, faisant fonctions d'Intendant de justice, police, finances, de la guerre & de la marine des mêmes îles.

Sur ce qui nous a été représenté qu'il étoit dangereux dans les circonstances actuelles de laisser introduire

#### Protecting Haiti from Dangerous People and Dangerous Ideas

7 PEYNIER (Louis-Antoine Thomassin de). Ordonnance de Mm. les Administrateurs Sur la sureté générale de la Colonie ...

First edition. 8vo. Single sheet folded to make 8pp. Untrimmed, single pencil mark, a couple of spots, but very good. Port-au-Prince, Chez Bourdon, Imprimeur du Roi, 1790.

£4,000

This desirable eighteenth-century Saint-Domingue imprint is an ordonnance by the governor of Saint-Domingue on 7 January 1790. This was the period immediately before the Haitian Revolution when tensions were already brewing.

The strained atmosphere on Saint-Domingue was amplified by the French Revolution, then just seven months old. Its rallying cry of Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité had obvious resonance not only for the colony's enslaved workforce but also the free coloured population who were advocating for voting rights.

The first sentence of the act acknowledges this – respecting inbound shipping – that it was "dangereux dans les circonstances actuelle de laisser introduire dans la Colonie des esclaves venans de France, des passagers inconnus, imbus de principes contraires à la tranquilité & sureté commune, des papiers, livres, estampes & autres objets capables d'y fomenter les troubles ..."

The sixteen articles stipulate that all ships would be stopped and searched, and each port town is encouraged to form their own committees, with commissioners, for this purpose. Upon boarding a ship, captains will be required to keep everyone, especially passengers, onboard. Failure to comply with this will be met with either a fine or other punishment. Any suspicious passengers will be confined to that ship. Any enslaved person travelling from France will, without exception, be sent back immediately. Should circumstances prevent their immediate return, they will be kept onboard Her Majesty's ships. All expenses incurred will be borne by the enslavers. Similarly any books, journals, newspapers or other objects that might exacerbate tensions on Saint-Domingue were forbidden.

There are specific provisions for American ships (*des bâtimens américains*) which would be boarded as soon as they entered the harbour and prior to anchoring. Exceedingly rare with no copies on OCLC, not in BnF, or on auction records.

#### Printed in Haiti: The Governor Contends with a Secessionist Assembly

**8** PEYNIER (Antoine de Thomassin, comte de). Correspondance de M. le Générale avec l'assemblée de la partie françoise de Saint-Domingue.

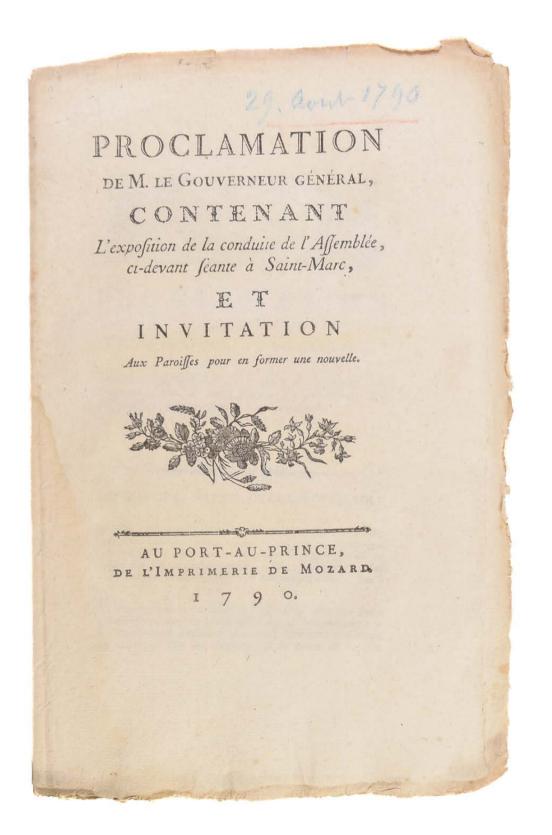
First edition. 8vo. Very good in recent paper-covered boards, red morocco label to spine, gilt, ms. number in ink to title-page. 16pp. Port-au-Prince, Mozard, 1790. £3,500

A crisp copy of this desirable eighteenth-century Haiti imprint. Published in the lead-up to the Haiti Revolution, it prints the letters exchanged between General Count de Peynier (1731–1809), Governor of Saint-Domingue, and the members of the Saint-Marc Assembly.

There were several contributing factors to the Haiti Revolution, one of which was the refusal of local government representatives to comply with reforms issued from Paris. Peynier was installed as governor on 26 July, 1789. Indeed, the first crisis of his governorship concerned the district of Saint-Marc which was not only firmly in support of slavery but began hinting that it wished to secede. They opened their ports to foreign ships which directly contravened French policy. The tension between the two culminated with Peynier dismissing the entire assembly.

The first letter is dated 27 April, 1790, the last on 16 May. Printed in Port-au-Prince, they document the tensions between Peynier and the assembly. OCLC locates copies at NYPL, AAS, JCB, and BnF. Roquincourt, 2360; not in Sabin.

CORRESPONDANCE DE M. LE GÉNÉRAL AVEC L'ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE DE LA PARTIE FRANCOISE DE SAINT-DOMINGUE AU PORT-AU-PRINCE. DE L'IMPRIMERIE DE MOZARD



#### On The Road to Revolution: a Haiti Imprint

# **9** [PEYNIER (Louis-Antoine Thomassin de).] Proclamation de M. Le Gouverneur General ...

First edition. Title-page vignette & woodcut headpiece. 8vo. Loose sheets, untrimmed as issued, pale marginal dampstaining, pencilled date to title-page. 19, [1]pp. Port-au-Prince, Imprimerie de Mozard, 1790. £3,250

#### A very good copy of a scarce eighteenth-century Port-au-Prince imprint.

Formed on 15 May 1790, a group of white planters, opposed to reforms being made by the French National Assembly, formed their own Colonial Assembly. Unsurprisingly, the Léopardins as they were also known, were all in favour of slavery, but they were also opposed to the granting of citizenship or voting rights to free people of colour. Their opposition was so staunch that they published their own constitution for the colony, declaring the port open to international trade, and demanded secession.

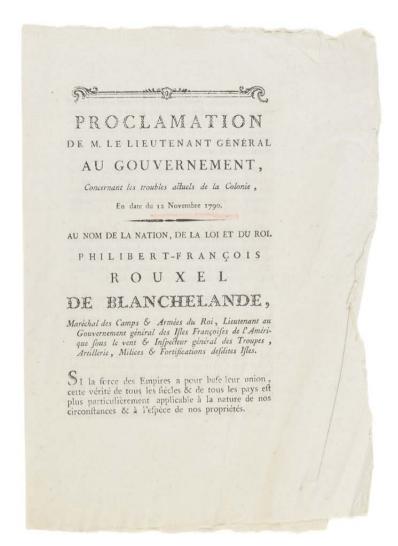
In response to Louis-Antoine Thomassin Peinier, governor of Saint-Domingue, dissolved the *manu militari* of the Assembly on the night of July 29–30, 1790, a week later they persuaded the crew of *Le Léopard* to mutiny and they sailed the captured ship to France where they put their argument to the National Assembly. On 12 October the French National Assembly, having heard them out, nonetheless formally dissolved the Colonial Assembly.

Dated August 29, 1790, this new proclamation by Louis-Antoine Thomassin Peinier, governor of Santo Domingo revisits the reasons for the dissolution of the Colonial Assembly. He attempts to resume the legal process of electing the assemblies, and invites the parishes to appoint new representatives, in accordance with the decree of the National Assembly of March 8 and the Instruction of March 28 previous. The dissolution of the assembly of Saint Marc was the central act of his brief governorship.

Alongside the enslaved population and free people of colour, they constituted a third significant party en route to the Haiti Revolution which broke out almost a year to the day later.

OCLC locates copies at AAS, JCB, BPL, Columbia, NYPL, UNC Chapel Hill, and BnF.

Not in Sabin; Bissainthe, M., Dict. de bib. haï tienne, 7290; Martin & Walter, Révolution française, 26662.



A Rare Haiti Imprint Mentioning a Revolutionary

**10** BLANCHELANDE (P-F Rouxel de). Proclamation ... Concernant les troubles actuels de la Colonie, En date du 12 Novembre 1790.

First edition. 8vo. Single sheet folded to make 4pp. Untrimmed, single pencil mark, a little creased but very good. Port-au-Prince, de l'Imprimerie de Mozard, 1790. £5,000

A very rare printed reference to Haiti's free coloured population in the period immediate to the 1791 revolution. This is one of the few Saint-Domingue imprints that mentions a revolutionary by name.

Vincent Ogé the younger (1757–91) was one of the wealthiest free men of colour in Saint-Domingue and a plantation owner. He is an especially interesting figure in the history of Haiti, not only as a martyr to the cause of independence but

for advocating the immediate enfranchisement of free people of colour in contrast to the gradual approach favoured by Julien Raimond (1744–1801).

Saint-Domingue's free coloured population was typically conservative. "The colony's free colored planters and merchants, 100 to 200 individuals out of Saint-Domingue's roughly 25,000 free people of color in 1789, had much to lose by taking an aggressive stance against the colonial establishment, which they hoped would later permit them to rejoin its ranks. Until the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, white officials in many parts of the colony had treated the richest of the free colored planters as members of the colonial ruling class. It was only in the 1770s that authorities began to systematically label even free-born people of color as affranchis (freedmen) a term that meant 'ex-slave'" (Garrigus, 33).

Ogé was in Paris in 1788 when the French Revolution commenced. His sympathy for the revolutionaries led him to import some of their ideas back to Saint-Domingue. In March 1790, the National Assembly extended voting rights to free people of colour in the colony, but was met with fierce resistance in Saint-Domingue and Blanchelande dithered in enforcing it. Ogé demanded it be enacted and, upon being denied, led a group of 250 to 300 free men of colour to overthrow the colonial assembly.

In this pamphlet Blanchelande addresses the revolt led by Vincent Ogé. He states that Ogé secretly landed on Cap-Français and raised the flag of revolt ("secrétement, &, a non-seulement aboré de fait l'étendart de la revolte ..."). The Provincial assembly of the North called for armed troops to suppress "l'audace de ce chef de révolte." Furthermore, Blanchelande also sent troops from the notorious assembly at Saint-Marc and had every confidence of success. In fact, Ogé's troops were able to repel several detachments of the colonial militia and drove them into Spanish-controlled Santo-Domingo.

However, that success was short-lived and at about the same time as this printing, Ogé was captured and imprisoned. He was executed with three others in Cap-Français on 6 February, 1791, thereby ensuring their martyrdom to cause of Haitian Independence.

His contribution to the revolution was significant. "Ogé brought a much larger and more volatile population into the political arena, with profound consequences. These were poorer free men of mixed ancestry, with less to lose than Raimond's propertied supporters. After Oge's death, they continued to assemble in armed groups to insist on their political rights. Their conviction and military stance led to a civil war with whites in 1791. Ogé was the critical link between Saint-Domingue's wealthy free colored elite and this more aggressive group. Their actions, not Raimond's pamphlets, helped inspire free colored revolts throughout Spanish America ..." (ibid, 34).

OCLC locates two copies at the University of Louisiana, Lafayette and Yale. Garrigus, J.D., "Vincent Ogé 'jeune' (1757–91): Social Class and Free Colored Mobilization on the Eve of the Haitian Revolution" in *The Americas* Vol.86, No.1 (July, 2011) pp.32–62.

MAGGS BROS LTD MAGGS BROS LTD

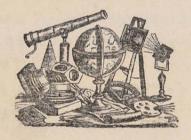
### DISCOURS

SUR LES TROUBLES

DE SAINT-DOMINGUE.

PAR J. PÉTION,

Député à l'Assemblée Nationale.



#### A PARIS,

Chez BAILLY, Libraire, à la barrière des Sergens;

14 OCTOBRE 1790.

# Opposing the Enfranchisement of Free People of Colour on the Eve of the Revolution

#### 11 PETION (Jerome). Discours sur les Troubles de Saint-Domingue.

First edition. Title-page vignette. 8vo. Stitched as issued, untrimmed & unopened. [2], 44, [2]pp. Paris, Desenne, Bailly, 14 Octobre, 1790. £2,000

A handsome copy of this important speech by Jérôme Pétion de Villeneuve (1756–1794) on the ongoing troubles in Saint-Domingue in the year prior to the Revolution. This one was written in opposition to the decree of 12 October 1790, by which the French government formally dissolved the Colonial Assembly at Saint-Marc.

The declaration by revolutionaries in the 1789 National Assembly, which proclaimed that all men were born free and equal had immediate and inevitable consequences for French colonies and its enslaved population. Formed on 15 May 1790, a group of white planters, opposed to reforms being made by the French National Assembly, formed their own Colonial Assembly. Unsurprisingly, the Léopardins as they were also known, were all in favour of slavery, but they were also opposed to the granting of citizenship or voting rights to free people of colour. Their opposition was so staunch that they published their own constitution for the colony, declaring the port open to international trade, and demanded secession. On 7 August 1790, they persuaded the crew of *Le Léopard* to mutiny and they sailed the captured ship to France where they put their argument to the National Assembly.

1790 was a busy year for Jérôme Pétion de Villeneuve, who was a lawyer in Chartres at the time of the convocation of the Estates General. It was published only a few months after his *Discours sur la traite des Noirs* and in the same year as *Reflexions sur la noir et denonciation d'un crime affreux commis a Saint-Domingue* (1790).

An important figure in late eighteenth-century France, he played an important role during the Revolution as deputy of the Third Estate of Chartres. He served as Mayor of Paris (1791–1792), and was very active in the Société de Amis des Noirs. Curiously, this copy has the *Avis* ("opinion") repeated at the rear of the book. *Roquincourt*, 2415; *Not in Ryckebusch*; *Sabin*, 61250.

#### A Mixed-Race Abolitionist Urges Peace

12 [RAIMOND (Jules) et al.] Lettre des commissaires des citoyens de couleur en France, à leurs frères et commettans dans les isles françoises.

First edition. Small 4to. Recent paper-covered boards, red morocco label to spine, gilt. 7, [1], [3], [1]pp. [Paris? c. 1791]. £2,500

Written in the aftermath of the May 15, 1791 decree by which the National Assembly extended citizenship to free born people of colour, this work commences with a letter written by Raymond the elder, Fleury, Honoré Saint-Albert, and Dusoulchy de Saint-Réal seeking to quell the unrest caused as a result, specifically asking that their correspondents "forget all resentment, and to behave as good citizens." It concludes with a paragraph from the decree itself.

Appended are copies of letters written by deputies from Saint-Domingue, Martinique, and Guadeloupe to the President of the National Assembly after the vote on the decree. Alongside the rebellion of the enslaved population, this was a major contributing factor to the Haitian Revolution, which would erupt just three months later.

A free-born indigo planter of mixed race, and a slave owner on Saint-Domingue, Julien Raimond (1744–1801) later became a prominent leader of the *Société des amis des noirs*. His activism was spurred by the refusal of the French government to grant equal rights to free born people of colour – specifically the right to vote – and, in 1785, he moved to France (originally to Angoulème before moving to Paris once the Revolution broke out) to argue his case. Indeed, he became a dedicated and prolific pamphleteer, publishing (at his own expense) more than twenty pamphlets covering nearly every aspect of not just his own case, but also histories and plans for emancipation.

OCLC locates copies at BL, Oxford, Lyon, BnF, and UNC.

Roquincourt, 3830; Ryckebusch, 5141; not in Max Bissainthe; not in Sabin.

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# L E T T R E DES COMMISSAIRES

DES

CITOYENS DE COULEUR EN FRANCE,

A LEURS FRÈRES ET COMMETTANS

DANS LES ISLES FRANÇOISES.

FRÈRES ET AMIS.

La justice et l'humanité triomphent enfin, et l'assemblée nationale, par son décret solemnel du 15 mai 1791, vient de vous rendre les droits que la tyrannie d'un préjugé vous avoit rayis.

Mais en rentrant dans vos droits, frères et amis, vous allez contracter de grandes obligations envers la nation qui vous les rend; vous avez à remplir des devoirs d'une grande étendue. Je sais qu'ils ne sont pas au-dessus de vos forces; je sais qu'ils furent toujours profondément gravés dans vos cœurs, et qu'il suffit de

A



# LOI

RELATIVE aux Colonies.

Donnée à Paris, le 28 Septembre 1791.

LOUIS, par la grace de Dieu, et par la Loi constitutionnelle de l'État, Rot des Français: A tous présens et à venir, Salut.

L'Assemblée nationale a décrété, et Nous

DECRET DE L'ASSEMBLEE NATIONALE, du 28 Septembre 1791.

L'Assemblée Nationale décrète:

ABTICLE TREMTER

Le Décret du 34 de ce mois , constitutionnel pour les Colonies , sera porté à l'acceptation du Roi.

11

Les instructions sur l'organisation des Colonies, adressées à l'ais de Saint-Domingue pur le Décret du 15 juin dernier, acront également envoyées aux autres Colonies, pour servit de informet, en ce qui ni a pas été décale pur le Décret du 34 de ce mois, et ête conséquence, l'Assemblée coloniale de la Martilipia, dont les sainces ont de suspendices par le Décret du 39 novembre 1790, sanctionné le 8 décembre auvant, rentrem en activité.

HIL

La suspension du départ des Commissaires du Roi , destinés à l'isle de Saint-Domingue , est levée.

1 V.

Pour faire cesser dans les Colonies l'effet des troubles et des dissentions qui y out eu lieu, et opéere entre leurs habitans une réconcitation genérale, le Décret du 14 de ce mois, sanctionale le 15 du même mois, portant abolition de toutes pour suites et procédures sur les faits relatifs à la revolution, et amusités générale en faveur des hommes de guerre, sera étendu auxilies Colonies; en conséquence, les Commissaires civils qui y ont été auvoytes, cesseront toutes informations sur l'arigine

et les auteurs des troubles , et publieront dans charpe Colonie une proclamation, pour rappeler dans leurs foyers les citoyens domocilés qui s'en sont élorgaés, et inviter tous les habitans à l'union , à la concorde et à l'oubi du passé.

Fanion, à la concorde et à l'ouba du passe.

NIANHONS CT Ordonnons à tous les Corps administratifs et aux Tribonaux, que les Présentes ils fassent consigner dans leurs registres, lire, publier ettaflicher dans leurs départemens et ressorts respectifs, et exécuter comme Loi du Royaume. Mandons et ordonnons parrellement à tous les Officiers généraux de la marine, aux Commandans des ports et arsenaux, aux Gonverneurs et Lieutenans-généraux, Gouverneurs et Commandans particuliers des Colomies orientales et occidentales, et à tous autres à qui il appartiendra, de se conformer ponetuellement à ces Présentes, auxquelles Nous avons sur le seigne de l'Escau de l'Etat. A Paris, le vingt-fuitième jour de septembre, l'ant de grâce mil sept cent quatre-vingt-onze, et de notre regne et dix huitième. Signe LO UI S. Et plus bas, M. L. F. DuPoux. Et scellées du Sceau de l'État.

Le Directoire du Département de la Charente Inférieure,

Où et ce requérant le Procueur-genéral-Syndio, arrête que la Loi ci-dessus sera transcrite sur ses registres, pour être exécuce selon sa forme et teneur, imprincée, lue, publice et affichée par-tout où besoin sera; que copie de ladite Loi sera envoyee aux Districts et Municipalités du Département, pour y être pareillement transcrite sur leurs registres, lue, publiée et affichée.

publice et affichée.
Fuit à Saintes, le 10 octobre 1791. Signé RABOTEAU,
Doyen, et EMOND, Secretaire genéral.

A ROCHEFORT, chez J. B. RONNOMME, Imprimeur-Libraire.

#### France Grants an Amnesty for the "Auteurs Des Troubles"

13 DUPORT (L. François), minister of justice et al. Loi Relative aux Colonies.

Letterpress broadside measuring 465 by 390mm. Woodcut device, text in two columns. Untrimmed, old folds but very good indeed. Rochefort, J.-B. Bonhomme, n.d, but [1791]. £2,750

The consequences of the Haitian Revolution were felt immediately in France. The prospect of losing Saint-Domingue, the most prosperous of all the French colonies, would've been a disaster at any time, let alone during France's own revolution.

This law, decreed on 28 September, a month after the revolution had broken out grants an amnesty to those implicated in the unrest in Saint-Domingue. Such were the concerns that it also extended to those living in Martinique. Indeed, Martinique's colonial assembly was briefly suspended.

Here the law states that anyone who stops their involvement with the revolution will be granted an "aminstie Générale en faveur des hommes de guerre" and that a proclamation will be published in each of the Caribbean colonies asking back anyone who had moved away, inviting all citizens to live in harmony, and (ambitiously) to forget the past "oubli du passé."

It's likely that this particular broadside was printed and displayed in French port towns to spread word among the maritime community who would have dealings with the colonies.

Not on OCLC. This is not to be confused with a separate, but related law issued on the same day in the traditional four-page quarto format.

#### An Account and Remedies for a Revolution

**14** TARBÉ (Charles). Rapport sur les Troubles de Saint-Domingue, fait à l'Assemblée Nationale par Charles Tarbé, député de la Seine-Inférieure, au nom du Comité Colonial, Le 29 février 1792. Troisième partie.

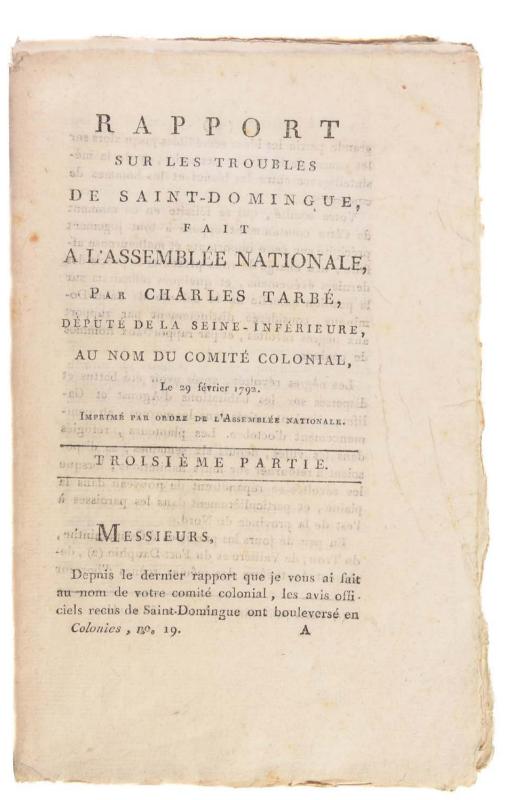
First edition. 8vo. Self-wrappers, unstitched and untrimmed, some minor spotting but very good. 31, [1]pp. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, [1792]. £2,000

A very rare report on the ongoing troubles in Saint-Domingue. The first two sections of Tarbé's report were published on December 10, 1791 and January 10, 1792. By the time this third part was published, the Haitian Revolution was seven months' old.

Brother of Louis Hardouin Tarbé, (1756–1804), Charles Tarbé was a member of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of Cinq-Cents. This report comprises a series of measured actions to restore "la tranquillité dans la colonie". But first he describes the state of the revolution, noting that after the initial outbreak, a new outbreak was even more distressing as the enslaved population had joined forces with the free people of colour: "cette incursion nouvelle étoit d'autant plus inquiétant, qu'un grand nombre d'hommes de couleur s'étoient réunis aux révoltés."

Tarbé concludes [in translation]: "If you put too powerful means of force at the disposal of the colonial assembly, it is to be feared that it will take advantage of them to deny coloured men the rights that they claim in the name of justice and humanity: if it is the party of coloured men that you strengthen, who's to say that they will not abuse their omnipotence, or impose violent conditions on whites, or operate, as in Martinique, the restoration of the old regime?"

OCLC locates copies at BL, American Philosophical Library, Zurich, and Leipzig. *Not in Sabin*.



No. 2262.

## DECRET

DELA

CONVENTION NATIONALE,

Du 16e. jour de Pluviôse, an second de la République Française, une & indivisible,

Qui abolit l'esclavage des Nègres dans les Colonies.

Va Convention nationale déclare que l'esclavage des Nègres dans toutes les Colonies est aboli; en conséquence elle décrète que tous les hommes, sans distinction de couleur, domiciliés dans les colonies, sont citoyens Français, & jouiront de tous les droits assurés par la constitution.

Elle renvoie au comité de salut public, pour lui faire incessamment un rapport sur les mesures à prendre pour assurer l'exécution du présent décret.

Visé par les inspecteurs. Signé Auger, Cordier et S.E. Monnel. Collationné à Poriginal, par nous président et secrétaires de la Convention nationale. A Paris, le 22 Germinal, l'an second de la république Française, une et indivisible. Signé Amar, Président; A. M. Baudot, Monnot, Ch. Pottier et Peyssard, secrétaires.

Au nom de la République, le Conseil exécutif provisoire mande & ordonne à tous les Corps administratifs & tribunaux, que la présente loi ils fassent consigner dans leurs registres, lire, publier & afficher, & exécuter dans leurs dépar-

#### France Abolishes Slavery in the Midst of the Haitian Revolution

15 COTTIER-JULIAN, secretary general. Décret de la Convention Nationale, ... Qui abolit l'Esclavage des Negres dans les Colonies.

No. 2262. Bifolium. Small 4to. Untrimmed as issued, lightly toned at the fold. 2, [2]pp. Nantes, Imprimerie de Malassis, [1794]. £3,500

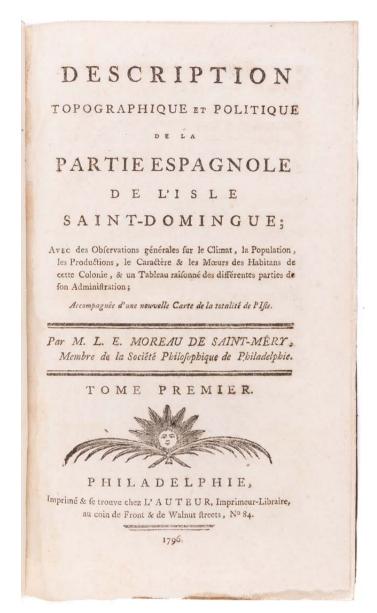
A document of historic significance. In 1794, France was the first European nation to abolish slavery.

The 1794 abolition of slavery "was forced on the Republic by the slave revolt that had begun in 1792 in Saint-Domingue. Having lost control of the black population, commissioners of the Republic sent to the colony had issued a decree in August and September 1793 declaring the slaves free. In undertaking these moves they had hoped to rally blacks to the Republic and preserve French control over Saint-Domingue, for the colony was menaced by British and Spanish intervention once France had declared war on those two powers in early 1793. The move by the Convention in February 1794 had simply formalized a fait accompli brought about by the Saint-Domingue uprising" (Jennings).

If the process of abolition seemed straightforward, its reversal in 1802 was no different. "Napoleon greeted the Peace of Amiens by reintroducing slavery itself into the French empire. This law, of 30 Floréal in the year X, did not inspire the slightest opposition in the passive 'tributate' Paris" (Thomas). It would remain in place until the efforts of Victor Schoelcher and the *Amis des Noirs* saw its final abolition in 1848.

Copies of this decree were printed in Paris and in major regional centres such as Marseille, Lille, Dijon, Auxerre, and, as here, Avignon. Where copies printed elsewhere had other items listed in the same publication, this one contains just the decree of abolition. All imprints are rare with OCLC locating less than three examples of each.

Jennings, L.C., French Anti-Slavery: The movement for Abolition of Slavery in France, 1802–1848 ... (Cambridge, 2006), p.3; Thomas, Hugh, The Slave Trade (London, 2006), p.546.



Printed in Philadelphia. With the Rarely Found Map

**16** MOREAU DE SAINT-MÉRY (M-L-E.) Description Topographique et Politique de la Partie Espagnole de L'isle Saint-Domingue; Avec des Observations générales sur le Climat, la Population, les Productions...

First edition. 2 vols. Folding map. 8vo. Contemporary French tree calf, elaborately gilt. 8, 307, [1errata]; 311, [1]pp. Philadelphia, Imprimé chez l'Auteur, 1796.
£17,500

This is an extremely fine copy of a most uncommon Philadelphia imprint. It bears the engraved book label "Decrés" being that of the French Admiral who became Napoleon's last minister of the Navy. Moreau de Saint-Méry issued four works concerning Hispaniola, his "massive research projects on the history, administration and society of the old regime's most opulent colony" (Garraway, 228).

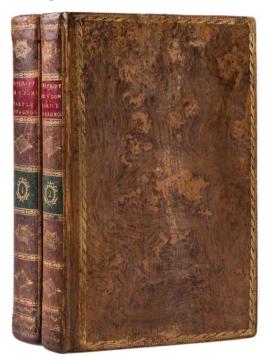
In addition to his knowledge of colonial law and society, the author had privileged access to private archives and was able to solicit contributions from eminent residents of the island (*ibid*, 229). This title, which uniquely describes the Spanish part of the island is significantly rarer and very seldom appears complete with its map, which shows the complete island: Saint-Domingue as well as Santo Domingo.

Moreau de Saint-Méry was born at Port Royal, Martinique, in 1750. At the age of 19 he went to Paris, where he later became a Counsellor of State. He became a great advocate of reforms in the French colonies and lobbied for better treatment of the enslaved. That being said, he was aware of the distress of the white population at the ambitions of the free persons of colour, and in the 1780s "took a leading role in the pre-revolutionary assemblies in Paris as a spokesperson for the colonial elite, arguing polemically against mulatto rights and the proposals of the Société des Amis des noir" (*ibid*).

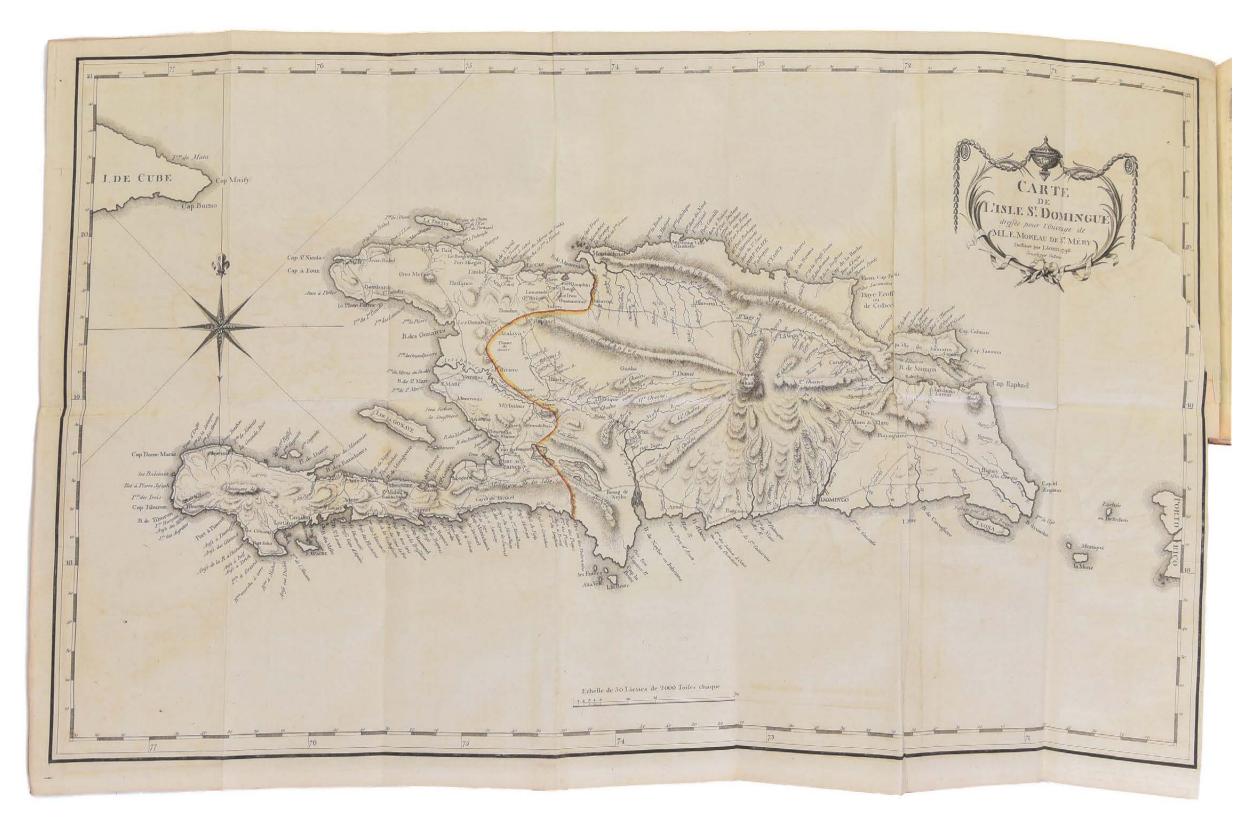
His fortunes took a turn for the worse and, hearing that Robespierre intended to have him arrested he fled from France and in 1793 went to the United States. Having lost all his property he turned his attention to business and established himself at Philadelphia as a bookseller and printer, and commenced his histori-

cal account of Haiti. In 1797, he published his history of the French side of the island which included a comprehensive racial taxonomy of the island with six different classes of miscegenation. In 1798 he was able to return to France, where he died in 1819. His works on the Island of Santo Domingo and other parts of the West Indies, are of great interest and value.

Evans, 30817; Sabin, 50570; Garraway, Doris, "Race, Reproduction and Family Romance in Moreau de Saint-Mery's Description ... de la Partie Francaise de l'isle St Domingue" in Eighteenth-Century Studies, Vol. 38, No.2 (Winter 2005), pp.227–246.



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#### Unrecorded Account of the Battle of San Domingo

# **17** [BATTLE OF SAN DOMINGO.] Felix Farley's Journal Office. From the London Gazette Extraordinary ...

Folio broadside measuring 315 by 200mm. Ornamental masthead with text in two columns. A very good copy, old folds, slightly wrinkled. Bristol, Rudhall & Gutch, 1806. £1,750

Very rare. Fought on 6 February, 1806, the Battle of San Domingo was an important engagement fought between the French and English during the Napoleonic Wars. The French fleet sailed under the command of Vice-Admiral Corentin Urbasic Leissègues with instructions to raid British ships crossing the Atlantic.

The text anticipates Admiralty despatches which were due to be published the next day. It states, notably, that Duckworth "discovered a Squadron of French ships, consisting of Five Sail of the Line ... Two Frigates, and One Corvette, at anchor in the Bay of St. Domingo, which ... he immediately attacked, and, after an action of Two Hours, he ENTIRELY DEFEATED. THREE SHIPS OF THE ENEMY'S LINE FELL INTO HIS HANDS, and TWO ... were DRIVEN ON SHORE."

Following shortly after the Battle of Trafalgar, such was the defeat that it proved the last fleet battle fought in open water during the Napoleonic Wars and devastating to French strategy in the Caribbean.

Not in OCLC or COPAC.

Felix Farley's

Journal OFFICE.

FROM THE

# LONDON GAZETTE

## Extraordinary,

Of SUNDAY, MARCH 23, 1806

Admiralty-Office, March 23, 1806.

HE Hon. Captain Cochrane, late of His Majesty's Sloop Kingsfisher, arrived early this morning with dispatchss from Vice-Admiral Sir J. T. Duckworth, K. B. dated off the Town of St. Domingo, on the 7th and 8th ult. giving an account of his having, on the 6th of that month, discovered a Squadron of French ships, confisting of Five Sail of the Line (one of them L'Imperiale, of Three Decks) Two Frigates, and One Corvette, at anchor in the Bay of St. Domingo, which, with the Squadron under his command, confifting of Seven Sail of the Line, Two frigates, and Two Sloops, he immediately attacked, and, after an action of Two Hours, he ENTIRELY DEFEATED.

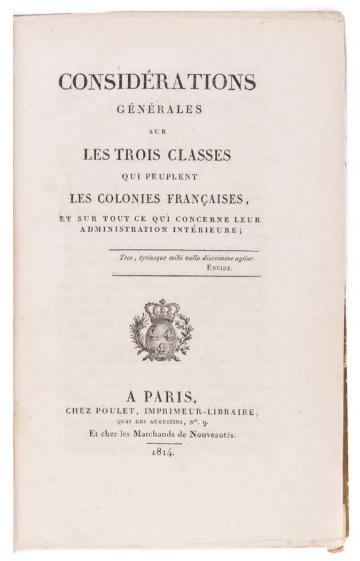
THREE SHIPS OF THE ENEMY'S LINE FELL INTO HIS HANDS, and TWO, (including the Three-Decker, bearing Rear-Admiral Le Seigle's Flag) were DRIVEN ON SHORE in a difabled

State, and afterwards taken Possession of and burned. The Frigate and Corvette effected their Escape.

The Killed and Wounded on Board the Enemy's Ships is supposed to exceed Twelve Hundred Men; one Ship lost Three Hundred. The Loss in His Majesty's Ships in Killed and Wounded amounted to Three Hundred and Thirty Eight. No British Officer was Killed—The Honorable Captain Stopford, was slightly, and Lieutenant Seymour, of the Northumberland, (which Ship suffered the most in the Action,) severely, Wounded; but the latter is since recovered, and arrived in the Kingfisher.

The Vice-Admiral had proceeded with his Prizes to Jamaica.

N. B. The Dispatches from Vice-Admir al Sir John Thomas Duckworth, K. B. will be published in a Supplementary Gazette Extraordinary To-morrow.



#### A Plantation Owner Writes in the Wake of the Haiti Slave Rebellion

# 18 OSSIEL. Considerations Générales sur les Troi Classes qui Peuplent les Colonies Françaises.

First edition. 8vo. Untrimmed in contemporary paper covered boards, red morocco label to spine, front hinge starting, bookplate to front pastedown and ownership inscription to half-title. viii, [5]–424pp. Paris, Chez Poulet, 1814. £7,500

An exceedingly rare defense of the slave trade. It was written by a plantation owner in Saint Domingue in the wake of the successful slave rebellion and the 1814 Treaty of Paris.

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The years between 1789 and 1815 were among the most tumultuous in France's history. Indeed, there was more than one revolution during this period. Led by Toussaint L'Ouverture, the Haiti rebellion started in August 1791. During this time slavery was abolished by Royal Decree in 1794. However, the reprieve was short lived and it was reinstated just eight years later in 1802 by Napoleon in his capacity as First Consul. In fact, he sent a force of 20,000 troops to reconquer the island only to have half of them die from yellow fever and subsequently withdrew the remaining 7000. The rebellion did not finally conclude until 1804, with Haiti then being established (though not necessarily recognised) as a sovereign nation. This work was published at a particularly tense time as the Haitian government was seeking recognition of their independence from France. Furthermore, the first Treaty of Paris was signed on 30 May 1814, which included a provision for slavery to be abolished in France within five years. Significantly, it also allowed for the return of the Spanish controlled side of Saint Domingue to France, but recognized Haitian independence.

The author describes himself disingenuously as nothing more than a "simple habitant planteur à Saint-Domingue," who never dreamed of being a writer. Yet here we have a work of more than four hundred pages that is critical of the likes of Wilberforce, Clarkson, Grenville, and Fox; which quotes Rousseau and Montesquieu in his defence; and refers to the treatment of enslaved labour in Jamaica, Suriname, and Berbice, as well as those on Madagascar, in North and South America, as well as the Pacific. This is an excellent example of the fierce and ongoing opposition to the abolition movement by those with vested interests in the West Indies.

Divided into three chapters, the first and longest gives an overview of slaves, their habits, their physical and moral organization; this is followed by a lengthy analysis and comparison of slavery with liberty. The author is determined first and foremost that plantations should be returned to former white owners, and as a corollary suggests means to be employed for the submission of the black population. The second chapter is a discussion of the customs and habits of the black population and, in particular, a look at their civil and political organisation. In the final chapter, the author considers the colonists themselves. He discusses the organization of modern colonies and the regimes best suited to them.

While the plantations were never returned to their former owners, Haiti did pay reparations to them. An Ordonnance was issued by France in 1825 demanding a sum of 150 million francs (later reduced to 120 million) as well as having free access to Haitian ports. In return, Haiti asked that its sovereignty be recognised. Paid in instalments, the debt was finally settled in 1883.

**Provenance:** manuscript label to front pastedown "Henri de Fitz-James" and to the half-title "Mr Le Duc de Fitz-James".

OCLC locates just three copies at BNF, Berlin and Newberry. No copies on auction records. Araujo, Ana Lucia, *Reparations for Slavery and the Slave Trade*, (London, 2017), p.87; *Sabin*, 15944.

#### A Comedy Set in Saint-Domingue Before the Revolution

19 DUMERSAN (Théophile Marion) & AUBERTIN (Martial). Zoé ou l'Effet au Porteur, comedie en un act, mélée de couplets.

First edition. 8vo. Untrimmed and stitched as issued, some edgewear and toning but very good. 32pp. Paris, Quoy, 1821. £1,750

A very good copy of a one-act vaudeville set in Saint-Domingue during its most prosperous years in the eighteenth-century. It was first performed on 28 December, 1820, in the heart of Paris at the Theatre de la Porte Saint-Martin.

The principal action concerns the love triangle between Courval (a rich, white négociant), Sabord (a ship's captain), and Zoé, the young créole girl of the title. The competition between the two men is further complicated when Madame St. Ange, a young provincial widow, is sent from France as a prospective bride for Courval. En route to Saint-Domingue, Madame St. Ange's letter of introduction is obtained by elderly Mademoiselle Vertbois who tries to pass herself off as the intended bride. Zoé, who actually likes Courval, becomes jealous of both Vertbois and St. Ange. The matter is eventually resolved as Madame St. Ange gracefully accepts the union between Courval and Zoé, and Mademoiselle Vertbois for her part gracefully accepts a payout of a hundred thousand francs for her troubles.

That Dumersan (1780–1849) and Aubertin preferred to set the play in eighteenth-century Haiti rather than, say, contemporary Martinique or Guadeloupe, suggests an ongoing French nostalgia for the "pearl of the Caribbean" and the riches it brought to France.

Scarce: OCLC locates copies at BnF, Yale, Harvard, and the Corvey Collection (Höxter, Germany).

Gay, Bibliographie des Ouvrages relatifs à l'Amour ... Vol. VI, p.462. A second edition was printed in Brussels in 1827.

ZOE. L'EFFET AU PORTEUR, COMÉDIE EN UN ACTÉ, MÊLÉE DE COUPLETS, PAR MM. DUMERSAN ET AUBERTIN; Représentée , pour la première fois , sur le Théatre de la Porte Saint-Martin, le 28 Décembre 1820. ZOE , jeune erdolo. ("ogenue.) . v . . Mile. Jenny . PRIX : 1 FR. 25 C. PARIS, Chez OUOY, Libraire, Editeur de Pièces de Théatre, Boulevard Saint-Martin, nº. 18. DE L'IMPRIMERIE D'ÉVERAT. 1821.

DE

## L'ÉMANCIPATION

DE

## SAINT-DOMINGUE

DANS SES RAPPORTS

AVEC LA POLITIQUE INTÉRIEURE ET EXTÉRIEURE DE LA FRANCE;

PAR

#### N. A. DE SALVANDY.

Dans les monarchies..., il faut favoriser tout le commerce que la constitution de ce gouvernement peut donner, afin que les sujets puissent, sans péril, satisfaire aux besoins toujours renaissans.....

Esprit des Lois , liv. v, ch. ix.

#### PARIS,

CHEZ PONTHIEU, DELAUNAY, DENTU,
AU PALAIS-ROYAL;

A. EYMERY, LIBRAIRE, RUE MAZARINE, Nº 30.

1825.

#### Haiti as French Protectorate

**20** SALVANDY (N[arcisse].A[rchille]. de). De L'Émancipation de Saint Domingue dans ses rapports avec la politique intérieure et extérieure de la France...

First edition. 8vo. Recent quarter morocco over marbled boards, spine gilt. 81, [1]pp. Paris, Chez Ponthieu, 1825. £1,500

A rare and level-headed contribution to the ongoing debate in France on how to best protect trade. This was written during a turbulent period following the French Revolution, the loss of Haiti, the rise and fall of Napoleon, and the signing of a treaty which obliged France to abolish slavery: all of which had significant effects on the French economy.

"For some time, French merchants had demanded reestablishment of trade with Haiti as a cure for the decline in French foreign trade, while the clandestine trade in coffee and indigo increased between French ports and Haiti. Supporting this position, N.A. de Salvandy, a well-known liberal writer and politician, proposed that reopening trade with Haiti could bolster stagnant French commerce. He reminded his readers that Saint-Domingue had been lost to France for a long time, but the island had never ceased to be fertile" (Kwon).

While Salvandy posits that Haiti might become a French protectorate, he stridently opposes the idea of reconquering Haiti for France and writes: "other than some young publicists ... no one would want to go and undertake an expedition two thousand leagues from its shores for a cause that is evidently condemned by fortune. No serious man has proposed it" (Daut's translation).

The last copy to appear on the market was at Otto Lange in 1923.

Sabin, 75867; Daut, Marlene, Tropics of Haiti: Race and the Literary History of the Haitian Revolution, 1789–1865. Liverpool, 2015. p.107; Kwon, Yun Kyoung, "When Parisian Liberals spoke for Haiti: French anti-slavery discourses on Haiti under the Restoration, 1814–30" in Schoolman, M (ed). Abolitionist Places, Oxford, 2013. p.115.

#### A Vital Work of Haitian History

#### 21 MADIOU (Thomas). Histoire d'Haiti.

First edition. 3 vols. Woodcut national emblem to title-pages: "Independence. Liberté. Progrès." Nationale." 8vo. Quarter morocco over pebble-grained cloth, original gold-tooled spines laid down, marbled endpapers and sides. First free endpaper and three leaves of vol. 1 repaired. Title-page of vol. 2 repaired. Foxing, vol. 1 more than 2 and 3, vol. 1 slightly browned. A few marginal annotations in ink and pencil in all vols, spotting and toning. Owner's inscription in pencil on title of volume 1 and in ink of volume 2, more extensive in pencil on last free endpaper of vol. 1, dated 1952. viii, 369, [errata]; 447, [1]; 508, [2]pp. Port-au-Prince, Imprimerie de Joseph Courtois, 1847–1848.

£12,500

Rare and important: the first edition of "La meilleure histoire de la periode de l'independence d'Haïti" (Chadenat).

The first history of Haiti written from a Haitian viewpoint. While the work is ostensibly a history of Haiti from 1492 to 1807, the bulk of it is devoted to the Haitian Revolution 1791–1801. Importantly, in addition to published French sources, Madiou included oral testimonies from contemporary statesmen and survivors of the Haitian Revolution. Madiou notably presented the Haitian revolution as a justified rebellion against the terrible oppression of slavery. The book is "one of the masterpieces of historiography, not only Haitian but Antillean, and even of historiography in the French language of the 19th century" (Adélaïde-Merlande).

Born in Haiti, Thomas Madiou (1815–84) was educated in France at the *Collège Royal d'Angers*, and trained as a lawyer in Paris where he met Isaac L' Ouverture, son of the revolutionary hero, Toussaint. This meeting apparently sparked his interest in Haiti's history and a decade later the first volume of his history appeared. While writing his history, Madiou served in various roles in the Haitian government. He was the personal secretary to Joseph Inginac, chief minister in Boyers' government, as well as Director of the official government publication, *Le Moniteur*.

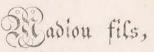
Publisher Joseph Courtois (1785–1877) is also notable. He was a free person of colour. His brother was Haitian revolutionary Sévère Courtois. They came

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1847.

from one of the few wealthy land owning black families and Joseph was educated in Paris along with other children of the Haitian black elite until Napoleon put an end to the "advances" of people of colour in France and Joseph moved back to Saint-Domingue. After the revolution he devoted himself to the development of education in Haiti. Together with his wife Juliette Bussière Laforest-Courtois they established the first school for girls in the young country and they managed the newspaper *La Feuille du Commerce*. He was imprisoned multiple times for defamation, leaving Juliette to manage the newspaper by herself. Shortly after publishing the present *Histoire d'Haiti* he had to flee Haiti because mulattoes were purged from the government under general Faustin Soulouque. In 1859 he could return again and he died on the island at age 92.

The work concludes by reproducing a series of documents critical to the history of Haiti, including the 1685 Code Noir, the Proclamation de la liberte generale by Sonthonax of 1793, the 1801 Constitution de Saint-Domingue by Toussaint-Louverture, and the Constitution d'Haiti of 1805. Of added interest, the index of names at the rear of each volume notes whether each is "blanc", "noir" or "homme/femme de couleur."

This is the best history of the Colony of Haiti, and is specially valuable for its account of the Haitian Revolution. It's also worth noting that the final volume here was printed in that same year that France finally abolished slavery for good. Adélaïde-Merlande, Jacques. La Caraïbe et la Guyane au temps de la Révolution et de l'Empire, 1789–1804. Paris, 1992; Chadenat 362; Le Clerc, Biblioth. Americana, 4838, p.641; Mongey, Vanessa. "A Tale of Two Brothers: Haiti's Other Revolutions" in The Americas, Vol. 69, no. 1, (2012) pp.37–60; Nicholls, David. "A Work of Combat: Mulatto Historians and the Haitian Past, 1847–1867" in Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, Vol. 16, No. 1 (1974), pp. 15–38; Sabin 43704; Scheler, Voyages-Marine, 552.

