Haiti: African American contact and interaction to 1960

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HAITI: AFRICAN AMERICAN CONTACT AND INTERACTION TO 1960

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF CLARK ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF ARTS IN HUMANITIES

BY

MALLORY K. MILLENDER

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

JULY 1996
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The primary purpose of this dissertation is to examine African American contact and interaction with Haiti to 1960, and to show that significant cultural products resulted from this interaction.

This study examines American-Haitian relations from the American Revolution through the American Occupation of Haiti, with emphasis on the social, political, literary and cultural interaction between African Americans and Haitians. Attention is given to the migrations of Haitians to the United States and of African Americans to Haiti, as well as to African American ministers (ambassadors) to Haiti, especially Frederick Douglass.

who went to Haiti and the works that they produced as a result of their experiences in Haiti. This roster includes Langston Hughes, Clarence Cameron White, John F. Matheus, William Edouard Scott, Zora Neale Hurston, Katherine Dunham, Mercer Cook, Naomi Garrett, Alain Locke, Eldzier Cortor, Richmond Barthe, Ellis Wilson, and Lois Mailou Jones.

Three appendices are attached with literary excerpts, selected biographies, and a chronology.

The major conclusion of the dissertation is that all Americans and black people everywhere owe a great deal to Haiti. African Americans, whose combined wealth is said to equal that of the ninth richest nation on earth, have a particular responsibility to do a great deal more to help Haiti, the poorest country in the western hemisphere.
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I wish to thank just a few persons who played key roles in the completion of this study--first, Drs. Lester and Leslie Pollard. Lester suggested Haiti as a prospective study topic. Both of them gave immeasurable assistance in many ways. Dr. Herman Bostick focused the topic, and my adviser, Dr. Richard A. Long, developed and enriched it. I am especially appreciative to him for the extraordinary attention that he gave to this project. Of course, I am very much indebted to Dr. Earle D. Clowney, my department chair, and a member of my committee, as well as Dr. Paul Brown, the other committee member. They along with Dr. Charles Duncan have been extremely supportive throughout the doctoral pursuit. And, finally, I want to thank my wife, Jacqueline, and my sons, Mallory Jr. and Marlon, for their sacrifices which allowed me to realize this dream.
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INTRODUCTION

The primary purpose of this dissertation is to examine African Americans' contact and interaction with Haiti to 1960 and to show that significant cultural products--in drama, opera, literature, sculpture, painting, philosophy--resulted as a manifestation of this interaction. After a brief history of Haiti, beginning with Christopher Columbus' arrival there in 1492 and continuing to the United States Occupation in 1915, the dissertation will explore the interaction between Haitians and African Americans beginning with the American Revolution. Three appendices offer excerpts from literary works or speeches too long to be a part of the text, biographical sketches of the more important African Americans and Haitians mentioned in the study, and a chronology of American-Haitian history.

The first chapter will observe the early struggles for control of the island, the early slave rebellions, the impact of the French Revolution in Saint Domingue (During the colonial period Haiti was variously called, Saint Domingue, Saint Domingo, and Santo Domingo.), the role Haitians played in the American Revolution as well as the Haitian Revolution, and the social, political, and geographical impact of Haitian independence on African Americans and Americans in general.
The second chapter will explore the African American emigration movements to Haiti. During the 1820s, the 1850s and early 1860s, thousands of African Americans emigrated to Haiti where the government offered them free land, and American sources occasionally provided financial assistance to American blacks wanting to go there. The Civil War, by virtue of the emancipation of the slaves in the United States brought an end to the Haitian emigration, as blacks no longer needed to go to Haiti to enjoy freedom. The chapter will show, however, that the Civil War did not end the interaction between African Americans and Haitians. From the late 1860s to the turn of the century, almost all of the United States ministers to Haiti were African Americans; the best known and the most controversial of these ministers was Frederick Douglass. This chapter will highlight his tenure as United States Minister to Haiti as well as his speech at the World's Fair in 1893. The Haitians appreciated Douglass' service as minister to Haiti so much that they chose him as their Commissioner to the World's Fair. It was at the World's Fair that he made one of his last great speeches—which was a sterling tribute to Haiti.

The third chapter covers the United States' Occupation of Haiti from 1915 to 1934. Central to Haiti's history is the role of its liberators Toussaint Louverture,¹
Jean-Jacques Dessalines, Henri Christophe, and Alexandre Pétion. The symbology of the liberators has been very important to African Americans since the Haitian rebellion in 1791 and subsequent independence in 1804. Since that time Haiti has been a symbol of hope, miraculous achievement, and a source of great pride throughout Africa and the diaspora. The Haitian Revolution was the largest and only successful slave revolt in history.

After Douglass' death in 1895, Haiti, for a time, lost its place as a focal point in African American thought. The United States occupation of Haiti for nineteen years (1915-1934) refocused the attention of African Americans on the island republic. Although the American press generally portrayed the Occupation as a humanitarian effort intended to bring stability to Haiti, the black press opposed the Occupation from the start. The Occupation coincided with the emergence of the NAACP--with W. E. B. DuBois as editor of The Crisis--the Harlem Renaissance, Marcus Garvey's back-to-Africa movement, and the generally more militant "new Negro."² James Weldon Johnson, as field director of the NAACP, went to Haiti in 1920 and wrote a series of reports that exposed the brutality and the political and financial tyranny inflicted on the Haitians by the United States Marines, the American Government, and the National City Bank of New York. Johnson's accounts of Haiti's heroic
history, the island's natural beauty, the warmth of her people and architectural wonders of Sans Souci and The Citadel attracted many of the leading figures of the Harlem Renaissance to Haiti. The visits of these artists resulted in an array of cultural products reflecting the artists' affection for Haiti, its liberators and the Haitian people. Their cultural products are the manifestation of this interaction. The chapter concludes with the early cultural and literary products of African Americans and Haitians, including Leslie Pinckney Hill, John F. Matheus, Clarence Cameron White, William Edouard Scott, Langston Hughes, and Jacques Roumain.

The fourth chapter examines the Post-Occupational Haitian experiences of Zora Neale Hurston, Katherine Dunham, Mercer Cook, and Naomi Garrett, who explores the changes in attitudes among the Haitian elite, brought on by the Occupation, and their interactions with the African American intelligentsia. Prior to the Occupation, the Haitian intellectuals thought of their heritage as French. The Occupation forced them to re-examine the African as well as their French heritage. The result was a rejection of their French patrimony in favor of their African roots, sowing the seeds for the Negritude movement, although it was not recognized as such at that time. Garrett is followed by Alain Locke, who went to Haiti in 1943, and gave a series of
lectures on "The Role of the Negro in the World." Composer John W. Work III's trip to Haiti in 1945 served as a springboard for his career. The study concludes with the work of artists Eldzier Cortor, Richmond Barthe, Ellis Wilson, and Lois Mailou Jones.

The final chapter will consist of the conclusions drawn from this study.

In summary, this research documents cultural and literary interaction between African Americans and Haitians from 1915 to 1960. It provides a general history of Haiti and traces its relations with the United States from the American Revolution through the United States Occupation of Haiti. During the Occupation, African Americans generally came to the defense of the Haitians, and some African American cultural giants went to Haiti. The resulting African American cultural products--art, music, drama, and literature--are the manifestation of that interaction and the centerpiece of this study.
CHAPTER I

THE PIONEER EMANCIPATOR

Speaking for the Negro, I can say, we owe much to Walker for this Appeal, to John Brown for the blow struck at Harpers Ferry, to Lundy and Garrison for their advocacy, and to the abolitionists in all the countries of the world. But we owe incomparably more to Haiti than to them all. I regard her as the original pioneer emancipator of the nineteenth century.  

Frederick Douglass

Christopher Columbus, seeking gold, was directed to an island inhabited by the friendly Arawak "Indians" who called their land Haiti or "land of mountains." Columbus arrived on the western part of the island on December 6, 1492. This island "became the first permanent European colony in the Americas." He called it La Isla Espanola; it was to be known as Hispanola. After a short time, Columbus returned to Spain, leaving a small group of Spaniards in Hispaniola. Upon his return in 1493, he was unable to find them. He then began a policy of extermination that reduced the Arawak population, estimated at one million in 1492, to 60,000 fifteen years later. The Spaniards subjected the Native Americans to rape, murder, bloodhounds, strange diseases and forced labor in mines. They also destroyed crops in order to starve the Arawaks. Columbus started an
exploitation system--repartimientos--that became a "basis for social institutions throughout the Spanish Colonies in America. That system was replaced in 1503 by the "encomienda." Under the new system, using land that theoretically belonged to Spain, grantees were able acquire the land and to put the Indians in "a virtual state of slavery."\(^\text{8}\)

Bartolome de Las Casas, a Dominican priest from Seville, accompanied Columbus on his third voyage to Hispaniola and gave an eyewitness account of the genocide in his Short Account of the Destruction of the West-Indian Lands, published in 1552. He said that the Spaniards killed men, women, and children:

They spared neither pregnant women nor women about to give birth, but tore open their bellies and hacked everything to pieces. The Indians were attacked like lambs resting in their pens. . . . They grabbed newborn babies by their two little legs and pulled them from their mothers' breasts to fling their heads against the rocks, or they threw them over their shoulders, laughing and joking all the while . . . .\(^\text{9}\)

Many Native Americans were burned to death. Others were maimed and mutilated, but left alive to serve as examples for their comrades who escaped into the mountains. De Las Casas continued:

But the exterminators, mortal enemies of the human race, trained their vicious hunting dogs so that they would tear every Indian who came into their field of vision into pieces in less . . . time than required for the Lord's Prayer. The largest of
these hounds caught Indians as if they were wild boars and devoured them.10

Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain heard of the problems in the colony and sent Chief Justice Francisco Bobadillo to review the matter. Some of the colonists accompanying Columbus had rebelled, and when Bobadillo arrived in Santo Domingo in 1500 he found many of them "swinging from the gallows and several others about to be hanged." Columbus was arrested and returned to Spain in chains. A month and a half later, he was freed and talked Ferdinand and Isabella into sponoring a fourth voyage.11

Fearful that a whole race of people would be wiped out in one decade, Las Casas returned to Spain and campaigned for the abolition of native slavery. The Spanish government outlawed forced labor, but in fact the practice continued. The priest urged the importation of African blacks to replace the Arawaks. And Charles V approved the exportation of 15,000 slaves to Haiti in 1517, and thus started slavery in the Americas and the Atlantic slave-trade.12

While the Spaniards controlled the eastern two-thirds of Hispaniola, from about 1629, the western third was contested by Spaniards, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and others. By 1659, French buccaneers achieved hegemony and Spain recognized French sovereignty over that part of the island by signing the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697. Throughout
the colonial period, the French called the western part of the island Saint Domingue; the eastern or Spanish part was known as Santo Domingo.

In Saint Domingue, there were maroons or runaways as early as 1620. The maroons always maintained communications with the slaves and led many of them to revolt. And they had a key role in inciting the Haitian uprisings of 1679, 1691, and 1704. After ten years of conflict the British government signed a treaty in 1739 recognizing several maroon towns and granting them a semi-independent status, while soliciting their assistance in policing the island. In exchange for British recognition, the maroons agreed to catch, dissuade, and return runaways they encountered in the future.13

During the middle of the eighteenth century they were led by the "peerless" Macandal. A native African, he was a self-proclaimed Black Messiah. He maintained that he was born to drive the whites from the island, and predicted that one day Blacks would rule the island. In 1758 he organized an uprising in Cap Francais in which poisoned water would be used to kill the entire white population of Haiti at one time. However, the planters accidentally learned of the plot, and Macandal was executed. He prophesied at his execution that he would one day return. Many people in
Haiti believed that Toussaint Louverture was Macandal reincarnated.\textsuperscript{14}

The Thirteen British Colonies of North America had mutually close and profitable relations with Saint Domingue prior to the American Revolution. One indication of this relationship was a commercial treaty signed between the United States and the French West Indies in 1778 in which the two parties joined forces against the British in military pursuits against the British in the Caribbean.\textsuperscript{15} Perhaps it was as an extension of this relationship that Admiral D'Estaing sailed from Saint Domingue in 1779 to strengthen American and French troops at the siege of Savannah during the American Revolution. Some 600 to 1200 mulatto and Negro troops from Saint Domingue, known as the Fontages Legion, covered the American retreat from a fierce British attack on October 9 that might well have annihilated the French and American armies.\textsuperscript{16} In \textit{Before the Mayflower} Lerone Bennett observes that "African Americans and Haitians were pressing the American cause."\textsuperscript{17} And Captain Alfred T. Mahan believes that "news of the expedition . . . made the British abandon Narragansett Bay," which has been called "the best and noblest harbour in America."\textsuperscript{18}

Many historians believe that in fighting for American independence the Haitians might have gotten the idea for fighting for their own freedom. Among the Haitians
who fought in the Battle of Savannah were Henri Christophe, Martial Besse, and Andre Rigaud, all of whom were leaders in the Haitian Revolution. Christophe later became a ruler of Haiti. One nineteenth century scholar concluded that "this legion . . . formed the connecting link between the siege of Savannah and the wide development of republican liberty" in the Americas.

The years immediately following the American Revolution saw thousands of black and white North American loyalists go to the Caribbean. And the seeds of revolution were being sowed in Europe as well. In France, the Society of Friends of the Blacks was organized in 1788. One of its first demands was the abolition of slavery, and anti-slavery sentiment spread everywhere, except among a relatively small number of merchants and planters.

On the eve of the French Revolution, the population of Saint Domingue was 519,000. There were about forty thousand whites and approximately twenty thousand free mulattoes. Black slaves constituted ninety percent of the population. France's economy was immensely dependent upon the production of slave labor. And Ros says that Saint Domingue "had the best slave markets in the world." The strongest and healthiest slaves were sent to Cap Francais or to Port-au-Prince. At that time, Saint Domingue was the world's top producer of coffee and sugar. It doubled the
output of all the other French colonies combined, and it accounted for more than a third of France's foreign trade.\textsuperscript{22}

Not all of Saint Domingue's non-whites were slaves, and a knowledge of the aristocracy of color is central to an understanding of that island's culture. During this period, French anthropologists divided blacks into close to 130 shades. The greatest privileges were extended to the lightest—the "capre," "griffe," "mestif" and quarteron (quadroon), all of whom were classified as mulattoes. Mulattoes became officially free on their 21st birthday. But they, along with the free blacks of Saint Domingue, did not have political rights and experienced a good deal of discrimination.\textsuperscript{23} They were denied freedom of assembly for any reason. They were not allowed to remain in Europe, play European games, wear European dress, purchase ammunition or wear swords, earn advanced degrees, serve as priests, attorneys, doctors, schoolteachers, goldsmiths, apothecaries or accept military commissions or eat with whites. C. L. R. James says that "the only privilege the whites allowed them was the privilege of lending white men money."\textsuperscript{24} However, at the time of the French Revolution in 1789, at least half of the mulattoes had attained a strong economic position. Ten percent of them owned more slaves than the average white planter.\textsuperscript{25}
In 1789, the mulattoes asked the National Assembly for political rights and privileges. They did not even consider asking that the slaves be freed, although their petition whetted the slaves' appetite for freedom. In 1791, the Assembly declared that all persons born of free parents were entitled to all privileges of French citizens. When it became clear that the local government of Saint Domingue did not intend to implement the decree, civil strife broke out, with many of the free Negroes on the same side as the slaves. It is significant to note that the mulattoes hated the blacks as well as the whites, and at the beginning of the Haitian Revolution, the mulattoes were fighting on the side of the whites.

Although the slaves were illiterate and had few chances to assemble or communicate, they managed to organize and to communicate so well that when the word was given, they struck almost in unison, torching everything. Besides fire, the slaves had almost no weapons, but they outnumbered the whites by nearly twenty to one. Only one slave in three had a gun. They fought primarily with knives, sticks, and old swords stolen from the homes of their owners. There was very little transportation. Only the officers had access to a horse, and slaves sometimes rode three or four to a mule.
The original leader of the revolt was a voodoo priest called Boukman. Within a few days, the fifty-thousand rebel slaves had killed two thousand whites. One hundred eighty sugar plantations and nine-hundred coffee plantations had been destroyed. Boukman was captured and decapitated, and the slave leadership was taken over by Jean Francois and Biassou. The slaves were able to obtain weapons from Santo Domingo. They knew that the Spaniards were anxious to defeat the French and eager to conquer the entire island.

Not long after the start of the slave rebellion in Saint Domingue, Don Pedro Acuna, Spanish Secretary of Colonial Affairs, sent a proclamation from Madrid to Don Joaquin Garcia, the governor of Santo Domingo, instructing that the leaders of the slave uprising be persuaded to go into Spanish service in exchange for their complete freedom and Spanish citizenship. The response came from Toussaint Louverture, who by this time had emerged as the leader of the slave forces. He issued a proclamation of his own for the first time, making it clear that the offer would not be accepted.

According to Ros, "For the first time, and the last, Toussaint signed his name as Toussaint L'Ouverture. Thereafter he always spelled his name Louverture." The earliest record of his name appearing in an official
capacity was as a signer of a letter to the National Assembly in which the leaders of the slave rebellion offered a conditional peace. Among the conditions was a partial and gradual abolition of slavery. By July of 1793, Toussaint and a number of his troops had been persuaded to join the Spanish army. However, they left the Spanish army a month later, after France freed the slaves in Saint Domingue, and by 1797, Toussaint was made General in Chief of the French Army in Haiti.

Born Pierre Dominic Breda, on May 20, 1743, Toussaint had been a slave on the Breda plantation until he was forty. He got the name Toussaint because he was born on All Saints' Day. In ten years of fighting, he was wounded seventeen times, and at least ten attempts were made on his life, causing a French officer to quip, "That blasted Toussaint always manages to find an opening. "Hence, Toussaint Breda became known as Toussaint "Louverture," the man who could always find an opening. 30

Simon Baptiste, Toussaint's godfather, was a priest. He taught him to read and write French, Spanish and Latin, although he spoke these languages poorly. 31 Bayon de Libertad, his former master, liked him and allowed him to read books from Bayon's library. Among the books he read was Abbot Raynal's Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux
Indes (Philosophical and Political History of the European Trading Establishments in the Territories of the Two Indies). In it was a prediction of a "Black Spartacus" who would lead a slave revolt.

Although there is no record that Toussaint was ever freed, he was given complete freedom on the plantation. When Libertad learned that Toussaint could discuss the classics with him, he realized that the young man had an exceptional mind, and increased his responsibilities and freedom. He was given control of forty acres for himself and supervision over thirteen slaves. Toussaint had his own farm and a small coffee plantation. He had charge of Libertad's household personnel and was his permanent coachman. As coachman he expanded his view of the world listening to his master's conversations with highly connected guests.

Ten years after the slave revolt had begun, Toussaint presented Saint Domingue with a new Constitution which became official on July 7, 1801. It banned slavery forever. But whites henceforth could own no land in Haiti. The Haitians linked white land owners with white slave owners. The new Constitution gave Toussaint absolute executive authority, power to choose his successor, and the title Governor General of the Republic.
Significantly, Toussaint never declared independence, and he strictly forbade displays of any official sign of independence. For him Saint Domingue was a nation, but it was a part of France. And it was a partner in the French empire. Toussaint "represented France and was France." Haiti's language was French. Her religion was Catholicism. Her flag was the tricolor French flag. The "Marseillaise" was Haiti's national anthem. And Saint Domingue celebrated all French national holidays.

Nevertheless, Napoleon Bonaparte was angered that Toussaint dare attempt to govern under a constitution other than the French Constitution. Moreover, French merchants had been suffering for years from the lack of produce from Saint Domingue and had been urging the government to put down the rebellion. Additionally, Napoleon wanted to create a great, self-sufficient, French empire in the Americas, and he viewed Toussaint as an obstacle to his plan. He felt that with Louisiana and Saint Domingue, he could dominate most of the Americas, if not all of them. The Caribbean islands would produce coffee, sugar and cotton. And Louisiana would "provision the colonies." He believed that this empire would be impervious to the naval and maritime influence of the United States and Great Britain. And the ground work had been laid by Spain's retrocession of Louisiana on October 1, 1800. But Rayford Logan points out
another reason—which he says has been allowed to pass unnoticed by historians—Napoleon's commitment to white supremacy. During a vigorous discussion of the colonial problem with a member of his Council of State, he reportedly stated:

If you had come to Egypt to preach the liberty of Negroes and of Arabs, we would have hanged you at the top of a mast. All the whites [in the West Indies] have been handed over to the ferociousness of the blacks, and people don't even want the whites to be dissatisfied. Now, if I had been in Martinique, I would have been for the English, because, above all, one must save one's life. I am for the whites because I am white. I have no other reason for that one is the good one.  

Ros supports Logan. In mid-1801 Napoleon ordered Talleyrand to advise England: "My decision to destroy the authority of the blacks in Haiti is not so much based on considerations of commerce and money, as on the need to block forever the march of the blacks in the world."  

Napoleon decided to put restraints on Toussaint and to restore slavery. In 1801, he prepared what was then the greatest invasion fleet ever put to sea. Under the leadership of Victoire Emmanuel Leclerc, his best general and his brother-in-law, eighty ships were readied for battle. On December 14, 1801, ships carrying some thirty-five thousand men, set sail at the same time from Brest, Vlissengen, Le Havre, Cherbourg, Lorient, Rochefort, Cadiz and Toulon. Another eight thousand men were on standby. Napoleon felt that it was too risky to lead the
invasion himself after the ill-considered foray in Egypt, which failed. Because it appeared that he would be the "sole ruler of half of Europe," he thought that going to Saint Domingue personally was beneath his dignity.36

Leclerc was ordered to restore white hegemony by "sweet talking" the black generals. The entire black army was to be disarmed. All the generals and all mulattoes and whites who had aided them were to be deported to France, although a general amnesty was to be proclaimed for all inhabitants of Saint Domingue. Finally, slavery was to be restored. In a separate note Leclerc was "especially reminded," not to forget to deport all white women who had ever had relations with Negroes or mulattoes to France, where they would be treated as prostitutes.

On June 7, 1802 a French officer invited Toussaint to dinner. There he was kidnapped, put aboard a waiting vessel, and shipped to France where he was put in a dungeon at Fort Joux in the Alps where he died from the cold on April 27, 1803.

The fear that slavery would also be restored in Saint Domingue galvanized the black and mulatto generals. And on May 20, 1802 Napoleon did restore slavery and he reinstated the slave trade throughout French owned territory. Within six months of Toussaint's death, Dessalines, Christophe and Pétion had joined hands in an
alliance that, aided by yellow fever, drove the French out of Saint Domingue, bringing an end to the twelve-year revolution.

Dessalines declared independence on January 1, 1804. He immediately restored the nation's original name—Haiti—and proclaimed himself Emperor of Haiti—the first black state in modern times, the first colony to break away from a European power, the second republic in the Western Hemisphere, the first country in the Western Hemisphere to abolish slavery, and the only nation to found its independence upon a revolution of slaves. And without training, money or allies, they had defeated a foe that "two European coalitions had not been able to crush." 37

Finally Dessalines took down the French flag, ripped out the white stripe, and joined the red and blue stripes together to form Haiti's present flag. The removal of the white stripe was a highly symbolic gesture. It demonstrated his concept of Haiti's future—without whites. And he personally led a series of massacres of the French people who remained on the island. He went from town to town, sparing only those whites who could be useful to him. 38

Fearing for their lives many thousands of people had already fled the island when the slave rebellion began in 1791, Haitians of all descriptions began migrating to other Caribbean islands, but the largest number came to the United
States. And the details of the rebellion in Haiti strongly impressed the slaves of North America. But when Cap Francais and other cities were evacuated in 1793, more than ten thousand Haitians came to the coastal cities of the United States. During the month of July, 137 ships loaded with refugees landed in Norfolk. Residents said the city was "crowded with Frenchmen . . . [and] too many [French] negroes." Fifty-three ships arrived in Baltimore bringing about a thousand whites and five hundred blacks and mulattoes between July 10 and July 22. During July and August, "hundreds of black, brown and white refugees" came to Charleston.

The flood of Saint Domingue refugees to American port cities did not go unnoticed by the black residents of those locales, who since the 1790s were themselves part of a great population surge in east coast cities from South Carolina to Massachusetts. Between 1790 and 1800 the black population of Philadelphia increased by 176 percent, while the white population there grew by 43 percent. During the same period, Baltimore's black population of 1,600 mushroomed to 5,600. And between 1790 and 1820 Charleston's free black population grew three-fold, while at the same time witnessing considerable growth in the slave population. Approximately 4,000--whites, "gens de couleur," and slaves--went to New Orleans in 1791, and another 7,000
landed there in 1808. Large settlements of Haitians developed in Newark, New York, Wilmington, and Petersburg. And beyond the increase in the number of blacks from Saint Domingue, Scott notes that "this migration carried with it important consequences for Afro-American social and institutional development." 

While the vast majority of Haitian slaves were illiterate, some mulattoes were commonly educated in European schools, primarily in France. It is difficult to trace the role of the free black émigrés to the United States as some of them were assimilated into both the white and black populations. Free blacks fought with Andrew Jackson at New Orleans; they served on both sides during the American Civil War, and made major contributions to the reconstruction, especially of South Carolina and Louisiana. Howard Mumford Jones believes that many of the buildings of Old Charleston were designed by the immigrants from Saint Domingue and that the famous wrought iron railings found on many of the buildings in the Vieux Carré of New Orleans were made by Haitian slaves. A company of Haitian refugees presented New Orleans' first theatrical performance in 1791. The first French newspaper in New Orleans, the Moniteur de la Louisiane, which began publication in the same year, is believed to have been started by Haitian refugees. The émigrés also started a paper in Charleston. 

In 1799 another group of actors from Saint Domingue presented a series of comedies, dramas, and vaudeville in New Orleans. Victor Sejour, a mulatto son of a Saint Domingue immigrant, wrote many plays that were presented on the stage in Paris, and he became one of the secretaries of Napoleon III. The first two presidents of the College of New Orleans came from Haiti. Some of these refugees became famous as pastry cooks, dancing and fencing masters, bakers, dressmakers, hairdressers, "clearstarchers," gardeners, teachers, botanists, physicians and surgeons. They are also believed to have helped greatly to increase cotton production in the southern states. It is known that Etienne Bore, who is usually credited with having made the first granulated sugar from sugar cane in New Orleans, learned the process from Morin, a Saint Domingue refugee.

As early as 1791, many Americans were preoccupied with Haiti. And as they began to learn that news of the events in Haiti was reaching blacks in North America, they were terrified, as they feared that African American slaves might also rebel. As the reports of unrest among the slaves in this country increased, officials began looking for ways to block the communications networks blacks used to get information from the Caribbean. In Virginia, for instance, the General Assembly "undertook several measures to suppress public discussion of foreign affairs during the early stages
of the revolutions in France and Saint-Domingue." In early 1792, there were indications that a general slave rebellion was imminent in the tidewater area of Virginia. Leaders attributed the local slave conspiracies in North Hampton and Norfolk to "the example of the West Indies." To counter the rebellion the legislature revamped its slave laws and made it increasingly difficult for slaves to assemble regardless of the reason.43

Over the next several years, numerous instances of unrest among Virginia slaves were attributed to the influence of blacks from Saint Domingue. In 1800 Gabriel Prosser led a group of slaves that planned a rebellion in Richmond. But on the eve of the uprising a severe rainstorm and subsequent flooding washed away roads and bridges. Prosser and his co-conspirators were executed. A newspaper article asked, "What could be expected from the unfortunate blacks in our states from the [Toussaint Louverture] example?"44

Southern states wanted more slaves but they were now afraid to import them. In 1792, South Carolina banned blacks "from Africa, the West India [sic] Islands, or other places beyond the sea" for two years. A newspaper in Boston stated that French "emissaries" from Saint Domingue were arrested with papers containing a blueprint "for a general insurrection of negroes in the southern states."45 In 1794,
North Carolina passed an act "to prevent further importation and bringing of slaves." According to Scott, rebels in Saint Domingue inspired Louisiana blacks, and, in some instances, sent direct support for their attempts at rebellion in the United States. Beyond that, he notes that "Some North American blacks sojourned to Saint-Domingue ... experienced the revolution there, and apparently succeeded in returning to their homes to the north to relate their experiences and observations."

Charlestonian Denmark Vesey, who travelled to the Caribbean as a cabin boy many times during his youth and actually spent some of those years as a resident of Saint-Domingue, organized a conspiracy of slaves and free blacks in 1822 at least partly by using Haiti as a reference point. Vesey and his lieutenants followed events in the new black nation, passing newspaper articles from hand to hand. At Vesey's trial, one co-conspirator testified that he 'had the habit of reading to me all the passages in the newspaper that related to Santo Domingo.' Claiming to have corresponded through black cooks who worked the vessels trading between Charleston and Haiti, Vesey promised his followers that the Haitians would come to their aid if only they would strike the initial blow for their freedom.

Whites became suspicious when a series of fires were set in Charleston in 1796. They blamed "French Negroes" who they said "intended to make a St. Domingo business of it." Again in 1797 the refugees had a direct hand in a plot to burn Charleston. Five French-speaking blacks were tried for their roles in the conspiracy. Three were condemned to death by hanging and the others to transportation.
When Martial Besse, a mulatto general from Saint Domingue, went to South Carolina in 1797, he was forced to put up a bond as required by the South Carolina law. The bond was waived only after Victor Dupont, the French Consul in Charleston, protested vigorously, pointing out that General Besse was on an official mission for the French government and that he had been wounded fighting for America's freedom during the American Revolution at the Battle of Savannah.\textsuperscript{51}

Maryland enacted laws in 1797 preventing slaves from immigrating from the West Indies, Bahamas, or the French, Dutch, or Spanish settlements on the Southern coast of America. In an effort to restrict the entry of foreign-born blacks, Boston threatened in 1800 to deport all black residents not born in the state.\textsuperscript{52}

In 1811, between two hundred and five hundred slaves in St. John the Baptist and St. Charles Parishes marched on New Orleans burning plantations along the way. Charles Deslondes, a free Haitian mulatto, was identified as one of the leaders of the rebellion. Most of the rebels were beheaded or hanged on the spot. Though less publicized than some others, the Louisiana uprising of 1811 was "the largest mass rebellion of slaves in the history of the North American continent."\textsuperscript{53}
Scott sums up the impact of blacks from Haiti on African Americans during this period and what their contributions meant to all people of African descent:

As the decade of the 1790s drew to a close blacks continued to apply to their local conditions the ideas of self-determination and anti-slavery which the Haitian Revolution unleashed. As far north as Massachusetts . . . black mason Prince Hall could proclaim the dawning of a new era 'in the French West Indies.' All over the Americas, slaves and free blacks shared Hall's fervent hope that recent developments in the French Caribbean finally signalled the long-awaited day when 'Ethiopia [would] stretch forth her hand from slavery, to freedom and equality' for people of African descent throughout the New world.
NOTES

1 This is Toussaint's spelling. A more detailed explanation appears on page 14.

2 The concept of the "New Negro" was initially advanced in an essay by Alain Locke in Survey Graphic in March of 1925. It celebrates the spiritual coming of age of the race expressed through a new self-respect, self-reliance, race pride, and positive self-perception in which the Negro sees himself as a responsible social contributor to the Democratic process. African American sculptor Richmond Barthe sculpted a portrait of the "New Negro."


8 Weil, p. 27.


10 Ibid., p. 15.

11 Weil, p. 27.

12 James, p. 4.

13 Julius Sherrard Scott III, The Common Wind: Currents of Afro-American Communication in the Era of the
Haitian Revolution (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International), p. 16.


15 Scott, p. 85.


18 Rayford Whittingham Logan, The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti, 1776-1891 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941), p. 25

19 Scott, p. 86.

20 Ibid.

21 Ros, p. 19.


23 Ros, p. 22.

24 James, p. 41.

25 Ros, p. 22.

26 Ibid., p. 38.

27 Ibid., p. 6.

28 Ibid., p. 62.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid., p. 51.

31 Ibid., p. 57.

32 Ibid., p. 9.

34 Logan, p. 123.
35 Ros, p. 124.
36 Ibid., p. 157.
37 Logan, p. 152.
38 Matthewson, p. 232.
39 Scott, p. 276.
40 Ibid., p. 283.
41 Logan, pp. 47-49.
42 Ibid.
43 Scott, pp. 208-209.
44 Ibid., p. 292.
46 Franklin, pp. 150-151.
47 Scott, p. 272.
48 Ibid., p. 287.
49 Ibid., p. 307.
50 Ibid., p. 290.
51 Logan, pp. 50-51.
52 Scott, p. 280.
53 Ibid., p. 274.
54 Ibid., p. 293.
MIGRATIONS AND DIPLOMACY

Haiti's independence had ramifications for slaveholders, free blacks, and slaves in North America. Over the next hundred years, there would be large numbers of African Americans migrating to Haiti, and during the last three decades of the nineteenth century all of the United States Ministers to Haiti would be Negroes. Meanwhile, having gained her freedom, Haiti had to learn to survive amid a family of nations in which she was an outcast.

Without foreign sponsors or allies, fear of French invasion and repossession dominated Haitian political thought in the years following independence. For that reason, under Henri Christophe, the Haitians built a series of fortresses to defend themselves from the French. The most famous of these—the Citadel—was an architectural wonder. Situated on the top of a mountain so steep that it was almost impossible to reach from its jungle-covered rear and flanks, it was perched atop a sheer cliff rising 2,000 feet above the sea. The walls were 270 feet high and up to thirty feet thick. And it could house ten thousand men. The French, however, never returned. An agreement was signed between Haiti and Charles X of France in 1824 recognizing Haiti's independence in exchange for numerous commercial
concessions and the payment of a 150-million-franc indemnity as compensation for the former French colonists. The indemnity was eventually reduced and was refunded through loans that would burden Haiti for more than a hundred years.

The Haitians jealously guarded their independence and refused to permit foreigners to own land there. The Haitian economy stagnated, while the population mushroomed. In an effort to bolster his administration, Haitian President Jean-Pierre Boyer in the early 1820s offered land to free blacks in the northern cities of the United States. His New York agent was given orders to sell "fifty thousand weights" of coffee in order that "such individuals of the African race, who groaning in the United States under the weight of prejudice and misery" might be relocated "under Haitian beneficence."  

The American Colonization Society (ACS) organized the best known of the projects to foster black emigration. The ACS had been established in 1817 by a group of white philanthropists and politicians. While they were often religious, their motives were not necessarily altruistic. One of the advantages of colonization was that it would increase the price of slaves, thus decreasing the likelihood that the slaves would be freed. It would also safeguard slavery by removing from the United States free Negroes—a
source of discontent and likely slave-allies in the event of a rebellion.³

Most free blacks rejected white-sponsored schemes to send them back to Africa,⁴ and believed that "the colonization society threatened them with exile."⁵ They also resented the fact that, with one exception, none of the society's officers ever asked their opinion about colonization. And the officer who did ask, died within the first year of the founding of the organization.⁶

John B. Russworm, a Bowdoin graduate and the editor of Freedom's Journal, the first black newspaper, was the only influential African American to publicly endorse colonization during the first twenty years of the Colonization Society's existence.⁷ The sentiments of Lewis Woodson of Ohio and Maria W. Stewart seem to typify the black attitude on going to Africa. Woodson insisted, "We never asked for it--we never wanted it; neither will we go to it."⁸ Stewart promised that before she would allow anyone to drive her to a strange land, "the bayonet shall pierce me through."⁹ Northern blacks were unified in their opposition to the African colonization program. African Americans were so hostile to this effort that delegates to a national Negro convention in Philadephia in 1835 unanimously adopted a resolution "to remove the title African from their institutions."¹⁰ Many black Americans were, however, open
to the possibility of emigrating to other locales. Canada was an attractive alternative for many African Americans and thousands of ex-slaves went there.

Other free blacks preferred Haiti. Richard Allen, founder and bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the first organized black church in the United States, spearheaded the Society for Promoting the Emigration of Free Persons to Haiti. Between 1824-1825 more than 2,000 African Americans emigrated to Haiti. In all more than 13,000 emigrated to Haiti in the 1820s. But they found the peasants to be very suspicious of them, "... the land useless, living conditions deadly, and [President] Boyer prey to second thoughts."¹¹

Interest in Haitian emigrationism re-emerged in the 1850s. The only widely known emigrationist during this period was Martin Delaney. He and others tried to instill pride in Africa and all of his emigration efforts were planned with Africa in mind. However, most African Americans still resisted the notion of going to Africa.¹²

James Theodore Holly, a Washington-born free black, was the most ardent Haitian emigration advocate. He had considered Canada as an emigration site before deciding on Haiti. Slave holders in the 1850s were taking advantage of the Fugitive Slave Law, causing several thousand African Americans to flee to Canada where there was already a
sizeable black community. But there was division about Canada's desirability and many blacks doubted whether they could find true freedom there. That doubt made Haiti more attractive.

Haiti's appeal was both ideological and logistical. But its greatest appeal was having no relationship with the hated ACS. Another reason for turning to Haiti was nationalism. Holly wanted to fuse widely held views about the importance of American "civilization" with a desire to imbue African Americans with the "same nationalistic spirit that underpinned Haitian independence."

African American abolitionists revered Haiti's liberators and her symbology was of tremendous importance. Throughout the nineteenth century black abolitionists frequently named their organizations and their children after Haiti's liberators. Sans Souci became a common name for luxury housing. Martin Delaney (1812-1885) named his eldest son Toussaint L'Ouverture. He named another son Faustin Souloque after Haiti's Emperor from 1849-1859. Pierre Toussaint, a hairdresser for well-to-do women in New York who purchased the freedom of his wife and sister, bore Toussaint Louverture's given name. When blacks were rallying in opposition to the Dred Scott decision at a convention in 1858, they organized their speeches around militant blacks and themes. Holly paid tribute to Toussaint
Louverture in a speech titled "The Auspicious Dawn of Negro Rule." He asserted that the Haitian Revolution was the single most significant political event in human history.

This revolution is one of the noblest, grandest, and most justifiable outbursts against tyrannical oppression that is recorded on the pages of the world's history . . . the Haitian Revolution is also the grandest political event of this or any other age.17

Holly stated that the American revolution was "a tempest in a teapot" compared to the Haitian Revolution. He points out that the American colonists were comparatively free, had their own colonial government, and that their main grievance was a three-pence-per-pound tax on tea by the mother country imposed without their consent. Haiti's revolution had been a revolt of an uneducated class against the tyranny of their oppressors, who not only imposed an absolute tax on their labor without remuneration, but used and controlled their very bodies. They had had to wrest their freedom from the colonial government of Haiti as well as from the mother country.18 Highlighting the uniqueness of Haiti's achievement, he added:

Never before, in all the annals of the world's history, did a nation of abject chattel slaves arise in the terrific might of their resuscitated manhood, and regenerate, redeem, and disenthrall themselves: by taking their station at one gigantic bound, as an independent nation, among the sovereignties of the world.19

Ironically, and in spite of all the nationalistic feelings that Haiti conjured up, the new emigration project
was directed by a white man, James Redpath, a Scottish-born abolitionist and journalist. In 1859 he was able to get guarantees from the Haitian government that African American emigrants would be accorded group settlements in "neighborhoods," and sought clear answers on such questions as whether they would be subject to military duty. He sought guarantees that emigrants would have basic human rights: freedom to leave Haiti if they chose; he wanted to know the length of time before they would be vested with all the rights of native Haitians; and whether they would be required to support the Catholic Church.20

On August 22, 1859, F. E. DuBois (a relative of W. E. B. DuBois), Secretary of State for Justice and Public Worship of Haiti, appealed to African Americans to emigrate to Haiti. The Haitian government offered free passage to all who could not afford to come, and assured citizenship and free land. The emigration movement was intensified by laws restricting the rights of free blacks following John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry.21 Also in August of 1859, arrangements were finalized for the creation of a Haitian Bureau of Emigration in the United States the following June, which Redpath directed. The Haitians then committed $20,000 to the project.22

Unable to get the Episcopalian Church authorities in the United States to provide financial support, Holly voiced
his nationalist-missionary philosophy through a series titled "Thoughts on Hayti," published in the Anglo-African Magazine in 1859. He detailed his reasons for supporting emigration, and showed how blacks in both countries would benefit. Holly praised Haiti's successful quest for independence, but he felt strongly that the island republic had not achieved political, economic, or social greatness. He believed that African Americans would become the "industrial civilizers of Hayti," thus enabling that country to fulfill its potential.23

By this time, Frederick Douglass—who had been strongly opposed to Black colonization and emigration—spoke of the "settled fact" that many African Americans "are already resolved to look for homes beyond the boundaries of the United States, and that most of their minds are turned towards Hayti."24 Redpath very much wanted to recruit Douglass. Writing in January, 1861, Douglass acknowledged his earlier stance "but taking into account that 'the means of obtaining a living' were 'becoming more and more limited' for African Americans, he could 'raise no objections to the present movement towards Haiti.'" Douglass urged, "Let us go to Hayti, where our oppressors do not want us to go, and where our influence and example can still be of service to those whose tears will find their way to us by the waters of the Gulf washing all our shores."25
In January of 1861, the first group of African Americans sponsored by the Haitian Bureau of Emigration in the United States left for Haiti. Holly, Redpath, and other leaders of the emigration movement saw those who left the United States and Canada for Haiti as the forefront of a new black nationality. It was expected that they would help to emancipate all of the slaves, and help bring about equality for black people everywhere. However, few emigrants harbored such notions. Most of them simply wanted to escape the oppression they could not escape in America. The emigrationist-nationalists stressed the need for blacks to own land, which was a powerful incentive for many African Americans. Most of them, however, saw land ownership as an opportunity for self-elevation, rather than a move toward the creation of a black nationality. Some emigrants reported that once in Haiti "they felt as if they were men--for the first time in their lives."\(^26\)

However, the immigrants found that living in Haiti was far more difficult than they had imagined. Most of them had mixed emotions about starting a new life in a new country. While most of them apparently were pleased with Haiti, there were certain realities that were hard to resolve. They were homesick. In spite of oppressive conditions in the United States, the majority of the immigrants had lived in the United States all their lives,
and for them it was "home." The immigrants found the Haitian climate almost insufferable, particularly the very young and the elderly. It was inadvisable to leave the United States during June, July or August, when climatic conditions--and yellow fever--were most severe in Haiti. And any evaluation caused their initial optimism to give way to a more gloomy reality. The deep cultural, linguistic, and religious differences between the African Americans and the Haitians were central to the disillusionment.

In his *Guide to Hayti* Redpath had indicated that French was the language of the educated classes in Haiti, but the masses spoke "Haytian creole," which he claimed could be "easily acquired in three or six months" in an immersion experience. Redpath's aim was to reassure African Americans that they would soon "blend in" with the Haitians. He had assured them that they would be the " undisputed lords" of Haiti. The comment assumed that African Americans would not be mixing with the Haitian elite, and that necessarily pushed them to the fringes of Haitian society. Although they had been tremendously abused by American racism, African Americans generally believed that they were more "civilized" than other blacks in the world, and many of them considered themselves superior to most Haitians.

It is ironic that religion was a problem. The Black church on the eve of the Civil War has been described as
"the very bulwark and center of the Black community."

Redpath and James Holly knew that potential emigrants to Haiti wanted to know that they would be able to maintain the religious practices that they held so dear. For them the church would represent a source of strength and inspiration in Haiti, and would be a source of continuity with life in the United States. Redpath tried to reassure them. While conveniently not mentioning Voodoo, he emphasized that catholicism was the principal religion in Haiti, but the people held no spiritual allegiance to the Pope. He insisted that Haitians tolerated different religions and "never prosecuted protestants." Beyond prosecution, mere survival in Haiti was a challenge. According to one of Redpath's agents in mid-1862, there had been 120 deaths among the 1,200 immigrants who lived in the Saint Marc region.

The Haitian government had promised the emigrants land. But most of them were frustrated by the cumbersome acquisition process, particularly in the Saint Marc region. The Haitians also promised to provide immigrants with food and shelter for eight days, after which they were expected to support themselves on the land granted to them. While the Haitian government provided food and shelter—often well beyond eight days—the land surveyors were inefficient. There was a continual complaint that they had to wait months
before receiving the lands promised to them. And the reports filtering back to the United States usually did not help the emigration movement.\textsuperscript{32}

For their part the Haitians' usually lacked information concerning the arrival of immigrants. They often knew little as to when immigrants would arrive or how many. They also felt that the immigrants were "unreasonable" and complained excessively about the land they received. The Haitian government urged some of them to work on private Haitian estates, "according to the wages of the share system."\textsuperscript{33} The immigrants objected, partly because they had come to Haiti based on the promise that they would be given their own lands, and partly because they wanted to keep their settlement groups intact. The immigrants' backgrounds contributed to many of the woes of the emigration project. Project organizers encouraged people with agricultural experience to emigrate. And, at least in theory, the Haitian government's offer of free passage was only open to farmers and agricultural laborers. Yet most of the emigrants lived in urban areas and, particularly in the early stages of the movement, had no agricultural background.\textsuperscript{34}

Another factor hindering the migration of rural blacks was that relatively few African Americans owned farms, and many of those who did lived in the western parts
of the United States, or in Canada, which made it more costly for them to travel to the east coast ports to board vessels to Haiti. A final factor militated against the African American farmers. Even if they decided to emigrate, they had to wait until they sold their farms. And that was often a very long wait. One Haitian authority said that the immigrants were usually "strangers to each other, and did very little to assist one another."35

The Haitian movement had many critics—a number of well-known black clergymen among them—who knocked the project in public meetings and newspapers. Critics consistently accused the emigration advocates of urging African Americans to emigrate while they themselves stayed in the United States. James Holly did emigrate to Haiti, perhaps to rebut the criticism. Redpath also blamed "colored cliques" in New York who were opposed to the "Black Nationality" concept. He charged that complexion was at least in part the basis for the differences among black leadership.36

Haiti's independence also was questioned. Critics noted the Spanish had seized the Dominican Republic, located on the same island as Haiti. And they were concerned about the signing of a Concordat between the Haitians and the Roman Catholic authorities in Rome. These concerns were heightened by the signing of an agreement between the
Haitians and the Vatican in 1860. Expressing deep concern over the separation of church and state, African Americans were worried about what the agreement implied for Haiti's independence. Critics who were skeptical about the Haitians' promise of religious freedom, used the Concordat to criticize the movement.

Religious freedom, black independence, and black nationality were all connected. The Weekly Anglo-African argued in an editorial that the terms of the Concordat meant that President Nicolas-Fabre Geffrard was really conceding that "the controlling religious influence must be white." The next step in that process, the editorial asserted, was to "make the entire political process also white."^{37}

Chartering appropriate vessels was all the more difficult because the Haitians were never certain how many emigrants would sail on a particular date or whether they would actually sail at all. To resolve this problem, Redpath convinced the Haitian Government to purchase two ships exclusively for transporting emigrants. But in March of 1862, when a contract was signed for regular sailing from New York to Port-au-Prince, it was too late to have any impact.^{38}

Frederick Douglass and his daughter were scheduled to board a ship to Haiti on April 25, 1861. But the trip was canceled owing to the outbreak of the Civil War.
Douglass wanted to go to Haiti as an honest observer and to give an honest account of his findings. In April 1861 he wrote in *Douglass' Monthly*:

... we ... desire to see, as we doubtless shall see, in the free, orderly and Independent Republic of Haiti, a refutation of the slanders and disparagement of our race. We want to experience the feeling of being under a Government which has been administered by a race denounced as mentally and morally incapable of self-government. Haiti has thus constantly been the victim of something like a downright conspiracy to rob her of the natural sympathy of the civilized world, and to shut her out of the fraternity of nations. No people have been compelled to meet and live down a prejudice so stubborn and so hatefully unjust. For a time it was fashionable to call them in our Congress a nation of murderers and cut-throats, and for no better reason than that they won their freedom by their arms. It is quite time that this interesting people should be better understood. Though a city set on a hill, she has been hid; and though a light of glorious promise, she has been compelled to shine only under a bushel. A few names of her great men have been known to the world; but her real character as a whole, we are persuaded, has been grossly misunderstood and perversely misrepresented. One object of our mission, therefore, will be to do justice to Haiti, to paint her as she is, and to add the testimony of an honest witness to honest worth.39

The Civil War killed any hope that the Haitian Bureau may have had for gaining Frederick Douglass as an ally. By July 1861 Douglass had not only postponed his trip to Haiti, he was giving voice to his doubts about the Haitian Bureau. And he drew parallels between the Haitian movement and the hated Colonization Society. Meanwhile the
fate of the immigrants in Haiti was increasingly publicized throughout the North.40

Writing after the fall of Fort Sumter, Douglass informed his readers that he would not go to Haiti. The ramifications of the Civil War, he explained, had "made a tremendous revolution in all things pertaining to the possible future" of African Americans. Developments in the Civil War played a dominant role in undermining the Haitian movement.41 Blacks then looked to a Northern victory in the Civil War as their best hope for improving their position.

President Lincoln, like many other American statesmen, believed that the best solution to the troublesome "Negro problem" in the United States was the colonization of Negroes in countries where they would be better treated. On April 16, 1862 Congress approved $100,000 to aid in the colonization of Negroes in Haiti and elsewhere. On July 16, 1862, the amount was increased to $600,000.42

Lincoln committed the United States government to pay fifty dollars per person to an American agent for relocating up to fifty thousand freedmen in Haiti. In 1863, five hundred freedmen sailed from Fortress Monroe to Ile a Vache off Haiti's southern coast. But the agent's mismanagement and unprincipled efforts to exploit the emigrants turned the project into a disaster. The Lincoln
administration sent a special agent to investigate the alleged maltreatment. What they found was far too little food and shelter, but large quantities of stocks, leg chains, and handcuffs. Surviving freedmen were returned to the United States by an American Army transport. After that experience, the Haitians lost interest in colonization. An Act of Congress, approved July 2, 1864, discontinued the further use of funds for the colonization for free Negroes.

Although it is known that James Holly, who became the first Black Bishop of the American Episcopal Church in 1874, lived in Haiti until his death in 1911, there is little evidence as to what happened to most of the immigrants. Many of them returned to the United States. Others were assimilated into the Haitian population, and large numbers of them died.

For fifty-eight years the United States refused to recognize Haiti's independence. Recognition came in 1862, and then only after the southern states had seceded. The evidence is clear that the major consideration was the fact that the independence of Haiti resulted from the revolt of Negro slaves and that the ruling class were Negroes. It is also commonly acknowledged that the United States did not want African Americans to see the example of Haitians roaming about the United States with diplomatic immunity.
However, after the Civil War, the United States began appointing African Americans as ministers to Haiti and to Liberia. African Americans "served continuously" as minister to Haiti from 1869 to 1913 except for a four-year hiatus. Until 1897, the highest title for a diplomat to Haiti and Liberia was minister resident/consul general. At the same time, all of them held the position of chargé d'affaires in the Dominican Republic except Henry Furniss. In 1897 the title was changed to envoy/extraordinary/minister plenipotentiary. In 1943 the title was changed to ambassador extraordinary/plenipotentiary.

Miller suggests that those two countries "appeared to be the only places to which Blacks could be assigned without white objection." The highest ranking title for diplomats to those countries was "minister" until 1897 when it was changed to envoy extraordinary/minister plenipotentiary. In 1943 the title was changed to ambassador. Ebenezer Don Carlos Bassett, a Yale alumnus and principal of the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia, served as minister to Haiti from April 1869 to November 1877. He was thirty-six years old when selected, and was the first African American minister to a foreign government.

He was faced with two major issues that were to plague virtually all of the black ministers—asylum for Haitians and protection of Americans and their interests in
Haiti. When Gustave Jastran, an American consular officer, was dragged through the streets and detained because of his efforts to grant asylum to a Haitian general in 1872, Bassett complained to the Haitian government. He asked that the responsible officials be reprimanded, that the government apologize to the American legation, provide assurance that such incidents would not recur, and give a twenty-one-gun salute to the American flag "as a public testimony of the good disposition of the Haitian Government." Two months passed before Bassett received a favorable response—and that response seemed to come only when the United States appeared ready to apply firmer pressure.

Little more than a month later, Bassett was confronted with another incident. Haitian military officials jailed Charles Teel, an American consul agent, for knowingly circulating counterfeit money. Teel was freed after Bassett initiated several formal and informal diplomatic maneuvers. Observers attributed his success to his informality and his blackness. His informal style is reflected in the following unofficial letter he sent to Haiti's foreign minister:

It is my sincere desire to avoid all misunderstanding and unpleasant feelings with your government. As a man of the same race as yourself, I have desired and I do still desire to see the Haitian Government success [sic] and prosperity. It would be very painful for me to see anything but
pleasant relations between us. But while I entertain these sentiments, I do not forget that I must insist upon what comports well with the dignity, honor, and power of the great Government which I represent.52

While Bassett's protection of Americans and their interests won him praise from the State Department, asylum proved, for him, to be a thornier issue. He gave refuge to General Boisrond Canal—who later became President of Haiti—at the minister's home on May 3, 1875. Bassett later acknowledged that his action "had not been, altogether, consistent with the policy expressed in a State Department communique of December 16, 1869. But he argued:

To have closed my door upon the men pursued would have been for me to deny their last chance of escape from being brutally put to death before my eyes. I thought it my duty under the circumstances to do what I could to protect them from such a fate and to guard them until passion might cool and violence spend its force.53

On the same day that he accepted the refugees, the Haitian government requested the names of Haitians who had been granted asylum at the American legation. When Bassett refused to comply with the request, noting that the right to asylum had been routinely granted since Haitian independence in 1804 and that no country had surrendered the names of refugees in seventy years, Haitian troops seeking the release of General Canal surrounded Bassett's home and stayed there until Canal was released five months later. During this period Bassett wrote several letters of protest.
to the Haitian government. Once, he reported being "delayed for several minutes at the point of a gun" and subjected to "unpleasant language." The Haitian government apologized for the treatment and Bassett was assured that the abuses would end. They did not. Bassett told the U.S. State Department that he had been informed that the Haitian government had given special orders to soldiers around his home to "keep up a noisy cry every night, from early evening until the next morning, with the idea of worrying me out, and thus obtaining, by such means, the end had in view as to Boisrond Canal."

In an effort to resolve the problem, Bassett enlisted the aid of the Diplomatic Corps--France, Great Britain, and Spain. When that effort failed Haiti circumvented Bassett and dealt directly with the Haitian legation in Washington. Secretary of State Hamilton Fish recommended the release of the refugees to the Haitian government "until assurance could be given that no punishment would result from the trial, but if convicted the parties would be allowed to leave the country." But the Haitians did not accept the recommendations, and Fish chastised Bassett:

"It is regretted that you deemed yourself justified by an impulse of humanity to grant such an asylum. You have repeatedly been instructed that such a practice has no basis in public law, and, so far as this Government is concerned, is believed to be contrary to all sound policy."
When no solution had been reached after five months, the State Department consented to Bassett's earlier requests that a man-of-war be sent to Haiti. The military threat apparently brought the matter to closure October 5, 1875.

Bassett was succeeded in his diplomatic post by John Mercer Langston, a pioneer lawyer, the first dean at Howard University's law school, and a vice president at Howard. Langston went to Haiti as United States minister in 1877 and served until 1885. His tenure was unique in that he served under three United States presidents in eight years—Hayes (1877-1880), Garfield (1881), and Arthur (1881-1884). The granduncle of poet Langston Hughes, he was second only to Frederick Douglass in the esteem in which he was held in black America.

Unlike Bassett, Langston readily consented to give the Haitian government the names of refugees who were given asylum by the American legation. He believed that the asylum policies used by the various foreign governments in Haiti fostered revolution and consequently needed to be reformed. He felt that for revolutionists, asylum was a given prior to plotting their strategies. He wrote:

It is surprising to witness the readiness and assurances with which a defeated revolutionist approaches the door of such places, demanding as a matter of right, admission and protection.

The asylum policy was problematic for the succeeding black ministers as well. An interpretation of that policy
was required for J. E. W. Thompson (1889-1889), Frederick Douglass (1889-1891), John S. Durham (1891-1893), William F. Powell (1897-1905), and Henry W. Furniss (1905-1913). Powell raised another concern. He called attention to the fact that the State Department provided no funds to the legations to support refugees who were granted asylum. And refugees, who were totally unknown to their hosts and numbered up to a dozen persons at a time, often stayed for weeks. Powell recommended a number of reforms, including correcting the notion that legations were obligated to grant asylum. He believed that granting asylum was not a right but a courtesy "extended and usually only when the life of the particular party is endangered." He recommended that asylum not be given to persons charged with murder, arson and crimes which violated Haitian laws. He said that asylum should be granted for a short time to persons whose offenses were political—against the government or governmental officials whose personal safety was in danger. Individuals granted asylum should have no visitors, with rare exceptions, and those persons would be responsible for their own support while at the legation.

Acting Secretary of State replied that "strict observance of State Department regulations" will prevent the types of embarrassments reported by the minister. Because black ministers had to make asylum-related decisions on the
spot, they had to use their discretion, but in the final analysis, they were "reprimanded by the State Department for their actions."\(^66\)

Of the African Americans who served as minister to Haiti, Frederick Douglass was the best known, the most respected, and the most controversial. He was appointed by President Benjamin Harrison on July 1, 1889. Many of Douglass' friends tried to persuade him not to accept the appointment. Some of them felt that the office was "not big enough," and that it was not commensurate with his ability and stature. Some believed that moving to a tropical climate was too risky at his advanced age. Others argued that he had an obligation to remain in the United States and continue to lead the battle against slavery. Still others believed that the appointment was a Republican ruse "to remove a troublesome thorn in their side."\(^67\) Julia Griffiths Crofts told Douglass in a letter from England:

> I feel certain that your last able & searching address has alarmed the government of the U.S. and they are politely sending you away, to a far country and leaving the poor coloured people of the U.S. deprived of their greatest and truest friend. I like none of it & seem to see plainly through it all . . . . Oh! I do so fear & feel that you are leaving one important sphere of labor for another less important & far more dangerous.\(^68\)

Douglass ignored the concerns of his friends. He conferred with Ebenezer Bassett, the first African American minister to Haiti. They were very much aware of Haiti's
importance as the symbol of black liberation and autonomy. And they believed intensely that Haiti, the only independent black nation in the Western Hemisphere and, along with Liberia and Ethiopia, one of only three independent black nations in the world, must not be subjected "to the contempt of an insensitive white minister." Moreover they resolved that despite its bloody history and its poverty, it should not lose its sovereignty.

Although important problems awaited him in Haiti, Douglass faced one last problem in the United States. Even as a diplomat, he could not get first-class accommodations on a steamboat or train going south toward Port-au-Prince. But he refused to travel second-class, and the federal government ordered the naval steamer, the "Dispatch," to take the Douglasses to Norfolk, and the "Ossippee" to carry them to Haiti. When Captain Kellogg of the Ossippee refused to eat at the same table with a black, Douglass assured him that he would not be "treated in any other way upon a United States vessel than would a white diplomat." Without the captain, the Douglasses ate in the chief officer's dining room. The federal government did nothing about the incident although it was brought to their attention.

Douglass arrived in Port-au-Prince on October 8, 1890, with his wife and Bassett, who served as his secretary. Bassett knew the country well and was fluent in
The Haitians were ecstatic over Douglass' appointment. In greeting him, President Louis Modestin Florvil Hyppolite said, "Mr. Minister, your reputation is known in the two hemispheres. You are the incarnation of the idea which Haiti is following--the moral and intellectual development of the African race by personal effort and mental culture." Douglass received similar tributes all over Haiti. President Hyppolite, in his first annual message, cited Douglass as "the illustrious champion of all men sprung from the African race which we represent with pride on the American continent." Protecting the national interest is one of the primary responsibilities of an American diplomatic mission. According to the State Department, national interest may involve the United States government directly or indirectly, where American citizens are concerned. Shortly after his arrival in Port-au-Prince, Douglass clashed with representatives of American businesses. E. C. Reed, a steamship agent representing William P. Clyde and Co. of New York, informed Douglass that he was seeking a half-million dollar subsidy from the Haitian government to allow the Clyde company to establish a shipping service between New York and seven Haitian ports. He also wanted the tonnage and port duties lowered on ships from the United States. In return, the Haitians "would bring anything
from the United States for the use of the Government, transport troops, or messengers free of charge.\textsuperscript{76}

Douglass supported the Clyde proposal, but Antenor Firmin, the Haitian Minister of Foreign Affairs, opposed it arguing that his government had to recognize the private claims of many American citizens. Reed then asked Douglass to assure Firmin that if he would grant the Clyde concession, Douglass "would withhold and refrain from pressing the claims of other American citizens."\textsuperscript{77}

The proposal "shocked" Douglass. While he believed that the steamship line would be an asset to Haiti, he believed even stronger that Haiti, and not an American business firm, should make that decision. He refused to do anything he believed to be unscrupulous to persuade the Haitian government to go against its better judgment. And it did not help that the agent was a southerner (South Carolinian) who "openly showed his contempt both for the Haitians and the American minister."\textsuperscript{78}

According to Douglass, Reed seemed to have been more fully briefed by the State Department than Douglass, the minister. Reed claimed that Douglass had been discredited in Washington, suspended and recalled, and that Rear Admiral Bancroft Gherardi had been commissioned as Douglass' replacement. In all of the political and business circles
Reed was careful to miss no opportunity to publicize the fact that Gherardi was on his way to Haiti.\textsuperscript{79}

The Clyde affair was but a prelude to the problems Douglass was to face in Haiti--the biggest was the Mole Saint Nicolas affair. Independent Haiti, though always vulnerable, was now the target of white powers seeking naval bases. Each of these countries wanted bases in the Caribbean to support their efforts to be the first to build a canal across the Central American isthmus. Spain and England already had bases in Cuba and the British West Indies, respectively. Haiti doggedly guarded its independence. By law, no non-Haitian could own property there. And the Haitians were aware that "as a black republic their nation was viewed with much contempt and that it was judged fair prey by those wishing to annex any or all of it."\textsuperscript{80}

One of the reasons that President Harrison appointed Douglass minister to Haiti was his administration's desire to get Mole Saint Nicolas as a naval base and a coaling station.\textsuperscript{81} It was believed that Douglass' appointment would facilitate the transaction. If the United States were able to control Mole Saint Nicolas on the northwest tip of Haiti, it would have removed an important obstacle to American business penetration and naval expansion in the Caribbean.
Douglass was not opposed to the extension of American influence in Haiti. But being aware of the nationalistic feeling in Haiti, he knew that any American attempt to gain possession of Haitian territory would seriously endanger the nation's peace. He wrote that on no point were the Haitians "more sensitive, superstitious and united" than on their refusal to cede any land to a foreign country. Yet he wrote that Haiti was in need of American aid in order to grow and that she would be helped by an American coaling station and American influence.

The United States government believed that it had leverage because it had done favors for the Hyppolite government, including helping Hyppolite overthrow his predecessor, Francois Legitime. But Haiti had no intention of allowing a fox into the henhouse, no matter how friendly the fox appeared.

The matter was much more complex than that, however. It is necessary to review some to the events that took place in the mid-1860s in order to fully appreciate the respective points of view.

While there was no written agreement to lease Mole Saint Nicolas to the United States, Haitian revolutionary leader Sylvain Salnave and others had proposed such an offer some twenty years earlier. On October 28, 1865, Salnave's Revolutionary Council sent the American Secretary of State a
memorandum indicating that the Council had offered a treaty to Captain John Walker:

... granting privileges for your commerce and your navy in our waters so that they would be sheltered from attack by any foreign power. Since we are an American nation like the United States we wish to unite ourselves in a close bond of political and commercial friendship with your government.®

Logan asserts that as far as he was able to determine, "this was the first offer of a naval station made by Haitians to the United States. It preceded any attempt by the United States to obtain Haiti's consent to the grant of a naval station."® However, the United States may have been forcing Haiti's hand. Henry E. Peck, U. S. Minister to Haiti during this period, is reported to have admitted to Sir Spencer St. John, the British Charge d'affaires that it was "the policy of the U. S. to create every possible difficulty to England in order to compel the Haytians to throw themselves into the arms of the U. S."®

Salnave came to power in April of 1867, and in 1868 he again made a similar oral proposal. Other revolutionary leaders offered a protectorate over Haiti to Great Britain and France, although both countries declined the offers.® The offer was also rejected by U. S. Secretary of State William H. Seward who said the United States had no "purpose or designs of acquisition within the territory of Hayti."

He further explained:
We have to take into consideration first that the United States Constitution, which the executive government is strictly bound to observe, contains no provision which contemplates the establishment of a military protectorate in any foreign country whatsoever. And further . . . such a proceeding in this case would be not only extraordinary and unusual but . . . would be a departure from the traditional policy of avoiding entangling alliances which is coeval with our national existence . . . .

On July 18, Seward gave a more significant reason for rejecting the proposal. He said that the United States Government was content to "leave the Haytien Government and people absolute control of their own political affairs without reservation so long as they maintain Republican institutions" and as long as Americans living in Haiti maintained "the rights secured by treaty and guaranteed by international law."90

But Haiti now was thinking of a different treaty. On July 27, 1867, Haiti and the Dominican Republic signed a treaty agreeing "not to cede, pledge, or alienate in favor of any foreign power either the whole or part of their territories or of the islands adjacent to them."91

In spite of this treaty, President Andrew Johnson declared on December 9, 1868 that it was time to annex Haiti and the Dominican Republic. He said that the annexation "would not only receive the consent of the people interested, but would also give satisfaction to all foreign nations."92 There was strong support for the idea in the American press. Chicago Tribune owner Joseph Medill wrote
an article in his paper urging that "the magnificent island" be annexed. He said it "would be worth untold millions to American commerce" and "would pave the way for Cuba." The New York Herald also wrote favorable articles. One article said that "Manifest Destiny" decreed the absorption of all the West Indies by the United States.

But there also was strong opposition in the press. It was felt that the vast majority of Haitians would have to be "educated to the idea of resigning that independent nationality," which they "always prized so dearly." President Ulysses S. Grant, who succeeded Johnson in 1869, personally lobbied for the annexation. On December 6, 1869, President Salnave proposed an agreement "as between two brotherly Governments solidarily attached to each other by communion of thought and interest." The specifics of the agreement were to be detailed in a treaty that would guarantee and protect "the principles of our independence and the maintenance of the integrity of our territory."

Approval had been given by the Legislative Council of Haiti for an agreement offering to the United States the use of a Haitian port as a coal depot, dry dock and naval yard. Haiti would also maintain use of the port. The United States could lease the land for a limited period, and the port would be free for trade with all countries. For the use of this port the United States would loan Haiti up to
$12 million, $2 million of which was to be used "to cancel existing depreciated currency and one million to cover the French annuities (about twenty-one million francs) that were delinquent. The United States was also "to protect the Republic of Hayti against any aggression from abroad as well as against any encroachment upon its rights as an independent nation by other nations." \(^9\)

The agreement was to be effective until the loan had been repaid with interest, and as long thereafter as was mutually agreeable. Although Secretary of State Hamilton Fish presented the agreement to the cabinet on December 7, 1869, the cabinet decided that it would not enter into an offensive and defensive alliance and that "the present uncertain condition of the the Govt. in Hayti makes it inconvenient to enter into any negotiations at present." \(^9\)

But all of this came to nought as Salnave was overthrown by Nissage Saget and executed January, 15, 1870 and negotiations came to a halt.

It was nearly twenty years before the United States renewed its interest in a Haitian base, spurred by the aforementioned "big navy" proponents, all of whom had designs on Haiti. So much so that for the first time the United States warned Britain and France that the Monroe Doctrine precluded them from acquiring any territory in Haiti. \(^9\) Between 1889 and 1891, Secretary of State James
G. Blaine made a tenacious attempt at leasing Mole-Saint-Nicolas. He applied constant pressure to the Haitian government and was involved in numerous intrigues with revolutionaries. Blaine had previously considered having American ships take target practice in Port-au-Prince while the Haitian cabinet deliberated. Blaine's unethical tactics were thwarted when President Harrison, who had taken more interest in the protection of the civil rights of African Americans than any President since the Civil War, refused to authorize the use of force, and because Frederick Douglass was the American minister to Haiti.

As E. C. Reed had suggested, Admiral Bancroft Gherardi indeed had been named as a special agent to "cooperate with Douglass." In the telegram explaining his new responsibilities, Blaine instructed Gherardi that he had been appointed "to cooperate as special commissioner with our Minister at Port-au-Prince," stating that it was "the wish, and the purpose of the President, to acquire a coaling station for the United States in the West India waters." He recognized that the Haitian Constitution prohibited "the alienation of any territory," saying that he only wanted to lease Mole-Saint-Nicolas. But he emphasized that as long as the United States leased the Mole, Haiti could not "lease or otherwise dispose of any port, harbour or other territory in its dominions, or grant any special privileges or right of
use therein to any other power, state or government." Douglases received his instructions on January 1, 1891 requesting that he "cooperate to the best of your ability to bringing about the end to which the Admiral will give all his energies."  

During their initial meeting with Hyppolite and Firmin, Gherardi reminded the Haitians of "the services rendered, of the friendship shown for his government by the United States, and of certain promises made by the Haitian Provisional Government, which now it was the desire of the Government in Washington to have fulfilled." Firmin did not accept "in all its force and effect," the statements which Gherardi viewed as facts. He tried to qualify and to limit these facts. Nevertheless, he did assure them that the Executive Department of the Haitian government would grant the lease pending ratification by the Legislature.

As they had done with Douglass, the Haitians wanted to examine Gherardi's diplomatic credentials, and it turned out that he did not have the necessary diplomatic papers. It took nearly two months before the proper credentials from President Harrison reached Port-au-Prince.

Another six weeks passed before Gherardi presented the papers and asked for a response. As it turned out, a dispute between Douglass and Gherardi over the terms of the negotiations had been the cause of the latter delay.
Gherardi's initial request to Hyppolite had included the stipulation that Haiti not sell or lease land to any nation other than the United States. But the official communique contained no mention of this stipulation and only mentioned the lease of Mole-Saint-Nicolas. Douglass tried to prevail upon Gherardi not to refer to any limitation on Haiti's right to sell or lease territory. Gherardi ignored Douglass' plea. Another point of contention was Gherardi's ordering every available ship to the Haitian capital. The letter of credentials which gave full powers jointly to Gherardi and Douglass was brought by Admiral John G. Walker. He was accompanied by four warships, two squadrons totaling 2,000 men, and 100 canons. But the Haitians were not intimidated, and Douglass made clear what he believed to be the key problem:

Nothing is more repugnant to the thoughts and feelings of the masses of that country than the alienation of a single rood of their territory to a foreign power. . . . It was this that stood like a wall of granite against our success. Others [sic] causes cooperated, but this was the principal cause. 107

Haiti officially turned down the United States' request to lease Mole-Saint-Nicolas on April 22, 1891. When the request was turned down, the American press tended to blame Douglass. Editorials charged that he had allowed his ethnic identity to interfere with his responsibility as American minister. Douglass promptly asked the State
Department for a leave of absence. He wanted to come back to the United States to defend his reputation.

Friends learning of his impending resignation had mixed reactions. Former minister Bassett urged, "Dont stir, don't move an inch . . . . Don't even whisper about resigning, for the moment you do the jig is up for Haiti." Anna Gardener, a much older friend told Douglass that he should not go back to "that fearful theatre of cruelty." Back in Washington, it was rumored that he was quitting under fire. He had written Hannah Pease eight months earlier that a year in Haiti had aged him "more than . . . two in the states," and he now repeated that comment to an interviewer for the Baltimore Sun. "I aged more during the two years I spent in Haiti than I would have done in five years in the states." He was indeed past seventy now and was not in good health. He resigned on July 30, 1891.

When the news of his resignation reached Haiti, twenty-three members of the faculty of the Haitian College signed a petition of protest in which they said that they had seen him as a Haitian at heart and one of the "greatest champions of liberty, justice and equality" in the Toussaint Louverture tradition.

Douglass gave his version of the entire Mole-Saint-Nicolas episode in the North American Review:
Every effort was made to disparage me in the eyes of both the people of the United States and those of Haiti. Strangely enough, much of this unfriendly influence came from officers of the American Navy, men in the pay of the government.

He also resented having his authority largely usurped by a naval officer bent on acquiring a Haitian naval base, by force if necessary. In acting under Gherardi, Douglass said that he disregarded the awkward position in which the "officious agent" had put him, and the "still more galling fact" that his instructions from the State Department were not delivered in the "usual and appropriate way," and the fact that he had been in some ways forced to take orders from an official of lower rank. Unlike Douglass, Gherardi was neither appointed by the President nor confirmed by the Senate of the United States. Yet, as Douglass put it, Gherardi's "name and bearing proclaimed him practically the man having full command."

He said that Gherardi insisted that United States aid "had made Hyppolite President of Haiti," consequently Haiti was obligated to lease Mole-Saint-Nicolas to the United States, although there was no formal agreement between the two countries.

I plainly saw the indefensible attitude in which he was placing the government of the United States in representing our government as interfering by its navy with the affairs of a neighboring country, covertly assisting in putting down one government and setting up another, I therefore adhered to the grounds upon which I based our demand for a coaling
station at the Mole. I spoke in the interest and honor of the United States.\textsuperscript{116}

Douglass said that it was alleged that while the United States did not authorize Gherardi to overthrow Legitime and make Hyppolite President of Haiti, "it gave him the wink," and left him to assume the responsibility. Douglass said this was not an acceptable foundation upon which he could base diplomacy, adding, "If this was a blunder on my part, it was a blunder of which I am not ashamed, and it was committed in the interest of my country."\textsuperscript{117}

Douglass also addressed the United States' threatened use of force, questioning the wisdom of confronting Haiti at such a time with a squadron of large warships with a hundred canons and two thousand men. He said that was "naturally construed into a hint to Haiti that if we could not, by appeals to reason and friendly feeling, obtain what we wanted, we could obtain it by a show of force.\textsuperscript{118}

Douglass felt that the tone of the New York press also hindered the success of the negotiations. He said that the New York newspapers more than once hinted that "once in possession of the Mole, the United States would control the destiny of Haiti."\textsuperscript{119} And he criticized America's failure to understand the Haitian position regarding their national integrity. Douglass had written Secretary of State Blaine
as early as December 1889 indicating that the
U. S. S. Yantic had been seen conducting an unauthorized
survey of Mole-Saint-Nicolas harbor and that it gave
credence to the widespread feeling among Haitians "that
already the preliminary steps have been taken 'to sell the
country to the Americans.'"120

Douglass believed that the New York press found his
color and character wanting. His character was ill-suited:

It was held that the office should be given to a
white man, both on the ground of fitness and on the
ground of efficiency--on the ground of fitness
because it was alleged that Haiti would rather have
in her capital a white Minister Resident and Consul
General than a colored one, and on the ground of
efficiency because a white minister by reason of
being white, and therefore superior, could obtain
from Haiti concessions which a colored minister
could not . . . .121

Douglass argued that even if a white man could gain
some advantage from Haiti's weakness by virtue of his
alleged superiority, it would be "the height of meanness"
for a powerful country like the United States to take
advantage of the servility of a weak nation.

The American people are too great to be small, and
they should ask nothing of Haiti on grounds less
just and reasonable than those upon which they would
ask anything of France or England. Is the weakness
of a nation a reason for our robbing it? Are we to
take advantage, not only of its weakness, but of
its fears? Are we to wring from it by dread of our
power what we cannot obtain by appeals to its
justice and reason? If this is the policy of this
great nation, I own that my assailants were right
when they said that I was not the man to represent
the United States in Haiti.122
Finally, he addressed the accusation that he failed to acquire Mole-Saint-Nicolas for the United States. The primary charge made by his detractors was that he "wasted a whole year in fruitless negotiations" for the Mole-Saint-Nicolas coaling station, and that he "allowed favorable opportunities for obtaining it to pass unimproved," thus making it necessary for the United States Government to take the matter out of his hands, and to send a special commissioner, Rear Admiral Gherardi, to negotiate for the Mole. Douglass declared:

A statement more false than this never dropped from lip or pen. I here and now declare, without hesitation or qualification or fear of contradiction, that there is not one word of truth in this charge . . . .

I therefore affirm that at no time during the first year of my residence in Haiti was I charged with the duty or invested with any authority by the President of the United States, or by the Secretary of State, to negotiate with Haiti for a United States Naval Station at the Mole St. Nicolas, or anywhere else in that country. Where no duty was imposed, no duty was neglected. It is not for a diplomat to run before he is sent, especially in matters involving large consequences like those implied in extending our power into a neighboring country.124

It is doubtful that Douglass converted many of his detractors to his point of view, but his public career did not end in bitterness or frustration. It ended in glory and appreciation. The brightest event of Douglass' declining years occurred after his resignation as minister to Haiti. He was appointed by the Haitian government to serve as
Haiti's Commissioner to the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893. Dubbed the Columbian Exposition, the fair was held in Chicago, a city founded by a Haitian, Jean Baptiste Point DuSable.

At the dedication of the Haitian Pavilion, Douglass delivered one of his last great speeches, a fuller excerpt is found in Appendix A. He said in part:

... [Haiti] has grandly served the cause of universal human liberty. We should not forget that the freedom you and I enjoy to-day (sic); that the freedom that eight hundred thousand colored people enjoy in the British West Indies; the freedom that has come to the colored race the world over, is largely due to the brave stand taken by the black sons of Haiti ninety years ago. When they struck for freedom, they builded better than they knew. Their swords were not drawn and could not be drawn simply for themselves alone. They were linked and interlinked with their race, and striking for their freedom, they struck for the freedom of every black man in the world ... .

To have any just conception or measurement of the intelligence, solidarity and manly courage of the people of Haiti when under the lead of Toussaint Louverture [Prolonged applause], and the dauntless Dessalines, you must remember what the conditions were by which they were surrounded; that all the neighboring islands were slaveholding, and that to no one of all these islands could she look for sympathy, support and co-operation. She trod the wine press alone ... .

To his enemies, this appointment was a payoff for having sided with Haiti, at the United States' expense, in the negotiations for the naval station. Douglass countered by explaining his assignment. He said his charge was to represent "our common race," as specified in his letter of commission from the Haitian government.
The common race and his commitment to protecting the integrity of Haiti's sovereignty combined to ensure that the Haitians never viewed him as a foreigner. He remained in their national memory as the visiting ambassador of millions of African Americans, "pressing forward in the wake of his pioneering, stronger to stand because of his strength." 128

Summing up his Haitian experience, Douglass declared:

I have been the recipient of many honors, among which my unsought appointment by President Benjamin Harrison to the office of Minister Resident and Consul General to represent the United States at the capital of Haiti, and my equally unsought appointment by President Florvil Hippolite to represent Haiti among all the civilized nations of the globe at the World's Columbian Exposition, are crowning honors to my long career and a fitting and happy close to my whole public life. 129

He died of a massive stroke on February 20, 1895. And with his death, Haiti exited from center stage in African American thought, and was not to reappear until the U. S. Occupation of Haiti in 1915.
NOTES


5 Quarles, p. 6.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid., p. 7.

8 Ibid., p. 6.

9 Ibid., p. 7.

10 Ibid., p. 8.

11 Lewis, pp. 43-44.

12 Dixon, p. 78.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.


16 Quarles, p. 60.


19 Ibid., p. 307.
20 Dixon, p. 78.


22 Dixon, p. 78.

23 Ibid., p. 79.

24 Ibid., p. 77.

25 Ibid., p. 79.

26 Ibid., p. 82.

27 Ibid., p. 81.

28 Ibid., p. 80.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid., p. 81.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid., p. 82.

36 Ibid., p. 83.

37 Ibid., p. 84.

38 Ibid., p. 82.

39 Foner, 3: 86-87.

40 Dixon, p. 85.

41 Ibid., p. 80.

43 Schmidt, pp. 29, 30.
46 Ibid.
47 Ibid., p. 45.
48 Ibid., p. 17.
49 Ibid., p. 25.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid.
52 Ibid., pp. 25-26.
53 Ibid., p. 21.
54 Ibid., p. 19.
56 Ibid., p. 20.
57 Ibid., pp. 20-21.
58 Ibid., p. 22.
59 Ibid., p. 16.
61 Miller, p. 22.
62 Ibid.
63 Ibid.
64 Ibid.
65 Ibid., p. 23.
67 Ibid., p. 24.


69 Ibid.


72 Ibid., p. 353.

73 Quarles, p. 323.

74 Foner, 4: p. 132.

75 Quarles, p. 325.

76 Schmidt, p. 428.

77 Foner, 1: 356.

78 Ibid.

79 Frederick Douglass, Life and Times of Frederick Douglass (New York: Collier Books, 1982), pp. 604-605.

80 McFeely, p. 336.

81 Quarles, p. 327.

82 Foner, 4: p. 133.

83 Logan, p. 438.

84 Bontemps, p. 295

85 Logan, p. 320.

86 Ibid.

87 Ibid., p. 326.

88 Ibid., p. 330.

89 Ibid., p. 327.
90 Ibid., p. 325.
91 Ibid., p. 329.
92 Ibid.
93 Ibid., p. 331.
94 Ibid.
95 Ibid., pp. 331-332.
96 Ibid. p. 335.
97 Ibid., p. 336.
98 Ibid., p. 336.
99 Ibid., p. 368.
100 Schmidt., p. 31.
101 Ibid.
102 Logan, p. 439.
103 Ibid.
104 Ibid.
105 Foner, p. 357.
106 Logan, p. 441.
107 Douglass, p. 613.
108 McFeely, p. 356.
109 Ibid.
110 Foner, 1: 359.
111 Quarles, p. 333.
112 Bontemps, p. 295.
113 Ibid.
114 Douglass, p. 597.
115 Ibid., pp. 605-606
116 Douglass, P. 607.
117 Ibid., p. 608.
118 Ibid., p. 614.
119 Ibid., p. 613.
120 Foner, 1: 356.
121 Douglass, p. 596-597.
122 Ibid., p. 602.
123 Ibid., p. 603.
124 Ibid.
125 Bontemps, p. 296.
126 Foner, 4: 478-490.
127 McFeely, p. 367.
128 Quarles, p. 333.
129 Douglass, p. 620.
Chapter III

THE OCCUPATION

The overthrow of Haitian President Vilbrun Guillaume Sam in July of 1915 was the immediate reason for the United States occupation of Haiti. Sam had been president for just four months when, on July 26, he ordered the death of 167 political prisoners. The prisoners were slaughtered the next day and Sam fled to the French legation. On July 28, he was assassinated; the United States occupied Haiti the same day.

The United States justified the intervention on humanitarian grounds, citing anarchy, widespread violence, and the imminent danger to foreigners' lives and property. The mob that killed President Sam dismembered his body in public and paraded the parts in the streets of Port-au-Prince. The bloody nature of the revolution repulsed Haitians as well as Americans.

The American press generally supported the intervention and denounced Haitian violence. An editorial in the July 28, 1915 edition of the (Washington) Evening Star typifies the view of American newspapers:

Haiti is maintaining its record as a country of revolutionary horrors . . . . The governor of Port-au-Prince has executed 160 political prisoners, a veritable massacre for which there can be no
justification . . . These Haitian outbreaks are an outrage upon civilization. 2

The (Washington) Bee responded to the above editorial three days later in a manner that was to become typical of the black press:

Is that so? The Haitians are doing no more than other brutes in Europe are doing. Why doesn't the United States step into the butchers across the sea and tell them to stop. Only 160 Haitians butchered to over four millions of Europeans butchered . . . . The Star would have the United States to jump upon the little black republic and crush it, but will not advise the United States to crush out Germany. . . . Poor little old black Haiti is weighed in the balance and the United States and other countries are willing and ready to squeeze the life out of this little black republic. Does it occur to the Star that German butchery is 'inhuman?'

W. E. B. DuBois, editor of the NAACP's Crisis magazine, championed the protest against American action in Haiti. "SHAME ON AMERICA!" he editorialized, outlining numerous infractions by the American marines, including "the violation of a sister state," making a "white American Admiral sole and irresponsible dictator of Hayti," the shooting of unarmed Haitian civilians, "the seizure of public funds, the veiled, but deliberate design to alienate Haytian territory at the Mole-Saint-Nicholas, and the pushing of the monopoly claims" of the National City Bank of New York "which hold a filched, if not fraudulent railway charter." Importantly, he asked, "And what are we ten million Negroes going to do about it?" DuBois urged African Americans to write letters of protest to President Woodrow
Wilson asking "for a distinct, honest statement of our purposes in Hayti and an American Commission of white and colored men to point the way of Honor instead of Graft." ³

As a Pan-Africanist, DuBois was the ideal person to lead the African-American movement against the Occupation. But in the case of Haiti, he had blood ties. He wrote in Dusk of Dawn that his grandfather, Alexander DuBois, emigrated to Haiti along with the thousands of other African Americans trying to escape American racism in the 1820s.⁴ DuBois' father, Alfred, was born in Haiti. Although his grandfather returned to the United States in less than ten years, he was one of the leaders in Holly's African American emigration movement to Haiti in the early 1860s.

Not all black newspapers defended Haiti's sovereignty. The Chicago Defender's first editorial on the occupation was titled "Haiti Cutting Up." The paper observed:

... it is "nothing new for Haiti to go on a rampage. The residents there would think the world had come to an end if a mob didn't occasionally take charge of things ... . The American government is duty bound to protect "this little island in order, if nothing more, to save herself from embarrassment." ⁵

The following week the Defender continued its unabashed support for the intervention:

At present there lays [sic] in her harbor, a nicely painted but formidable looking American warship whose ten inch guns can speak louder and with more telling effect, than all the "notes" that the
diplomats at Washington could write in a hundred
years. They speak a language that every tongue
understands . . . . Only the presence of our war
vessel saved the situation so far.  

But DuBois cautioned African Americans against
criticism of Hayti, and encouraged support instead.

Let us save Hayti. Hayti is a noble nation. It is
a nation that has given the world one of its
greatest names--Touissant (sic) L'Ouverture. It is
a nation that made slaves free . . . a nation that
dared and dares to fight for freedom. This is no
time or place for us American Negroes who seldom
have had courage to fight, to point scornful fingers
at our brothers.  

Even DuBois' NAACP colleague James Weldon Johnson
was slow to criticize the intervention, and initially
defended it. At the time he was field director of the NAACP
and a contributing columnist for The New York Age. Johnson
wrote in the August 5 issue:

That the United States has landed forces in Hayti is
no indication of designs upon the independence of
that Republic . . . . There is no doubt that this
country would prefer to have Hayti manage its own
affairs.  

A former diplomat, having served as U. S. Consul at
Puerton Caballo, Venezuela in 1906, and later in Corinto,
Nicaragua, Johnson further defended the United States
position in the August 12 issue:

It is important that the colored people of the
United States do not become confused over the
Haitian situation; that they do not allow themselves
to feel that the steps taken by this Government were
taken because Hayti is a Negro republic. The United
States has before now taken similar action in
various Latin American countries; in fact, the
international status of these countries as between the United States and Europe compels this Government, under certain conditions, to take action whether it wishes to or not.9

In truth, the violence of July 1915 was not an aberration in Haitian politics. Between 1818 and 1915, 22 men were elected President of Haiti. Only two of them completed their terms peaceably,10 and Haiti had seven presidents in the five years preceding the Occupation.

Yet Johnson believed that it was still possible for Haiti to have a stable, free government that would "allow and foster economic and social progress," but that result would eventuate only through the "co-operation of unselfishly patriotic Haitians and the disinterested assistance of the United States."11 But the United States was far from disinterested. Its next step was to find an acceptable client-president. The first three Haitians approached by Admiral William B. Caperton declined. One of them, J. N. Leger, gave his reasons:

I am for Haiti, not for the United States; Haiti's president will have to accept directions and orders from the United States and I propose to keep myself in a position where I will be able to defend Haiti's interests.12

But when Philippe Sudre Dartiguenave was approached, he was eager to be president.13 He readily acquiesced to American control of Haitian finances and the customs receivership. He offered Mole-Saint-Nicolas unconditionally, and suggested a plan whereby the marines could land at the Mole
prior to the election, with a formal treaty coming afterwards. Navy secretary Josephus Daniels instructed Caperton to hold the presidential election whenever the Haitians wanted. He made clear that the State Department wanted Dartiguenave, and later said in a letter to William Allen White, "Of course, you and I know that this was equivalent to America making Dartiguenave President." Dartiguenave was elected on August 12, 1915 for a period of seven years.

Just three months before his death in November of that year, Booker T. Washington drew the wrath of black newspapers when he suggested that the United States establish a protectorate over Haiti. Declaring "The doctor is wrong," The Bee chided:

The doctor has not publicly declared for a protectorate for Mexico when for three years conditions in that country have been far worse than in Haiti; when murder and pillage, and destruction in the Aztec republic has been far more a blotch on civilization than Haiti's internecine strifes . . . . The Haitians' kinsmen in this country, we of the Negro race, would far rather see those of that republic Toussaint L'Overture [sic] made famous for valor 'fight until the last armed foe expires; fight for their alters and their sires' until every man, woman and child of that poor little black republic had become extinct than see the United States with the present Negro-hating administration, assume a protectorate over it.

However, when the United States handed Haiti a treaty to sign at gunpoint, forcing her to give up her independence, Booker T. Washington objected. He wrote in
the *The New York Age* that the treaty seemed "rather harsh and precipitate." He said that Haiti had had very little time to consider the treaty, the masses of the people knew little or nothing of what was in it, and he saw no reason for surprise that Haiti hesitated to agree to some of its conditions.

Shooting civilization into the Haitians on their own soil will be an amazing spectacle. Sending marines as diplomats and Mauser bullets as messengers of destruction breed riot and anarchy and are likely to leave a legacy of age-long hatreds and regrets.⁰⁷

Washington saw opportunity in the Occupation and urged the United States not to pursue its negative policy of "controlling customs and what not" but, instead, to pursue "progressive, constructive directions."⁰⁸

He saw an opportunity for young African Americans of the United States who have been "educated in the best methods of education in this country" to go to Haiti and help their brothers and sisters. Conversely, it was an opportunity for some of the most promising young Haitians to be sent to schools in the United States. He saw the Occupation as an opportunity "for us to use our influence and power in giving the Haitians something they have never had, and that is education, real education."

He urged patience with Haiti and care in the selection of the kind of whites going to Haiti as officials:

We ought be patient. We are big enough and strong enough to be patient, not arbitrary and
force compelling in our relations with her . . . .
Here is the first experience American white people
have had to live and work in a black man's country . . . . The racial lines which are drawn in this and
other countries will not be tolerated in Haiti and
American white men who go there should understand
this.19

Most Haitians in Port-au-Prince initially welcomed
the U. S. troops, others resisted and took to the hills
where they formed guerilla bands. One of their early
tactics to exert pressure on the marines was to cut off the
food supplies to major cities. And the marines and sailors
assumed the responsibility of supplying food until the food
supply could be restored. From the beginning the marines
brought their prejudices with them and stereotyped the
Haitians. Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels wrote to
President Woodrow Wilson:

It is very dangerous to begin to supply
provisions because the Haitians are like negroes in
the south after the war and would quit work
entirely, deserting plantations if our Government
undertakes to feed them.20

On August 19 Caperton ordered the marines to place
the Haitian customhouses in receivership and to dismiss the
Haitian functionaries. He also returned the Haitian
treasury service to the American-controlled Banque
Nationale, the services of which had been discontinued by
the Haitian government during a dispute months earlier.
These moves achieved long-sought American diplomatic
objectives and effectively put the United States in control
of Haitian revenues. The Bee wrote a stinging editorial recalling the United States' long interest in Mole-Saint-Nicolas and attacking the "diabolical and unconstitutional act" being committed by the United States against Haiti:

Germany, Austria, France and Italy are butchering like beasts, but the United States will not dare to interfere, indeed, the United States will not dare to land upon the soil of any of these countries. The fact of the matter is, this country will not dare to send an impolite note to Germany . . . . The Bee is of the opinion that the time has come for the American Negro to define his position.21

On September 3, Admiral Caperton declared martial law. Along with that declaration, he issued what was to be effectively an announcement of censorship:

The freedom of the press will not be interfered with, but license will not be tolerated. The publishing of false or incendiary propaganda, letters signed or unsigned, or matter which tends to disturb the public peace will be dealt with by the military courts.22

On September 16, the United States unilaterally imposed a treaty that effectively required Haiti to give up its independence. Two Haitians, H. Pauléus-Sannon, external relations minister, and Antoine Sansaricq, minister of public works, resigned rather than accept the terms of the treaty. The treaty provided for American aid in economic development and putting Haitian finances on a firm footing; extensive control over Haitian government finances by an
American-appointed financial adviser and general receiver of customs, and it forbade Haiti to raise its public debt or to modify its customs duties without the approval of the United States. Under the treaty the United States would establish and staff a gendarmerie, and Haiti had to agree to allow the United States to arbitrate the settlement of foreign claims. The treaty was to be effective for ten years beginning May 3, 1916, the date of exchange of ratifications.

The American staffed gendarmerie gave marine officers broad authority. It was an administrative branch of the client-government, and the marine officers were official commissioners of the Haitian government while at the same time holding their ranks in the Marine Corps. According to American civilian Dr. S. G. Inman, marines who become officers in the gendarmerie had practically unlimited power in the district they were assigned. A marine officer was the judge of practically all civil and criminal cases, and settled everything from a family fight to a murder. He was paymaster for all funds expended by the national government, ex-officio director of the schools, in as much as it was he who paid the teachers. He controlled the mayor and city council, since they could spend no funds without his approval. As collector of taxes, he exercised a strong influence on all individuals in the community.
In 1917 the National Assembly met to consider the new American-sponsored Constitution. According to the existing Constitution only the National Assembly could alter or replace it. And, unlike President-client Dartiguenave, the National Assembly frequently showed independence in dealing with the United States. It refused to approve the American-sponsored constitution, and drafted its own. The Assembly was in the process of approving that document when it was interrupted by General Smedley Butler, who read a decree of dissolution signed by President-client Dartiguenave. Butler intimated privately that the assembly had become "so impudent that the Gendarmerie had to dissolve them, which dissolution was effected by genuinely Marine Corps methods." In the same letter Butler said he would give future Financial Adviser John A. McIlhenny "a mouth to ear account of this dissolution, am afraid to write it, for fear the Department of State might get hold of this letter by means of the censors."

While the Assembly was nominally dissolved by Dartiguenave, he had actually been "browbeaten" by Butler. And the United States had decided to dissolve the Assembly by force if Dartiguenave did not consent. American minister Arthur Bailly-Blanchard told State Department Counselor Robert Lansing that the Assembly was "in every way reactionary and opposed to the best interests of Haiti."
refused to adopt any article permitting foreign ownership of
land in any manner whatsoever, and when the Assembly took
that stance "it was decided . . . to prevent the Assembly
from passing such a Constitution by causing its dissolution,
if occasion demanded it, preferably by a Presidential
Decree, but if necessary by order of the Commander of the
Occupation."²⁸

Beyond that, Smith pointed out that a "Special
Article" validated "all acts of the United States military
occupation."²⁹ In effect, the Constitution of 1918 conso-
olidated the legal and constitutional position of the
Occupation and the client-government. After some years
Secretary of State Daniels wrote to his former Assistant
Secretary of the Navy, the future President Franklin D.
Roosevelt, that "I never did wholly approve of that
Constitution of Haiti you had a hand in framing . . . . . I
expect, in the light of experience, we both regret the
necessity of denying even a semblance of 'self-determi-
nation' in our control of Haiti."³⁰

The United States' military movements in Haiti were
often hindered by the poor roads. Because there were no
funds in the Haitian treasury for road building, the marines
reinstituted an 1864 Haitian law, that Smedley Butler found.
This was known as the corvée, which had its roots in the
French feudal system. The marines used the corvée to force
the Haitians to construct a network of roads connecting major towns, the longest road being a 170-mile unpaved highway joining Port-au-Prince and Cap Haitien. The Haitians resented the corvée and revolted, fearing that the marines intended to reimpose slavery. Not only were the Haitians not paid, but they were also often brutalized, forced to work outside their home districts, forced to stay at work under guard, and were "forced to march to and from their work bound together."\(^{31}\)

The corvée was officially halted in 1918 because of the increasing hostility of the Haitians. But it was illegally continued in the northern and central regions by district marine commander major Clarke H. Wells. This region had been the traditional headquarters of the cacos, and it was the center of the 1918-19 caco uprising and the area with the greatest number of confirmed atrocities. General Albertus W. Catlin conducted a personal investigation of Marine malfeasance in central Haiti and found that the corvée was still in practice. He ordered the cessation of all gendarmerie patrolling because of the brutality.\(^{32}\) And he ordered Lieutenant Colonel Richard C. Hooker to conduct a special investigation of the situation. Hooker found that the corvée was responsible for a "reign of terror" in the interior regions, which caused local peasants to hide out in hills. He reported that conditions in the
entire area were at the least "out of hand." Meanwhile, Wells, in his reports, denied that the corvee was still in use. Catlin relieved Wells of his command and issued an order forbidding the killing of Haitian prisoners.

By 1918 the NAACP had become uncomfortable with the reported violations of due process in Haiti and talked of conducting an investigation. They discussed their plans with prominent Republicans Theodore Roosevelt and Hamilton Fish, Jr. Roosevelt and Fish supported the idea. Until this time, the American public attention was focused on the war in Europe and few black or white Americans knew or cared about what was happening in Haiti. And in most instances the American government did not know. While Haitians and African Americans in Haiti were usually able to get information to the black press and organizations like the NAACP, the general public only got the standard "humanitarian" line put out by the leaders of the Occupation.

In 1920, James Weldon Johnson went to Haiti to conduct a six-month investigation of the reports of atrocities being committed against the Haitians by the United States marines. His expenses were paid by the Republican Party, and the NAACP collaborated with the G. O. P. in developing a campaign issue with the understanding
that conditions in Haiti would improve under a Republican administration.\textsuperscript{35}

And Johnson did want to see conditions improve. Like DuBois, his "family lineage was rooted in Haiti."\textsuperscript{36} His maternal great grandmother, Hester Argo, was a Haitian. She left Haiti in 1802 during the revolution for independence. His grandfather, Etienne Dillet, was a French officer in Haiti.\textsuperscript{37} In his book \textit{Along This Way}, Johnson said that the Haitians had learned that he had been named a member of the Republican National Advisory Committee for the upcoming presidential election campaign, and they "piled up" complaints for him. Because he wanted to take full political advantage of his findings, he kept in touch with President Wilson's critics, including Henry Cabot Lodge, Medill McCormick and Warren G. Harding.\textsuperscript{38} He began his report, "Self-Determining Haiti," a four-part series in \textit{The Nation} magazine, on August 28, 1920. The series was reproduced in a number of Black Press publications. In Part I of the series, titled "The Occupation," Johnson explained the real reasons why the United States occupied Haiti and had remained there for five years. And he gave information that the American public had not heard and the American government did not want them to hear:

Some three thousand Haitian men, women and children have been shot down by American rifles and machine guns, it is necessary to know that the National City Bank (of New York) controls the National Bank of
Haiti and is the depository for all the Haitian National funds that are being collected by the American officials, and that Mr. R. L. Farnham, vice president of the National City Bank, is virtually the representative of the State Department in matters relating to the island republic.\(^3\)\(^9\)

For nearly a year prior to the Occupation, the United States was seeking to compel Haiti to submit to 'peaceable' intervention. Near the end of 1914, the United States notified Haiti that it was inclined to recognize the newly elected president Theodore Avilmar, as soon as a Haitian commission notified Washington of 'Satisfactory protocols' relative to a convention with the United states on the model of the Dominican-American Convention. On December 15, 1914, the Haitian government replied:

... Haiti would consider itself lax in its duty to the United States and to itself if it allowed the least doubt to exist of its irrevocable intention not to accept any control of the administration of Haitian affairs by a foreign Power.\(^4\)\(^0\)

Evidence showed that on December 19, 1914 the United States replied that the intervention was "actuated entirely by a disinterested desire to give assistance."\(^4\)\(^1\) But the Theodore government was overthrown two months later and Vilbrun Guillaume Sam was elected president. In May, the United States sent Envoy Extraordinaire Paul Fuller, Jr. to inform the Haitians that the United States would not recognize the Guillaume Sam administration unless the Haitians signed the project of a convention that the United States had authorized Fuller to present.\(^4\)\(^2\)
The Haitians submitted a counter proposal with the conditions under which it would find American assistance acceptable. Fuller proposed modifications, some of which were acceptable to the Haitian government. Fuller acknowledged the Haitian communication on June 5, 1915 and left Port-au-Prince. There was no further communication between the two governments until the events on July 27-28. President Sam took refuge at the French legation on the same day that the political prisoners in Port-au-Prince were massacred. On July 28, President Sam was taken from the French legation and killed. On the same afternoon an American Man-of-War sailed into Port-au-Prince carrying the American marines.\textsuperscript{43} In the meantime no American lives had been taken or put in danger. Thus, Johnson wrote, the overthrow of President Sam and the massacre of the prisoners were not the cause of the American intervention. They simply provided the opportunity for which the American government had been waiting.\textsuperscript{44}

Both Logan and Schmidt's research corroborate Johnson's, and provide more damning details. Logan wrote, "It is, in fact, no mere coincidence that Admiral William B. Caperton had been cruising for several days in Haitian waters and had landed United States troops on the morning of July 28."\textsuperscript{45} Schmidt confirms that the State Department instructed the marines to go into Port-au-Prince even before
it learned of the mob's illegal and unprecedented intrusion into foreign legations. Led by Caperton, 330 marines and sailors landed in Port-au-Prince on July 28, 1915. They were quickly bolstered by reinforcements from Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.

And the New York Times correctly observed on July 31, 1915, "The force being sent to Haiti is much larger than is necessary for mere protection of foreign interests." The intervention was further "justified" when two American sailors were killed in action, one of whom was Samuel Gompers' nephew. According to Schmidt, later military reports revealed no evidence of enemy fire in the vicinity of the two sailors' deaths and that they had been accidentally shot in the night by "friendly" rifle fire from the Seaman Battalion, which "was untrained for shore action and under severe nervous strain in unfamiliar surroundings."

However, as Schmidt points out, State Department declarations that the United States' intervention was for humanitarian reasons and intended to prevent bloodshed and anarchy "were spurious and misleading." United States warships had been cruising Haitian waters while diplomats tried to persuade Haitian officials to allow the United States government to place Haitian customs in voluntary receivership under American control. And the ships had been
advised at least a year earlier to be on alert "for possible landing operations."\textsuperscript{51} Evidence that the occupation was not precipitated by a single act of anarchy is made clear from the fact that detailed plans for a military operation in Port-au-Prince had been prepared in November of 1914. The Navy Department's "Plan for Landing and Occupying the City of Port-au-Prince," begins:

\textbf{Situation}--The government has been overthrown; all semblance of law and order has ceased; the local authorities admit their inability to protect foreign interests, the city being overrun and in the hands of about 5,000 soldiers and civilian mobs.\textsuperscript{52}

The above description is almost precisely what happened nine months later. When the Haitians refused to be coerced into agreeing to the voluntary customs receivership it became clear that military intervention would be necessary in order to achieve this goal. The only piece missing to complete the scenario was a revolution to justify military action on the traditional pretext of protecting American lives and property. In point of fact, prior to the intervention, there is no evidence that a single American was killed or that any American property was destroyed.\textsuperscript{53}

From the moment the U. S. marines anchored in Port-au-Prince, they treated Haiti as a "conquered territory."\textsuperscript{54} They disarmed Haitian forces, occupied their military posts and barracks, and made the National Palace the Marine headquarters. They selected a new and acceptable president,
then on September 16, forced the Haitian government to sign a treaty that virtually surrendered its independence. By the end of August, all of the important customs houses in Haiti had been taken over by the Americans and put in charge of Marine officers.

Johnson found that, with one exception, the Occupation Treaty was the same one that the Haitian Government had categorically refused to discuss in December, 1914. The exception was that not only did the marines take control of Haiti's finances, the forced treaty provided for American control of the Haitian military as well. Neither of those provisions was in the Fuller convention. Johnson asserted that "When the United States found itself in a position to take what it had not even dared to ask, it used brute force and took it."

Even after virtually robbing Haiti of its independence, the United States was not satisfied. The Haitian Constitution presented an obstacle to American ambitions. So the American government decided to give Haiti a new Constitution. When the occupying forces drafted the new Constitution, the Haitian government vociferously protested the removal of the clause which prevented foreigners from owning land in Haiti. Haitians had long regarded this provision as protection against economic exploitation. Johnson noted that several states in the
United States had similar non-alien landownership provisions in their Constitutions. When the Haitian Parliament balked at the proposed Constitution the marines forcefully dissolved that body and locked the members in Chambers. And since that time there was no legislative body in Haiti. Through a method of constitutional revision that Johnson said was "flagrantly unconstitutional," the proposed Constitution was presented to a plebiscite by a decree of the president, and, in the face of the occupying forces, almost unanimously approved. The new Constitution contained a number of changes, including a "Special Article" which stated:

All the acts of the Government of the United States during its military occupation in Haiti are ratified and confirmed.

No Haitian shall be liable (sic) to civil or criminal prosecution for any act done by order of the occupation or under its authority.

The acts of the courts martial of the occupation, without, however infringing on the right of pardon, shall not be subject to revision.

The acts of the executive power (the President) up to the promulgation of the present constitution are likewise ratified and confirmed.

Summing up the plight of the Haitians and the loss of their independence, Johnson said:

The people [are] placed under foreign military domination from which they have no appeal, and [are] exposed to foreign economic exploitation against which they are defenseless. All of this has been done in the name of the Government of the United
States; however, without any act by Congress and without any knowledge of the American people.\(^5\)

Haiti was placed under martial law, and its president was helpless. Johnson, who characterized D'Artiguenave as "bitterly rebellious at heart and a very good Haitian," said the president confessed to him his powerlessness and that of his cabinet.

D'Artiguenave told Johnson that the American authorities paid no attention to recommendations made by him or his officers, adding that "they would not even discuss matters about which the Haitian officials have superior knowledge." Dartiguenave said that the provisions of both the old and the new constitutions were ignored as there was no Haitian legislative body, and there had been none since the dissolution of the assembly in April 1916. In its stead there was a Council of State, composed of twenty-one members appointed by the president, which functions effectively only when carrying out the will of the occupation.\(^6\)

Johnson learned that it was not unusual for the Marines to override Haitian courts. A person brought to trial, found innocent and discharged by the Haitian courts was often kept in jail by the marines. All government monies were collected by the marines and dispensed at their discretion. Most of the funds were spent on maintaining the occupation forces. Strict censorship of the press was ordered. No Haitian publication was allowed to say anything
critical of the Occupation or the Haitian government. And the press was instructed not to print the order of censorship. Of course, information reflecting negatively on the Occupation reaching newspapers in the United States was strictly forbidden.\[61\]

Johnson attacked the pacification-of-the-country theory saying that pacification would not have been necessary had American policy not contained so many "stupid and brutal blunders." And he said that it would never be effective as long as "pacification" is interpreted to mean "merely the hunting of ragged Haitians in the hills with machine guns."\[62\]

He found that most of the better jobs in Haiti were given to white American southerners whom President Wilson called "deserving Democrats." The superintendent of public instruction, the financial advisor, and the head of the customs service were all from Louisiana, and the person second in charge of the customs service of Haiti was a man who had been Deputy Collector of Customs in Pascagoula, Mississippi [population 3,379, 1910 census].\[63\]

America had promised to help Haiti manage her finances. Instead she abused them. American marines in Port-au-Prince lived in luxurious villas. Johnson said that families who could not "keep a hired girl" in the United States had a half dozen servants in Haiti. He wrote:
They ride in automobiles—not their own. Every American head of a department in Haiti has an automobile furnished at the expense of the Haitian Government, whereas members of the Haitian cabinet, who are theoretically above them, have no such convenience of luxury.64

Haiti's President had to borrow an automobile from the Occupation for a trip through the inner part of the country. The Louisiana school-teacher Superintendent of Instruction had an automobile furnished at government expense whereas the Haitian Minister of Public Instruction, his supposed superior officer, had none. "The automobiles seem to be chiefly employed in giving the women and children an airing each afternoon."65

Johnson ripped President Wilson, using the President's own words:

... it [the United States] has done this through the very period when, in the words of its chief spokesman, our boys were laying down their lives overseas 'for democracy, for the rights of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government, for the rights and liberties of small nations.' By command of the author of 'pitiless publicity' and originator of 'open covenants openly arrived at,' it has enforced by the bayonet a covenant whose secret has been well guarded by a rigid censorship from the American nation, and kept a people enslaved by the military tyranny which it was his avowed purpose to destroy throughout the world.66

In the second part of the series, titled "What the United States has Accomplished," Johnson predicted that when the truth about "the conquest of Haiti"—the killing of three thousand practically unarmed Haitians, the needless
death of a score of American boys--began to filter through the rigid Administration censorship to the American people, "the apologists will become active." 67

He cited three accomplishments: 1) the enforcement of certain sanitary regulations in the large cities, 2) the improvement of the public hospital at Port-au-Prince, and 3) the building of a road from Port-au-Prince to Cap Haitien. For Johnson, the sanitary regulations were of less importance than they appeared. He said that Haiti was a remarkably healthy country even before the Occupation and was never affected by the epidemics that swept the Panama Canal Region and Cuba. Beyond that the regulations were pretty much routine, the sort that any Board of Health in any American city or town might issue. 68

He said that in Haiti, the regulations were not at all "fundamental" because "there was no need." The same could be said about the improvement of the hospital, which was run effectively long before the Occupation. In fairness, he acknowledged that the hospital "benefited considerably" from the regulations and the more modern methods of American army surgeons.

Of the three accomplishments, the most important was the highway. But it "involved the most brutal of all the blunders of the Occupation." The work was done under a marine officer known for his "treat'em-rough" methods. He
relied on the corvée, which required citizens to work on local roads instead of paying a road tax, and enforced it with extreme efficiency. During the time when the corvée was actually used, the Haitian government never required the men to work on roads outside of their respective communities and they almost never worked more than three days a year. But under General Smedley Butler, "no able-bodied Haitian" was immune to the raids, which closely paralleled the slave raids in Africa centuries ago. The report continued:

And slavery it was--though temporary. By day or by night, from the bosoms of their families, from their little farms or while trudging peacefully on the country roads, Haitians were seized and forcibly taken to toil for months in far sections of the country.

Protesters and resisters were beaten into submission. Any apparent reduction of effort was greeted with a boot or a rifle butt. After long hours of relentless labor under armed overseers, the victims were placed in compounds. Those who tried to escape were shot, and their families often had no idea of the fate of their husbands, fathers, and brothers. Under the corvée, Haitians believed that they were being re-enslaved. Many men, panic-stricken, fled into the hills and mountains, others rebelled, preferring death to slavery. These men largely made up the "caco" forces. The sport and the duty of American marines had become hunting them down and shooting
them. The marines were privileged to "shoot a 'caco' on sight."72

Johnson challenged doubters to read the history of Charlemagne Peralte. Peralte was the leader of several thousand "cacos." He organized a provisional government that threatened to drive the marines into the sea. There was intensive guerilla fighting and the official marine count listed 1,861 Haitians killed in 1919, compared to a total of 2,250 during the first five years of the Occupation. Peralte was murdered by two marines, and in an effort to demoralize his followers, the marines distributed pictures of his body. But they propped him up in a manner resembling Jesus on the Cross, and rather than demoralize his followers, the photo inspired them. In any event, the rebellion subsided after Peralte's death and was ultimately crushed after a direct attack on Port-au-Prince failed.73

Johnson's series provides important insight into Peralte's rise to power, how he died, and the significance of his death. He was a man of culture and education. He also carried great influence in his district. Charged with aiding the Cacos, he was tried by an American courtmartial. Instead of a prison sentence he was given five years of hard labor on the roads, and forced to work in convict garb on the roads of Cap Haitien. Johnson said that Peralte escaped and "put himself at the head of several hundred followers in
a valiant though hopeless attempt to free Haiti. He was killed "in cold blood" by two marines [disguised as blacks]. Johnson charged that the killing was "nothing short of an assassination," which was heralded as an example of American heroism. He added that had Peralte fought in the American Revolution or Civil War, he would have been regarded not as a criminal but as a patriot.  

Under the new Constitution there was to be a Gendarmerie made up of American marines who would serve until qualified Haitians were trained to replace them. During the first months of the Occupation, all the American participants—who were chosen by the President of Haiti upon nomination by the President of the United States—were commissioned officers. But World War I soon beckoned them to Europe. And after five years, the Gendarmerie was still made up of Americans—not commissioned officers—but almost to a man, they were ex-privates or non-commissioned officers. Johnson said they were:

Rough, uncouth, and uneducated, and a great number from the South, are violently steeped in color prejudice. They direct all policing of city and town. It falls to them, ignorant of Haitian ways and language, to enforce every minor regulation.  

Just before Johnson left Port-au-Prince an American marine caught a Haitian boy stealing sugar off the wharf and instead of arresting him, he "battered his brains out with the butt of his rifle." Johnson got much of his information
from the American marines themselves. They told of a number of cases of rape of Haitian women by marines. "I often sat at tables in hotels and cafes in company with marine officers and they talked before me without restraint. I remember the description of a "caco" hunt by one of them. They told how they finally came upon a crowd of natives engaged in the popular pastime of cockfighting and how they just "let them have it" with machine guns and rifle fire. One American officer told Johnson, "The trouble with this whole business is that some of these people think they are as good as we are."76

While the brutality was alarming, Johnson was also disturbed by the lack of progress in public education during the five years the marines had been in Haiti. "The American Occupation in Haiti has not advanced public education a single step," he wrote. "No new buildings have been erected. Not a single Haitian youth has been sent to the United States for training as a teacher nor has a single American teacher, white or colored, been sent to Haiti."77

He concluded that not only had the Occupation achieved nothing worthwhile, it had precluded the possibility due to the bitterness and distrust it had fostered throughout Haiti:

If the United States should leave Haiti today, it would leave more than a thousand widows and orphans of its own making, more banditry than has existed for a century, resentment, hatred, and despair in
the heart of a whole people, to say nothing of the irreparable injury to its own tradition as the defender of the rights of man.78

As powerful as the marines were in Haiti, Johnson believed that there was a force exerted that was more powerful and more sinister, though less obvious—the influence of the National City Bank of New York. It strove constantly to "bring about a condition more suitable and profitable to itself. Johnson entitled the third segment "The Government of, by, and for the National City Bank."

He said that it was the "financial potentates" who were profiting from the American control of Haiti. The Marine Corps and the various office-holding "deserving Democrats" who helped to maintain the Occupation in Haiti were really working for the "great financial interests" in this country, although the Haitian and American governments paid their salaries. Roger L. Farnham was vice president of the National City Bank and of Banque Nationale in Haiti, and, after 1913, president of the National Railway of Haiti. Johnson charged that Farnham was "effectively instrumental in bringing about American intervention in Haiti."79 He said that with the Wilson Administration, Farnham's word superseded that of anybody else on the island. While Mr. Bailly-Blanchard, United States minister to Haiti, was its representative in name, "Mr. Farnham is its representative in fact."80 He always traveled aboard vessels of the United
States Navy; his bank, the National City, was in charge of the National Bank of Haiti throughout the Occupation. And only a few weeks earlier, he had been appointed receiver of the National Railroad of Haiti, controlling practically Haiti's entire railway system with valuable territorial concessions in all parts of the country. Moreover, Johnson added that the $5,000,000 sugar plant in Port-au-Prince reportedly was about to fall into his hands.

Schmidt points out that as far back as 1910, Farnham was calling the shots in Haiti. Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan, who "even followed Farnham's lead on the appointment of some of the personnel sent to Haiti, on one occasion first accepted Farnham's recommendation for a special agent, then weakly complied as Farnham changed his mind and substituted a different man." During the 1910 reorganization of Haiti's Banque Nationale "all questions of routine management were handled by a New York Committee chaired by Farnham." After the 1910 contract with the Banque Nationale became effective, Farnham tried to restrict the Haitian government's income and "thereby force the government into financial destitution" and concomitant default on the French debt. Schmidt said that default on the debt would "result in further borrowing from German merchants and thus lead to American intervention."
Farnham lobbied several Haitian administrations trying to induce them to accept United States control of their customs houses. He threatened the Haitians with American intervention while offering loans to financially strapped Haitian governments on condition that they give the United States control over their customs. The customs were the sole source of government income, and would have meant complete American control of all Haitian government funds from collection through expenditure, since the Banque Nationale already governed all monies once deposited in the treasury service. The American minister Madison R. Smith wrote to Bryan telling him that default was the "condition that the bank desires . . . . The Government, when confronted by such a crisis, would be forced to ask the assistance of the United States in adjusting its financial tangle and that an American supervision of the customs would result."  

In January of 1914, Farnham had written to Secretary of State Bryan for support in gaining customs control and told him that "two Haitian presidential candidates whom he was supporting were amenable to American control but required American intervention to achieve power." All such attempts failed. Regardless of the desperation of respective Haitian administrations, none would surrender their national sovereignty. In one instance where a Haitian
minister of foreign affairs suggested cooperation with the United States, he was denounced by the Haitian Senate, which physically rose and tried to assault him.86

One would assume, Johnson continued, that priority would be given to Haiti's financial obligation, in light of the fact that the United States had taken over Santo Domingo because of her failure to pay her internal debt. Worth remembering when one hears about the "anarchy and disorder" in Haiti is the fact that for over one hundred years "Haiti scrupulously paid its external and internal debt"87 until the Marines took over the finances in 1915. Under the custody of the United States, "interest on both the internal and, with one exception, the external debt was defaulted."88

Because the interior debt is held almost exclusively by the well-to-do Haitian citizens, non-payment placed many families in destitution. The bonds were being sold "for the little cash they will bring" and were being gobbled up by individuals close to the National Bank of Haiti. Johnson suggested that when the New Haitian loan was floated, it would contain provisions for redeeming the old bonds at par. And the profits would be generous.

Johnson further indicated that from the start of the Occupation The National City Bank, aside from being the sole depository of all revenues collected by the Haitian government, received, in addition to interest, a commission on all
funds deposited. And it was the only agent in the transmission of these funds. It also had exclusive note-issuing privilege in the country. The Haitians complained that the bank no longer allowed them credit, and the only projects the bank was interested in were those of the Occupation.89

Farnham also tried to push through an agreement with the Haitian government that would give to the National Bank of Haiti, and subsequently to the National City Bank of New York, a monopoly on the right to import and export American and other foreign money. Such agreement would have been unprecedented and extraordinarily profitable. This time protests came not only from the Haitians, but they were also signed by the leading American business concerns, including The American Foreign Banking Corporation, The Haitian-American Sugar Company, The Panama Railroad Steamship Line, The Clyde Steamship Line, and the West Indies Trading Company. Foreign signers included the Royal Bank of Canada, Le Comptoir Francais, and Le Comptoir Commercial, among other firms.90 Johnson concluded:

We have now in Haiti a triangular situation with the National City Bank and our Department of State in two corners and the Haitian government in the third. Pressure is being brought on the Haitian government to compel it to grant a monopoly which on its face appears designed to give the National City Bank a strangle hold on the financial life of that country.91

In order to get the Haitian government to yield, the United States' Financial Advisor in Haiti, John A.
McIlhenny, began holding up the salaries of ministers of departments, members of the Council of State, the official interpreter, and even the President of Haiti.92

In the final part of the series, Johnson wrote on "The People of Haiti." And his perception stands in sharp contrast to that of Assistant Secretary of State William Phillips, who wrote in a memorandum at the time of the American intervention that he found the Haitians to have a lack of public responsibility, "complete political incompetence," and growing demoralization. He further stated:

These facts all point to the failure of an inferior people to maintain the degree of civilization left in them by the French, or to develop any capacity of self-government entitling them to international respect and confidence.93

Johnson maintained that in order to know Haitian life, one must visit with them in their homes. The cultured and educated groups live in beautiful homes. Most of them have been educated in France. They are brilliant conversationalists, thoroughly knowledgeable of world affairs, and very much enjoy their social life. The women are fashionably dressed, many of them are beautiful and all are "vivacious and chic." In Along This Way, Johnson wrote: "I was forced to conclude that Haitian society in Port-au-Prince moved on a level that for wealth and culture
could not be matched by the colored people in any city in the United States."94

Their intellectuals—poets, novelists, critics, essayists, and historians are world class. "Scarcely any country in the world possesses comparatively so many significant poets as this republic."95 An English writer is quoted as saying of Haitian writer Fernand Hibbert, "His essays are worthy of the pen of Anatole France or Pierre Loti." Georges Sylvain, an essayist and poet, lectured at the Sorbonne, where his address was received with acclaim; his books were praised by the French Academy, and he was made an officer of the Légion d'Honneur. They are but two of more than a dozen Haitian writers whose work can be evaluated by world standards, notable among them are Oswald Durand, the national poet, and Damocles Vieux.96

Johnson saw the Haitian country people as "kind-hearted, hospitable, and polite, seldom stupid, but rather quick-witted and imaginative."97 They were fond of music, with a strong sense of beauty and harmony. And they "live simply and wholesomely." He found no comparison between the neat plastered-wall, thatched-roof cabin of the Haitian peasant and the log huts of the American South or the shanties often found in suburbs. The distinguishing feature of the Haitian cabin is "its invariable cleanliness."98 At dawn the women in the country begin sweeping the earthen or
pebble-paved floors until they were thoroughly clean. Nowhere could one find the kind of filth and squalor that one often sees in the rural areas of the United States. "Cleanliness is a habit, and a dirty Haitian is a rare exception." He also found that they were industrious and thrifty. Women often walked five or ten miles with great loads of produce on their heads, for which they were likely to receive less than a dollar.

The great handicap of the Haitians was ignorance, due "not so much to mental limitations as to enforced illiteracy." Johnson noted that the French language, in French-American colonial settlements with a Black population, split into two branches, French and Creole. This was the case in Louisiana, Martinique, Guadeloupe and in Haiti. Creole is an Africanized French and not just a dialect. It contains many African idioms and the French-speaking person cannot speak it unless he or she learns that language. Upper class Haitians know and speak French, but the masses speak only Creole.

While Haitian Creole had grammatical structure, it had not been reduced to writing to any general extent. And for that reason the masses had no way of receiving information through the written word. Books and newspapers were of no value to them. While the masses studied French in school for a few years, it was not their everyday language. And
without Creole being reduced to writing on a mass scale, illiteracy could not be abolished. Johnson called the failure to do this the "worst indictment against the Haitian government." Language also isolated Haiti from her sister Latin-American republics, all of which, except for Brazil, speak Spanish. And the cultural exchange they enjoyed with the outside world was denied Haiti. Haiti also missed out on all of the dramatic and musical companies from Spain, Argentina and Mexico that annually toured the Latin-American countries because it was not profitable for French companies to tour the three or four French-speaking locales in the Americas.

Johnson believed that the seriousness of the frequent Latin-American revolutions was greatly exaggerated. And he alleged that "in almost every instance" the revolutions are instigated by foreigners and supported by their governments. He buttressed that view by quoting John H. Allen, vice president of the National City Bank of New York, in the May (1920) issue of The Americas. Allen admitted that, "It was no secret that the revolutions were financed by foreigners and were profitable speculation." When compared to other Latin-American countries, and certainly with Mexico, Haiti has been more stable and has witnessed less bloodshed and anarchy. Johnson highlighted the fact that during Haiti's 116 years of independence there
had been twenty-five presidents and twenty-five administrations. In Mexico's eighty-seven years of independence, there had been forty-seven administrations.

One of the important things that Johnson did in Haiti was to encourage leaders there to form an organization similar to the NAACP. He suggested to Georges Sylvain a plan for organizing Haitian sentiment and for "setting up machinery by which they could take action":

I told him that the external help could not be effective unless the Haitian people were active. I gave him a full explanation of the central idea and the working methods of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and urged upon him that a similar organization be established in Haiti, with headquarters in Port-au-Prince, and branches in other important cities and towns.104

Acting on Johnson's idea, the L'Union Patriotique was reconstituted.105 The original organization was formed in 1915 under Georges Sylvain's leadership to oppose the Occupation. It was disbanded by the 1916 treaty. The first edition of the reconstituted L'Union Patriotique's monthly bulletin said:

On November 17, 1920, in accordance with the cherished wish of Mr. James Weldon Johnson, the devoted Secretary-General of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, eighteen Haitian citizens at the call of M. Georges Sylvain, former minister plenipotentiary of Haiti to Paris, met at Port-au-Prince in his law office, and decided to form an association having as its prime object the working and accord with the defenders of the Haitian cause in the United States for independence on the part of the Haitian government.106
According to Schmidt, the organization's effectiveness was hampered by the Occupation's press censorship and by American martial law. But the group held numerous demonstrations and Sylvain kept Ernest Gruening abreast of events unfolding in Haiti. Gruening supervised anti-occupation activities in the United States and raised money for the Union Patriotique to present its case before a Senate Inquiry in Washington. Gruening and Oswald Garrison Villard gave voice to the Haitian cause through numerous articles in the *Nation*, in which they also promoted the Haiti-Santo Domingo Independence Society. Because of the censorship in Haiti, the *Nation* printed the manuscript the Union Patriotique prepared for the State Department and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.\(^{107}\)

Johnson's expose was all the more important because 1920 was an election year. And Johnson's writings and lectures made the United States Occupation a Presidential campaign issue, which he said "struck Washington like a bombshell." He met with Republican presidential nominee Warren G. Harding in Marion, Ohio and gave him a thorough debriefing on his findings in Haiti. He said that Harding seemed interested and gave him all the time he needed. Harding also asked for "the fullest verification possible" of all the facts so that he would be on solid footing in using them in the campaign. Johnson recalled that Harding
could hardly contain himself as he listened. "I could see that he looked upon the Haitian matter as a gift right off the Christmas tree."\textsuperscript{108}

At about the same time, other information which was to turn public opinion against the Occupation came to public attention. On August 19, Democratic vice presidential nominee Franklin D. Roosevelt boasted in a campaign speech, "You know I have had something to do with the running of a couple of little republics. The facts are that I wrote Haiti's Constitution myself . . . ."\textsuperscript{109}

In a speech made on his front porch in Marion, Ohio, Harding declared:

\textquote{. . . if I should be . . . elected President . . . I will not empower an Assistant Secretary of Navy to draft a constitution for helpless neighbors in the West Indies and jam it down their throats at the point of bayonets borne by the United States Marines. Nor will I misuse the power of the Executive to cover with a veil of secrecy repeated acts of unwarranted interference in domestic affairs of the little republics of the Western Hemisphere, such as have in the last few years not only made enemies of those who should be our friends, but have rightfully discredited our country as their trusted neighbor.}\textsuperscript{110}

Public opinion against the Occupation accelerated as the brutality of the marines leaked into the press. During the presidential campaign a 1919 letter was inadvertently published in which Marine Corps Commander George Barnett had instructed the marine commander in Haiti to halt the "indiscriminate killing of natives."\textsuperscript{111} \textit{The New York Times}
and other publications wrote about how the marines "largely made up of and officered by Southerners, opened fire with machine guns from airplanes upon defenseless Haitian villages, killing men, women and children in the open market places." Headlines told of the "slaughter," "slavery in Haiti," "shameful abuse of power" and President Wilson's "hypocrisy."\textsuperscript{112}

President Wilson quickly ordered a naval investigation, which Johnson said was designed to be a whitewash, although it did result in stopping some of the more brutal abuses in Haiti. In the meantime the State Department continued to defend its actions and even countered with some new "justifications":

\begin{quote}
The Haitian government was so rotten with graft that our government was compelled to take charge in order to straighten out and purify things--the people of Haiti had sunk to such depths of degradation that it was our moral duty to step in and lift them up--they had regressed to cannibalism.\textsuperscript{113}
\end{quote}

Harding won the Presidency in November 1920. Johnson recalls that the first time he saw Harding after the election, Harding laughed and said to him, "We certainly made a good shot with that Haitian material." And Johnson replied, "We certainly did."\textsuperscript{114}

In 1920, Johnson was promoted to general secretary of the NAACP and sent back to Haiti. The NAACP, along with the Foreign Policy Association, and the Popular Government League urged Harding to open a new honest, investigation
which would not sweep American abuses under the rug. Harding ordered a new investigation, but Johnson said that it, too, was a whitewash.

Some historians have suggested that Harding had African ancestry. DuBois alluded to that possibility in his eulogy to Harding in *The Crisis* in 1923:

> God Rest the Soul of Warren Harding. He was not a great man but he was something just as rare—a gentleman; a man gently bred, good and kind and yearning for peace. If there ran in his veins any bit of the blood of Africa, America should be proud of it, for it not only justifies the destiny of this conglomerate democracy but it would explain much of the spirit of sympathy and forgiveness in the heart of this over-worked servant of the people.115

The NAACP campaign to publicize the abuses in Haiti came to fruition by 1922. By now disapproval of the Occupation among blacks had spread beyond the leaders and intellectuals, it now reached the obscure as well as the prominent. Haitians who had descended from the African Americans who emigrated to Haiti in the 1850s and 1860s had formed The American-Haitian Benevolent Club. That organization condemned not only martial law, but what appeared to be the support of both Democrats and Republicans for the ill treatment of blacks in Haiti. The group did not try to refute the need for strong regulation from a neighboring country, but asked that only black soldiers be sent to Haiti. The NAACP was irate when the only response from the Harding administration was to appoint a lone black clerk, Napoleon
Marshall, to the legation in Port-au-Prince. DuBois wrote in *The Crisis*, "The Republican Party cannot find a dozen respectable Negroes who will wash its dirty linen in Haiti." Marshall was greeted in Haiti with "suspicion and distrust" from his superiors and he was ostracized by African Americans. But he managed to develop strong friendships with Haitians and became an active opponent of the Occupation.

There was agitation among other black organizations. A. Philip Randolph’s newspaper, *The Messenger*, became a major opponent of the Occupation. The paper charged that "Santo Domingo and Haiti are the Ireland of America" and that the United States’ desire to control Latin America was caused by "an imperialist drive for raw materials." The American Negro Labor Conference gave Haiti featured attention at its 1925 meeting. The National Colored Republican Conference voted nine resolutions against the Occupation when it met in 1924. The black church, which did not normally take a strong stand on foreign policy issues, became very active. The leading black Baptist youth group, The National Sunday School and Baptist Youth Progression Union Congress, wrote to President Coolidge in 1924 calling for a halt to the Occupation and the return of civil government. Another letter was sent to Coolidge by the Harlem Refuge Church of Christ in 1925. The letter objected
to the oppression of civil liberties in Haiti, demanded the release of political prisoners, the restoration of the Constitution, and the withdrawal of American troops.¹¹⁸

African American support for the Haitians went beyond protest. One example was the Overseas Navigation and Overseas Trading Company, which shipped goods between Haiti and American ports. The Company was sponsored by West Virginia banker Charles E. Mitchell, and made a conscious effort to make all transactions through black banks, which assisted in underwriting the projects.¹¹⁹

Some of the efforts were entirely charitable. Harriet Marshall, whose husband was sent to Haiti as legation clerk, was part of a drive that provided clothing for needy Haitian children. Along with Addie Dunton and other women, she established a women's social service organization in Haiti, L'Oeuvre des Femmes Haitiennes pour l'Organisation du Travail. Mary McCleod Bethune served on the group's advisory committee, and the wives of distinguished Haitian scholars and statesmen were among the membership of the organization.¹²⁰

Working with other blacks, the Haitian community attracted a great deal of publicity attacking the American policy. It organized a fact-finding trip to Haiti for a black Republican club woman, and when Haitian President Louis Borno visited the United States in 1925, the Haitians
led a hostile demonstration. The Haitians produced theatrical performances to increase the awareness of the African American community about Haiti's plight.121 Many of those performances were held at Harlem's Lafayette Theatre, which at that time was the "most widely-known Negro Theatre in [the] country."122 A group of twelve persons sailed to Haiti in September 1920 for the premier of the film "Toussaint L'Ouverture, the Abraham Lincoln of Haiti," featuring Clarence E. Muse.123

Bishop John Hurst, a Haitian educated in the United States, led the Protestant Episcopal Church in Port-au-Prince. He wrote in The Crisis that the situation in Haiti "is but the Negro question in a new form."124 Haitian attempts "to assist in the rehabilitation of the Negro race," a task which God had given them, had been "violently arrested." And therefore the Occupation was an attack on the well-being of all black people.125

The NAACP made its facilities and the pages of The Crisis available to advocates of Haitian independence. Stenio Vincent, who later served as President of Haiti (1930-1941), routinely used the offices of the NAACP as the headquarters for L'Union Patriotique when he visited the United States.126 By the late 1920s the NAACP was forced to take a more limited role in the Haitian effort because its membership and finances dropped appreciably in 1927, and it
lacked the resources to continue vigorous leadership in the Haitian cause. Plummer notes that the American government "eliminated some of its most noxious features [in Haiti] in order to preserve political and economic domination more securely."127

In spite of its financial limitations, the NAACP was unrelenting in its commitment to the Haitian cause. Through The Crisis, it kept news of Haiti before the African American public, published Haitian poetry, and regularly reviewed books about the Caribbean Republic. Other organizations also kept up the pressure, particularly the black press and the black churches. In 1927, the Empire State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs told the federal government, "The Negroes of the United States are keenly interested in the actions of the American government in Haiti, and hope those actions will be such that we can support them with our approval and votes."128

Pilgrimage to Haiti Begins

Another consequence of Johnson's expose was that African Americans developed the desire to visit Haiti. Among his friends and acquaintances, his trips to Haiti launched a "sort of pilgrimage to the black republic."129 Two of the "don't miss" sites were Sans Souci and the Citadel, both built by King Henri Christophe in the early
1800s. Sans Souci was Christophe's palace. The architects and builders were French and the palace and the grounds were a copy of Versailles on a somewhat smaller scale. Johnson said that when it was built, Sans Souci was "beyond question, the most palatial residence in the Americas." His lectures and writings sparked a new literary interest in Haiti. John W. Vandercook and William B. Seabrook consulted with Johnson before going to Haiti and writing their books *Black Majesty* and *The Magic Island*, respectively.

The Citadel has already been described in this study. However, Vandercook said of it in *Black Majesty*. "It is a fortress that even from the sea twenty miles away, looms in majestic silhouette against the sky . . . . Larger and more massive than the Tower of London, it straddles a mountain peak three thousand feet above the sea . . . . the most impressive structure ever conceived by a Negro's brain, or erected by black hands in all the tens of thousands of years of the race's history."

These monuments had symbolic importance for African Americans. The Victory Life Insurance in Chicago used the above quote in a 1928 advertisement in *Crisis* magazine to urge African Americans to "develop our own business enterprises," especially insurance companies. Referring to Henri Christophe, the ad continued:

This illiterate West Indian Negro was a Builder. His Citadel stands today to mock those who would not
unite their efforts in the realization of something enduring. Should not this tribute to the Dream of a Builder, likewise, mock the hundreds of thousands of us in the larger cities of this country who sink millions of dollars in second-hand Synagogues, remodeled apartment houses and the like, instead of uniting even feeble efforts to build... enduring citadels which fortify our own courage and command the respect of others?\textsuperscript{133}

Marcus Garvey

Between 1910 and 1920 Caribbean immigrants were arriving in the Eastern United States at a rate of five thousand a year. A large number of them joined Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Its organ, the \textit{Negro World}, was edited by T. Thomas Fortune, who echoed Garvey's view that the Occupation was a "farce and a lie." It championed Haiti's cause in editorials and regularly featured reports on Haiti in its news pages. By 1930, there were five hundred Haitians living in New York City. Some of them were "tireless" activists for Haitian independence. Among them were Joseph Mirault, New York correspondent for the Patriotic Union's organ \textit{Le Courrier Haitien} and Jean-Joseph Adam, prominent supporter of Marcus Garvey and a frequent contributor to the \textit{Negro World}. Theodora Holly, daughter of the prominent emigrationist, came to the United States at the invitation of Booker T. Washington's widow. For a while in 1925, she edited the French page of the \textit{Negro World}.\textsuperscript{134}
These Haitians played a major role in raising the consciousness of African Americans on Haiti. Plummer says that "as nationalists promoting a nationalist cause, they fired the imagination of those who saw Haiti as part of a larger African world which must be redeemed from white control." 135

As early as 1919, Garvey had plans to establish a branch of the Universal Negro Improvement Association in Haiti. In a letter dated January 16, Eliezer Cadet, a UNIA official wrote to Henec Dorsinville, Director of the newspaper l'Essor:

... You (addressee) shall be our principal agent in Haiti ... to establish a branch of this Association in Haiti as in Panama ... If our peace propositions are accepted, we shall assemble the great negro capitalists of the U. S. and establish a line of ships between the West Indies[.] America, and Africa to facilitate the exchange of raw materials for manufactured products. Our aim is to unite, to organize and to mobilize the intellectual and material force of the 400,000,00[0] blacks of the entire world in order to impose the respect of their rights.136

Plummer reports that James Weldon Johnson wrote a "surprising, little-known letter" to Garvey in September 1920 urging him to denounce the Occupation. Johnson told Garvey that "it was exceedingly necessary that the colored people of America unite with their brothers in Haiti" in order to restore Haitian sovereignty. Plummer notes that the desire to raise the public consciousness about the situation in Haiti overrode the much publicized antagonism
between the leadership of the NAACP and Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association [UNIA].

Haitian Napoleon J. Francis appealed to the UNIA in the same year for assistance to the Haitians in their struggle against the Occupation. Haiti, he said, "needs help from every Negro in the United States of America." A year later, he was working as a UNIA organizer, representative of the Black Star Line in Haiti, and president of UNIA. He wrote to Garvey in 1921:

I represent the division from the land of Toussaint l'Ouverture. We have heard your voice in America and have sent a delegate to bring you greetings and to say to you that when the time shall arrive to blow your bugle and cross the ocean to Africa we shall send you every available officer in the Haitian army.

Not all Haitians agreed with Garvey's views, however. The New York Sun ran a September 5 [1920] article noting that Dantes Bellegarde, the Haitian Minister to France, who was attending the Pan African Convention in Paris, "corroborated the attitude" of two black deputies from Senegal and Guadeloupe who opposed Garvey's "Africa for Africans" philosophy, declaring, "We do not hate the white race. What we seek is conciliation and collaboration. Our evolution and development depend upon relations with the white race. We would lose everything if we were isolated in Africa." On the same day the New York Tribune published a story in which thirty African Americans also opposed
Garvey, including W. E. B. DuBois, who said, "The colored population cannot withstand the African climate. We cannot oust the Europeans, and do not desire to do so."^{140}

In a 1922 speech, Garvey used Haiti as an example of why African Americans should do business with African Americans:

The white folks control your . . . money the world over; they take the same club you give them and club you with it . . . . Wall street has gone down to Haiti and has taken control of the government of Haiti. The National City Bank never had a nickel for themselves. You went to work and saved your money and cast it into the repository of the National City Bank, and they took that money and bought concessions in Haiti and placed your own race in slavery in Haiti. You are supplying the club with which other people are clubbing you.^{141}

In a 1924 article titled "Justice Is Strength" Garvey used Haiti as an example of why it is important for blacks to unite:

There is only one protection for the individual who suffers from the prejudice of another, and that is power, that is strength. There is no justice but strength. There is no law but power.

. . . Haiti is weak and America has overrun her shores with American marines because she keeps up little troubles in the Caribbean and violates the principles of the Monroe Doctrine, she says . . . . France, by her inhuman conduct to Germany, is fomenting the greatest war ever contemplated . . . . And America and England wink at France's outrage and threat against civilization because France is strong. But because Haiti is weak, everybody says, "Go into Haiti and settle that dispute and keep them quiet."^{142}

On August 3 of the same year, he wrote a letter of support to Haitian President Louis Borno as Chairman of the
Fourth Annual International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World stating:

We are in deep sympathy with the indignation of the people of Haiti in the matter of the rape of the country through a forcible occupation by an alien race. We shall work along with the patriots of Haiti to free her from the yoke of exploitation. Long live free and independent Haiti, the pride of the black race of the Western world . . .

He invited the Haitian delegation, through their spokesperson, Theodore Stephens, to address the Convention. Garvey also gave a brief address in which he paid a tribute to Toussaint Louverture and expressed the sympathy of the convention with the Haitians in their struggle for "independence and true liberty." 

As African Americans were becoming more aware of their brothers and sisters in Haiti, the Haitian elite were experiencing an identity crisis. They were initially stunned by the Occupation. They who had traditionally benefited from the aristocracy of color were made painfully aware of the "racial characteristics which distinguished them from the powerful Americans in their country." Their customs, traditions, institutions and laws had been crushed and mocked. In order to counteract the feeling of inferiority brought on by the Occupation, they turned to self-introspection and to their ancestral heritage in search of reasons for which they could feel proud. The heritage was important because it was their own and it was something
the Americans could not take away from them. In their search, the Haitians found within their national consciousness, impressions, sentiments, and conceptions which had been forgotten and discarded for generations.\textsuperscript{146}

Among the great aides to this search were the ethno-logical lectures and essays of Dr. Jean Price-Mars. A Haitian, Dr. Price-Mars studied anthropology at the College de France and graduated from the School of Medicine at the University of Paris where he also studied anthropology. The purpose of his ethnological studies was to "relever aux yeux du peuple haitien la valeur de son folk-lore."\textsuperscript{147} And he was critical of those who felt "une gêne . . . voire quelque honte" in learning about their ancestral past, a past that went back further than many of them wanted to accept. He apprised them of the recent scientific evidence that verifies the existence in ancient Africa of advanced civilizations. He provided detailed descriptions and histories of these centers of culture, their artistic and industrial prosperity, their interaction with the rest of the world.

He told the Haitian writers that they would find new topics for their literature in the vast folklore that has come to them from their African heritage. He noted that the "contes, proverbes, chansons, croyances et légendes" which represent "l'âme collective du peuple haitien" would
furnish them with unlimited source material to help them make "an original contribution to their social group." He challenged young Haitian writers to follow Booker T. Washington's advice: "Plongez vos baquets!" He suggested that the time had arrived for Haitians to stop imitating the French, to stop being "des Français 'colorés'" rather than "des Haïtiens tout court" and to realize that they are "des hommes nés dans des conditions historiques déterminées ayant ramassé dans leurs âmes . . . un complexe psychologique qui donne à la communauté haïtienne sa physionomie spécifique."

Dr. Price-Mars said that his wish to help to facilitate this transformation from colored Frenchmen to Haitians convinced him to change his studies in ethnology, to "recueillir les faits de notre vie sociale, fixer les gestes, les attitudes de notre peuple, si humble soit-il, les comparer à ceux d'autres peuples, scruter leurs origines et les situer dans la vie générale de l'homme sur la planète."

The Haitian poets who immediately preceded the Occupation were known as "la génération de La Ronde." Their work is characterized by its polished style and correctness of verse. Poets representative of this period most often found their inspiration in the natural beauty of Haiti. Some of them, like Burr-Reynaud, found their inspiration in the Indian legends of Haiti, which provided them with an escape from the Occupation. Still others, such as Dominique
Hippolyte, drew inspiration from the Occupation itself. His poem "A Mon Pays" provides an example:

A Mon Pays

O mon pays ! tu subis le martyr !
Tes mornes bleus et tes champs sont foulés
Par l'étranger ! tes fils sont mutilés !
Comment chanter? Non, plus rien ne m'inspire,
Un crêpe noir enveloppe ma lyre.  

Twenty-year-old Christian Werleigh's protest poem "Un Jour" provides another example. The poem was written August 6, 1915, just days after the U. S. Marines occupied Haiti and hoisted the American flag above the Haitian bicolore.

Un Jour

Et depuis ce frisson mortel qui, de ma peau,
Se vrilla dans le coeur et me figea les moel'es,
Je sais mieux aujourd'hui ce que c'est qu'un drap-s

Léon Laleau represents the transitional figure linking the poets of "la génération de La Ronde" with those of "La Revue indigène" (1925). He defined his poetic theories in the first poem of his Abréviations.

Abréviations

Dédaigneux de la forme au facile cinquant,
Et du mot rare, et de l'épithète sans flamme,
Je voudrais simplement que l'on reconnût, quand
L'echo semble sourire à mon épithalame,
Que l'amour est profond dont je porte en mon âme
L'héroïque trophée et le royal carcan.  

Although he wrote during the Occupation, his poetry took no notice of what was happening around him. His
inspiration came from France, Italy, Haiti, or wherever he was at the moment. For him, in general, "poetry serves no social purpose." The Occupation produced "divergent tendencies" in Haitian poetry. Some writers took the "l'art pour l'art" position of the Parnassians, believing that poetry should be kept unfettered by the events surrounding them. Others protested the social conditions, providing practicality for their poetry and giving it purpose.

While critics may be justified in saying that the Haitian poets prior to the generation de "la Revue indigene" assigned more importance to foreign models than to Haitian life, Garrett defends them:

... it must be realized that the stigma of color prodded them into trying to equal the French in the French manner, in order to prove their intellectual capacity. Too, slavery and its indignities were still too recent for writers to take an objective view of their ties with Africa.

The internal causes of the renaissance in Haitian thought were the social and economic disorder, the political unrest of the first part of the Twentieth Century, the U. S. Occupation of Haiti, the ethnological studies of Dr. Price Mars, and the discontent of the young poets with the previous generation.

The Occupation had made Haiti's youth aware of their background, but the Americans were unaware that Haitian anthropologists had elevated that background from a position of derision to one of dignity and respect. As a result the
youth of Haiti began to look critically at the poetry of the older writers, rejecting their general tendency to acknowledge only their Latin heritage to the exclusion of their African patrimony. One of the first criticisms of the older poets came in a July 1, 1925 article titled "La Littérature d'hier et Celle de demain" by Philippe Thoby-Marcelin and Antonio Vieux, which appeared in the second issue of La Nouvelle Ronde, the official "Organe des jeunes." They accused their elders of being satisfied "de reprendre les lamentations de Lamartine, les considérations philosophiques d'un Vigny, ou de pasticher la fantaisie de Musset." 157

The young poets believed that their predecessors tried to hide their technical ineptitude by the use of local color. "Il y a une manie exaspérante de parler de notre ciel bleu, de nos mornes verdoyants, de nos manguiers fleuris, de nos sites enchanteurs!" This they called "superficielle" and "inutile." 158 They did acknowledge the merit of some of their poet ancestors--Oswald Durand, Léon Laleau, Massillion Coiccu, Edmond Laforest, Damoclès Vieux, and Elzer Vilaire. And they believed that the works of these poets would improve any anthology of French poetry, but did not create a literature of their own. "Leurs oeuvres doivent réfléchir davantage les aspirations, les tendances, l'âme même du pays!" 159
René Piquion summed up thusly the viewpoint of the young poets in the "Préface" to Assaut à la nuit, a collection of poems by Roussan Camille: "On était las des naïvetés pastorales, des berceuses romantiques, des fanfares héroïques." Camille himself went a step further: "Les aînés n'ont rien laissé aux modernes. Eux, ils étaient français et n'avaient rien de nègre, rien de national. Maintenant il y a un divorce entier entre les modernes et les aînés." 

During the Occupation many Haitians went to France to escape the racism, exploitation and abuse of the United States Marines. And France was experiencing a post-war malaise of its own. The transition from war to peacetime was more difficult for the French than many of them had anticipated. An accelerated pace of life as a result of more rapid transportation and the development of mass communication caused anxiety and insecurity among young people in post-war France. In the arts as in society in general there was a desire to rebel and escape reality, a yearning for something new and different. The disillusionment and disgust engendered by the war manifested itself in surrealism, Dadaism and cubism.

The void was filled by entertainment importations from the United States--jazz, African American orchestras, cowboy and wild west shows. The upbeat tempo of Black
musicians and singers was particularly well suited for the times in which young people were liberating themselves from their inhibitions. Black soldiers fighting in France in World War I had already won the affection of the majority of the French people. And entertainers such as Florence Mills, Josephine Baker, and the James Europe Orchestra took Paris by storm.

The frenzied appeal of the African American provided a new source of literary subjects, and gave birth to a literature on the Negro. The publication of Blaise Cendrar's *Anthologie nègre* in 1921 went a long way to enrich literature on the Negro. This anthology presented the folklore, imagery, values and basic problems of many African peoples. It was further bolstered by Maurice Delafosse's *Les Noirs de l' Afrique* and *L'Ame nègre*, both published in 1922. They increased the volume of African stories, legends, fables and songs. In 1923 former University of Chicago professor Franck L. Schoell published *La Question des noirs aux Etats-Unis*, a study of the condition of Blacks in the United States. The same year, René Maran's *Boutouala*, an "explosive" portrayal of life in French Equatorial Africa was a rousing success in French literary circles in 1921. André Gide's *Voyage au Congo* in 1927, was even more critical of France's colonial policy. Paul Morand's *Paris-Tombouctou* in 1928 increased the informational sources on Africa. And
his more controversial *Magie Noire* includes a treatment of African Americans and Haitians.\(^{164}\)

Negro art was especially important in post-war France and elsewhere. In the first decade of the twentieth century, artists like Picasso, Matisse, Derain, and Modigliani, learned of Negro sculpture and were taken with the novelty of its esthetics and vivacity. Painters who wanted to develop new effects found that these results had already been wonderfully achieved in primitive African art.\(^{165}\)

Negro sculpture stimulated particular interest. Part of its appeal was that it was created by a completely unrestrained imagination, which knew nothing of the classic ideals of beauty and its devotion to nature and the human form. Among the chief characteristics of African sculpture were its irregular designs, dissociation of natural parts of the body or an object in radical distortions, unified by rhythmic repetitions. The result was a new kind of artistic structure unknown in Western art.\(^{166}\)

Museums and collectors who had previously frowned upon African art as poor art forms now required it in their collections. All salons and expositions now featured Black figures and statues, which helped to accelerate the spreading interest in Negro sculpture. Moreover, the clear expression of subconscious feeling achieved by the distorted accentuations and exaggerations in the African carvings
impressed artists in other media. The Europeans began to imitate the style of the African art pieces injecting a new influence into the form, mood and spirit of European art. As Garrett put it, "The Negro was in vogue in Paris." 167

At the same time, African Americans had taken the white American entertainment public by storm just as it had done in France. Black jazz orchestras and blues singers were in great demand. American art connoisseurs now showed as much interest in Black sculpture as the Europeans. White and African American writers took advantage of this new found interest and developed a new source of literary material. This resulted in the labeling of the decade of the twenties the "Black Renaissance," with Harlem as its capital. This literature no longer was characterized by negative stereotypes, since it was now primarily written by African Americans for African Americans. And it featured some of the best writers of any time period, including Claude McKay, Jean Toomer, Countee Cullen and Langston Hughes. 168

The admiration shown towards blacks in post-war France helped to give the Haitians a more positive view of their African heritage and to bring them into contact with the works of African American writers whose interests were not unlike their own. Some Haitians had attended the second Pan-African Conference led by W. E. B. DuBois in Paris in
1921 and had come in contact with Blacks from Africa as well as all parts of the Western world. And those who never left home followed the currents of change. The Haitians and the French had always maintained intellectual bonds, and the French had always maintained their concern for events affecting the Haitians and treated them as equals. Garrett summed up the transformation of the French attitude toward Black artistic and literary creations and its impact on Haitians:

That Frenchmen praised African art and African American music, acknowledging the superiority of some of their characteristics, and found material of literary interest in Africans and people of African descent was of no little importance to Haitians. What France accepted, they would accept. But France had done more; she had lauded products of African civilization and acknowledged a debt to them. This increased Haitians' interest in Africa and raised their self-respect which had received a violent blow from the Americans.169

Not only did the Haitians accept the new French artistic attitude, but so did white America, at least about several aspects of Black life. Blacks who had fought in France had been treated humanely and came home with a new attitude, refusing to accept many of the indignities of American society. Meanwhile there was a rural exodus toward northern industrial centers which afforded them a better lifestyle and accelerated the grouping of the masses. The exodus also increased race consciousness, and in many areas, increased racial tension.170
The mulattoes had always thought of their heritage as French and not African. According to Schmidt, they emulated "refined white Western culture, while simultaneously scorning peasant Africanisms."\textsuperscript{171} The mulattoes had always enjoyed privileges based on the previously-mentioned aristocracy of color which the French anthropologists had broken down into approximately 128 shades—with the lightest being the most privileged. But the mulattoes were shocked to find that when it came to people of color the white American marines made no distinction in shades of black. To the Marines, all Haitians were "niggers." As a result, many of the elite, especially young intellectuals of the \textit{génération de l'occupation}, renounced the former white French orientation and turned instead to the black African heritage embodied in the culture of the masses. The new black ethnic awareness eventually culminated in the international phenomenon of negritude.\textsuperscript{172}

Jacques Roumain, whose grandfather—Tancrede Auguste—served as President of Haiti from 1912 to 1913, provides an example of this new black ethnic awareness in many young Haitian intellectuals. In a 1927 interview with Antonio Vieux wherein he more than once alluded to his Breton ancestry, Carolyn Fowler suggests that he must have been
undergoing an identity crisis. Yet less than three years later, when the U. S. High Commissioner extended him a formal invitation, he responded with one terse sentence: "Le nègre Jacques Roumain ne daigne pas fréquenter les blancs." Fowler points out that at this point Roumain saw himself as a black man "and all his future references to himself would evoke his African heritage." He later admitted:

... we have frankly ignored the fact that there is in the United States ... a flourishing Negro poetry. And an original one ... Above all we are a black people. There is nothing more natural than that we go to French writers for our form. But they must not become at the same time the masters of our sensibility.

Roumain remained committed to his African heritage as was reflected in his writings even as his Negritude moved from Haiti to the universal Black experience. René Piquion, writing in Ebène says that it was no doubt the vision of revolutionary Haiti that caused Aimé Césaire to cry, "Haiti ou la négritude se mit debout pour la première fois et dit qu'elle croyait à son humanité" and pushed Léopold Senghor to echo, "Et son coeur est Haïti cher, Haïti qui osa proclamer l'Homme en face du Tyran."

C. L. R. James confirms that the Haitians discovered what is known today as Negritude, although he points out that the Haitians did not know it as Negritude. They saw it as purely Haitian. Jean Brierre, a Haitian writer of the
"génération de l'occupation," talks about the origins of Negritude in an interview with Howard University professors Herman Bostick, an African American, and Maurice Lubin, a Haitian. "I preceded Negritude. I mean before the creation of the term "Negritude" by Aimé Césaire. The source of my Negritude is the humiliation of the American Occupation."\(^{180}\)

While the interaction between African Americans and Haitians increased, another development was evolving in the African American artistic community. Again because of James Weldon Johnson's trips, writings, and lectures on Haiti and the Occupation, many African American artists and writers turned their interest toward Haiti, and began to depict the Haitian struggle in their works.

Leslie Pinckney Hill

In 1928 Leslie Pinckney Hill, an African American poet and educator, wrote the historical drama "Toussaint L'Ouverture." James Weldon Johnson asserted that "Toussaint L'Ouverture" was "the most ambitious single poem attempted by any present day Negro poet."\(^{181}\) Agnes Repplier agreed:

No American Negro has hitherto attempted a work of such range, elevation, and artistic merit . . . . Mr. Hill has told the story of the most stirring and surprising epochs in the history of the Western World in his own way, a rather new and daring way. It is a significant story which it is the duty of both races in America to read.\(^{182}\)
Part V Scene XIII, the capture of Toussaint, is reproduced in Appendix A.

Clarence Cameron White and John F. Matheus

Two African American professors from West Virginia Collegiate Institute--librettist John Frederick Matheus and Clarence Cameron White--a concert violinist and composer, went to Haiti for six weeks in 1928 to get musical inspiration for their opera about Jean-Jacques Dessalines. In Haiti White said that he was delighted to find "a few primitive folk who have not departed from naturalness and who still hold fast to racial characteristics." He found Haiti to be made up of a music-loving people, but he also found that there was no school of music "in the entire land."

In Haiti, White observed numerous festivities and rites where music was used. At wakes and wedding feasts as many as two hundred people often spend the entire night singing. He noticed that the Haitians sing in unison and make no attempt at harmony. There were usually two or three drums of different sizes which performed the parts of alto, tenor, and bass. And after having studied Haitian music, he mused that the cultivation of rhythm at the expense of harmony was not Haiti's idea of progress. When a Haitian explained that this "disorganized element" in rhythms stems
from the Haitian custom which allows one in an assembly to
do what he pleases without concern for his neighbor caused
White to wonder whether this was not the birth of jazz as it
was first known in America.

White seemed fascinated by the mingling of recogniz¬
able African, American, and Latin characteristics:

Unquestionably the most outstanding element in
Haitian music is rhythm. One is positively shocked
to find incorporated in one dance the rhythm of the
"tango," the rhythm of the so-called "Charleston"
and a wild African syncopation which beggars
description. In the same composition far above the
din of all comes the piercing "Chant" of a tune
closely akin to one we have associated with the
streets of Cairo.

Haitians still cling to folk songs and dances of the
"tambour" and the "Mérinque." And White dared pay them this
singular tribute: "... nowhere else in all the world can
one find such simple dignity and graceful body movements in
both walking and dancing as among Haitian peasants." The
result of White and Matheus' research in Haiti was White's
opera "Ouanga," which received very favorable re¬
views. Some critics referred to "the sophisticated score" and the
"fine choral writing." Arthur Farwell asserted that "too
much cannot be said of the beauty and masterfulness of the
orchestration." Carter Harmon wrote in the New York Times,
"One scene developed a fine, sardonic lilt when one set of
dancers paced a minuet and another, dressed as witch doctors
and other grotesque figures, mimicked them in the
background.  Best of all was the first scene of the third act, where the pagan ritual was aptly rendered in sound.

"Ouanga" appears in Appendix A. He also wrote poetry. The examples below are illustrative of his poems on Haiti:

Trinity

The soul of Toussaint is not dead;
His flaming spirit flares
Above the haughty head
Of many a man who dares
In Haiti still to plead
For lands his black forefathers freed.

And Dessalines dead still lives,
Audacious, swart Jean-Jacques,
Whose sword, unsheathed, yet gives
A hope for heroes black.
He stands in Port-au-Prince,
An iron man, none like him since.

Sans Souci palace on the hill,
The slumbering Citadel,
Some aura hides of Christophe still
His cause and message tell,
Napoleon could not shake;
His realm defeat, his courage break.

In Haiti Is Riot of Color

In Haiti is riot of color:
  The sea with its salt,
The Land, the sky and the palm trees,
Dancing a wild meringue.

The Mountains are royal purple,
The flamboyant flowering red,
The houses, the walks and the garments
Are white, like shrouds for the dead.
The moon is more than silver,
The sun has dazzlinger glow;
The mangoes peep over bananas
Painting a marvelous show.
The oranges are marching the cane
stalks,
The coffee plantations are glad.
The hills are happy in splendor,
Only the people are sad.  

Back in the United States the African American
effort to aid the Haitians continued. In early 1929,
Abyssinia Baptist Church, one of the most influential
churches in Harlem, led a mass petition drive against the
Occupation. During the same time, the Harlem-based American
and West Indian News sent an open letter to President Hoover
condemning the continued Occupation of Haiti.  

Napoleon Marshall, the black legation clerk in
Haiti, held that position from 1922 to 1928. In 1929 he
formally announced his opposition to the Occupation. He
lambasted the treaty government in an article in the
February 10 issue of the New York World; he said the reforms
were badly conceived and poorly executed, and called the
functionaries rude and aggressive. In an effort to make
Haiti a campaign issue, Marshall arranged meetings between
disgruntled Haitians and persons connected to philanthropist
Julius Rosenwald, who had been a major contributor to
President Hoover's presidential campaign.
While Haiti remained an issue in African America, Washington responded courteously to letters, petitions and protests, but effectively ignored the Haitian issue after 1922. But the administration's business-as-usual attitude was disrupted on December 6, 1929 when violence broke out in the Haitian town of Aux Cayes. Frustrated by heavy taxes, dissatisfaction with the American-operated agricultural schools, falling coffee prices, restrictions on immigration to Cuba, the hostility toward President Borno, and discontent among customs service employees, 1,500 peasants tried to get local authorities to hear their grievances. The size of the demonstration intimidated the twenty-man marine patrol, and the marines shot seventy-five people. At least twenty-five were killed.191

Officials were unable to suppress news of the killings, and when the reports of the incident reached the United States, Haiti was once again front-page news. The banner headlines on newspapers across the nation re-energized Occupation opponents and they again turned up the heat on the American Occupation. The Foreign Policy Association and the NAACP presented forums and lectures on Haiti. The National Urban League, which normally avoided foreign policy issues became involved. Anti-Occupation editorials increased in frequency and intensity. The Urban League endorsed the Foreign Policy Association's call for a
new investigation with black representation. Its organ, *Opportunity*, challenged President Hoover to see that his good neighbor policy was contradicted by the "ruthless militarism in Haiti." The *Amsterdam News* wrote, "Like Banquo's ghost, the Haitian question will not down . . . . Though buried under volumes of official reports of American benefits to Haiti—order established, roads, built, public works undertaken, great loans secured from Wall Street, and other deodorizers—the rottenness of the American occupation of Haiti still sends forth its stench."  

President Hoover did commission a new Haiti investigation. Haitian Borno president had instructed his chargé d'affaires in Washington to specifically request that a black be placed on the commission. However, the five-man commission Hoover appointed, headed by Cameron Forbes, was all white. Hoover appointed another commission to study education in Haiti. In the final analysis that commission was all-black. This Commission was headed by Robert Russer Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute. The other members of the panel were Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University, Benjamin F. Hubert, president of Georgia State Industrial College, W. T. B. Williams, a dean at Tuskegee, and Leo M. Favrot, field secretary of the General Education Board. Favrot, who was white, for unexplained reasons, did not go. According to *The Crisis*, another white man was
recommended but the White House found him unacceptable. Thus, the Commission that sailed to Haiti was all black. Two African-American journalists accompanied the group, T. F. Prattis of the Associated Negro Press, and Carl Murphy of the Afro-American.¹⁹³

Writing in The Crisis, DuBois rued Moton's consenting to a separate commission to study education:

He should have been made a full member of the Commission, both because of the importance of education in Haiti, and the miserable failure of America to encourage it, also because of his Negro descent. A firm refusal of Dr. Moton to accept a subordinative appointment, and a calm insistence that Mr. Hoover attend his own racial chestnuts would have immensely pleased.¹⁹⁴

The two commissions were separate and inherently unequal. The Forbes Commission was given $50,000 to support its investigation. The Moton Commission could not even obtain passage to Haiti on Navy ships because they were black,¹⁹⁵ although transportation on a United States warship had been promised. This incident was riddled with irony, given the Occupation's systematic sponsorship of Tuskegee-type vocational education, which Haitian critics found fundamentally discriminatory.¹⁹⁶ Haitian intellectuals, who have always taken pride in refined and sophisticated classical education, "abhorred American vocational education and, moreover, resented the implications of racial inferiority associated with manual
training programs for blacks in the Southern United States under Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute system.\textsuperscript{197}

The black commission was not authorized to do a broad investigation. Their investigation was limited to education. Because the administration established by the treaty had direct authority over the agricultural schools, the Moton Commission could only criticize the Haitian government. It could not criticize white American administrators.\textsuperscript{198}

Plummer says that when the investigations were completed, the manner of [Forbes Commission's] travel and lodging in Haiti "fitted its dignity and high purpose."\textsuperscript{199} On the other hand, the Moton Commission was stranded in Haiti for lack of return transportation, the navy evasively offered a mine-sweeping tug with two berths that was obviously inadequate for the ten man party. Moton complained that "I feel that the people of Haiti as well as the colored people of the United States will regard this as a humiliation." The commission eventually returned on a commercial ship.\textsuperscript{200}

In its evaluation of the Occupation the Forbes Commission criticized American racism. It also criticized the advance payment of the Haitian debt when excess revenues could have been used for development; it decried the Occupation's deplorable performance in education, the marines'
abdication of their responsibility to train Haitians to take over the government and the Garde as rapidly as feasible, and Occupation officials' "independent self-sufficiency" attitude. Most important, it recommended the final withdrawal of the military.201

The Moton Commission's report objected to the separation of agricultural and industrial education from the rest of the nation's educational system, it also criticized Haiti's long-term failure to provide mass education. The report so infuriated the State Department that it refused to release the Committee's October 30 report while it intensely lobbied the Committee in an unsuccessful attempt to get it to alter its findings. After much public pressure, the State Department did release the report in February, 1931.202 The Commission's recommendations did lead to improvements in education and in social conditions.

During this time the NAACP continued to hold mass meetings, disseminate information, appear at Senate hearings, and generally to bring as much pressure as possible on the Senate and the president. But far away in Paris, developments were taking place that were to have a significant impact on the Occupation. The Haitian minister to France, Dantes Bellegarde, was being transferred to Washington.
Edward. A. Jones, in "Dantes Bellegarde--Miracle of Haiti," writes that Bellegarde left his post in Paris and arrived in Washington in January 1931 to begin preparation for what may have been his "most spectacular diplomatic achievement," the withdrawal of the Marines in Haiti.\footnote{203} He made warm friendships among the blacks in The District and was a frequent visitor at Howard University. According to Jones, Bellegarde believed that the destiny of the twelve million African Americans in the U. S. A. was "part and parcel of that of all peoples in their fight for freedom and justice."\footnote{204}

He met with President Hoover on February 16, 1931 to present his credentials, and he reminded the president of America's debt to Haiti--that while it was a French colony it sent some 800 soldiers to fight for American independence at the Battle of Savannah. He tactfully reminded him that Haiti was the second nation in the Western Hemisphere to become independent, and assured him that Haiti would be restored to a place of honor among her sister republics in the Americas. From that point he never missed an occasion to denounce the Occupation, to point out its injustice and to signal its threat to world peace. Jones asserts that Bellegarde's "personal efforts were the most potent single factor in the ending of the eighteen-year (1915-1933)
occupation," adding that the liberation was primarily worked out in the Hoover administration.\textsuperscript{205}

While the Occupation was indeed winding down, the cultural and literary interaction between African Americans and Haitians was accelerating.

William Edouard Scott

In 1931, William Edouard Scott spent a year in Haiti on a Rosenwald grant and had a great influence on Haitian painters. Ploski and Williams assert that it was in Haiti that Scott "reached the peak of his originality and brilliance of expression."\textsuperscript{206} A painter, illustrator, and muralist, William Edouard Scott was born in 1884. He studied at the Art Institute of Chicago, one of the few art academies that accepted African American students before the turn of the century. He left Chicago and went to Paris in the 1920s to study at the Julian and Colarossi Academies and with Henry O. Tanner. He spent a considerable amount of time in Paris studying with Tanner whose Paris studio was a meeting place for aspiring black artists. Scott preferred illustrations to academic painting but Tanner was to have a great influence on him.\textsuperscript{207}

Fine says that in doing the studies of the Haitian people, including "Blind Sister Mary," and "Kensoh Haiti," his brush work "became freer and his color richer." While
there he had a one-man exhibit in Port-au-Prince after which the Haitian Government bought twelve of his paintings.²⁰⁸ That collection is still held there. After a year in Haiti, he returned to the United States where he pioneered in mural painting. He is best remembered for his quick portrait of studies of black Haitian peasants and sensitive portrayals of rural life.²⁰⁹

He was awarded the Legion of Honor by the Haitian government. For James A. Porter, an African American painter who traveled extensively in Haiti²¹⁰ and received Rockefeller grants which enabled him to exhibit his work in Haiti in 1946, Scott's period in Haiti was a "swiftly moving pageant, with no suggestion of sluggishness or indolence that some have purported to observe in island inhabitants."²¹¹

When Scott returned from Haiti, he began a career as a muralist. He painted in hospitals and public buildings in Illinois, West Virginia, New York, and Indiana.²¹² His best portraiture is seen in the historical portraits of the Jubilee Singers at Fisk University.²¹³ As director of the Howard University art gallery, Porter exhibited Haitian and Cuban artists to expose his students to the diverse cultures and skills of black artists.
Langston Hughes

Langston Hughes went to Haiti in 1931. His first written comment was a brief letter to *New Masses*:

Haiti is a hot, tropical little country, all mountains and sea; a lot of marines, mulatto politicians, and a world of black people without shoes—who catch hell. The Citadel, twenty miles way on mountain top, splendid lonely monument to the genius of a black King—Christophe. Stronger, vaster, and more beautiful than you could possibly imagine . . . it stands in futile ruin now, the iron rusting, the bronze turning green, the great passages and very deep stairways alive with bats, while the planes of the United State Marines hum daily overhead . . .

Haiti's influence on Hughes can be seen in many of his writings. He wrote in collaboration with Arna Bontemps *Popo and Fifina*, a delightful children's story which provides an insightful slice of the life of a peasant family in Haiti. *People Without Shoes* reflects his devotion to the underclass. He wrote:

Hayti is a land of people without shoes—black people, whose bare feet tread the dusty roads to market in the early morning, or pad softly on the bare floors of hotels, serving foreign guests. These barefooted ones care for the rice and cane fields under the hot sun. They climb high mountains picking coffee beans, and wade through surf to fishing boats in the blue sea. All of the work that keeps Hayti alive, pays for the American occupation, and enriches foreign traders—that vast and basic work—is done by Negroes without shoes.

He was deeply disturbed by the discrimination of the mulattoes against darker-skinned Haitians. He said in *I Wonder As I Wander* that the aloofness with which the "best
people" distanced themselves from the workers, strongly reminded him of his years in Washington where black society was also stratified. The government workers, college professors and schoolteachers considered themselves much better than the usually darker (although not always poorer) people who worked with their hands.

I hated this attitude. And, in Haiti of all places—with its thrilling history of the slaves who drove the French into the ocean and freed themselves—to find people divided by the lightness or darkness of one's skin, and whether or not one was able to afford shoes—well, I personally preferred the people without shoes.216

In "White Shadow in a Black Land", Hughes describes Haiti during the Occupation—a land where virtually the entire population is Black and where black people appear to be in control—everywhere. But he points out that:

the dark-skinned little Republic . . . has its hair caught in the white fingers of unsympathetic foreigners, and the Haitian people live today under a sort of military dictatorship backed by American guns. They are not free . . . . The white shadows began to fall across the land as the dark aristocracy became cultured, and careless, conceited, and quite "high hat." Today the Marines are there.217

On his second trip to the Caribbean he met Jacques Roumain, who was to become Haiti's most famous writer.218 Hughes had only one day in Port-au-Prince. After meeting briefly with Roumain, he returned to his ship and was waiting to leave for Cuba when Roumain, who was a member of the Ministry of Education came aboard with a group of
Haitian writers and government officials to pay tribute to Hughes and to present him with gifts. Roumain introduced Hughes as "the greatest Negro poet . . . ever to come to honor Haitian soil." They formed a fast friendship which lasted until Roumain's death in 1944. Roumain wrote a poem titled "Langston Hughes," which is presented below in translation:

At Lagos you knew sad-faced girls.
   Silver circled their ankles.
They offered themselves to you naked as the night
   Gold circled by the moon.
   . . . You said: Sweet, sweet Love!
And sometimes
   Babe! Baby!
Then she wept and asked for twenty lire.

Like a Baedeker your nomad heart wandered
   From Harlem to Dakar.
The sea sounded on in your songs--sweet, rhythmic, wild . . .
   Of white foam blossom-born.
Now here in this cabaret as dawn draws near you
   murmure . . .
The blues again play for me!
   O! for me again play the blues!

Are you dreaming tonight, perhaps, of the palm trees,
   of
Black Men down there, who paddled you down the
dusks?220

When Roumain became a political prisoner in 1934,
Langston Hughes made an appeal for his release. He said in

_The New Republic:_

Jacques Romain (sic), . . . the finest living
Haitian writer, has just been sentenced at
Port-au-Prince, Haiti, to two years in jail for
circulating there a French magazine of Negro
liberation called _Cri es Negres._
He is one of the very few upper-class Haitians who understands and sympathizes with the plight of the oppressed peasants of his island home and who has attempted to write about and to remedy the pitiful conditions of 90 percent of the Haitian people exploited by the big coffee monopolies and by the manipulations of foreign finance in the hands of the National City Bank of New York.

As a fellow writer of color, I call upon all writers and artists of whatever race who believe in the freedom of words and of the human spirit, to protest immediately to the President of Haiti and to the nearest Haitian Consulate the uncalled for and unmerited sentence to prison of Jacques Romain . . . .221

Shortly after Jacques Roumain died in 1944 at the age of thirty-eight, his widow, Nicole, asked African American French Professor Mercer Cook, who was teaching in Haiti [See Chapter 3] to approach Hughes on her behalf. She wanted Hughes to translate her late husband's posthumously published book *Gouverneurs de la Rosée* into English 222, a wish that she said that Roumain often had expressed himself. Hughes had not read the book, but Cook told him that it was "the finest Haitian novel yet published."223 With the help of Cook and René Piquion, he translated it under the title *Masters of the Dew*.224 He also, in a sense, returned an earlier honor that Roumain had paid to him. He wrote a poem titled "Poem for Jacques Roumain.225

The Roumain translation created a great demand for Hughes to translate other works. Among the writers requesting his services as translator were Nicolás Guillén and Miguel Covarrubias.226 Interestingly, the first
biography of Langston Hughes was written by Haitian René Piquion, who also published translations of poems by Hughes which many of the young writers committed to memory. He also published translations of poems by Paul Laurence Dunbar and Claude McKay and wrote brief biographies of Paul Robeson and Dunbar.

Years later, Hughes wrote the libretto to the opera "Emperor of Haiti: An Historical Drama," about Jean-Jacques Dessalines, by black composer William Grant Still. It was performed by the New York City Opera Company in 1949 under the name "Troubled Island." The first part of Act I is found in Appendix A.

The End of the Occupation

Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected president in 1932. He promised that he would have a "Good Neighbor Policy" among the Latin-American countries. After visiting Haiti in July 1934, he concluded that "having one's military forces occupy another country was obviously not a neighborly way to behave." A month later, he withdrew the marines and the Occupation finally ended on August 21, 1934, two years before the American treaty with Haiti expired.

The joy felt in Haiti reverberated throughout the diaspora, especially among African Americans. Haitian President Stenio Vincent wrote to The Crisis to express
gratitude for the role Americans played in the Haitian struggle:

... my personal gratitude, that of the government and of the People of Haiti, to all those Americans friends, colored or white, who, so willingly and so courageously have taken part, on our side, in the long and hard struggle of which the day of last August 21st marked the crowning victory, and who, by their prayers, by their efforts, and by their great publicity campaign have in such a large measure contributed to the freedom of my country.\(^\text{230}\)

It is ironical that it took the pain and the bitterness of the Occupation to bring African Americans and Haitians to examine the commonalities of their heritage, suffering, oppression, aspirations, and destiny. However, before the end of the Occupation, they began to interact to their mutual advantage, turning the lemons of the Haitian experience into a cultural and literary lemonade.
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192 Ibid., p. 141.
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CHAPTER IV

THE POST-OCCUPATION AND AFRICAN AMERICANS

Zora Neale Hurston

During the aftermath of the Occupation, a number of African American artists spent significant time in Haiti. The first major African American cultural figure to go to Haiti during this period was Zora Neale Hurston. She first went there in 1936 on a Guggenheim Fellowship. It took her only seven weeks to write *Their Eyes Are Watching God* in Haiti in 1937. And she returned to Haiti later that year after getting her fellowship renewed. She immersed herself in the lives and lore of the Haitian peasant, and, of course, vodun (voodoo), which she found "both beautiful and terrifying."¹ She says in *Dust Tracks on a Road*:

I did not find [vodun ceremonies] any more invalid than any other religion. Rather, I hold that any religion that satisfies the individual urge is valid for that person. It does satisfy millions, so it is true for its believers.²

She was careful to separate vodun from the cannabalistic society Sect Rouge, also known as the Cochon Gris and Vring Bra-Drig. She says Sect Rouge "has taken cover under the name of voodoo," but is entirely different. "It is forbidden by law and detested by all but the members. And they use the name Voodoo to cloak their gatherings and evade arrest and extinction."³ And she observes:
If science ever gets to the bottom of Voodoo in Haiti and Africa, it will be found that some important medical secrets, still unknown to medical science, give it its power, rather than the gestures of ceremony.

Hurston believed that the prejudice against Vodun was based on class.

[Vodun is] a harmless pagan cult that sacrifices domestic animals at its worst. The very same animals that are killed and eaten everyday in most of the civilized countries of the world. So since Voodoo is openly acknowledged by the humble only, it is safe to blame all of the ill of Haiti on Voodoo.

She found that upper-class Haitians do not acknowledge Vodun. "Voodoo has more enemies in public and more friends in private than anything else in Haiti." Hurston asserts that for the visitor from the United States, "the most striking phenomenon in Haiti" is "that habit of lying!" which she also refers to as a pastime, an art, and an expedient. She attributes Haiti's tragic history to lying, more than any other factor. When a Haitian cannot avoid acknowledging an unpleasant occurrence, he always has "a childish and fantastic explanation" for it. Although the explanation is believable only to an idiot, "it is told to intelligent people with and air of gravity."

This lying habit goes from the thatched hut to the mansion, the only differences being in the things that are lied about. The upper class lie about the things for the most part that touch their pride. The peasant lies about things that affect his well-being like work, and food, and small change.
For example, she writes that "under the very sound of the drums," an upper-class Haitian will deny the existence of Vodun in Haiti. Deep down "he does not hate Voodoo worship," and if he does not practice it, he sees it around him everyday and accepts it as routine, "but he lies to save his own and the national pride." 

Hurston also explored the realm of mystery that surrounds Haiti, and photographed a zombie. On November 8, 1936, Doctor Rulx Leon, director-general of the Service d'Hygiene, told her that a zombie had been found on the road and was at that moment in the hospital at Gonaives. They discussed the theories about the existence of zombies. They concluded that it was not a case of people coming back from the dead, but a matter of the appearance of death by some drug known to a few. And it was probably a secret originating in Africa, passed down from generation to generation. The doctors knew that the drug destroys that portion of the brain which controls speech and will power. She was also given permission to photograph the zombie.

I took her first in the position that she assumed herself whenever left alone. That is, cringing against the wall with the cloth hiding her face and head. Then in other positions. Finally the doctor forcibly uncovered her and held her so that I could take her face. And the sight was dreadful. That black face with the dead eyes. The eyelids were white all around the eyes as if they had been burned with acid. It was pronounced enough to come out in the picture. There was nothing that you could say to her or get from her except by looking at her, and
the sight of this wreckage was too much to endure for long.11

The zombie's name was Felicia Felix-Mentor. She had one son. Records show that she died and was buried in 1907. The husband remarried, and people eventually forgot about her.

Hurston writes in *Tell My Horse*:

... One day in October 1936 someone saw a naked woman on the road and reported it to the Garde d'Haiti. Then this same woman turned up on a farm and said, "This is the farm of my father. I used to live here." The tenants tried to drive her away. Finally the boss was sent for and he came and recognized her as his sister who had died and been buried twenty-nine years before ... Her husband was sent for to confirm the identification, but he refused. He was embarrassed by the matter as he was now a minor official and wanted nothing to do with the affair at all. But President Vincent and Dr. Leon were in the neighborhood at the time and he was forced to come. He did so and reluctantly made the identification of this woman as his former wife.12

Hurston was fascinated by the Haitians' ability to endear themselves to people. In "God and the Pintards," one of the chapters in *Tell My Horse*, she uses a folk tale to illustrate the kindliness and beaming charm of the Haitian people. She compares them to the pintards or guinea-fowl. As the story goes:

God planted a rice field one year. It was a rice field that was equal to His station and circumstances. It began to ripen and God began to look forward to the day of reaping.

One day a message came to God, saying, 'God, the pintards are eating up all of your rice. If you don't do something about it, there won't be any rice to reap.'13
God called the Angel Michael, gave him a gun and told him to go kill the pintards, adding, "I did not plant that rice for them. Go and shoot enough of them to scare off the rest. I meant to have a great crop this year."14

When the pintards saw Michael coming with the gun they flew up into a huge tree and began to sing and clap their wings together in rhythm. Michael aimed his gun at the great mass of pintards crowded in the tree and making rhythm. He was so overcome by their song and rhythm that he forgot to pull the trigger. While still aiming at the pintards he began to keep time with the wing clapping, "went to dancing and finally he laid the gun down and danced until he was exhausted." Ashamed because he did not do what God asked him, he took the gun back to God, and told him what happened and that he just could not kill the pintards.

God then called Gabriel and gave him the assignment. Gabriel returned with the same result. But he couldn't bear to face God, so he gave the gun to Peter and asked him to take the gun back to God. God then ordered Peter to "go kill those pintards!" Peter went and he, too, was so charmed by the song and dance of the pintards that when he returned to God he was too ashamed to talk. So God took the gun and went down to the rice fields himself.

The pintards left the rice field and flew into the tree again.
They saw it was God Himself, so they sang a new song and put on a double rhythm and then they doubled it again. God aimed the gun but before he knew it He was dancing and because of the song He didn't care whether He saved any rice or not. So He said, "I can't kill these pintards--they are too happy and joyful to be killed. But I do want my rice fields so I know what I will do. There is a world that I have made and so far it is sad and nobody is happy there and nothing goes right. I'll send these pintards down there to take music and laughter so the world can forget its troubles."

And that is what He did. He called Shango, the god of thunder and lightning, and he made a shaft of lightning and the pintards slid down it and landed in Guinea. So that is why music and dancing came from Guinea--God sent it there first.15

Katherine Dunham

Katherine Dunham was a successful choreographer and dancer and already known to many of the leading Haitian officials and intellectuals when she first went to Haiti in 1936. During her initial stopover in Haiti, she was escorted about the countryside by Dr. Price Mars and Rene Piquion.16 She dedicated her book *Dances of Haiti* to the latter.

Born in Joliet, Illinois, Dunham was a graduate student at the University of Chicago and went to Haiti on a Rosenwald Fellowship. Keenly interested in social mores, she soon learned that the first social regulation in Haiti was "Stay closely knit to your own color or degree of black-white blood-mixture grouping."17 That rule was "exclusive, endogamous, inherent, non-transferable,
It was not always immutable though, as the following Haitian proverb suggests: "Mulatre pauvre--neg'; neg' riche--mulatre! or, a poor mulatto is a black. A rich black is a mulatto.

The rich black, however, does not always get mulatto treatment, as Dunham explains:

Daughters of families I have known, who were educated in books, and rich. I have seen sit out dance after dance at fancy dress balls because they were just too dark of skin to make the social grade and fell behind the mulatto standard in features and hair texture.

Perhaps more surprising was her own insensitivity to child labor. She had seen women arriving in town with small children who might not return with them. She had seen child servants in hotels sweeping and scrubbing, although they were usually kept in back rooms. These children, known as "'ti moune" or little ones, are found in all urban Haitian homes and are accepted as a regular part of the Haitian social structure.

... I had not realized or my conscience was not stirred enough to admit that these child servants should be in some institution of learning, have shoes, and their labor have some recompense.

While she found the 'ti moune disturbing, she was extremely pleased with the overall care of peasant children.

In Haiti parents of peasant class love their children. They also love the children of everyone else and expect everyone else to love their children.
There is a naming process for adopted children, seemingly intended to boost their self-esteem—names such as Bien-aimée (Well-liked), Dieudonné (God-given), and Bienvenue (Welcome). And Dunham found no roving bands of homeless children there as one finds in Jamaica, Puerto Rico and other islands. When parents are unable to feed all of their children, they seek homes for them in "semi-adoption" with someone better situated—an elite family, a schoolteacher, doctor, or the kitchen of a hotel. These persons may provide no more than left-overs from their table, a banana leaf sleeping mat or a single clothing outfit. The child's birth parent usually receives a few coins or a small gift as a token payment, and returns home hoping that the child will get shoes, adequate food and clothing, and eventually schooling. These children seldom went to school or had shoes prior to the Stenio Vincent administration [1930-1941].

Dunham became a close friend of Louis Borno (President of Haiti from 1922-1930) and his family, and developed an especially close relationship with Dumarsais Estime, who in 1936 was president of the Chamber of Deputies, and in 1946 became president of the Republic. He made her a Chevalier in the Haitian Legion of Honor in 1949. She was escorted to the ceremony by her friend,
poet Jean Brierre, who was also Minister of Tourism and Culture.

She has returned numerous times to Haiti and calls it her spiritual home. She goes to Haiti "sometimes for rest from strenuous touring, sometimes as a landowner developing the property known as Habitation Leclerc, and one time to perform." She also finished her book A Touch of Innocence there, and went back to open a community clinic.

Haiti is almost always distinguished by its closeness to African culture and the minute extent to which it has been influenced by other cultures. "Excepting for differences of name and perhaps for slight alterations in ritual significance, the dances of peasant Haiti today might well be those of slave Haiti in the seventeenth century." 25

In Haiti, more than in any of the other Caribbean islands, the peasant priests acknowledged the blood relationship of all descendants of Nan Guinin ("from faraway Guinea"). After getting past the stigma of being an American, Dunham found that there was "great and protective interest in the recognition of Guinea blood ties "and great concern for her ancestors "who had not received the proper ritual attention" because that group of slaves taken farther north had been cut off from their brothers in the Caribbean and had forgotten these practices. To Dunham it seemed that the well being of the entire Negro race might be enhanced if
Blacks who live north of the Caribbean could be reacquainted with the rituals of ancestor worship and with voodoo.

She went to Haiti not only to study ritual but also to define the role of dance in the lives of the Haitian people. She devoted much attention to the sacred side of dance, explaining that "the bloodstream of Haitian peasant psychology is the vodun [voodoo, also spelled vaudon], and the complex surrounding the vodun reaches well into the economic, social and political life of Haiti. The external representation of the vodun is in dance." Further explaining the importance of understanding vodun and its relation to Haitian dance she said:

To know the dances of Haiti, the life surrounding the dances must be known, and the focus of this life is the vodun. Reduced to its simplest terms, the vodun is a cult of ancestor worship. The beliefs are a combination of animism and religions, and the chief rites extending these beliefs are propitiatory and seasonal, ancestral and agricultural.

It is in the innermost rooms of the "hounfor" [preparation school and convent] that the most intimate of the sacred dances take place, and only the initiated are permitted to witness and participate in them. It was not until Dunham's own initiation that she was introduced to the ritual formula within the hounfor. This initiation was "lave-tête", the first in a series en route to becoming a full-fledged "mambo." The sacred dances under the tonnelle
seem almost profane when compared to the solemnity of the small, select group, inner-temple dances.\textsuperscript{29}

Clothing is also very important to Haitian dance. Each religious cult has costuming with distinct design and color. The same is true of worshippers of particular deities within the cult itself. Thus one can easily distinguish a "petro" dance from a vodun dance.

Music and song are crucial to the concept and execution of movement. Generally, each family of the 'mystères' has its own peculiar drum rhythm; each "mystère" has one or more songs which are sung to this family rhythm. Each rhythm also accompanies a characteristic dance. The dances in the inner hounfor are the only ones that she knew to be unaccompanied by drum rhythms. At the climax of the secret ceremony of lave-tête initiation, songs are softly sung in "langage" but no drums are played.\textsuperscript{30}

The drummers have a special connection with the organization of the sacred dance. They are necessarily initiates themselves. They are accorded great authority and respect due to their constant care and interaction with the instruments. The "mama" drummer regulates the tone and pace of the dance. He also decides when the moment has arrived to introduce the breaks or feints which so often bring on possession. By training his attention upon and directing his drumming toward a certain person he invokes the
"mystere" to enter that individual. Drummers themselves are sometimes possessed while drumming, but they never sing while performing during the ceremonies. If they should feel the urge to sing or dance, they yield their drum to another in order to do so.\textsuperscript{31}

To be contrasted with the sacred dance in organization is the secular crowd or seasonal dance. The rara or Mardi Gras fall into this category. Of late the two terms for the one dance are used interchangeably, although the rara is an older and more religious term. The rara of carême (Lent) is found only occasionally in rural communities. While the Mardi Gras is nationwide during the weeks preceding Ash Wednesday. During Lent, one still encounters rara bands in rural areas, not playing the festive music of Mardi Gras but seriously celebrating the "arising" Christ. Vodun services are suspended during Lent.\textsuperscript{32}

The mass dances are centered around the king, who remains aloof. It is his duty to outdance any other king the band encounters as it proceeds through town and country, led by a self appointed guide who determines the direction of the march and when and where it will stop. The singing is led by a woman, any woman. Drummers take a secondary position. Here they are mere professionals, with none of the sacred attributes of the ceremonial drummers. The
majordomos or kings are also professionals, and may lead bands year after year, enjoying their status as the undisputed best dancers. Their reputations as dancers often extend over great distances. There is no stability in the Carnival bands. Members join and leave at will. The dance groups and the Carnival bands are motivated by different psychophysical impulses although there are elements of self-hypnotism present in both. Hypnotism and catharsis are perhaps the strongest elements of organization in these bands.\textsuperscript{33}

The social, small-group or "bamboche" dance falls between the two extremes in organization. Any get-together or "blowout," unconnected to a religious rite and not classed as a seasonal dance can be called a "bamboche." It is used to celebrate weddings, the departure of notables in the community, or a feast day for a Christian saint. While the ceremonies are sacred, the scene at a feast for a Christian saint is very secular. In towns the dances are held in brothels or sometimes in rum shops. In the country and suburbs they are sometimes held in the same "tonnelle" that is used for the vodun dances.\textsuperscript{34}

A distinguishing factor in the social dance is that in towns, at the rum shops and public houses, the "méringue" is the common dance. It is a general ballroom dance and is also the national dance of Haiti. Men pay to enter the
houses to dance with the women. In other instances they buy rum as the price for dancing.

But the dances in town serve a special function:

All are young or middle-aged people, still very active sexually, who seek stimulus and outlet for a definite localized urge. There is no structure whatsoever in the groups that gather at these public dance houses. It is a matter of two people, who are not interested in the rest of the group and who have no contact or association with the others, often having themselves met only by chance. They have no particular feeling of interest in the dance, excepting as it serves the secondary purposes of sensory stimulus and an excuse for physical and social contact.35

In the country the bamboche—to the casual observer—resembles the vodun and other gatherings for sacred dances. These gatherings are often marked by excessive rum drinking and the sexual nature of the dances. But for those knowledgeable about the gatherings, they are distinctly different in structure, form and function. There is no special hierarchy of officials but there is an implicit structure—more or less planned. Although there is no one to enforce codes of behavior and sanctions, they are understood. And the "open indulgence in sexual license" of the Carnival bands is not sanctioned at the bamboches, although couples do steal away into the banana groves or other secluded areas for sexual embraces. Because these are social dances, one's "behavior must also be social."

There are no special clothes, but one would not come half-naked or wearing the rags characteristic of the
Ortofonkik of Mardi Gras. And the officiating "houngan" or "mambo" is replaced by a self-appointed "mait-la danse," who is usually one of the top dancers in the community. That person must have a partner who is also an exceptional dancer. The emphasis is not placed upon physical attractiveness or youth, but on skill. The length and complexity of the repertoire of dances usually dictates that only the older persons have the skill to lead. The farther one goes into the rural areas the newer dances of close bodily contact become less and less popular.36

At Carnival time the upper-class Haitians form age and sex groups. Only during Carnival are groups that are ordinarily reticent if not hostile are brought together and made aware of each other. Normally mulatto, "griffe," and Negro are separated socially by barriers of "varying degrees of subtletly." This mass dance activity during mardi Gras is further intensified in the "combites" or work societies that often merge into and form separate units of carnival bands. Common bonds of occupation and recreation form these societies into a sort of brotherhood.37

At one time the concept of the seasonal dances was associated with the fertility cult (the planting season and the emphasis on the sexual form of the dances, but that significance has been reduced to a sexual catharsis. The increased birth rates following Mardi Gras confirms the
emphasis upon this sexual function. But at the same time, there is a sharp increase in deaths due to "over-excitement and exposure." There is also a sociological difference in the social small-crowd dance versus the seasonal large-crowd dance. The social dance allows for a certain amount of purposeful contact, and one chooses a partner only after carefully observing the level of skill and physical attributes. Consequently it is at the social dance that one often selects a mate. "Men and women develop the technique of the dance to as high a degree as possible in a deliberate effort at sexual attraction . . . ."

Aside from the sexual function, the social dance develops the artistic values through the exhibition of skill. Consequently, the Haitian peasant will willingly step aside to admire the technique of a dancer of superior ability.

Dunham became fascinated with divination when one of her hosts told her things about herself that she had told no one in Haiti, including the supreme tragedy of her life, the death of her brother; he delivered messages from that brother and from her dead mother. One of her more interesting experiences was witnessing the transfer of knowledge from a bocor to the highest in order of his disciples, the one most likely to have the qualities that made the dead bocor successful, in this case, his nephew.
Bocors are very knowledgeable in herbs and poisons. This one, a very old man, had been dead for three days, and he was one of the last really high-category bocors in the region and one of the most important in all of Haiti.

She learned from her guide that the older bocor was tired and did not want to go back into his body. He had been hovering in the shades about the head of his body since his release. She saw the stiff corpse of the bocor sitting upright in a brass bed, one arm rigidly pointing at a younger man kneeling beside the bed. As she peeped into the dead bocor's hut, which appeared to be full of people, Ms. Dunham continues the story:

No one seemed to be breathing, and I imagined that at any minute someone would come to the window drawn by the sound of my heart which was beating rapidly. There was no singing and no drumming, just silence. Then from the mouth of the handkerchief-bound head of the grizzled old man there was an unmistakable sigh. The younger man rose, crawled onto the bed without raising his eyes from the hand of the corpse, and placed his forehead against the wrinkled brow. There was a long period without sound or movement. Another sigh, and the body seemed to crumble, sinking onto the pillow behind it as lightly as a feather would fall. The hand fell with the body, and the new bocor seized the hand and pressed it to his lips. People were beginning to crowd around the bed, weeping and moaning, and the whole sound became an anguished chant. I felt guilty at being an eavesdropper to such emotion. I could see shadows of people streaming into the courtyard. They were dancing, singing, rejoicing. The transfer had only begun.
Mercer Cook

Mercer Cook, who chaired the Foreign Language Department at Atlanta University, went to Haiti in August 1943. At that time there was "no reader especially adapted" for the advanced English classes of Haitian schools."43 Since he believed that the foreign language teacher has a responsibility to go beyond grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation, and introduce students to the civilization of the target language, he compiled and edited The Haitian-American Anthology. Assisted by Haitian diplomat Dantes Bellegarde, he built on information in which the students were interested and with which they could identify.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt had convened a Conference of American Republics in Buenos-Aires in 1936 at which he stated that one of the necessary conditions for a policy of economic, scientific and cultural rapprochement in the Americas was a reciprocal knowledge of the four principal languages spoken in this hemisphere—English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish. Two years later, the same conference, held in Lima, Peru adopted the following resolution:

Afin de rendre plus étroites les relations intellectuelles entre les pays d'Amérique, il est recommandé aux Gouvernements américains d'introduire, dans leurs programmes d'études secondaires, normales et spécialisées, l'enseignement de l'espagnol, du portugais, de
l'anglais et du français, en harmonie avec les systèmes d'éducation de chacun d'eux.\footnote{44}

The Eighth American Scientific Conference held in Washington in 1940 repeated that resolution and called on the 21 American republics to require their institutions of learning to study these languages under parallel conditions. And Resolution 65 of The Second American Conference of National Commissions on Intellectual Cooperation in 1941 reinforced the recommendation of the previous Pan-American conferences. The Inter-American Educational Foundation, Inc. sponsored a number of English language programs in the Caribbean and in Central and South America.

In Haiti President Elie Lescot, succeeded in getting passed a law requiring English Language instruction in all Haitian schools at all levels from the fourth grade up. And through the cooperation of the Haitian Government, the U.S. Department of State, the U. S. Office of Education, and the Coordinators Office, seven English teachers, including four African Americans, launched to the program in the public schools of Haiti in 1943. The United States Office of Education named Cook supervisor of the English Language Program in Haiti. While teaching at Howard University in 1934, Cook published \textit{Le Noir}, a collection on Blacks in French literature, and another volume, \textit{American Portraits}, in 1939.
In the introduction to The Haitian-American Anthology, Bellegarde minimized his role in the anthology:

Je dis "notre," bien que ma collaboration ait modestement consisté à indiquer à M. Mercer Cook les pages d'auteurs américains qui . . . pouvaient le plus vivement exciter l'intérêt des élèves haïtiens et provoquer entre eux une discussion féconde sur les sujets traités. 45

All the selections were written about Haiti by North Americans except three. And those three were authored by Haitians Dantes Bellegarde, Jean Brierre and Maurice Dartigue. In this study, we will look briefly at three of the selections in the anthology. The first comes from W. E. B. DuBois' Black Folk Then and Now and is titled "The Result of the Haitian Revolution." DuBois argued that the result of the Haitian revolution was less important than "the ideas which it spread among many million black laborers in America and their exploiters." And more important than that was its "challenge to democracy." Haiti caused the world to grow alternately "red with laughter and white with fear" as it started its struggle for economic survival, replicating the African tribal government--emperor, chieftains, clans and family life. That the Haitians, unlike Europeans, divided the land among the peasantry, DuBois called the most "astonishing thing in the modern world . . . the plantation system disappeared. 47

The second selection is Jean Brierre's poem "To Paul Robeson" (translated by Frances Waldman):
I hear the world come to life in your voice,
from the first shudder of the herb
frenzied in the horror of the desert storms,
I hear your voice come from the depth of the ages
laden with the first laments
and the first sorrows of the black man.
The first stretch of earth where he spread his wrath,
I can trace in your voice
marked in blazing colors of sunlight and blood.

... Then from all the past griefs,
from all the calvarys [sic] we have climbed,
from all the laments that found no echo,
you will make a shining orchestra
with the sun and the moon for cymbals.
And leading the chorus of all our sufferings
Your voice
deep as the night,
vast as the deserts,
broad as the road of centuries,
will tell to the listening echoes
the sacred hymn of Black Redemption. 48

The final selection is from Mercer Cook's "Tony
Bloncourt Haitian Hero in World War II." The youngest of
seven children, he was killed by a Nazi firing squad on
March 9, 1942.

... Although only twenty-one years of age, he was
already recognized a "master derailer." He had won
this title by his skillful participation in the
"accident" that killed 450 Nazis and injured 1,200
more in the wreck of the Chantilly Express.
Moreover, he had helped to blow up one wing of a
factory producing for the Nazis, and had attacked
several German posts in Paris.
The terse announcemnt of young Bloncourt's
execution listed him simply as a Parisian. In
truth, like countless other so called "Parisians",
he had lived but a small fraction of his tragically
brief life in the French capital. In 1938, he had
left his native island, Haiti, to study in Paris.
Since early childhood he had dreamed of becoming a
naval officer .... With his Haitian
baccalaureate, he had hoped to be admitted to the
Ecole Navale but learned after his arrival in France
that foreign degrees were not accepted by the
"Grandes Ecoles." He obtained his baccalaureate in Paris, and was well on the road to his licence when the Nazis murdered him.

Though born in Haiti, Tony was allied to France by ties of blood. His mother was a native of Nice; his father, a Guadeloupean educated in Paris, and seriously wounded in the first World War. As a result of his wounds, the latter was advised by his physicians to seek a warmer climate. This was why the Bloncourts settled in Haiti in 1920. Since that time the elder Bloncourt has become director of physical education in the Haitian schools.

In making selections for the anthology Cook sought material short enough to be studied in one or two class sessions but interesting enough to stimulate discussion. But, he concluded, "We shall have failed if the student is not inspired to read some of the books in toto, for the development of reading ability depends largely on the desire to read."50

Cook, who later was to become ambassador to Niger and to Senegal, remained in Haiti for two years. Upon his return to the United States he continued his efforts to foster greater interaction between Haitians and African Americans. He appealed to African Americans to come to the aid of Haitians who he said were being "bled to death by American capitalists and need the support of American Negroes."51 As an example, he said that a one-cent box of matches sells for two or three cents in Haiti. When Haitians attempted to establish their own match factory the American controller thwarted their effort since he and his staff control all exports and imports on the island. A
similar effort was nullified when Cuba wanted to collaborate with Haiti to produce certain commodities. The financial controller placed such a high duty on the items as to make the project impossible. He said that many necessities including food and medicine are almost unobtainable because they are so heavily taxed.52

He pointed to the record of Haitian students in American schools before and after World War II as evidence that Haitians desired to know African Americans better. Before World War II, most Haitian students went to France for their education. "These students are impressed with what they see and realize that there is solidarity between the two groups, and go back to Haiti with a different viewpoint. This despite white Americans constantly telling them they are the Aryans of the Negro race."53 He also pointed to President Elie Lescot's appointment of Ambassador Antoine, whose wife was an African American, as a "departure from Haitian tradition" and is "further indicative of a very real desire for the friendship of the American Negro."

Saying that we charge too much prejudice to the Haitians, he dismissed accusations that light skinned Haitians look down on the dark, adding that he had seen far greater color prejudices among Negroes in Washington.54
Naomi Garrett

Among the English teachers associated with Mercer Cook in Haiti was Naomi Garrett. In a telephone interview she recalled her impressions and experiences in Haiti, "For the first time in life I was an American and not necessarily a black American." But she had a lot to learn as a woman in Haiti.

She was assigned to a school in Saint Marc, about seventy-five miles north of Port-au-Prince. Some women in Port-au-Prince told her not to go to Saint Marc. The State Department had alerted her to many of Haiti's customs and things that a "lady" did not do there. But she still was not prepared for the rigidity of the class system. She could not make up her own bed, go to the post office to pick up her mail or carry books under her arm. A woman could not buy a loaf or a hat without a custodian to carry it. When told that she had to have a man carry her books, she replied, "I have one book and a class register. I'm not going to get somebody to carry this book."^56

Garrett was the first woman her students in Saint Marc had had as a teacher, and the teachers in her school had never before worked with a woman teacher. But she emphasized that Haitian women were not oppressed, were "foward looking," and took charge of everything. "These
women are very independent. There is nothing subservient about any Haitian woman.\textsuperscript{57}

Not only did her gender have a different cultural value, but so did her color. She was surprised one day when a black person said to her, "I wish I were white."\textsuperscript{58} On another occasion a man asked her if anyone had ever called her white, adding that he was white. Garrett, who describes herself as "very dark," said, "He was midnight. He was darker than I am." What she learned from him was that anyone who speaks English in Haiti is considered white. One's whiteness, however, carries no privilege. "There is no difference in treatment. They respect you if you respect them. The peasants are poor but they have pride."\textsuperscript{59}

To further illustrate her point on the neutrality of color, she said that a blond, blue-eyed Virginian (in Haiti) asked her, "Do you think I'm black?" He took her with him into a village and proceeded to give money and other items to peasant children who frequently commented that he was "un bon negre" (a good Negro). Garrett explained that a "bon negre" to them meant that he was a good person. "It has nothing to do with color."\textsuperscript{60} For an African American conditioned to be color conscious, this was indeed educational.

Born in Columbia, South Carolina, she was the valedictorian of her high school class. She was graduated
from Benedict College in Columbia in 1927. During subsequent summers she studied French at Howard University. During her second summer there, she took a course on "The Negro in French Literature" under Sterling Brown and a language course from Mercer Cook. Her initial attitude toward Cook was quite negative. She recalls that one day after class, she "flew up to him" because he never called on her, demanding, "Do you have my name on your roll?" He explained that she did not need his class, she was too advanced. He encouraged her to stay at Howard and work on her master's, promising her a teaching assistantship. She later informed him that she was going to study at Atlanta University where she had been offered a scholarship, where-upon he informed her that he was going to Atlanta University that fall as Chairman of the Modern Language Department.61

She received her degree from Atlanta University and was working in Baltimore when President Theodore Roosevelt began his good neighbor policy. The State Department called her inviting her to go Haiti as the first person to teach in the English Language Program that was soon to start there (She had been recommended by Mercer Cook.).62 A person at the State Department told her, however, that there was a Bi-national Commission in Haiti that did not want her to come because she was American, black, and a woman. She said
that the Americans on the Commission did not want her to go because they did not want the Haitians to know that there were intelligent, educated blacks in the United States. She said that the Haitians on the Commission did not want her to come because they did not want Haitian women to see a woman being treated as an equal.\textsuperscript{63}

In any event, she went to Haiti in January of 1943 and was treated well. However, Mercer Cook came to Haiti in August of 1943 as the supervisor of the English Language Programs and made it clear that he wanted her reassigned to work with him in Port-au-Prince at the Haitian-American Institute.\textsuperscript{64} While in Haiti Garrett became good friends with Claude "Papa Doc" Duvalier, the future President of Haiti. He had just returned from studying health at the University of Michigan, and had not yet entered politics. He was in charge of rural health in Haiti. Garrett said of him, "He was doing lots for rural people and was a \textit{good man}. You know they say that politics corrupts."\textsuperscript{65}

She has not been to Haiti since 1979. She found economic conditions had deteriorated to the point that it depressed her. "I left feeling that and I didn't care if I ever went back again."\textsuperscript{66}

While Garrett was in Haiti she studied the influence of the U. S. Occupation on Haitian poetry. Her book, "The Renaissance of Haitian Poetry," chronicled that influence
and the influence that African Americans had on revolutionizing Haitian literature.

Alain Locke

Alain Locke was the first African American Rhodes Scholar. With publication of *The New Negro*, he became the premier interpreter of the thematic developments in black culture and the chief figure in the African American arts. Although his formal education was in philosophy, he was also knowledgeable in art, music, literature, psychology, and the physical sciences. His influence was enormous. His endorsement often was the determining factor in whether a Black artist received a foundation grant. He was one of twelve African Americans selected to the 1942 Honor Roll of Race Relations, a national poll which annually selects the most outstanding persons during the year.

In 1943, the United States Government selected him as Inter-American Exchange professor to Haiti. Part of his mission in going there was to improve relations between the two countries. There he wrote and delivered five speeches based on his study of "Le Rôle du Nègre dans la Culture Américaine," which were addressed to President Elie Lescot and the Haitian people. In his first speech on "Race, Culture et Démocratie," he sought to provide a better understanding of North American culture and particularly
black influence on American culture. It was his goal to highlight the black factor, and African origin, which is a common denominator, and which predominates in certain countries in the Americas. He told the Haitians:

... il est hors de doute que, en maints endroits de l'Amérique du Nord, du Sud, et de l'Amérique Centrale, y compris les cultures diversifiées des Antilles, le génie et les traditions de la race noire, ont ajouté une certaine vitalité et une certaine originalité aux beaux arts, à la musique, à la danse, au théâtre et dans le folklore. Ils ont pénétré si profondément dans la matrice culturelle de ces pays qu'il est impossible de les éliminer ou de les ignorer.\textsuperscript{70}

From his perspective on life, the role of culture was pre-eminent. "La démocratie culturelle constitue donc, la base intellectuelle et morale indispensable, de toutes les autres formes de vie démocratique."\textsuperscript{71} He held that the role of artists and writers was not to be reformers, but that their use of racial material could awaken the consciousness of all Americans.

The problem was "not sectional but national ... it cannot be either exclusively the white man's burden or the black man's burden, but is fundamentally interracial. It is neither exclusively educational, economic, nor political, but a composite."\textsuperscript{72}

Locke felt that young African American artists "had much to learn, and something special to derive, from the rich ancestral heritage of the plastic art of Africa."\textsuperscript{73} Pointing to how the modern French painters credited Africa
as the inspiration for their work, Alain Locke, in his book *Negro Art: Past and Present*, said that Picasso met art collector Paul Guillaume and art critic Guillaume Apollinaire, both pioneers in the serious appreciation of African art. Guillaume summed up the impact of African art of the French modernists:

> What formerly appeared meaningless took on meaning in the latest experimental strivings of plastic art. We came to the realization that hardly anywhere else had certain problems of form and certain technical ways of solving them presented itself in greater clarity or success than in the art of the Negro. It then became apparent that previous judgments about the Negro and his arts characterized the critic more than the object of criticism. The new appreciation developed instantly a new passion, we began to collect Negro art as art, became passionately interested in corrective reappraisal of it, and made out of the old material a newly evaluated thing.⁷⁴

> Of course, the "newly evaluated thing" was modernist art. Therefore Negro art is one of the principal elements in the radical shift in art styles that characterize modern artists and has become representative of modern art. Similar to the way that Negro musical forms have been the basis for much of modern music, Negro or African art "has been the most powerful force in modern art."⁷⁵

Locke was haunted until his death in 1954, by the apathy of African Americans toward Africa. A year before he died he pined for the day when "knowledge and transforming evaluations" of higher levels of African culture would make their way down to the level of the average educated person,
particularly African Americans. He said that there was nothing that the African American knew less about or misunderstood more than the importance of the arts and antiques to a true understanding of African life. And he strongly criticized black colleges for not being more aggressive in this area.

He believed that an enduring cultural democracy had to be based on equality and fraternity without barriers of race or nationality. While acknowledging that certain differences will probably always exist between countries, he felt that the most important factors in our culture are the same in all American countries—Christianity, democratic institutions, modern industrial technology, science and the scientific method, logic of thought and reason, the basic forms of art, and fundamental aesthetic and moral reactions.

But he felt that the national aspect was particularly important.

Nous avons aussi, en plus de cette commune civilisation, une solidarité qui repose sur des intérêts que nous devons apprendre (sic) à reconnaître, à apprécier, à cultiver et à stimuler."

Locke contends that only provincialism and our subjective limitations prevent us from realizing the commonality of our interests and political victimization:

"... pendant près d'un siècle et demi, nous avons été les victimes d'une conception politique de la culture, qui n'était pas appropriée et qui était en
He believed that past centuries, in spite of their disadvantages, had a larger and more just view of the world. Medieval Europe had its grand philosophical conception of Christianity. The Renaissance introduced in a secular way its universal humanism, unifying all of Europe, from a cultural point of view, without regard to nationality. And in the cosmopolitan eighteenth century, cultural and intellectual relations between France, England, Germany and the Netherlands were so close that people were hardly aware of the great division that we perceive today as the dichotomy of Latin and anglo-saxon thought and sensitivity. Our world grows and the means of communication become greater but our concept of culture and human solidarity "s'est retrecie et a sombre."  

Locke insists that we should not only blame the racists or Japanese for their totalitarian concept of culture or nationality and their interpretation of history based on the notion of a master race. For we, too, have unconsciously and sometimes overtly supported modified forms of the view that culture and race were organically linked and that civilization was the exclusive product and property of the classes, nations, or ethnic groups holding the levers of political and economic power. He argued that the facts are altogether different:
Les plus riches moissons de la culture ont été transplantées et n'étaient pas les produits du sol ou elles fleurissaient. Quelques-unes des plus remarquables manifestations des Arts: musique, danse, folklore, tout spécialement, sont nées dans les classes paysannes les plus humbles, et souvent originales de l'étranger; le meilleur de la culture dérive, pour une grande part, non de milieux purs, mais de foyers métisses et hybrides, que semble enrichir ce processus de croisement culturel.

Moreover, the important point is that the cultural output of Negroes, everywhere they are found in the Americas in respectable numbers, has only demonstrated and illustrated these fundamental truths on the nature of the culture, regardless of what some reactionaries wish to think about it. And if we sincerely want to establish a cultural democracy, we must learn these lessons.

Locke believed that in spite of political conventions, there are few if any uniform cultures in the Americas. Here, uniformity is neither characteristic nor predominant.

Nous devons donc construire nos sociétés nationales respectives, sur la réalité américaine de fait, non point sur des modèles européens, stéréotypés et d'ailleurs périmés. En conséquence, si nous sommes résolus à regarder l'avenir et sa fécondité, plutôt qu'un passé stagnant et stérile, et si surtout, nous voulons éviter les vieilles luttes et les vieilles haines d'un nationalisme arrogant et jaloux, nous autres, peuples de l'Amérique, nous devons concevoir et mouler nos vies nationales, de manière qu'elles embrassent, apprécient, et assimilent les diversités culturelles, tissant ainsi les fils multicolorés de la culture, pour en faire une tapisserie plus riche et plus harmonieuse, une civilisation essentiellement composite. C'est de cette manière, seulement, que nous réussirons à harmoniser notre nationalisme
He supports the concept of "cultural pluralism." For him it was the only notion of culture that is wholly democratic and the only concept of nationality that was really founded on facts, free of habitual pitfalls. Of larger nations, cultural pluralism requires modesty, tolerance and a spirit of brotherhood. Of smaller nations it guaranties security, personal dignity and reciprocity. In the United States and Mexico, under the influence of cultural pluralism, the culture of the American Indians is considered in new light. It is no longer seen as a scorned, foreign culture, isolated from the mainstream. Rather, it is a precious heritage not only for the direct descendants, but a source of richness for the general culture of the continent.

Il en est de même de l'attitude contemporaine plus intelligente, à l'égard de la culture populaire nègre en Amérique du Nord. Le mouvement parallèle de revalorisation des facteurs afro-cubains, afro-brésiliens et afro-antillais, au sein des cultures régionales respectives, correspond à la même tendance. Ainsi, dans le renversement des vieilles valeurs, nos sociétés nationales peuvent trouver un ferment puissant de démocratie. La vieille notion aristocratique de cultures supérieures et de cultures inférieures, basées sur le modèle des traditions sociales, est ainsi remplacée par une conception plus démocratique de la culture des groupements, agissant les uns sur les autres. Ici, la supériorité culturelle appartient à l'influence créatrice, qui conquiert par sa vigueur, et par le but qu'elle se propose.
He found in the African American a minority in whom oppression developed an effective spiritual power, and one which has become a dominant cultural force. He uses the spiritual as an example, asserting that the spiritual is a musical creation, unique in its genre, and of inestimable value. Thus the spiritual is on the one hand authentically racial, but on the other hand, profoundly human and universal: in certain ways, it has a typically Negro character, and in other ways it is very representative of America.85

Spirituals, like many other art products, come from two distinct cultures: From the Black side it is a blend of a racial temperament and the unique history of a whole people. The final product, however, is a synthesis of the great Protestant, Christian tradition which has its roots in the nordic branch of the family. And the product is greater in quality than its constituent parts. This is what gives to the spiritual its universal and profoundly human and eternal appeal.

L'étude des faits historiques ne justifie donc aucun chauvinisme racial et jette le ridicule sur ces esprits partisans qui refusent d'accepter l'idée d'un mélange de cultures, alors que ce mélange lui-même se révèle si sain et si fécond, et que les deux cultures, comme dans la paternité et la maternité physique, y jouent un rôle également essentiel.86

Locke scholar Richard A. Long said in 1970 that Locke's "analytical observations on the spirituals were two
generations ahead of any thinking on the subject and are still the most sensible things said in print that can be understood by a layman."  

Applying the cultural pluralism theory to the Haitian experience, Locke saw great artistic and intellectual promise in the fact that the Haitians have preserved and merged the African and French cultures that comprise their heritage. And he predicted for Haiti a strong burst of original artistic creation, and rather soon. He alluded to Philippe and Pierre Thoby-Marcelin's having won the Pan American Prize for their novel Canapés Vert as an example of artists developing local or national subject matter so well that its excellence elevates it to the international and universal levels, while remaining substantially representative of a race. Their art enriches the art and culture of the American continent, it publicizes Haiti and enhances the appreciation of the Black race as a source of a living, contemporary and distinguished culture.  

He saw great significance in the fact that white American artists often show a marked preference for Black themes and forms. That is in fact democracy manifesting itself through the culture of a nation. And since art influences behavior, democracy will find itself reinforced in other areas of life, and in the practical interactions
between people. Ultimately the important thing is the atmosphere and the positive color of the work of art, and not the color and the race of the artist. For too long critics have labeled the bottle and not its content. We are therefore in a full climate of humanism and of democracy when we see an artist who is not at all black, with a sincere spirit, making a deep and intimate attempt to assimilate and interpret Negro art. "Negro art" thus becomes no longer an artistic ghetto for the black artist himself, nor an exotic pasture for the white artist full of humanitarian intentions or desirous of diversions, but the common field of labor of all of the workers in a typically national art:

Nous voulons espérer que nos artistes seront, non seulement les pionniers d'un art plus vrai, plus riche; mais aussi qu'ils sauront être les prophètes d'un monde . . . plus largement, et plus pleinement démocratique . . . Une fois que l'on aura reconnu comme légitimes, ces attitudes culturelles d'un ordre nouveau, la notion de race prendra un sens également nouveau, dans la domaine de l'art . . . . La race ne sera plus une expression nationale divergent au coeur même de la nation; ce sera tout simplement, l'un des nombreux thèmes, qui se mêlent pour former ensemble, la symphonie de la culture nationale.90

He also derived great hope from fair and objective literature written by whites on themes vital to blacks coming out of hotbeds of racism like Oxford, Mississippi and Johannesburg, South Africa, as was the case with William Faulker and Alan Payton, respectively, with their books Cry
the Beloved Country and Intruder in the Dust. He was also encouraged by black poets, such as Langston Hughes, who included "tributary" verse by white poets and writers from the Caribbean with mixed blood.

Locke's research and lectures in the Caribbean led to his selection to Haiti's National Order of Honor and Merit. He also was made an honorary Fellow of the Sociedad de Estudios Afro-Cubanos.

Philosoper-critic Eugene Holmes said of Locke:

As a critic, philosopher, and teacher, Locke did more to shape the attitude and thinking of a generation of Negro youth than any other educator of his time, reflecting, as he did, a critical insight and cultural sensitivity that has not been surpassed.

In 1944, W. E. B. DuBois accepted a request from the Haitian Government to come to Haiti to lecture. It marked his first trip to Haiti. Dantes Bellegarde described DuBois' lectures in an editorial in La Phalange in September of 1944: "Dr. Du Bois, although maintaining the objectivity of the scientist, has brought to his study of American society a flaming eloquence which explains his indignation as regards certain excesses of injustice."

John W. Work III

Fisk University, under the aegis of the Foundation of Inter-American Education, sent two professors to Haiti in July 1945 to assist in the improvement of education. One of
those professors was John W. Work III. He went as a consultant to a project aimed at integrating the country's folk music into the public education curriculum. He was specifically asked to help Haiti with a number of projects, including "the recording and transcribing of Vodoun music, the establishment of a national public school music curriculum, and the compilation of a music book of Haitian schools."96

During his three-month visit, Work traveled to the rural regions of Haiti in order to record folk music "peculiar to specific villages," and to observe the various folk festivals which embodied singing, dancing, and the playing of instruments. He helped Mme Lina Fussman-Mathon develop a singlevolume music book *Collection of Songs for Use in Haitian Schools*. He compiled his musical experiences in "Haitian Folk Songs Make Good Hunting," an unpublished account of his visit to Haiti.97

He often obliged the Haitians' requests for him to speak on American folk music. And he used many of the songs that he heard in Haiti as themes for several of his compositions, including the *Yenvalou* suite (1946), which has settings for both strings and full orchestra, and grounded in several Haitian folk melodies; the choral composition *Grigi*. *Grigi* (1953), a song that the peasants sang to him in Côtes
de Fer village; and *Evening in La Valée* (1955), scored for two pianos.\(^9\)

Among Work's recommendations was the formation of an organization to perpetuate the Haitian musical tradition. J. Maurice Dartigue, the Haitian minister of Education, endorsed the recommendation at a dinner-concert in Work's honor on September 7, 1945.

... I am happy to take the occasion of this party to say a few words relative to a project proposal suggested by Dr. Work. It ... involves finding a means of publishing the excellent compositions which we have had the pleasure of hearing tonight. I believe that we can, without exaggeration, speak of a new birth of a national music, and since we do not have an artistic tradition here, it seems necessary to find a substitute. Perhaps the most noticeable means could be to form a society for the Publication of Haitian music.\(^9\)

A composer, arranger and college professor, John Wesley Work III was born into a family of professional musicians. His father, college music professor John W. Work II, sang, arranged and collected folk songs. His grandfather, John Wesley Work I wrote and arranged choir music in Nashville, Tennessee. His brother, Julian, was a professional musician. His mother, Agnes Hayes Work, also sang and helped to train Fisk University singing groups.\(^10\)

He began the study of piano when he was twelve. His musical training was acquired at the Fisk University laboratory school, the Fisk High School, and Fisk University where he received his bachelor's degree in 1923, the
Institute of Musical Art (now the Juilliard School of Music) in New York (1923-24), where he studied with Gardner Lamsom. In 1930, he earned a bachelor's degree from Columbia University Teachers College, studying under Howard Talley and Samuel Gardner. He also studied at Yale (B. Mus.) under David Stanley Smith.

Work spent his entire teaching career at Fisk University (1927-1966), serving as teacher, lecturer in the University-sponsored series, director of choral groups (with which he toured), and department chair. He published in journals and musical dictionaries for more than thirty years.

When he was in high school, he began composing and continued throughout his career. He was most prolific in choral and solo-voice music, but he also wrote for full orchestra, piano, chamber ensemble, violin, and organ. The best known of his instrumental works were Yenvalou for orchestra (1946) which used Haitian themes; the piano works Sassafras (1946), Scuppernong (1951), and Appalachia (1954). He won Julius Rosenwald fellowships in 1931 and 1932, first prize for his cantata at the Federation of American Composers in 1946, an award from the National Association of Negro Musicians in 1947, and an honorary doctorate from Fisk in 1963.
Work's trip to Haiti was a turning point in his life. His Haitian-inspired composition *Yenvalou* won the American Broadcasting Award which was presented to him in Detroit during the First Congress of the Fellowship of American Composers, May 6, 1946. Garcia underscores the importance of this award.

Winning top prize in this competition is probably the most significant event in Work's musical career. This honor gained for him recognition as a composer on the national level and induced reputable orchestras to perform his other compositions.102

The premiere performance of *Yenvalou* was performed by conductor F. Charles Adleer and the string section of the New York Philharmonic Symphony Society on September 7, 1946 in Saratoga, New York. Upon hearing a transcription of *Yenvalou* for two pianos at the 1947 Festival of Music and Art at Fisk University, *New York Herald Tribune* critic-composer Virgil Thompson reviewed it:

Two movements of John W. Work's "Yenvalou" suite (originally for strings) were played in a two-piano arrangement that might well have passed for an original, so idiomatic was the writing.

Mr. Work's suite is the finest piece on a Haitian subject I have yet heard; and if it sounds as well for string orchestra as it does on two pianos, it is one of the finest pieces of contemporary music in the whole American repertory. First performed at Saratoga in 1946, it has not yet been played elsewhere. One looks forward to its introduction into symphonic repertory with eagerness and with confidence about its success. It is a charming work and thoroughly interesting to listen to.103
Eldzier Cortor

One of the African American painters to have intimate contact with Haiti was Eldzier Cortor. Living in Haiti's interior, Cortor was fascinated by the lives, attitudes, and symbols of the island, especially their dances, drumming and vodun. He remained in Haiti for two years, learned to speak creole and taught drawing at the Haitian Centre d'Art in Port-au-Prince.

Comparing Haiti with Cuba and Jamaica, he said, "Haiti is different. It is something that is there." For him, the thing that distinguished Haitians was that "they just go right ahead and be themselves." He provides substance for Alain Locke's "cultural pluralism" when he says:

Their art was so involved with the symbolism of their culture that it would be impossible for anyone else to intepret it. It has so many symbols, including voodoo symbols, that, even if they were influenced by American things, it would be their own. For example, they have a mural in the Episcopal church there that is an early Christian sort of thing--Christ's birth--all done in Haitian terms, with a Black Christ and local people.

. . . . What they have been able to do is take Catholicism and blend it with voodooism. They absorb things which then become theirs.

Cortor came to national prominence in 1946 when Life magazine published one of his studies of tall, nude Black women. These studies earned him distinction and reputation as one of the first painters to celebrate the beauty of Black women.
Following his exposure in *Life*, he received the Guggenheim fellowships that took him to Haiti. Driskell says that Cortor's "absorption with the grace of black female figures" was enhanced by his studies in Haiti where he sketched women pulling nets from the sea, dancing, and working in the fields.105

His work is held in many private collections as well as those of the Library of Congress, the American Federation of Art, the Musee du Peuple Haitien, Howard University and other museums. Cortor's work was well known in Europe. Author Sinclair Lewis said in his book *Kingsblood Royal* in 1947 that "if one were black one would have hanging on the wall either a portrait of Haile Selassie or a painting by Eldzier Cortor."106 And while Cortor was known for his painting, he was also an internationally known poet, and one of America's first black pilots.107

Richmond Barthe

Richmond Barthe went to Haiti in 1940 on a Guggenheim Fellowship which was renewed in 1941. During the early 1940s, he moulded sculptures of heroic Black generals, including monumental statues of the first black military generals in the Western Hemisphere--Toussaint Louverture and Jean-Jacques Dessalines. The statues today stand in Port-
au-Prince. He also sculpted the portrait of Toussaint Louverture which appears on Haitian coins.\textsuperscript{108}

His sculpture is displayed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, the Whitney Museum of Art, and many private collections throughout the world.

Barthe was born in Bay St. Louis, Mississippi in 1901 to parents of African, French and Native American descent. He studied at the Chicago Art Institute from 1924-1928. His first love was painting, but he turned away from painting to sculpture in 1927 after two clay heads that he had made purely for his own pleasure were exhibited at the Chicago Women's City Club and won immediate praise.\textsuperscript{109}

His works of the 1920s and 1930s helped to establish the image of Alain Locke's \textit{New Negro}.\textsuperscript{110} After moving to Rockefeller Center in 1933, the Caz-Delbo gallery opened with an exhibition of Barthe's work. He also exhibited at the 1933 World's Fair with Henry O. Tanner and Archibald Motley. His first commissions were busts of Henry O. Tanner and Toussaint Louverture. The acclaim he received from these works earned him a one-man show in Chicago and helped him to get a Rosenwald Fellowship to study in New York City. The Phelps-Stokes Fund commissioned him to do a portrait of leading African educator, James Aggrey, and copies were distributed in many African countries. Xavier University in
New Orleans awarded him an honorary masters degree in 1934. Later in the year he went to Europe, which "opened up a new world" and resulted in exhibitions abroad.  

In 1937-1938, he was commissioned by the United States Treasury Department to make mural auditorium decorations and friezes for the Harlem River Houses--two eight-by-forty-foot bas relief panels. In March of 1939 he had his largest exhibition--18 bronzes opened at the Arden Galleries in New York. The exhibition was critically acclaimed. 

During World War II he became the "most highly publicized black artist in the country," with works ranging from portrait busts to murals. While he was indeed an extraordinary sculptor, the United States at this time wanted to increase black manpower in the war and to convince people at home and abroad that America was democratic in spite of segregation and discrimination. His life was dramatized on radio in New York. He was filmed at work by the Office of War information, and the film was shown in the United States and abroad. He received numerous interracial awards, including the James J. Hoey Award for Interracial Justice. Material was also published about him in "nearly every interracial organization."  

Barthe understood that he was being used. He said of the publicity, "this was the answer to Hitler and the
Japanese who said that 'America talks democracy, but look at the American Negro.' I think I have gotten more publicity than most white artists, much of it because I was a Negro.\textsuperscript{115} In spite of the publicity, however, he was hardly earning enough money to support himself.\textsuperscript{116}

In 1946 he became the first African American commissioned to sculpt a bust to go into New York University's Hall of Fame.\textsuperscript{117} He is the only sculptor with two portrait busts--George Washington Carver and Booker T. Washington--in the portico of the Hall of Fame in New York.\textsuperscript{118} He was the first African American commissioned to make a public monument commemorating a white American, Hearst newspaper editor and columnist Arthur Brisbane. And he was among fifteen sculptors nationwide selected to improve art in Catholic churches.\textsuperscript{119}

In the late forties, he left the United States and moved to Jamaica. Noel Coward was but one of his many British friends and aristocrats who spent their winters there. He later moved to Florence, Italy, and spent his final years in California.

Ellis Wilson

Painter Ellis Wilson was deeply impressed by Haitian peasants coming to the markets with baskets of vegetables, fowl, flowers, and fruit on their heads.
Watching them everywhere—the market, beaches, wharves and bus stops, his observations led to a dramatic change in his painting. He recalled:

It came to me that at a great distance, you see these people coming and going—and you don't see their features. They're black—they're a mass of darkness—so I started painting the faces flat. That was a big step for me!\(^{120}\)

Actually, just going to Haiti was a big step for Wilson. It stimulated his creativity.

... it was a black republic in which they [black people] were in charge of everything—I'd never been to a place like that. And although they were black, I couldn't understand them—they spoke Creole and French. All that excited me. And then it was tropical ... I'd never seen a tropical place—and with the music, drumming, the dancing, they were very artistic.\(^{121}\)

His most popular painting is the "Haitian Funeral Procession," (ca. 1950s). It is distinguished by its simplicity, unusual composition, and the eloquent dignity of the mourners. Born in 1899 in the tobacco country of Kentucky, Ellis Wilson became a leading interpreter of life in Haiti.\(^{122}\) He first visited Haiti in the early 1950s when he received a $3,000 award in the Terry Art Institute National Contest. He used the money to go to Haiti to find new subjects.\(^{123}\).

Wilson's paintings have been credited with changing the perceptions of Black people wherever they were exhibited. "The Cosby Show" exposed his paintings to millions of Americans. One of the episodes revolved around
one of Wilson's paintings of Haitians going to work in the fields.\textsuperscript{124} Wilson died in 1977.

Lois Mailou Jones

After her marriage to Haitian Louis Vergniaud Pierre-Noel in 1953, Lois Mailou Jones was invited by Haiti's President Paul E. Magloire to combine a second honeymoon with painting a series depicting Haiti's landscape and people. As a part of that commission she was asked to teach at the Centre d'Art at the Foyer des Arts Plastiques during the absence of its founder and director, DeWitt Peters.

Her teaching in Haiti put her in contact with the island's leading artists. She said the Haitian artists were much less interested in her theories of structure and color than they were interested in meeting me as a person, as a fellow artist, and in watching me as I taught the younger group of Haitians.\textsuperscript{125}

By the end of Jones' visit to Haiti, Madame Magloire, Haiti's First Lady, sponsored an exhibit--"Oeuvres de Lois Mailou Jones Pierre-Noel--of some forty-two works Jones had created in Port-au-Prince and Paris. And on September 17, 1954 the Government of Haiti awarded her the Diplôme et Décoration de l'Ordre National "Honneur et Mérie au Grade de Chevalier" in recognition of her outstanding
achievements in art. Lois Mailou Jones taught art at Howard university for forty-seven years as a professor of design and watercolor. She established herself as one of the premier African American artists when she won her first award in Boston in 1926. David Driskell says that "she is known throughout the world as a great teacher and a painter of amazing versatility." And perhaps no American artist has had a longer and more intimate relationship with Haiti.

When President and Mrs. Magloire visited the United States in 1955 as the guests of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Jones' paintings from Haiti, including life-sized portraits of the Magloires, were unveiled at a ceremony at the Pan American Union in Washington, D. C.

Haiti was not just a second home for her, it changed her art. She said that she left the United States and went to Paris because her American professors here told her that the establishment in this country would never accept her work. "When I went to Haiti my painting was different. I had been doing impressionism. But Haiti was different, very different. In Haiti there was so much color! And the market place. Voodoo. And Black people!"

She has worked in eleven African countries and found a great deal of similarity between Africa and Haiti. "Haiti never cut its ties with Mother Africa. Many of my works with an African theme and African motifs were actually
created in Haiti. Some of my most creative compositions, for which I researched African icons, patterns, masks, and sculptures, were actually done in my Haitian studio.  

She returned to Haiti every year from 1954 through 1969. Her husband died in 1982 and her regular visits to Haiti were interrupted following the overthrow of Jean-Claude "Papa Doc" Duvalier in 1986. However, she resumed her trips to the island republic in 1989, returning again in 1991 and 1993. And keeping her biennial streak in tact, she left again for Haiti on December 14, 1995--to do watercolor--at ninety years of age.
NOTES


2 Ibid.


4 *Dust Tracks on a Road*, p. 213.

5 *Tell My Horse: Voodoo and Life in Haiti and Jamaica*, p. 92.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid., p. 81.

8 Ibid., p. 82.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid., p. 83

11 Ibid., p. 195.

12 Ibid., pp. 196-197.

13 Ibid., p. 259.
14Ibid.

15Ibid., pp. 259-261.


17Ibid. p. 7.

18Ibid.

19Ibid., p. 8.

20Ibid., p. 42.

21Ibid., p. 43.

22Ibid.

23Ibid., p. 44.

24Ibid., p. 51.


26Ibid., xvi.

27Ibid., p. 6.

28Ibid., p. 5.

46 Ibid., p. 19.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid., pp. 95-96.

49 Ibid., p. 116.

50 Ibid., p. vii.

51 Chicago Defender, 17 November 1945, p. 3.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.

54 Ibid.

55 Telephone interview with Naomi Garrett, Institute, West Virginia, 14 February 1996.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.

60 Ibid.
61 Ibid.
62 Ibid.
63 Ibid.
64 Ibid.
65 Ibid.
66 Ibid.
68 Richard A. Long, 12 June 1978 (NEH Seminar Pamphlet)
71 Ibid., p. 27.
72 Ibid., p. 57.


Ibid., p. 38.

Linnemann, p. 103.

Locke, 1943, p. 12.

Ibid., p. 13.

Ibid., pp. 13-14.

Ibid., p. 13.


Ibid., p. 16.

Ibid.

Ibid., pp. 17-18.

Ibid., p. 19.
86 Ibid., p. 20.

87 Linnemann, p. 126.

88 Locke, 1943, pp. 23-24

89 Ibid., p. 25.

90 Ibid., p. 27.

91 *Phylon*, First Quarter 1950, pp. 5-6.

92 Ibid., p. 11

93 Linnemann, pp. 77-78.


95 Ibid.

96 Garcia, p. 81.

97 Ibid., p. 82.

98 Ibid.

99 Ibid.

101 Garcia, p. 82.

102 Ibid., p. 85.

103 Ibid., p. 86.

104 Bearden, pp. 276-277.

105 Ibid., 277.


107 Bearden, p. 272.

108 Ibid., p. 141.

109 Driskell, p. 158.

110 Bearden, p. 136.

111 Ibid., p. 140.

112 Ibid., pp. 140-141.

113 Ibid., p. 141.

114 Ibid.
115 Ibid.

116 Ibid.


118 Ibid., p. 137.


120 Bearden, p. 342.

121 Ibid.

122 Ibid., p. 337.

123 Driskell, p. 154.

124 Ibid., p. 343.


126 Driskell, p. 166.

127 Ibid.
Interview with Lois Mailou Jones, Camille Love Gallery, Atlanta, Georgia, 3 December 1995.

Benjamin, p. 79.

Ibid.
The person most responsible for the cultural and literary interaction between African Americans and Haitians was James Weldon Johnson. But for his expose on the Occupation, the world may never have known how the United States plotted the takeover of Haiti and how the National City Bank of New York tried to force it into bankruptcy or that more than three thousand defenseless Haitian men, women and children were slaughtered for no reason. And he had the foresight to parlay that expose into a Presidential campaign issue in 1920. He produced evidence of officials admitting that the revolutions in Haiti were financed by foreigners and were profitable speculation.

Johnson convinced the Haitians to establish an NAACP-type organization to aid in the resistance to the Occupation, and, as general secretary of the NAACP, he opened the doors of that organization to the Haitians. That he was able to get the cooperation of Marcus Garvey in aiding the Haitian cause at a time when the NAACP and most other black civil rights groups detested Garvey is a tribute to Johnson's diplomatic skills. And his writings, lectures and profound love for the Haitian people led a parade of African American artists and literary figures to go to Haiti
and to enrich their art. Some of them said they experienced freedom—as human beings—for the first time in Haiti.

He urged the Haitians to reduce the Creole language to writing. Language continues to be one of the major obstacles to social justice in Haiti as well as to cultural, political, and economic development. While French is the official language of Haiti, it is not the national language. Only twelve percent of Haitians speak French. The masses speak Creole. Marguerite Laurent argues that the language problems keep the Haitian masses dependent. "Without a clear understanding of the language the common folks are unable to effectively oppose, criticize or inquire about their treatment or their elemental Constitutional rights and obligations." ¹

While the focus of this study is the contact and interaction between African Americans and Haiti, it is important to note that each group has benefited from the other even when there was little contact or interaction. And a major conclusion of this study is that African Americans have been the greater beneficiaries of this contact and interaction.

The Haitian role in the American Revolution is clear, documented, and all Americans benefited. Haitian independence contributed to the ending of slavery in this country. It was the direct cause of the laws halting the
importation of slaves into the United States, and an indirect cause of the dismantling of slavery in the United States. The fear was that the increasing number of slaves would lead to a similar slave revolt in this country.

It is highly questionable whether the United States would have become the super power that it did had it not been for Haiti's successful Revolution, which resulted in Napoleon’s selling the Louisiana Territory to the United States. The acquisition of Louisiana was important because it more than doubled the size of the United States.²

Haitian writers often call the Louisiana Purchase "a gift from Haiti to the United States," pointing out that Haiti "contributed to the maintenance and development of the American nation."³ Henry Adam’s book, History of the United States advanced the thesis that the successful slave revolt in Haiti was the primary reason that Napoleon sold Louisiana to the United States, a conclusion which has long been accepted, according to Rayford Logan.⁴

Schmidt calls the loss of Saint Domingue a "critical factor" leading Napoleon to sell Louisiana." Consequently, it was "an important event in American history."⁵ John Hope Franklin concurs: ". . . it was the Negroes of Haiti that were, to a large degree, responsible for the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States."⁶ W. E. B. DuBois summed up the point thusly:
[Toussaint] rose to leadership through a bloody terror, which contrived a Negro 'problem' for the Western Hemisphere, intensified and defined the anti-slavery movement, became one of the causes, and probably the prime one, which led Napoleon to sell Louisiana for a song, and finally, through the interworking of all these effects, rendered more certain the final prohibition of the slave-trade by the United States in 1807.

The Haitians, by their successful revolution, provided the example of what North American slaves could achieve, and not the reverse. So important was Haiti as a symbol of freedom for African Americans that it took the United States fifty-eight years to be able to permit African Americans to see the example of Haitian diplomats walking the streets of America as free men with diplomatic immunity. According to Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri, the United States could receive no mulatto or black consuls or ambassadors from Haiti because "the peace of eleven States in this Union will not permit black Consuls and Ambassadors to establish themselves in our cities, and to parade through the country, and give their fellow blacks in the United States, proof in hand of the honors which await them, for a successful revolution on their part."

When the United States finally recognized Haiti's independence and established a ligation there, Haiti and Liberia were the first countries to have American diplomats. And they changed the way that the United States related to those countries. That was especially true of Frederick
Douglass as evidenced by the Haitian's naming him as their Commissioner to the World's Fair of 1893.

When the Haitians began to reclaim their African heritage during the 1920s, ultimately culminating in the Negritude movement in literature, it should be remembered that the wide acceptance of African American artists and literary figures in Europe played a significant role in enabling the Haitians to accept themselves as Africans rather than Frenchmen.

It is not enough for African Americans to look at Haiti as a sad curiosity and wonder why they are so poor or why they can not simply accept majority rule and live in peace. It is important that African Americans, who like to think of themselves as the ninth richest nation on earth, repay their debt to their Haitian brothers and sisters, who in fact live in the poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere.

The world's debt to Haiti, and especially the debt of African Americans, is best expressed by Frederick Douglass in his "Lecture on Haiti," the speech he delivered at the Haitian Pavillion of the 1893 World's Fair:

... the little community of Haiti... has her mission in the world, and a mission which the world had much need to learn. She has taught the world the danger of slavery and the value of liberty. In this respect she has been the greatest of all modern teachers.

... Until Haiti spoke, the church was silent, and the pulpit was dumb. Slave-traders lived and
slave-traders died. Funeral sermons were preached over them, and of them it was said that they died in the triumphs of the Christian faith and went to heaven among the just.

To have any just conception or measurement of the intelligence, solidarity and manly courage of the people of Haiti when under the lead of Toussaint Louverture [Prolonged applause], and the dauntless Dessalines, you must remember what the conditions were by which they were surrounded; that all the neighboring islands were slaveholding, and that to no one of all these islands could she look for sympathy, support and co-operation. She trod the wine press alone . . . .

[Haiti] has grandly served the cause of universal human liberty. We should not forget that the freedom you and I enjoy to-day; that the freedom that eight hundred thousand colored people enjoy in the British West Indies; the freedom that has come to the colored race the world over, is largely due to the brave stand taken by the black sons of Haiti ninety years ago. When they struck for freedom, they builded better than they knew. Their swords were not drawn and could not be drawn simply for themselves alone. They were linked and interlinked with their race, and striking for their freedom, they struck for the freedom of every black man in the world.
NOTES


4Ibid., p. 142.

5Schmidt, p. 28.


7Logan, p. 226.

8Franklin, p. 150.

APPENDIX A

Excerpts

1. Toussaint L'Ouverture
by Leslie Pinckney Hill

Act V Scene XIII

The action takes place in French General Brunet's temporary quarters near Gonaives. The other characters are Ferrari, and a guard of French soldiers:

BRUNET:
Ferrari, we must speed this action through.
Let nothing slip. Be ready at my nod
To close upon him. If he speaks fine words,
Regard them not, and if he makes request
To see his family, I'll answer him.
He is most punctual, and will be here.
LeClerc lies prostrate, but will be revived
When he is sure that we have trapped the fox.

FERRARI:
All is prepared. The light sail-boat, Creole,
Is moored close to the shore at Gonaives
With trusty men aboard, and farther off,
In the deep waters, rides the man-of-war,
Heros, with every sailor at his post,
And guards to make secure the prison rooms,
For even on the bosom of the deep
The spirit of this man is dangerous.
But look you, Sir, the gentleman has come.
(Enter Toussaint in military uniform, with his
hand on his sword, and followed by ten soldiers.)

BRUNET (Very courteously and deferentially):
Your health, Toussaint. Accept my welcome here,
And my best thanks that you are punctual.

TOUSSAINT:
Your letter written in obliging terms
Of friendly interest, was quite enough
To bring me promptly, Sir, to give the help
You seem to seek from my experience,
Touching some questions of disarmament.
My wife, whom you invited, is detained
By household cares, and sends apologies.
BRUNET (Still very pleasantly):
'Twas my desire at first to come to you,
   But peremptory duties intervened,
   And since you are at leisure, I presumed
Your good wife and yourself might undertake
   The little journey.

TOUSSAINT: You were very kind.
What service may I render?

BRUNET (Abandoning the deferential manner and assuming the strict bearing of a soldier.)
General,

Why are these black men picketing your home,
And throngs of people gathered at our gates,
And violence and ribald mimicry
Still flaunted in our faces by your neighbors?
And why are black men all abroad with guns,
And drilling on these plains, when by the terms
Of peace all should be quiet and at work?
You wear, good Sir, yourself a uniform,
And carry at your side a sheathed sword.

TOUSSAINT: These are the ragged vestiges of war
That linger on, but they will pass away.
It is not easy to break habits off.
I have exhorted all our citizens
To peaceful industry, and when they come
To show me deference, or seek advice--
You know they love me, Sir--I let them see
This military uniform of France
In proof of my continued dignities,
And my intended service to the state.

BRUNET: Well, General, the time has come at last.
(Nods to Ferrari.)
To end all parleys. You will come with us.

(Armed French soldiers rush in with swords upon Toussaint and his escort. Toussaint draws his sword, and his men try to defend him, but they are overpowered. Toussaint, seeing his helplessness, submits with dignity, and they permit him to stand a moment in a closed circle untouched.)

TOUSSAINT: This is heinous treason and a crime
Against a peaceful state. How do you dare
To touch the person of a General
Of France, whose services the world acclaims!
How can you violate a sacred treaty
By such a coward act of perfidy!
BRUNET:  
Sir, we are soldiers and obey our orders. 
TOUSSAINT:  
I will address LeClerc.  
BRUNET:  
That will be useless. 
TOUSSAINT:  
But surely you will not refuse me leave 
To see my family. 
BRUNET:  
Good Sir, we must not argue. We must go. 
TOUSSAINT (Looking up to heaven): 
God, why hast thou forsaken me! (To Brunet) You think 
In me you cut the tree of freedom down, 
But you have only lopped away a limb. 
The roots of liberty have run so deep 
In this red soil that they can never die. 
(Exeunt in strict military order, Toussaint enclosed 
within the guard behind his men. There is a flash of 
lighting and a dull muttering of thunder in the 
distance.)
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2. Ouanga!

Opera by Clarence Cameron White

Act III Scene II

The "Red Bridge". (SEE DRAWING FOR SCENE)

(When the curtain rises Le Bossal is seen)
(with 4 or 5 other men in native costume)
(like himself)

(Curtain)

A Soldier (Tenor) Do you think Gérin will meet us here?
Le Bossal I see him now! The army deserts Dessalines lines!

(Gérin enters) (To Gérin) Have you sent the fake messages?

Gérin Yes, to both of them.
Le Bossal He thinks his old love calls.

Gérin Their hearts lead him to his doom!
Le Bossal (speaking) Someone is near! Hide beneath the bridge!
(They disappear under the bridge as) (Défilée appears walking over it.)

(Défilée comes slowly down on the stage.)
(She is in a pensive mood.)

Défilée Will he come? Here on this sacred spot. I am waiting for him as of old - but does he still love me - Ah! does he still love me? or is it now but vain glory or Queen Claire Heureuse? Ah! Dessalines! Dessalines! Alas! Alas! I wonder will he come, will he? Will he? (Gerin comes from)  

(under the bridge)
Défilée  (Défilée sees Gérin)  You!

Gérin  Yes, it is I, not Dessalines! For you are waiting for him I know. I have followed you to your old meeting place.

Défilée  (in anger) Why have you done this? Do you mean to harm him?

Gérin  Listen! Défilée! Why be deceived? He does not love you.

Défilée  You say he does not love me?

Gérin  (spoken) No! he simply comes to win you again to his cause!  (with deliberation) You must surrender him to us!

Défilée  No! No!

Gérin  Deliver the murderer of Mougali!

Défilée  No! No!

Gérin  (slowly and impressively)

He deceives you!

Défilée  (spoken sadly) Perhaps!

(looks at the sun) When the sun sinks with its last fading rays and its crimson light is dying - Be here with your men, if what you say is true!  (sadly) So it must be, though sorrow comes! But go! go! let it be over soon!

(holding her breast)

I feel he is coming!

(Gérin still on stage arrests his steps.)

(looks toward the bridge)

Gérin  Yes! here he is, now. (Rushes under the)

(bridge)

Défilée  (looks anxiously in the distance for)

(Dessalines.)

Dessalines  (appears on the bridge and comes down to)

(to Défilée)

Défilée!

(they embrace) This place recalls! memories! The fragrance of these flowers - the soul of this spot.

Défilée  Ah! you still love me!
All brings the past back to me -- -- -- --

Thanks to Thee mighty "Ouanga"!

"Ouanga"?

Yes! Come back to our ancient ways and to our love!

Yes give me your love and I shall have power.

Listen! I hear the church bells ring in distant Port-au-Prince. Ah! Dessalines, it seems those bells such tears and sorrow bring that I am fearful. But now I know you love and (looks anxiously about) I must warn you! Be on your guard! (Dess.) (looks about not intimidated)

(spoken) Gérin has just left me. He is planning your death! (excited) But, let me go to them! The soldiers - listen to me - now! (Defilee hastily kisses Dess. and exits right stage)

(paces nervously back and forth) (with a)

(sigh )

(looks up at the mountains)

Haiti! Haiti!
Isle so beloved! Time was - time is -
Time will be (Gérin, Le Bossal & soldiers)
(appear on the bridge & )
(creep stealthily towards )
(Dessalines. )

Alas, the future no man knows. As for myself I stand alone. Yet in my heart forebodings wake.
(Sees them)

Gérin! Le Bossal!

(to soldiers) Do your duty! (The soldiers)
(rush Dess. )
(who tries to)
(defend )
(himself )

(The soldiers floor Dess. & surrounding)
(him, stab him with their bayonets )
(Defilee rushes on from left )
Défilée

(Défilée is seized by Gérin) Dessalines! (Struggles to be released.)

Oh Legba! (raises her hand over Gérin.)

(He immediately releases her.)

(She rushes to Dessalines)

(The soldiers draw back exposing the)

(dying Dessalines)

(Défilée falls sobbing beside Dess.)

(They rush off)

Gérin

(to soldiers) Come.

(spoken) Let us spread the news!

Dessalines

(looks up and recognizes Défilée) My course is run forgive me! Sing, Sing to me again, O Défilée!

(in despair) Dessalines O Legba! my warrior is dying. (Dess. falls back, dead)

My warrior! My warrior, - is dead!

(almost spoken) (looks up at mountains) Oh Drums beat me a tattoo. Go tell the Voodoo his dauntless soul is fled!

(Falls across body of Dess.)

(Populace enter bearing torches and chanting)

Tenors Legba gives & legba takes. Fear the one

Cho.

Basses Legba gives & Legba takes.

Sop. __________

Alto __________

Tenor who molds & makes. Fear the one who kills

--- who kills and takes--- Fear the one--- who kills and takes---

Sop. Legba gives and Legba takes. ---

Alto " " " " ---

Tenor " " " " Legba gives

Bass " " " Legba gives and Legba takes.

(Div.)

Sop. Fear the one who molds and makes.

Alto " " " " " "

Tenor " " " " " "

Bass " " " " " "

(Div.)
Sop. Fear the one who kills -- who kills and takes!
           " " " " who kills -- and who takes!

       (Div.)
Alto  Fear " " " " who kills and takes!
          " " " " who " " takes!
Tenor " " " " kills and takes!
Bass  Ah! " " " " Ah!

(Raises up and looks at mountains)
Défilée (with clenched fists stretched towards the mountains with a cry of despair)

The Ouanga!

(Slow Curtain)

End of the Music Drama.
The opera opens in Haiti on the night of August 22, 1791. "Napoleon's threat over Europe crushing dreams of freedom. Freedom is enchained in Haiti, too.... In the darkness men rise from their knees to their feet to lift gnarled hands against the forces of slavery.... The night is ominous, throbbing with a power long suppressed, full of strange portent."

ACT I

Moonrise. In the vast interior of an abandoned Sugarmill, the slaves are gathering, men, women, children, to strike for freedom. A door opens to the palm trees and the stars. Outside, Popo, a ragged slave on sentry duty, paces. Softly against the night, but suddenly like a shaft of light, a mother's voice rises calm and clear. Gently, tenderly, very sure with that surety of life and earth that women know, Celeste sings to her baby in her arms.

CELESTE

Little dark slave child,
No slave to me!
You are my son, child,
Who must be free.

Barren this barn, child,
No place to rest
Lay your dark head
On mother's breast.

Sleep now, my baby,
Sleep now, my son.
Mother will free you
Ere night is done

Dream your sweet dreams, child,
That have no name.
Mother will dream now.
A dream of flame - - -

Flame that will sweep
Our slavery away!
Sleep on, my little one,
Till the new day.

**Popo stops before the door**

POPO: Not so loud, Céleste!
The woods have ears tonight.
No sound to warn the whites - - -
Till the drums speak!

CELESTE: I know, no sound!
Until through the darkness
The slave people come
To await the beat
Of Legba's drum.
Oh, sleep now, my baby,
Sleep now, my son.
You will be free
Ere night is done.

**There is a noise in the underbrush.**
**Popo stands alert, then cries out.**

POPO: Halt! Who goes there?
AZELIA: Azélia!
POPO: Azélia? Friend, enter then!
AZELIA: Heavy this load I bear!
POPO: What is it you bring?

AZELIA: Neither melons nor mangoes, friend - - -

Weapons I bring!
Hidden here beneath this fruit
Are whips that sting!
Blades that cut! Cane knives bold!
Spanish pistols rusty and old.
Weapons I bring to free the slaves - - -
For my Jean Jacques.
CELESTE: And for our freedom!

AZELIA: Yes! For our freedom.

Tooktheretheyhidetheweaponsina
darkcornerofthemill.

POPO: We'll need them all, Azélia. Every whip, every knife, Every pistol, rusty or old. But where is Jean Jacques?

AZELIA: Through the woods in the dark Comes Jean Jacques. Drawing near by no one seen Steals Jean Jacques. Lest our masters become wise And learn too soon of our secret plan, By hidden paths through the jungle With a guard of slaves Walks Jean Jacques.

POPO: Our leader, Jean Jacques!

CELESTE: Our guide, Jean Jacques!

AZELIA: My husband, Jean Jacques — — — Through the woods in the dark, Himself a spark To light the flame that will spread Terror and dread To our masters! The flame that will sweep Our slavery away — — — And bring to our people A new day!

CELESTE: To me and my little one a new day!

VOICES: To the slaves in the darkness a new day!
... [Haiti] came into the sisterhood of nations through blood. She was described at the time of her advent, as a very hell of horrors. Her very name was pronounced with a shudder. She was a startling and frightful surprise and a threat to all slave-holders throughout the world, and the slave-holding world has had its questioning eye upon her career ever since ... .

Despite all the trying vicissitudes of her history, despite all the machinations of her enemies at home, and in spite of all temptations from abroad, despite all her many destructive revolutions, she has remained true to her self, true to her autonomy, and still remains a free and independent state. No power on this broad earth has yet induced or seduced her to seek a foreign protector, or has compelled her to bow her proud neck to a foreign government. The people of Haiti, by reason of ancestral identity, are more interesting to the colored people of the United States than to all others, for the Negro, like the Jew, can never part with his identity and race. Color does for the one what religion does for the other and makes both distinct from the rest of mankind.
... [Haiti] has grandly served the cause of universal human liberty. We should not forget that the freedom you and I enjoy to-day (sic); that the freedom that eight hundred thousand colored people enjoy in the British West Indies; the freedom that has come to the colored race the world over, is largely due to the brave stand taken by the black sons of Haiti ninety years ago. When they struck for freedom, they builded better than they knew. Their swords were not drawn and could not be drawn simply for themselves alone. They were linked and interlinked with their race, and striking for their freedom, they struck for the freedom of every black man in the world ... Her future autonomy is at least secure. Whether civilized or savage, whatever the future may have in store for her, Haiti is the black man's country, now and forever.

... the little community of Haiti ... has her mission in the world, and a mission which the world had much need to learn. She has taught the world the danger of slavery and the value of liberty. In this respect she has been the greatest of all modern teachers.

Speaking for the Negro, I can say, we owe much to Walker for this Appeal, to John Brown for the blow struck at Harpers Ferry, to Lundy and Garrison for their advocacy, and to the abolitionists in all the countries of the world. But we owe
incomparably more to Haiti than to them all. I regard her as the original pioneer emancipator of the nineteenth century.

It was her one brave example that first of all startled the Christian world into a sense of the Negro's manhood. It she who first awoke the Christian world to a sense of "the danger of goading too far the energy that slumbers in a black man's arm." Until Haiti struck for freedom, the conscience of the Christian world slept profoundly over slavery . . . . Until she spoke no Christian nation had abolished Negro slavery. Until she spoke no Christian nation had given to the world an organized effort to abolish slavery. Until she spoke the slave ship, followed by hungry sharks, greedy to devour the dead and dying slaves flung overboard to feed them, ploughed in peace the South Atlantic painting the sea with the Negro's blood . . . .

. . . Her hand was against the Christian world, and the hand of the Christian world was against her. Hers was a forlorn hope, and she knew that she must do or die.

But Haiti did more than raise armies and discipline troops. She organized a Government and maintained a Government during eighty-seven years. Though she has been ever and anon swept by whirlwinds of lawless turbulence, though she has been shaken by earthquakes of anarchy at home and has encountered the chilling blasts of prejudice and hate from the outside world, though she has been assailed by fire
and sword, from without and within, she has through all the
machinations of her enemies, maintained a well defined civil
government, and maintains it to-day.

... Until Haiti spoke, the church was silent, and the
pulpit was dumb. Slave-traders lived and slave-traders died.
Funeral sermons were preached over them, and of them it was
said that they died in the triumphs of the Christian faith
and went to heaven among the just.

To have any just conception or measurement of the
intelligence, solidarity and manly courage of the people of
Haiti when under the lead of Toussaint Louverture [Prolonged
applause], and the dauntless Dessalines, you must remember
what the conditions were by which they were surrounded; that
all the neighboring islands were slaveholding, and that to no
one of all these islands could she look for sympathy, support
and co-operation. She trod the wine press alone . . . .

In Greek or Roman history nobler daring cannot be found.
It will ever be a matter of wonder and astonishment to
thoughtful men, that a people in abject slavery, subject to
the lash, and kept in ignorance of letters, as these slaves
were, should have known enough, or have had left in them
enough manhood, to combine, to organize, and to select for
themselves trusted leaders and with loyal hearts to follow
them into the jaws of death to obtain liberty . . . . the
freedom of Haiti was not given as a boon, but conquered as a right! Her people fought for it . . . .

. . . in the face of the fact that she has attached herself to the car of the world's civilization, I will not, I cannot believe that her star is to go out in darkness, but I will rather believe that whatever may happen of peace or war Haiti will remain in the firmament of nations, and, like the star of the north, will shine on and shine on forever.
APPENDIX B

Selected Biographies

BARTHE, RICHMOND, was born January 28, 1901, in Bay St. Louis, Mississippi. He studied at the Art Institute of Chicago. The most outstanding African American sculptor, he exhibited in the 1933 World's Fair, and his largest exhibition, with eighteen bronzes, opened the Arden Galleries in New York with critical acclaim. His sculpture is in the Whitney Museum of American Art, the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, and private collections all over the world. During World War II, he created heroic statues of past black generals, including Toussaint Louverture and Jean-Jacques Dessalines. And his portrait of Toussaint Louverture appears on Haitian coins.

COOK, MERCER, was born in Washington, D.C. to well known artists Will Marion Cook (composer and writer) and Abbie Mitchell Cook, a prominent figure of the American stage. He received the B. A. degree from Amherst College in 1925, and was awarded a Simpson Fellowship for a year of study at the University of Paris, from which he received a diplome in 1926. Brown University awarded him the Master of Arts in 1931. In 1934, he was awarded a General Education Board scholarship for another year of study at the University of Paris and Bibliotheque Nationale. And in 1936 he received the Ph. D. from Brown.

He was a professor of romance languages at Howard University for fourteen years, and he began a seven-year tenure as chairman of the Foreign Language Department at Atlanta University in 1936. In September of 1943, he went to Haiti for two years as the supervisor of English Language Programs. He is best known for for Le Noir, an anthology of the works of notable French authors who have written about blacks. In 1961, he went to Paris as Foreign Representative of the American Society of African Culture and as Director of the African Affairs Program of the Congress of Cultural Freedom. The latter positions enabled him to travel widely in Africa. He served as United States Ambassador to Niger, and in 1964 he was appointed Ambassador to Senegal. He served as an alternate delegate to the eighteenth General Assembly of the United Nations.
CORTOR, ELDZIER, was born January 10, 1916 in Richmond, Virginia. He was one of the first African American artists to use the beauty of black women—as a major theme. One of his nude studies was published in Life magazine and resulted in a great deal of publicity and a Guggenheim Fellowship. Using his fellowship, he spent two years in Haiti, learned the local patois, and taught drawing at the Haitian Centre d'Art in Port-au-Prince. After returning from Haiti, he lived in Chicago, then New York. He was victimized in the early 1950s when Senator Joseph McCarthy branded the WPA a communist. Having worked on the WPA, many people assumed guilt by association and were frightened. His marketability plummeted. Cortor then went to Mexico where he developed an interest in lithography.

DESSALINES, JEAN-JACQUES, known as the father of Haiti, he declared independence in 1804. He was the most famous of Toussaint's generals and his most ardent follower. He was an ex-slave with a black master. A huge man, he always fought bare-chested. Some people believe that he was superior to Toussaint in military genius, although he was an old man before he learned to write his name. Prior to the insurrection he had been a carpenter. He took sadistic pleasure in having people gagged and put inside chests or tied onto trestles and then sawed in half. He strongly disagreed with Toussaint's policy of reconciliation with the whites.

DOUGLASS, FREDERICK, was born about 1817 in Tuckahoe, Maryland. His father is believed to have been his slave master. To escape slavery, he ran away at the age of twenty one and married a free woman to whom he had been engaged before his escape. They settled in New Bedford, Massachusetts and reared several children. Self educated, he developed an interest in public affairs and began to speak out on social issues before African American audiences.

After addressing a large audience in Nantucket in 1841 he was hired as an agent of the Antislavery Society. He was sent to England where he became acquainted with some of its most distinguished citizens. When he returned to the United States, he settled in Rochester, New York and founded a newspaper, The North Star, which was later renamed Frederick Douglass' Paper and Douglass' Monthly. An abolitionist and advisor to President Lincoln, he befriended John Brown and fled to Canada for a time when it was believed that he may have had a role in the attack of Harper's Ferry.
In 1870, he established the New National Era in Washington, D.C. In 1871, President Grant appointed him to the Territorial Legislature of the District of Columbia, and in 1872 he moved to the District. He was appointed to accompany the commissioners to Santo Domingo when the United States was considering annexing Santo Domingo to the United States. And in 1877, President Hayes Commissioned him United States Marshal for the District of Columbia. In 1881, President Garfield appointed him recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia. He was appointed Minister to Haiti by President McKinley in 1889, and in 1893 the Haitian Government appointed him as their Commissioner to the World's Fair held that year. He died in 1895.

DUBOIS, W. E. B, born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, on February 23, 1868, he was an author, editor, and educator. He earned the bachelor's degree from Fisk University and a second bachelor's from Harvard where he also was awarded the Ph. D. degree.

He was the organizer of the Niagara movement, the Pan-African Conferences and a founder of the NAACP. He was the NAACP'S director of publications and editor of The Crisis from 1910 to 1932, Phylon Quarterly Review from 1940-1944, and the Encyclopedia of the Negro from 1933-1945.

Of his writings, he is best known for The Souls of Black Folk (1903). Other major works include Suppression of the Slave Trade (1896), The Philadelphia Negro (1899), John Brown (1909), Quest of the Silver Fleece (1911), The Negro (1915), Dark Water (1920), The Gift of Black Folk (1924), Dark Princess (1928), Black Folk Then and Now (1939), Dusk of Dawn (1940), Color and Democracy (1945), The World and Africa (1947), In the Battle for Peace (1952), and Black Fame, a trilogy (1957-1961).

He taught Greek and Latin at the universities of Pennsylvania and Wilberforce. He taught history and economics at Atlanta University from 1897-1910 and sociology from 1932-1944. In 1944 he returned to the staff of the NAACP as director of the organization's special research department. He held that position until 1948. In 1961 he emigrated to Ghana where he became editor-in-chief of Encyclopedia Africana. He joined the Communist party in 1961, when he was ninety-three years old. He died two years later in Ghana.

DUNHAM, KATHERINE, born in Joliet, Illinois, she earned the master's degree in anthropology. Her master's thesis, financed by a Rosenwald grant, was based on her study of Haiti, Jamaica, Martinique, Cuba, Trinidad and Brazil. She went to Haiti in 1936 and was fascinated by Haitian dance and folklore. In Haiti, she bought an
historic plantation, "Habitation LeClerc," which once belonged to Napoleon's sister, Josephine, and her husband, General Victoire Emmanuel Leclerc, who commanded the losing French troops during the Haitian Revolution. Since 1939, she has devoted her career to dance. She does her own choreography and staging, presents her own shows and dancing groups for other shows. She gives demonstrations and lectures at universities, has performed in recitals, opera, on Broadway, and in feature movie roles. She is a recognized authority on African dance. Her dance company was associated with the Moscow Art Theater and has given concerts in more than fifty countries. She has written articles, short stories, and two books—Island Possessed and The Dances of Haiti.

GARRETT, NAOMI, born in Columbia, South Carolina, she was a high school valedictorian. She was graduated from Benedict College in 1927 and taught in a number of small communities in South Carolina and, for one year, in North Carolina. She did further study at Howard University, under Mercer Cook and Sterling Brown, and at Atlanta University, again under Cook. She then taught for a year in the public schools of Baltimore before accepting a position with the State Department to teach in Haiti, where she worked in the English Language Program supervised by Cook. When her tenure in Haiti was nearing completion, the Haitian government offered her a position as director of a Normal School for girls. She did not accept the offer, but went on to earn the Ph. D. degree in French from Columbia University. She lives in Institute, West Virginia.

GARVEY, MARCUS, born in Jamaica in 1887, he moved to Kingston at the age of fourteen. It was there, working in a print shop, that he became sensitive to the living conditions of the working class. He became involved in social reform, and participated in the first Printers' Union Strike in Jamaica in 1907. He also helped to establish the newspaper The Watchman. He returned to Jamaica in 1911 and began preliminary plans for the Universal Negro Improvement Association. He traveled to Central and South America to get money for his projects and his visits to various countries confirmed his belief that black people are victims of discrimination wherever they are found. The following year he went to England to get financial backing. There, he was befriended by Duse Mohammed Ali, a Sudanese-Egyptian journalist. For a time, he worked for Ali's newspaper African Times and Oriental Review. Garvey began to study African history. The exploitation of Africans by colonial powers was of particular interest to him.
He organized the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and the African Communities League in 1920. Thousands joined these organizations. He established more than thirty branches in just a few months. The black nationalist also started bold new business ventures, most notably The Black Star Shipping Line. He organized The Negro World and began touring the country, preaching black nationalism. He also started a colonization program, urging blacks to go back to Africa.

In subsequent years, the UNIA started to lose its appeal. The shipping company encountered serious financial setbacks. And he was sentenced to five years in prison for allegedly using the mails to defraud investors. President Coolidge commuted his sentence after two and a half years of imprisonment, and ordered him deported to Jamaica.

Garvey then ran for political office in Jamaica on a platform calling for minimum wage, self-government, and land and judicial reform. He was defeated. In 1935, he went back to England where he died in near obscurity in 1940.

HILL, LESLIE PINCKNEY, born in Lynchburg, Virginia in 1881, he was a scholar, musician and a writer. He was graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Harvard, earning the bachelor's degree in 1903 and the master's in 1904. He taught at Tuskegee Institute from 1904 to 1907, and was principal of Manassas Industrial School in Virginia from 1907-1913. In 1913 he went to Cheyney Training School for Teachers in Pennsylvania. He developed that institution into Cheyney State Teachers College in 1930 and became its president. He wrote poetry, prose, and drama. His first book of poems, The Wings of Oppression, was published in 1921. And his historical drama, Toussaint L'Ouverture, was published in 1928.

HUGHES, LANGSTON, born in Joplin Missouri in 1902, he was the product of a broken marriage and spent a lonely childhood, moving from place to place. He spent several summers in Mexico where his father moved to avoid the racism of the United States. He learned Spanish and French.

As a young man he lived in Washington, D. C. with his mother's family and became disillusioned by the pretensions of many middle-class blacks there. He moved to New York City, where he became a poet, librettist, song lyricist, and newspaper columnist closely associated with the Harlem Renaissance. He created the Harlem character Jesse B. Simple in his newspaper columns. Simple was taken to the stage in "Simply Heavenly."

His poetry collections include The Weary Blues (1926), The Dream Keeper (1932), Shakespeare in Harlem (1942), Fields of Wonder (1947), One Way Ticket (1947), and
Selected Poems (1959). His most outstanding prose includes a 1930 novel, Not Without Laughter, his autobiographies The Big Sea 1940 and I Wonder As I Wander (1956).

HURSTON, ZORA NEALE, born in 1903, she attended Morgan State, Howard, and Columbia universities. Influenced by Alain Locke, she became one of the leading figures of the Harlem Renaissance. She published articles in Opportunity, and served on the editorial board of Fire with Langston Hughes.

She published Jonah's Gourd in 1934, and her most important novel, Their Eyes Were Watching God, was published in 1937, followed by Moses, Man of the Mountain in 1939, and Seraph on the Suwanee in 1948. She wrote two books of folklore—Mules and Men in 1935, and Tell My Horse, in 1938. Dust Tracks on a Road (1942) is her autobiography. Six of her books have been reprinted.

She taught at the North Carolina College for Negroes in her latter years and died in obscure poverty in 1960.

JOHNSON, JAMES WELDON, born in Jacksonville, Florida on June 17, 1871, he was graduated from Atlanta and Columbia universities. He was a poet, critic, teacher, civil rights activist, and diplomat (United States Consul at Puerto Cabello, Venezuela, and in Nicaragua. He is best known for having written "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing," but it was God's Trombones that established him as a poet. His first book of poems, Fifty Years and Other Poems, was completed in 1917, and in 1927, The Book of Negro Poetry was published, followed by St. Peter Relates an Incident of the Resurrection in 1933.

He was a key official for the NAACP from 1916 to 1930, and became its general secretary in 1920. Along This Way, his autobiography, was published in 1936. Johnson died in an automobile accident in 1938.

JONES, LOIS MAILOU, born in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1906, she studied at Howard University, the School of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston; Boston Normal Art School; Teachers College, Columbia University; Académie Julien, Paris; and Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris. Her early work impassionately depicted the injustices suffered by African Americans, although she avoided "righteous indignation and moral fervor." In Paris she switched to impressionism after studying and working with the impressionists.

LANGSTON, JOHN M., was born December 14, 1829. He was graduated from Oberlin College in 1849 and from its Theological School in 1853. Then entered the study of law under the Honorable Philimon Bliss and was admitted to the
bar in Ohio in 1854. He became the first African American to win an elective office when he was elected clerk of Brownhelm township in Lorain County, Ohio.

In 1867, he was appointed general inspector of the schools of the freed people of the United States. He began teaching in the Law Department of Howard University in 1869 and soon after was promoted to dean of that department. About the same time he was appointed to the Board of Health of the District of Columbia by President Grant. And in 1877, President Hayes appointed him, minister resident and consul-general to Haiti, a position that he held until 1885. He was also charge d'affaires of Santo Domingo.

Upon his return to the United States, he was selected as President of the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute in November of 1885. And in 1890, he became the first African American elected to Congress from the State of Virginia.

LOCKE, ALAIN LEROY, was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania September 13, 1886. He was graduated from Harvard with a B. A. degree with Phi Beta Kappa honors in 1908. He was the first African American Rhodes Scholar to Oxford (1907-1910) and did further graduate study in philosophy at the University of Berlin. He earned the Ph. D. degree from Harvard in 1918, after which he chaired the Philosophy Department at Howard University. In 1943 he was an Inter-American Exchange professor to Haiti. He was the Harlem editor of Survey Graphic, which was reformulated as a book, The New Negro. The publication of The New Negro brought him national attention, making him one of the top critical authorities on black achievement. Among his chief works were The Negro in Art (1941), book on African American art, When Peoples Meet: a Study in Race and Culture Contacts (1942), co-edited with Bernhard J. Stern, and Le Rôle du Nègre dans le Monde (1943) written while he was in Haiti. He died in 1954.

LOUVERTURE, TOUSSAINT, born (?) 1743, 1746, Pierre Dominic Breda had spent a relatively happy childhood on the Breda plantation. The eldest son of Gaou Guinon, the descendant of a king of Dahomey (Benin). A slave until he was forty, he was considered an accomplished medical practitioner by the time he was twenty years old. He was an extraordinary horseman, and had hundreds of thoroughbred horses, and commonly rode 125 miles a day. He was also an excellent fencer and was "unbeatable" at throwing a knife.

When he was nearly thirty years old, he married Suzanne Simon. She had already borne a son for a mulatto who had deserted her. Toussaint and Suzanne had two more sons, Isaac and Saint-Jean. The fact that Toussaint was
The leader of the Haitian Revolution, he ruled the island for six years. He died in a French prison on April 27, 1803.

PETION, ALEXANDRE, a dark-skinned mulatto, he was educated at the military school of France, and served in the French and Haitian armies. He was a highly skilled and esteemed engineer, which made him very valuable to Toussaint Louverture and Dessalines. When the latter was assassinated, Haiti was divided into two parts, with Pétion being president of the southern half in 1811.

During one of the most grim periods of Simon Bolivar's fight for independence in the northern part of South America, he was forced to flee the mainland because Ferdinand VII had sent in fresh troops. He came to Haiti looking for help. In return for Bolivar's pledge to free the slaves in Venezuela, Pétion gave him four thousand guns, fifteen thousand pounds of powder, a quantity of lead, some provisions and a printing press. He also gave him a small number of men to aid in the fight for the northern part of South America. Again Bolivar was forced to flee, and again Pétion provided more aid. Bolivar declared in 1816 that Pétion "was destined to make people forget the memory of the great [George] Washington."  And Pétion was ready to aid the young Spaniard, Mina, who was leading a revolution in Mexico.

Pétion died in 1818.

SCOTT, WILLIAM EDOUARD, painter, illustrator, muralist, was born in Indianapolis, Indiana in 1884. He studied at the Art Institute of Chicago and was among a group of advanced students chosen to create panels depicting labor conditions in and around Chicago—the sweat shops, factories, ghetto street scenes, the stock yard, etc. He also studied at the Julien and Colarossi Academies in Paris, and at Henry O. Tanner's studio in Paris. Tanner's influence on Scott's work is best seen in "La Pauvre Voisine," which was accepted in the Paris Salon in 1912, and is now owned by the government of Argentina.

He also created outstanding portraits. His portrait of Booker T. Washington is among his best-known works. A Rosenwald grant took him to Haiti in 1931. Following his one-man exhibit in Port-au-Prince, the Haitian government purchased twelve of his Haitian paintings. The Haitian government also awarded him the Legion of Honor.

When he left Haiti, he began a career as a muralist. His murals can be found in public buildings in Indiana, Illinois, West Virginia, and New York. He died in 1964.
WASHINGTON, BOOKER T., was born in Hale’s Ford, Virginia in April 1856 (?). He succeeded Frederick Douglass as the most influential black leader of his time. He began working in salt furnaces and coal mines when he was nine years old, and dropped out of school when he was 16.\(^{10}\) He walked two-hundred miles in order to enter Hampton Institute where he worked as a janitor to pay for his tuition and board.\(^{11}\) He later attended Wayland Seminary in Washington, D. C. He taught in Hale’s Ford, Va., and at Hampton Institute. In 1881 he founded Tuskegee Institute and served as its first president. He also assisted in the founding of the National Business League. He was invited to speak at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta in 1895, an honor never before accorded a black.\(^{12}\) There he delivered his most notable speech. He called for self-improvement through self-help.

WILSON, ELLIS, was born on April 30, 1899 in Mayfield, Kentucky where he completed grammar school. After two years at what is now Kentucky State College, which only taught teaching and farming, Wilson attended the Art Institute of Chicago for four years and quickly began winning prizes for his work.

During the Depression he moved to New York and went on relief to become eligible for WPA work. At the WPA he met many African American painters and sculptors, including Joseph Delaney. The 1933 Harmon Exhibition won him an honorable mention. And by 1944 he had won a Guggenheim fellowship, which was renewed. He used the fellowship to portray southern black people and their activities—making turpentine with an old still, cutting lumber in the swamps, at the market. In 1952 he won the $3,000 second prize in the National Terry Art Exhibition in Miami, the largest exhibition ever held in the South. Shortly thereafter he went to Haiti and became one of the leading interpreters of Haitian life. He died on January 1, 1977.
NOTES

1 Foner, 4: 478-490.
2 Ros, p. 45.
3 Driskell, p. 166.
4 Ros, p. 9.
5 James, p. 249.
6 Ros, p. 138.
7 Ibid., p. 9.
8 Logan, p. 222.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
APPENDIX C

CHRONOLOGY

1492 December 6. The island today occupied by Haiti and the Dominican Republic was discovered by Christopher Columbus. He called it La Isla Espanola; it came to be known as Hispaniola.

1514 The approximately one million inhabitants of Hispanola have been exterminated by divers means.

1517 Charles V. authorized the export of 15,000 slaves to San Domingo, thus launching the Atlantic slave-trade and slavery in the Americas.

1625 The Spaniards driven from the western part of Hispaniola by French filibusters and buccaneers who settled there.

1697 Spain cedes the western part of the island to France as a result of the Treaty of Ryswick. The region became the most prosperous of the French colonies owing to the production of sugar and coffee. Ninety percent of the population is made up of Black slaves, freedmen and mulattoes.

1717 New Orleans is founded.

1734 The colonists began to cultivate coffee in Haiti.

1743 (46?) Toussaint Louverture is born on May 20.

1749 Port-au-Prince is founded.

1758 September 20. Jean-Jacques Dessalines is born.

The insurgent Mackandal is burned at the stake.

1763 France cedes Louisiana to Spain.
1767 Henri Christophe is born.

1778 U. S. and France sign commercial treaties.

1779 October 9. Some 600 Haitian Soldiers fight in American Revolution in the Battle of Savannah. Henri Christophe, who later became Emperor of Haiti, was among them. General Martial Besse is wounded in that battle.

1784 The free mulattoes of Saint Domingue send Julien Raimond to France to lobby for equal rights for Saint Domingue's propertied free people of color.

In France, a small group of humanitarians form the Société des Amis des Noirs, modeled after the London Committee founded the previous year.

1787 Richard Allen, Absalom Jones and others organized The Free Africa Society in Philadelphia.


Saint Domingue, the world's largest producer of sugar and coffee, accounted for more than a third of France's foreign trade.

George Washington elected President of the United States.

1790 Mulatto insurgent Vincent Ogé leads unsuccessful but politically significant revolt against the planters in Saint Domingue.

1791 One fifth of France's foreign trade consists of commerce to and from Haiti.

Ogé and some 20 of his followers are broken at the wheel and then decapitated. His death galvanizes the antislavery movement in France.

The first professional theatrical performance in New Orleans was given by a company of refugees from Haiti.
May 15. News of Ogé's death prompted the French National Assembly to grant equal rights to a small percentage of mulattoes and Blacks.

August 22. Haitian slaves revolt.


1792

Washington is re-elected President of the United States.

1793

February 1. France declares war against Great Britain and later in the same year against Spain.

April 22. President Washington issues proclamation designed to assure the neutrality of the United States. France called the proclamation a "cowardly abandonment" of the ally who had helped the United States to win independence.

Rebels in Saint Domingue join the Spanish army in exchange for protection and support in their fight against the French.

August 29. Slaves in Haiti are unofficially emancipated.

French colonists abandon Saint Domingue. The mass emigration from Saint Domingue following the slave victory at Cap Francais in the spring scattered refugees of all sorts throughout the Caribbean, but the largest number (some 10,000) came to the United States by 1793.

Many states enact laws restricting black emigration from the West Indies. South Carolina law prohibited West Indian Blacks from entering the state.

December 6. Toussaint conquers Gonaïves which became his headquarters.

Britain begins a five-year occupation of Haiti.
February 4. Slavery is officially abolished in Haiti by the French National Assembly.

Emigres from Saint Domingue start newspapers in Charleston and New Orleans.

November 19. "The betrayal of France." The United States signs the Jay Treaty with Great Britain, harmonizing relations between the two countries, but producing difficulties between the United States and France.

January. Officials met in Norfolk, Virginia to discuss "the peculiar situation of the inhabitants . . . on account of the frequent migrations of the negroes and people of colour . . . ." There was sentiment for mass deportation although no law was enacted.

Spain cedes the eastern part of the island to France in the Treaty of Basel.

North Carolina law prevented "any person who may emigrate from any of the West-India or Bahama Islands, or the French, Dutch, or Spanish settlements on the Southern coast of America, from bringing slaves into the state.

John Adams is elected President of the United States.

November 15. Diplomatic relations between France and the United States are suspended.

May 1. France confers on Toussaint the title of General in Chief of the French Army in Haiti.

Maryland law prohibits Blacks from Caribbean from entering the state.

April 14. Toussaint makes triumphal entry into Port-au-Prince.

June 13. Commercial intercourse between the United States and France and her dependencies is suspended.
July 7. The treaties between France and the United States are declared no longer binding on the United States.

November 9. Napoleon terminates the Directorate and creates the Consulate.


January 24. Toussaint made solemn entrance into the capital city of Santo Domingo.

July 7. Toussaint's Constitution is enacted.

December 14. Napoleon Bonaparte's brother-in-law, General Victor Emmanuel Leclerc, sails from Brest with thirty thousand veteran troops to recapture Haiti.

May 20. Napoleon issues a decree restoring slavery throughout French owned territory.

June 7. Toussaint is seized.

July 2. Decree issued forbidding all blacks and coloreds entrance into France.


October 10. First blows struck against the restoration of the old regime in Haiti. Gen-
eral Clervaux deserted with a large body of mulatto troops. In a few days Petion, Christophe and Dessalines, who were serving under Leclerc, also deserted.

October 13. Blacks and mulattoes conclude an alliance to defeat Leclerc, who was openly saying that blacks and mulattoes must be consistently exterminated and replaced by new slaves from Africa.

October 13. Alexandre Pétion gives the signal for the revolt against French domination.

October 21. Dessalines switches to the side of the rebellion marking the final turning point of the Haitian struggle.

November 2. General Leclerc dies of yellow fever.

April 27. Toussaint dies in a prison at Fort Joux in France where he was taken after his capture.

May 3. Napoleon sells Louisiana to the United States.

November. The French are driven out of Saint Domingue.

Dessalines' command officially begins with the Treaty of L'Alcahaye.

November 29. The official "acte de naissance," the proclamation of freedom, is signed at Fort Dauphin.

1804

January 1. Dessalines declares Haiti's independence.

Dessalines proclaims himself Jacques I, Emperor of Haiti.

Napoleon, First Consul, proclaims himself Emperor.

Construction begins on the Citadel la Ferrière.
November. Jefferson is reelected President of the United States.

1805

May 20. The French Imperial Constitution is enacted.

1806

Oct. 17. Dessalines, 48, is assassinated.

Spain reoccupies the eastern part of the island.

1807

January. Christophe rules the northern part of Haiti.

March. Alexandre Pétion becomes President of the southern part. (Christophe's reign, 1807-1820, overlaps the regimes of Pétion and Boyer.)

The Citadel is built by Christophe and considered one of the wonders of the New World.

Britain ends slave trade.

1808

Madison elected President of the United States.

1809

Last of the French expelled from Santo Domingo where they had maintained slavery until that time.

1811

Christophe is proclaimed King (Henri I) of the northern part Haiti.

In the St. John the Baptist and the St. Charles parishes, between 200 and 500 rebel slaves marched on New Orleans, setting fire to plantations on the way. Authorities later identified Charles Deslondes, a driver and free mulatto from Saint Domingue as one of the principal leaders of the uprising.

1812

Madison is reelected President of the United States.

1816

James Monroe elected President of the United States.
1817 The American Colonization Society is established by a group of prominent white philanthropists and politicians.

Haiti's first literary review, *L'Abeille haitienne* is founded by Jules-Solime Milscents (1778-1842).

Frederick Douglass is born. (?)


1820 October 8. Christophe commits suicide. Haiti is reunited under Boyer.

Monroe reelected President of the United States.

1822 Haiti is reunited.

1823 Monroe Doctrine formulated.

1824 More than 2000 free blacks from the U. S. migrate to Haiti.

John Q. Adams elected President of the United States.

1825 France recognizes the independence of Haiti.

1828 Andrew Jackson elected President of the United States.

1832 Jackson is reelected President of the United States.

1833 Great Britain provides for the emancipation of slaves in her possessions. Subsequently, West Indian Emancipation Day is celebrated every year by black American abolitionists.

1836 Martin Van Buren is elected President of the United States.

William H. Harrison is elected President of the United States.

1842 Haitian Constitution institutes office of minister of public instruction.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>Boyer is overthrown. Goes into exile. December. Charles Rivière Hérard becomes President of Haiti.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>The eastern part of Hispaniola wins its freedom and establishes the Dominican Republic. May. Philippe Guerrier comes to power in Haiti.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>James K. Polk elected President of the United States.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>March. Riche is proclaimed President of Haiti.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>February. Riche dies. March. Faustin Soulouque becomes President of Haiti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>Zachary Taylor elected President of the United States.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Soulouque becomes Emperor of Haiti under the name of Faustin I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>November. Franklin Pierce is elected President of the United States.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1856

Faustin again defeated in a final attempt to invade Santo Domingo.

November James Buchanan is elected President of the United States.

1858

December. Fabre Geffrard is elected President of Haiti.

1859

Revolution led by General Nicolas-Fabre Geffrard ends Faustin's reign. Geffrard becomes President. Mulattoes dominate political power.

August 22. An appeal was issued to Negroes in the United States by F. E. DuBois, Secretary of State for Justice and Public Worship of Haiti, and a relative of W. E. B. DuBois, urging them to emigrate to Haiti. The Haitian government offered free passage to those who could not pay, the option to purchase land and the opportunity to become citizens.

James Redpath, a Scottish-born journalist and abolitionist, made his initial visit to Haiti.

1860

Abraham Lincoln elected President of the United States.

Arrangements were finalized for the establishment of The Haitian Bureau of Emigration in the United States, which was to be headed by James Redpath.

March. A Concordat is signed between the Haitians and the Vatican giving would-be African American emigrants concern about the separation of Church and State.

1861

April 12. Confederates attack Fort Sumter marking the outbreak of the Civil War.

The first group of African American emigrants sponsored by the Haitian Emigration Bureau leave for Haiti.

Frederick Douglass announces plans to visit Haiti to evaluate its suitability for African
American colonization. Scheduled to sail there on April 25. He cancels his plans upon learning of the firing on Fort Sumter and the outbreak of the Civil War.

The Dominican Republic is restored to the status of a Spanish colony.

1862 Contract is signed for a steamer to sail regularly from New York to Port-au-Prince for the purpose of transporting emigrants to Haiti.

June 5. United States recognizes the independence of Haiti.

July 16. Congress appropriates $600,000 to aid the colonization of Negroes in Haiti and elsewhere.

1863 January 1. Emancipation Proclamation issued by President Lincoln.

1864 July 2. Congress discontinues funds for the colonization of free Negroes.

President Lincoln reelected President of the United States.

1865 April. President Lincoln assassinated. Succeeded by Andrew Johnson.

1867 Geffrard administration ends.

June. Revolutionary Haitian leader Sylvain Salnave takes power.

July 27. Haiti and Dominican Republic sign treaty wherein they agree "not to cede, pledge, or alienate in favor of any foreign power either the whole or part of their territories or the islands adjacent to them."

Faustin dies.

1868 Ulysses S. Grant elected President of the United States.

Civil War breaks out in Haiti.

Georges Sylvain is born.

1870

January, 15. Salnave is executed.

March. Nissage-Saget becomes President of Haiti.

Ebenezer D. Bassett, of New Haven, the first African-American minister (ambassador) to Haiti.

Vote to annex the Dominican Republic fails to gain the necessary two-thirds approval in the U. S. Senate.

1872

President Grant is reelected President of the United States.

1874

Haitian-Dominican Treaty is signed, "not to cede ... to any foreign power either the whole or any part of their territories or of the adjacent islands that depend on them," and "not to solicit or consent to any foreign annexation or domination."

May. Nissage-Saget administration ends.

June. Michel Domingue takes reins of government in Haiti.

James Holly is appointed the first Black Bishop by the American Episcopal Church. He remained in Haiti until his death in 1911.

1876

April. Domingue administration ends.

July. Boisrond-Canal becomes President.

1877

November. Rutherford B. Hayes elected President of the United States.

John Mercer Langston becomes U. S. Minister to Haiti. He also served as U. S. Minister to The Dominican Republic. He was the brother of Langston Hughes' grandfather.

1879

October. Lysius Félicité Salomon elected President of Haiti.
1880

November. James M. Garfield elected President of the United States.

1882

Liberal revolt in Haiti.

1883

Serious riots in Haiti September 22-23. A large portion of the richest section of Port-au-Prince is plundered and burned.

1884

Grover Cleveland elected President of the United States.

Salomon is re-elected President of Haiti.

1888

October 16. Salomon is deposed and exiled.

December. François Denis Légitime is proclaimed provisional President of Haiti.

Benjamin Harrison is elected President of the United States.

1889

July 1. President Harrison announces Frederick Douglass' appointment as U.S. Minister-resident to Haiti and Consul General. He is also appointed Chargé d'Affaires to Santo Domingo.

August 22. Légitime resigns.

October 9. President Louis Modestin Florvil Hyppolite is elected President of Haiti.

1890

September. John M. Langston, former minister to Haiti, becomes the first African American to represent Virginia in Congress. He wins inspite of the opposition of Frederick Douglass, who supports a white candidate.


December 30. Douglass sends the first cable message ever transmitted from Haiti.

1891

April 22. Haiti refuses to lease Mole Saint Nicolas to the United States.

July 30. Frederick Douglass resigns as Minister to Haiti citing "personal reasons."
August 11. State Department accepts Douglass' resignation.

1892

Grover Cleveland is elected President of the United States.

1893

Douglass is appointed Haiti's commissioner to the first world's fair--the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago--celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of Columbus' discovery of America. There he delivers his last great speech. It was a tribute to Haiti.

1895

February 20. Frederick Douglass dies.

1896

William McKinley is elected President of the United States.

Hypolyte dies in office.

March. Tiresias Augustin Simon Sam succeeds Hypolite.

1898

Spanish American War

May 20. McKinley announces the annexation of the Hawaiian islands.

Black Youth Association of Paris is founded by Benito Sylvain of Haiti.

1900

July 23. Pan-African Conference, chiefly organized by Henry Sylvester Williams of Trinidad, is held in London. W. E. B. DuBois was a participant.

November. McKinley is reelected President of the United States.

1901

January 28. Richmond Barthe is born.

1902

December. General Nord Alexis is proclaimed President.

1903

W. E. B. DuBois organizes the Niagara Movement.

DuBois' *Souls of Black Folk* is published.
1904  Theodore Roosevelt is elected President of the United States.

1906  Oswald Durand dies.

1908  William Howard Taft is elected President of the United States.

1909  The NAACP is founded.

1910  W. E. B. DuBois becomes Director of Publications and Research for the NAACP, and founds *The Crisis*. By the end of World War I it has a circulation of 106,000.

1911  Mulatto political domination in Haiti ends.

1912  August 8. Leconte is killed in a spontaneous combustion explosion at the Presidential Palace.

1913  August. Tancreède Auguste is appointed President of Haiti.

1914  January 27. Oreste resigns.

1914  February 8. Oreste Zamor is elected President of Haiti.
November 7. Théodore Davilmar elected President of Haiti.

February. The Théodore Davilmar government is overthrown.

March 7. Vilbrun Guillaume Sam is elected president of Haiti.

July 26. President Guillaume Sam orders the massacre of some 167 Haitian political prisoners.

July 27. President Guillaume Sam flees to the French legation.

The 167 political prisoners are massacred in Port-au-Prince.

July 28. President Guillaume Sam is killed.

The United States occupies Haiti.

August 12. Philippe-Sudre Dartiguenave is elected President of Haiti, for seven years.

August 19. Rear Admiral W. B. Caperton orders U. S. Marines to seize customs offices and to dismiss Haitian functionaries.

September 3. Caperton declares Martial law in Haiti.

September 9. Association for the Study of Negro Life and History is founded by Carter G. Woodson.

September 16. Haiti is forced to accept a treaty with the United States in which she is virtually required to give up her independence.

L'Union Patriotique is created as a force opposed to the Occupation.


May 3. Treaty sanctioning the military occupation is ratified, which established a ten-year protectorate embodying substantially the provisions of the Platt Amendment.

November. Wilson is reelected President of the United States.

1917

United States enters World War I.


1918

World War I ends.


1919


November. Haitian guerilla leader Charlemagne Peralte is killed.

1920


September 4. Johnson publishes second Nation article titled "What the United States Has Accomplished."

September 11. The Nation publishes Johnson's third article, "Government Of, By, and For the National City Bank."

September 17. Republican Presidential candidate Warren G. Harding condemns misuse of power in Haiti by the Wilson administration.

September 18. Final part of series on Haiti runs in the Nation. It describes the people of Haiti.
November 7. James Weldon Johnson becomes permanent secretary of the NAACP.

November. Warren G. Harding is elected President of the United States.

November 17. At the urging of James Weldon Johnson, L'Union Patriotique is reconstituted. The revived organization is a Haitian counterpart of the NAACP.

February. California Senator Hiram Johnson calls for a Senate investigation of America's invasion of Haiti and Santo Domingo. A Committee of inquiry is established headed by Senator Medill McCormick. Other members of the Committee are Senators Tasker L. Oddie of Nevada, Atlee Pomerence of Ohio, Philander C. Knox of Pennsylvania and William H. King of Utah.

May 9. Haitian delegation consisting of Pauléus Sannon, Sténo Vincent, and Perceval Thoby present their "memoir" to the United States Department of State and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee describing the political, economic and financial conditions in Haiti under the United States Occupation.

August. First Senate Hearings on Haiti are held in Washington.


Dantes Bellegarde becomes Haitian ambassador to France and delegate to the League of Nations.

November 30. Senate Committee arrives in Haiti to continue hearings.

April 11. Joseph Louis Borno is elected President of Haiti.

1924 Calvin Coolidge is elected President of the United States.

Third Pan-African Congress is held in London and Lisbon.
1925  
Alain Locke publishes *The New Negro*.  
Georges Sylvain dies.

1926  
Borno re-elected President of Haiti.

1927  
DuBois convenes the fourth Pan-African Congress in New York.  
Marcus Garvey is pardoned and deported to Jamaica.  
William Edouard Scott wins a Harmon Gold Medal for painting.

1928  
August 7. John F. Matheus and Clarence Cameron White sail to Port-au-Prince for six weeks of research in preparation for their opera and libretto collaboration "Ouanga."

November. Herbert Hoover is elected President of the United States.

1929  
October. Students at Ecole Centrale d'Agriculture go on strike. Strike quickly spreads to schools throughout Haiti. Nationwide protests against the Occupation follow. Riots break out resulting in bloodshed.

November. A large number of unarmed Haitian peasants are massacred by the U. S. Marines for protesting against exorbitant taxes on alcohol and tobacco.

December 6. Insurrection by 1500 Haitians in Cayes results in marines killing and wounding an undetermined number of protestors.

President Herbert Hoover gets Congress to authorize a Commission chaired by Cameron Forbes, former governor general of the Philippines, to investigate conditions in Haiti.

Congress authorizes a commission, headed by Dr. R. R. Moton of Tuskegee Institute, to investigate the educational problems in Haiti. Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, along with Leo M. Favrot, field secretary of the General Education Board, Benjamin F. Hubert President of Georgia State
Industrial College, and Dr. W. T. B. Williams, dean of the College Department at Tuskegee are also appointed to the Commission. Favrot does not go. Thus the Commission members who sail to Haiti are all African Americans.

1930
April 21. Eugène Roy is elected President of Haiti.

President Hoover sends (W. Cameron) Forbes Commission to Haiti to investigate conditions there.

October 30. Moton Commission releases its report.

November 18. Eugène Roy resigns.

Sténio Vincent is elected President of Haiti.

1931
January. Dantès Bellegarde leaves his diplomatic assignment in Paris to become Haitian ambassador to the United States.

Langston Hughes spends several months in Haiti. Meets Jacques Roumain.

William Edouard Scott visits Haiti on a Rosenwald Fellowship to paint "Negro peasant Haitian types."

Robert Lataillade dies.

1932
November. Franklin D. Roosevelt is elected President of the United States.

1933
January. Jacques Roumain is imprisoned in the National Penitentiary charged in connection with Nationalist and Communist activities.

February 9. Roumain begins hunger strike to protest slow progress of his case proceeding to trial.

February 11. Roumain is released from prison.

1934
July. Roosevelt visits Haiti.
July 9. NAACP accepts DuBois’ resignation as Editor of The Crisis, as a member of the Board of Directors, as Director of Publications and Research, as a member of the Board of the Crisis Publishing Company, and as a member of the Spingarn Medal Award Committee.

August 21. United States Occupation of Haiti ends. The Haitian flag is raised over Dessalines Casernes.

Roumain is arrested again.

October 3. Roumain is sentenced to three years in prison on unspecified charges.

1936

June 8. Roumain is released from prison.

Zora Neale Hurston is awarded Guggenheim Fellowship to study West Indian Obeah practices.

Katherine Dunham goes to Haiti for the first time. She receives a Rosenwald Fellowship to study primitive dance and ritual in the West Indies and Brazil.

November. Roosevelt is reelected President of the United States.

1937

March. Hurston writes Their Eyes Were Watching God in seven weeks in Haiti.

Haitian workers massacred by Dominicans at the Dominican border.

May. Hurston returns to Haiti on a renewed Guggenheim Fellowship.

1938

February-March. Hurston writes and publishes Tell My Horse.

James Weldon Johnson dies.

1939

World War II breaks out.

Dantès Bellegarde becomes guest professor and lecturer in French at Atlanta University.

1940

Marcus Garvey dies.
November. Roosevelt is reelected President of the United States.

1941
May. Elie Lescot is elected President of Haiti.

1942
Hurston writes *Dust Tracks on a Road*, her autobiography.

October. Jacques Roumain is named charge d'affaires to Mexico.

Former Haitian President Louis Borno dies.

1943
January. Naomi Garrett goes to Haiti as part of the English Language Program that is to start in Haiti.

October. Mercer Cook goes to Haiti to serve as inspector general of English instruction.

1944
November. Roosevelt is reelected President of the United States.

Jacques Roumain dies.

1945
World War II ends.

Katherine Dunham choreographs "Carib Song" inspired by her travel and study in Haiti.

Mercer Cook returns to the United States and becomes professor of Romance Languages at Howard University, a position he was to hold for 14 years.

1946
Frederic Burr-Reynaud dies.

President Elie Lescot is overthrown.

Dumarsais Estimé becomes president.

1947
Alioune Diop, a Senegalese intellectual establishes *Présence Africaine* in Paris.

1948
November. Harry S. Truman is elected President of the United States.

1949
June 10. World premiere of "Ouanga" is presented in South Bend, Indiana. It is said
to be the first opera by a Black composer performed wholly by a cast of Blacks.

July. Katherine Dunham is made a Chevalier in the Haitian Legion of Honor.

The second use of the Haitian theme by a combination of Black librettist and musician was the collaboration of William Grant Still as composer and Langston Hughes as librettist in "Troubled Island." The cast in its premiere consisted of whites who blackened their faces.

Dec. Bicentenary Exposition held commemorating the 1749 founding of Port-au-Prince by the French.

1950


1952

Dwight D. Eisenhower is elected President of the United States.

1953

Dumarsais Estimé dies while living in the Henry Hudson Hotel in New York.

Following her August 8 marriage to Haitian artist Louis Vergniaud Pierre-Noël, Lois Mailou Jones establishes a second residence in Haiti.

1954

Alain Locke dies.

1956


The Society of African Culture, established to give organized expression to the objectives of Présence Africaine, convened the First International Congress of Negro Writers and Artists in Paris. A number of African Americans attended and, as a result, founded the American Society of African Culture.
November. Eisenhower is reelected President of the United States.

1957

Francois Duvalier becomes President and dictator in Haiti.

1960


November. John F. Kennedy is elected President of the United States.

1961

Mercer Cook is appointed ambassador to Niger.

1963

W. E. B. DuBois dies at age 96.

John F. Kennedy is assassinated; Lyndon B. Johnson becomes President.

1964


William Edouard Scott dies.

November. Lyndon B. Johnson is elected President of the United States.

1967

Langston Hughes dies.

John Wesley Work III dies.

1968

November. Richard M. Nixon is elected President of the United States.

1971

April. Duvalier's son, Jean-Claude, succeeds him as President of Haiti.

1972

November. Richard Nixon is reelected President of the United States.

1973

Alice Walker discovers and marks Zora Neale Hurston's grave.

1976

November. Jimmy Carter is elected President of the United States.

1977

January 1. Ellis Wilson dies.

1980

Ronald Reagan is elected President of the United States.
1984

November. Reagan is reelected President of the United States.

1986

Jean-Claude Duvalier is overthrown, goes into exile.

General Henri Namphy heads Haiti’s national council.

1988

January. Leslie Manigat becomes President. But military forces led by Namphy, who was overthrown by General Prosper Avril, regain power.

November. George W. Bush is elected President of the United States.

1990

Avril resigns. In March a transitional government is put in place. In December Jean-Bertrand Aristide is elected President of Haiti.

1991

Aristide is overthrown.

1992

Bill Clinton is elected President of the United States.

1994

Aristide is restored to power in Haiti.

1996

February 7. René Préval assumes power in Haiti.
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