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Haiti and the U.S.:

African American Emigration and the Recognition Debate

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Haiti and the U.S.:
African American Emigration and the Recognition Debate

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For Rob

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Haiti and the U.S.:

African American Emigration and the Recognition Debate

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My dissertation examines the cultural, political, and economic relationship between Haiti and the United States in the early nineteenth century—a key period in the development of both young nations. Most scholarship on this relationship has revolved around either the Haitian Revolution or later periods, from the mid-nineteenth century onward. Through trade, migration, and politics, the two countries had a more substantial role in one another’s formative years than the literature currently suggests.

Haitian leaders actively sought to attract African Americans to the island and believed they were crucial to improving Haiti’s economic and political standing. African Americans became essential players in determining the nature of Haiti and U.S. relations, and the migration of thousands to Haiti in the 1820s proved to be the apogee of the two countries’ interconnectedness. Drawing on a variety of materials, including emigrant letters, diary accounts, travelers’ reports, newspaper editorials, the National Archives’ Passenger Lists, Haitian government proclamations, Haitian newspapers, and American, British, and French consulate records, I analyze the diverse political and social

motivations that fueled African American emigration. The project links Haitian nation building and Haitian struggles for recognition to American abolitionism and commercial development.

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Chapter 1:

Introduction

When 120 free black New Yorkers gathered in the African Zion Church in early September of 1824 to attend religious services, they received a blessing for a sea voyage that was expected to transform their lives, their community and perceptions of their race.¹ They were to be the first of as many as 13,000 African American emigrants who set sail for Haiti in the mid 1820s, taking up an offer from President Jean Pierre Boyer.² Delivering the blessing and farewell address that evening, Rev. Peter Williams, the President of the Haytien Emigration Society of Coloured People and minister of the African Episcopal Church of St. Philips, summed up the motivations for and the significance of the coming voyages.

¹ Much of the scholarly research on the intersection of Haiti and American blacks at this time looks from the Caribbean to the United States, at the émigrés who were fleeing the Haitian Revolution and its aftermath rather than vice versa. The most recent work: Ashli White, “‘A Flood of Impure Lava’: Saint Dominguan refugees in the United States 1791-1820” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2003). Historians have demonstrated how news carried by refugees fleeing the revolution and sailors engaged in the carrying trade between the island and the United States found its way to slave populations along the eastern seaboard. Scott, “The Common Wind”; W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1997).

² This New York group alone equaled the number who would sail to the American Colonization Society’s African colony for the entire decade of the 1820s, showing the northern black community’s enthusiasm for the project. Benjamin Hunt estimated that as many as 13,000 emigrated. Benjamin Hunt, *Remarks on Hayti as a place of settlement for Afric-Americans; and on the Mulatto as a race for the Tropics* (Philadelphia: T. B. Pugh, 1860), 11.

Williams reminded his New York audience that they, “the first from this port,” shouldered a great responsibility in seeing that Haitian emigration was a “success.” He addressed the congregation as “the pioneers of a vast multitude” waiting to leave the “house of bondage” that was America. Emphasizing that failure would “discourage the great mass, whom you leave behind” and prolong their “degradation and sufferings,” Williams reminded the departing Americans that much more than their own destiny depended upon their “conduct” in Haiti.³

Like other black supporters of this project, Williams envisioned his audience as participants in a black nationalist experiment in the “*highly favoured*, and as yet *only land*, where the sons of Africa appear as a civilized, well-ordered, and flourishing nation.” Highlighting that “good laws” governed there, Williams promised that no prejudice or racial antagonism stood in the way of advancement, because in this “land of promise,” they would become “independent and honourable, wise and good, respectable and happy.” If, however, they failed to take proper advantage of this opportunity, they would bring a “lasting disgrace” upon themselves and upon “their nation.” The message was clear: the emigration project had significant ramifications for the free blacks who remained behind in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, for the active participants on both sides of the

³ Haytien Emigration Society of Coloured People, *Address of the Board of Managers of the Haytian Emigration Society of Coloured People, to the Emigrants Intending to Sail to the Island of Hayti, in the Brig De Witt Clinton* (New York: Mahlon Day, 1824), 7.

abolitionist argument, for that vast majority of African Americans who lived as slaves, and for the future of Haiti.

Indeed, President Jean-Pierre Boyer's offer to settle African Americans in Haiti made Williams's speech possible and made possible Williams's emotional and ideological investment in the project. Boyer desired to tighten his diplomatic and trade relations with the U.S. because he understood that diplomatic recognition from the neighboring state was the only guarantee against the retaking of the island by the former colonial power France. His push for recognition from the U.S. gained momentum in the early 1820s until it was stopped short by a slave revolt scandal. In some ways, inviting African American migrants was a last desperate appeal for closer links with the U.S.

The object of this dissertation is to argue that the emerging ideology of white supremacy faced a major challenge from American supporters of recognition and from an early form of black nationalism. In other words, an early American government came closer to accepting racial equality than historians have previously noticed. Boyer's efforts brought the U.S. close to accepting a black nation as an equal twice in the 1820s, until he was foiled by a slave conspiracy trial and then by the disappointing outcome of the emigration project. Emigration to the Caribbean nation in the 1820s resulted from the common desire of free blacks in the U.S. and in Haiti for the political and social empowerment of themselves and their race, and as such was an expression of the set of ideals that later became known as "black

nationalism.” In the U.S., the free African American community reacted vigorously to increased discrimination, decreased political and social rights and a push from various constituencies to find an alternative to the racial profile of the country. In Haiti, meanwhile, a succession of leaders reiterated commitments to the constitutional goal of forging a “black nation” and pushed international powers to accept the nation on those terms. President Jean-Pierre Boyer – and, in the U.S., community leaders like Rev. Peter Williams – believed the success of free black Americans in Haiti would make the potential of both the nation and the emigrants hard to ignore.

As he addressed the congregation, the implications of emigration for arguments about slavery and mass manumission were uppermost on Williams’s mind. He and others saw the project as countering a common objection to manumission: “after we free the slaves, where would we put them?” In his final comments, Williams reminded his audience that “the happiness of millions of the present and future generations” depended on them. Some historians have dismissed Haiti’s influence on the northern African-American community’s social and political development. Haiti, they argue, had little to offer the project of black advancement or antislavery agitation since the revolution was too grotesquely violent a legacy for the free black community to embrace. What Williams’s speech demonstrates is that—despite a troubled history before and since—Haiti’s potential looked vast to the nineteenth century antislavery activists and to the northern free black community.

The revolutionary events in St. Domingue in the last decade of the eighteenth century grabbed the attention of the free black community in the United States just as it did that of the rest of the world. Even before the declaration of Haitian nationhood, many free black Northerners observed events in the Caribbean with a sense of pride and took an interest in the affairs of the island. The earliest surviving example comes from Prince Hall's famous *A Charge to African Masons* delivered to his Boston African Masonic Lodge. The Lodge became the leading black community institution in Boston. Later it became the Grand Lodge of African Freemasonry that chartered branches in Providence, Philadelphia and New York City. In *A Charge*, Hall identified himself and his audience strongly with the island of Haiti, foreshadowing black-nationalist ideas of the common bonds of the African diaspora. In this address, Hall linked the struggle for racial uplift to the freedom struggles of Haitians in terms that imply his audience was familiar with the fortunes of the slaves in the Caribbean:

My brethren, let us not be cast down under these and many other abuses we at present labour under: for the darkest is before the break of day. My brethren, let us remember what a dark day it was with our African brethren six years ago in the French West Indies. Nothing but the snap of the whip was heard from morning to evening....⁴

⁴ Prince Hall, "A Charge of 1797" in *Pamphlets of Protest: An Anthology of early African-American Protest Literature* eds. Richard Newman, Patrick Rael, and Philip Lapsansky (New York: Routledge, 2001), 47.

Here Hall uses the uprising in St. Domingue to steel his fellow black Bostonians against the insults they were “daily met with in the streets of Boston.”⁵ He reminds his fellow Masons and his wider Boston audience (for this speech was published) that not only could circumstances be worse, they could improve overnight, as was the case in St. Domingue. This message was intended to charge the black community to confront an increasingly hostile Boston environment that had given them freedom from slavery but little else.

The palpable connection with Haiti felt by some African Americans was soon expressed—loudly—in Philadelphia. Unlike Hall’s message, however, the lesson cited this time was not one of passive patience but of armed militancy. On at least one occasion in Philadelphia in 1804, African Americans responded to racist abuse in American streets with collective violence. During the July 4th celebration, in the same year Haiti declared its independence, a few hundred black Philadelphians gathered in the Southwark district, formed military units, elected officers, and armed themselves with bludgeons to march through the city’s streets in their own celebration of July 4th. When a white person crossed their path they gave “rough treatment” to that person, according to one account. One unit even entered a household of white men and “pummeled” them. The next day, July 5th, the marchers gathered again, “damning” any white person who came near them and declaring, “they would shew them St. Domingo.” By using St. Domingue as their rallying cry,

⁵ Prince Hall, “*A Charge of 1797*,” 47.

these black Philadelphians showed that the Haitian Revolution had taken on an emblematic role in black struggles against white oppression.⁶

The Haitian Revolution, as it has come to be called, was both a war for freedom and a war for autonomy. If anything, the third war in the “Age of Revolution” was more transformative and bloody than either of its predecessors. Fending off the French, the Spanish, and eventually the English, the St. Domingue revolutionaries achieved independence against fantastic odds and achieved freedom for its former slave residents in a world of slavery. Costing millions in treasure and more than a hundred and fifty thousand lives, the war was protracted, violent, and profoundly transformative—a true social revolution. To understand what moved the slaves to take control of this tiny Caribbean island, we must first examine the context of the radical period.

Without the French Revolutionary principles of liberty, equality and fraternity that constituencies in the far flung colonies of the Caribbean embraced for themselves, the revolution in St. Domingue would not exist.⁷ The ferment and

⁶ Gary Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720-1840* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1988), 176; Shane White, “It Was a Proud Day’: African Americans, Festivals, and Parades in the North, 1741-1834” *Journal of American History* 81 (1994): 34; *Albany Centinel*, July 20, 1804. Little is known of the African American crowd’s social makeup. The next year, 1805, African Americans who assembled for the 4th of July parade were driven from the event. (Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 177).

⁷ Laurent DuBois, *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 17817-1804* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

reinvention it brought to French society touched off hopes and expectations within St. Domingue's three population groups: white planters, free coloreds, and slaves.⁸

When French Revolutionary leaders wrote the *Declarations of the Rights of Man and the Citizen* that “[m]en are born and remain free and equal in rights, they inadvertently provided an opening to St. Domingue's free colored population, who had been pressing for greater political and social rights in the colony's governance. A group of St. Domingue mulattos led by Vincent Ogé and Julien Raimond, traveled from the West Indies to meet with the new National Assembly to argue for equal rights, believing they were entitled to the same legal, political, and social rights as those enjoyed by St. Domingue's white residents. They, too, were free, wealthy, and landed. The *gens de couleur*, or mulattos, made up a sizeable portion of the colony's population and in 1789, they accounted for 47% of the non-slave population of about 40,000. Most had accumulated wealth through the manufacture and trade of coffee which grew in the mountainous regions of St. Domingue. They owned sizeable plantations and employed slaves to labor on these plantations. Many bought into the distinctiveness of color and the privileges of freedom, believing they shared no commonalities with their mostly black slaves. By petitioning for their rights in Paris, they acted to secure the economic and political privileges that by right freedom, wealth, and landownership and non- blackness gave them.

⁸ Most of the following information derives from Laurent DuBois, *The Avengers of the New World: the Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004).

Although many in the National Assembly supported the mulattos' claims, white planters and merchants who feared the crossing of the color line, successfully lobbied and blocked the mulatto groups' efforts. St. Domingue's white planter class resisted any extension of rights to the free coloreds, believing it would be the beginning of a slippery slope: "Mulattoes today, slaves tomorrow"⁹ They argued the only way to maintain control over slaves was to enforce the color bar, regardless of free status. At first, the National Assembly members' acquiesced to the white planters, but as the French Revolution became more radicalized, the body granted St. Domingue's free population equal rights. In so doing, they opened up a Pandora's box.

Determined to put an end to this metropolitan interference and the destructive forces Parisian officials had unleashed, white planters took up arms—and armed their slaves—to attack mulatto instigators. They promised that unless the dangerous law was repudiated, they would revolt against colonial authority. Mulattoes, for their part, defended against this violence and armed themselves—and their slaves—against white aggressors. By the end of the summer of 1791, however, both groups had a far more serious and ominous threat to contend with—widespread slave revolt.

In late August of 1791, a series of slave revolts broke out in Acul parish in the Petit-Anse region, a region with some of the most productive sugar plantations on St.

⁹ Alex Dupuy, *Haiti in the World Economy: Class, Race, and Underdevelopment since 1700* (Boulder, Colo., Westview Press, 1989), 44.

Domingue. Given the region's productivity and the extraordinarily physical demands of sugar cultivation and milling, it was commonplace for slaves in the region to be literally worked to death. Clearly they had little to lose and much to gain with successful raids on sugar mills, cane fields, and the murder of refiners, overseers, managers, and planters, the revolt spread quickly and thousands of slaves from neighboring sugar and coffee plantations joined in the blood letting, bringing havoc to the entire region around Le Cap. Planters, their families, and overseers fled the murderous and roving bands seeking refuge in Le Cap. Within days, an army 10,000 strong menaced the town and its inhabitants, and within a month, the slave army had doubled to 20,000.

Accepting that the crises in its flagship colony had only grown more dangerous and widespread as warring camps of slaves, mulattos and whites fought in every region of the colony, Paris finally took direct military and civil action. The French sent representatives of the National Assembly, Léger Sonthonax and Etienne Polverel, who they invested with complete governing power, and backed with military troops. They were expected to regain control, restore peace, and return the colony to the business of cultivation. Upon arrival, they encountered a St. Domingue torn asunder by internal warfare and by Spanish and English assaults.

Just as the governing powers in Paris had realized what a mess St. Domingue had become, so, too, had England and Spain. Each wanted to take advantage of the turmoil and place the pearl of the Antilles on a new string. Spain, the colonial power

in the eastern half of Hispaniola, pushed into St. Domingue in its bid to win the French colony. They made astounding progress because they implemented an effective tactic: arming slaves. Spanish authorities offered St. Domingue slaves their freedom in exchange for fighting the French army. Tens of thousands joined the Spanish forces, including Toussaint Louverture, an ex-slave, who became a leading general. Fearing the loss of the colony to Spain, Sonthonax and Polveral echoed a British tactic to counter the Spanish invasion: they decided to grant freedom to slaves who joined the French forces in defending St. Domingue. To the French commissioners, the Spanish invasion—and their powerful slave allies—posed the greatest threat to the colony’s future. Their first priority was to save the colony for France. When this inducement failed to stop the flow of slaves to the Spanish, Sonthonax went one step further—declaring all St. Domingue’s slaves free on August 29, 1793.

St. Domingue planters—both white and free coloreds—watched in horror as the entire social and economic foundation of the colony was up ended. The planters took steps of their own, inviting England to take possession of the island and reinstate slavery. By 1794, England’s troops claimed territory along the coast near Port au Prince and by the end of the summer, the port itself. With the English threat strengthening, and the door to freedom perilously near to closing, slaves acted to save themselves and the French colony, by joining the French army. That’s when Toussaint Louverture, himself a former slave, deserted the Spanish and brought

thousands of ex-captives to join the French army. Louverture's army helped quickly rout the English and Spanish, and their allies the planters.

After 1794, Louverture became the most powerful figure in St. Domingue. His charisma, energy, and intelligence allowed him to outmaneuver black, mulatto, and white rivals. In these power struggles, Louverture fought in pitched battles that resulted in the retreat and eventual withdrawal of one of his most formidable rivals, General Rigaud, a mulatto landowner. Among those who retreated and eventually left the island were Alexandre Petion and Jean-Pierre Boyer, two future presidents of Haiti.

In 1798, Louverture negotiated the departure of English troops, and in 1800, boldly attacked the Spanish colony of Santo Domingo, bringing all of Hispaniola under his control. Until 1802, Louverture juggled the conflicting and diverse interests of the remaining planters (even inviting planters who had fled the island to return), French metropolitan authority, and freed slaves to produce a functioning and stable dominion—all the while staying true to his commitment to slave abolition. Although increasingly, his policies brought into question how free these ex-slaves were as many plantation cultivators worked under coercion.

During Louverture's tenure, he wrote a constitution, establishing a new labor system of contracts for plantation labor, a new currency, a law and court system, a new tax code, and even public schools. He even negotiated commercial treaties with foreign powers, effectively managing the colony as an independent and autonomous

state. His most important trading partner became the United States under the Adams administration which urged him to declare St. Domingue's independence. Yet he hesitated to take the final step of declaring independence, fearful that France, enraged at the loss of the island, would invade. Louverture was keenly aware that white allies would be essential to St. Domingue's future. He also realized how threatening St. Domingue was to potential trading partners and understood that as long as France provided some legitimate standing and protection, these powers would not isolate the island diplomatically or economically. Despite his supreme tactical abilities, however, Louverture read France's newest leader, Napoleon, incorrectly. Like many others, Louverture underestimated the Corsican's appetite for conquest.

In 1802, Napoleon set his eyes on France's New World empire, determined to retake direct control of St. Domingue and reinstate slavery there. To do so, Napoleon sent General Leclerc, his brother in law and tens of thousands of soldiers, including veterans of the continental army and former Rigaud supporters. These mulatto supporters wished to regain control and oust Louverture once and for all. Neither Leclerc nor Napoleon expected widespread resistance, and assumed Louverture and his troops would capitulate quickly. Instead, resistance was fierce, and Leclerc, desperately seeking the war's settlement, unleashed 'total war' tactics that targeted black and mulatto men, putting to death all who were captured. Even women and children were targeted, subjected to public torture and mutilations.

One of Louverture's generals, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, who would become Haiti's first leader, also used total war tactics, taking white residents hostage and often murdering them out of revenge for French atrocities. By 1802, however, Louverture's army faced defeat. Many of his generals surrendered, including Henry Christophe, another future Haitian leader, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, and eventually even Louverture. After Louverture's capture and deportation to France, Leclerc hoped French control would meet with no further resistance.

This hoped-for peace never materialized as many in Louverture's army refused to submit. The fight against the French intensified when news reached St. Domingue that France had re-imposed slavery upon its colonies of Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Tobago. Soldiers defected from the French army and joined the growing bands of insurgents and ordinary citizens determined to fight the French to the death, embracing the motto, "live free or die."

Leclerc continued his barbaric tactics, ordering the systematic murder of mulattoes and black families. Mass killings and drownings took place all during the summer of 1802. Dogs, which had been especially trained to maul, arrived from Cuba to provide added support to the French soldiers, who had themselves been dying in the thousands as a yellow fever epidemic hit. Unsurprisingly, these practices fueled ever greater resistance, pushing the remaining mulatto soldiers, including Petion and Boyer, who had invaded with the Leclerc forces, to desert and join the revolutionary forces.

Dessalines, as a leading general under Louverture, came to his full potential as a killing machine during these years. His strength and viciousness rallied the diverse groups of mulattoes and blacks to unify under his command. By the end of November of 1803, Dessalines and his army had routed the remaining French troops. At last, the French commander, General Rochambeau, who had succeeded Leclerc who died from yellow fever, agreed to leave the island. He left, however, without signing a formal peace treaty or recognition of independence, leaving Haiti and its people vulnerable to future attacks.

This was the long and protracted war that gave St. Domingue's slaves their freedom, turned the colony into Haiti, an independent nation, and formed Haiti's first generation of leaders. Scholars have long focused on the Haitian Revolution as that state's key contribution to debates on slavery and abolition in the Atlantic World.¹⁰ The undeniable significance of the revolution to contemporary thought on the slave system has had the effect of muting another powerful signal from the Caribbean island: the emergence of a peaceful nation and how that influenced the free black population of the United States. When rebels in St. Domingue fought for and won freedom from slavery and colonialism, they directly challenged ideas of white supremacy. When they founded and governed their own state, they again undermined that view of the world by challenging the notion that freed slaves and free people of color were incapable of sustaining independence. With the revolution, they changed

¹⁰ David P. Geggus, ed. *Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2001).

the paradigm of possibilities for militant slaves; through independence, they did the same for politicized free blacks. The establishment and progress of Haiti as an independent black nation marked a political and cultural milestone that was not lost on Rev. Peter Williams or his peers.

I argue both Haitian and African American leaders actively promoted the island as a quintessentially black nation. Haitian leaders did so by codifying the concept in the nation's constitution, and also by other words and deeds. At independence, Haiti identified itself by color declaring in Article 14 of its Constitution: "Haitians henceforth will be known by the generic name of blacks."¹¹ All inhabitants, regardless of the skin color, would be considered "black," suggesting an open and inclusive black identity. The Constitution also outlawed all white landownership, indicating a color consciousness. Around the same time, the African American community began looking to the Caribbean island and embracing their color as an identifier. This choice, just as in Haiti, was a strategy to unify against white oppression and racism.¹² Yet, in both cases, emerging black identity was not based on an essentialist or biological notion of difference but was characterized by shared goals of unity, autonomy, and freedom from white rule.¹³ Haitians had

¹¹ *Les Constitutions d'Haiti* (Paris: Louis-Joseph Janiver, 1886).

¹² "African" had been the most common designation and continued to be used. James Sidbury, *Becoming African in America: Race and Nation in the Early Black Atlantic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

¹³ African Americans as a whole did not embrace racial notions of difference based on physical or biological characteristics although increasingly some black individuals wrote of Africans' physical and moral superiority to whites in the later nineteenth century. Wilson Moses, *Afrotopia: The Roots of*

embraced those goals in their foundational texts and laws and African Americans increasingly believed that these goals could only be attained in a black-ruled dominion separated from white control.

Historians generally define black nationalism as a separatist ideology that took hold in the African-American community in the 1850s. Some historians have claimed African Americans by aspiring to form a black nation were declaring they no longer wished to integrate into American society or culture.¹⁴ Recently, historians have moved past this dichotomy and viewed black nationalism as an evolving idea that reflects the complex goals, forces, and ideologies shaping the community's views of nation, separation, and migration.¹⁵ African Americans who ventured to Haiti in the 1820s believed they were settling in a black republic analogous to the United States, a country that offered equality, freedom, and a republican government.

Posterity has not been kind to Haiti's first generation of leaders. Some have characterized these people as originating the economic and political morass into

African American Popular History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), Chapter 2 and 3; Wilson Moses, *Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850-1925* (Hamden, CT.: Archon, 1978).

¹⁴ John H. Bracey, August Meir, and Elliot Rudwick, (eds.) *Black Nationalism in America* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970); Wilson Moses, *Afrotopia: The Roots of African American Popular History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), Chapter 2 and 3; Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: The Foundations of Nationalist Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), Chapter 1; Moses, *Golden Age of Black Nationalism*, 25.

¹⁵ Peter Hinks, (ed.) *David Walker's Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000); James Sidbury, *Becoming African in America*; Dickson Bruce, Jr. "National Identity and African-American Colonization, 1773-1817" *Historian* 58 (1995): 15-29.

which their country later slid. Leading the first nation in the world to throw off slave shackles and only the second to achieve independence from colonialism, their achievements should be considered in light of the tools available, and the hostility of the international community. These leaders were aware that Haiti's independence and nationhood were symbols of racial uplift, and proof of racial equality, but also aware that world opinion and economic viability were crucial to its fortunes. Early leaders actively worked to bring African Americans to the island as part of their nation-building efforts. Chapter Two reveals how every Haitian leader starting with Dessalines actively tried to recruit African American migrants. All were motivated by both pragmatic and philanthropic goals. Settlers from America would provide Haiti badly needed workers and market-driven individuals to help transform the subsistence based mindset of their people. At the same time, these settlers would be adding to the wealth of Haiti and improving its image abroad. As detailed in Chapter Three, "Boyer's Project," President Boyer took this one step further. He hoped that by opening up his country to African Americans (and helping to offset the initial costs) he could win recognition from the U.S. By asking the U.S. to accept the quintessentially black nation as an equal, Boyer pressed the government to address racial equality.

Indeed, sectional tensions between the increasingly antislavery North and the increasingly slave-dependent South heated up around the issue of Haiti in the early 1820s. Much attention has been paid to the ramifications of this third major

revolution on the Caribbean and the wider world and far less to examining the influence the independent nation of Haiti exerted on national U.S. politics and the growing divisions in the late 1810s and early 1820s.¹⁶ Just as the Missouri Compromise was a domestic flash point on slavery at the diplomatic level foreign policy debates over recognition of and emigration to Haiti brought out intensified sectionalist feelings. Conflicting views of Haiti as a dangerous precedent for the South and an important market for the North became entwined in this sectionalist debate. These were issues President Boyer and his supporters grappled with as they pushed for American acknowledgment of Haiti's independence. Boyer understood that recognizing his state would put the U.S. on the record as accepting a black people as equals—unacceptable for southern politicians. As Boyer neared a critical mass of support for opening up of diplomatic ties, his name was dragged into the infamous Vesey Conspiracy Trials in the South.

Newspapers played a central role in advocating a change in the relationship between Haiti and the United States during these years. With journalism in its

¹⁶ Edward Bartlett Rugemer, "The Problem of Emancipation: The United States and Britain's Abolition of Slavery" (Ph.D. diss., Boston College, 2005); Steven Heath Mitton, "The Free World Confronted: The Problem of Slavery and Progress in American Foreign Relations, 1833-1844" (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 2005); Tim Matthewson, "Jefferson and Haiti" *The Journal of Southern History* 61 (1995): 209-248; Michael Zuckerman, "The Power of Blackness: Thomas Jefferson and the Revolution in St. Domingue" In *Almost Chosen People: Oblique Biographies in the American Grain* (Berkeley, CA.: University of California Press, 1993); Peter Onuf, *Jefferson's Empire: The language of American Nationhood* (Charlottesville, VA.: University Press of Virginia, 2000); Donald R Hickey, "America's Response to the Slave Revolt in Haiti, 1791-1806" *Journal of the Early Republic* 2 (1982): 361-379.

infancy, these publications were as much a forum for each editor's views and pet projects as they were for news reporting. These newspapers were filled with reports about Haiti and Haitian leaders, including public proclamations, the "progress" of the island, and the commercial opportunities. Even reports that focused on trade offered accounts of Haiti's government and current events as context. Editors such as Hezekiah Niles and Benjamin Lundy, and countless others contributed to this public file on Haiti. Niles published *Niles' Weekly Register* and prided himself on the paper's impartiality in an era when newspapers understood their role as representing particular political parties. This stand gave his paper a national and wide ranging audience. Benjamin Lundy, the most famous American abolitionist in the 1820s, also lived in Baltimore, moving from his native Tennessee, to publish *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. He established his paper specifically to function as an antislavery voice and prompted the cause of Haitian recognition and emigration, as shown in Chapter Four, "The Marketing of Haiti."

Chapter Five, "Push and Pull," argues that African Americans were attracted to Haiti because they viewed the nation in many ways as the black "land of the free." Haiti as a black-ruled, constitutional republic offered economic opportunity, equality, and citizenship to all its black residents. By migrating, African Americans demonstrated a belief in a black nation for all the descendents of Africa. In this chapter, I push the individual settlers' goals and experiences to the foreground, because—to echo Rev. Williams—they hold the key to the success of this project.

As evidenced in Chapter 6, “Haitian Realities,” American newspapers documented the emigration of African Americans and their initial experiences in Haiti in their articles and by publishing emigrant letters to family and friends in the United States—more than a dozen letters in all. Viewed in conjunction with the National Archives’ Passenger Lists for New York and Philadelphia, these letters provide a more complete picture of individuals and families. These shipping records account for all incoming passengers into American ports from 1820 onwards, allowing for a statistical analysis of the demographic profile of the emigrants. They also show the great diversity of the settlement. The chief limitation of the National Archives’ Passenger Lists is that they provide information for incoming ships, and register only those emigrants who returned or traveled back and forth between Haiti and the United States rather than a list of all settlers. In addition, no Baltimore Passenger Lists are extant from 1821 to 1832, the main years of returns, preventing thorough knowledge of the Baltimore participants. In spite of their limitations, these lists contain thumbnail biographies of passengers such as the doctor, Dr. Belfast Burton and the laundress, Hannah Quincy. In addition to the ship’s last port of departure, they often include the full name of the passengers, ages, sex, occupations, and countries of origin.¹⁷ Not all customs officers thoroughly completed the forms, however. For many entries, only the barest of information was recorded, leaving us with nothing more than “Ann, a black woman with children.” Although limited, this

¹⁷ Please see Appendix I, 1825 for example.

source material demonstrates the diversity of the migrants, showing the widely differing social levels and the number of female migrants. The lists also serve to mark the exact time of an emigrant's return to the United States. This information enables some discussion of what provoked the return.

British consular material provides another vantage point on Haiti in the 1820s which informs Chapter Six, "Haitian Realities." Charles Mackenzie, the black consul stationed in Port au Prince from 1826 to 1828 wrote extensive reports for the British government and kept a journal that was later published as *Notes on Haiti*. In this publication, Mackenzie recorded additional economic data and what Haitian daily life was like during a period when American newspaper coverage of the settlers' experiences had faded. French consuls archived newspapers from their tenure in Haiti beginning in 1825, again providing accounts of life on the island just as American public interest was ebbing. Other sources preserved in the New York Public Library include a series of books called *Recueil General des Lois et Actes du Gouvernement d'Haiti* that records every law ever passed in the Haitian republic from 1807 to 1833. These allow for a greater understanding of what laws, economic problems, and the changing social environment the migrants encountered during their residence in Haiti.

In its entirety, "Haiti and the U.S." reveals that emigration in the 1820s was the culmination of efforts among Haitian leaders to gain the black nation a place at the international table, and efforts among free blacks and antislavery whites to push

back against discrimination and show the black race as an equal. “Haiti and the U.S.” restores Haiti as an important influence on America’s nineteenth century race relations and show how close Boyer came to winning U.S. support for a black state—a potentially transformative gesture for slavery and race debates.

For abolitionists, Williams’s congregation carried with them two great hopes. First, that free black Americans settlers could be precursors to a much larger exodus of manumitted slaves to Haiti. Williams and other black and white abolitionists in the 1820s took those white southerners at their word who said they would embrace widespread manumission if only a suitable location was found for these slaves.¹⁸ The congregation’s second hope was that business-minded African Americans would assist in developing a free labor system on the island that would allow Haiti to compete with the slave states of the Caribbean and the U.S. Abolitionists looked to the island’s economic potential as the invisible hand that could once and for all free the United States from the curse of slavery. After winning the long-waged battle against the African Slave Trade, antislavery supporters had lost some focus. But the Missouri Compromise of 1820 revealed that slavery was strengthening its grip on ever greater swaths of the United States. Disheartened at how politics had failed to stop the spread of slavery, abolitionists such as Benjamin Lundy turned to economic pressure as a strategy, and looked

¹⁸ Robert Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and Religious Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 129-162; Gail Bederman, “Revisiting Nashoba: Slavery, Utopia, and Frances Wright in America, 1818-1826” *American Literary History* 17 (2005): 438-459.

specifically to the free produce movement, an economic boycott of slave produced goods.¹⁹ Nevertheless, because of Haiti's popularity among the free black community and its established economy, supporters were confident that the Liberian debacle, which began with dreams of self-sufficiency, would not be repeated.

From the realm of diplomacy to individual African Americans, the emigration movement carried greater political and ideological meaning than historians have previously credited. While the general outlines of the story of Haitian emigration have been known to historians for some time, the motivations and expectations of all supporters—both in the U.S. and in Haiti—have never before been fully analyzed.²⁰ If Haitian emigration succeeded in earning Haiti recognition, Boyer could then have enjoyed the military and diplomatic protection of the United States. And free and enslaved American could not have been told that the U.S. did not recognize anyone of their race as political equals.

¹⁹ By the 1830s, abolitionists in the United States abandoned this economic focus and adopted a new strategy of moral suasion under the leadership of William Garrison. In the British context, see Seymour Drescher, *The Mighty Experiment: Free Labor versus Slavery in British Emancipation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

²⁰ Julie Winch, "American Free Blacks and Emigration to Haiti" San German: Centro de Investigaciones del Caribe y America Latina, Universidad Interamerica de Puerto Rico 33 (1988): 1-22; Alfred Hunt, *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America: Slumbering Volcano in the Caribbean* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 168-172; James O. Jackson, "The Origins of Pan-African Nationalism: Afro-American and Haytian Relations, 1800-1863" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1976), 78-117; Chris Dixon, *African America and Haiti: Emigration and Black Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000), Chapter 1.

Chapter 2:

Haiti's Founding Fathers

When Jean-Jacques Dessalines proclaimed Haiti's independence in 1804, he began the process of transforming the former colony into a nation. As a two-product slave state governed by a tiny elite, St. Domingue bequeathed few institutions or foundations to the new nation. Moving this society towards nationhood posed an enormous challenge to the first generation leaders of Haiti—Jean-Jacques Dessalines, Alexandre Petion, Henry Christophe, and Jean-Pierre Boyer, as issues of land, labor, and diplomatic recognition remained unresolved.

The question of recognition weighed on Haiti throughout the first two decades of its independence. Instead of agreeing upon a peace treaty, France and its former colony only declared a truce, which meant Haiti's sovereignty as a nation remained unrecognized. It also left Haiti vulnerable to future attacks. From 1804 onwards, former St. Domingue planters continually called on their government to re-conquer the island by military force, refusing to accept that they had lost the island. And as long as France continued to participate in the Atlantic slave trade, the European power possessed the potential to re-supply the island with fresh African slaves.

Indeed, Haiti remained in the sights of its humbled colonizer throughout the early nineteenth century.¹

French declarations to invade and re-impose slavery left Haitians uncertain of their security. It also fueled the nation's militarism as each Haitian leader established a standing army of tens of thousands of soldiers to allay security fears. Confronting an international situation without recognition, (no other world power would acknowledge Haiti's existence for fear of offending the French), this standing army curbed French or other nations' aggressiveness. The young nation's leaders assumed that once they established and made Haiti a stable, well-regarded, and commercially invaluable state, then diplomats and important allies would rally round.² To improve its international status and woo such potential allies, Haitian leaders set to work building the ravaged society into an economically viable nation.

The plantation system was the economic model Haitian leaders reverted to in order to make their nation rich, powerful, and respected.³ But ordinary Haitians, most of whom were former slaves, rejected this program of growing a cash crop with plantation type labor. Seeing their hopes for a respected, recognized, and secure Haiti jeopardized by this refusal—but unable to re-impose the plantation labor system wholesale—leaders of Haiti turned to the United States and the black

¹ The French participated in the Atlantic Slave Trade until 1818 when they officially outlawed the trade. Unofficially, however, French slavers continued to sail the seas.

² These leaders envisioned hoping to repeat what had occurred during the Haitian Revolution with the Americans and British against the French.

³ During his control of the island, Louverture also attempted to reconcile the antislavery stand of the populace and the need for plantation crops worked by gang-like laborers.

community there. Each of Haiti's early leaders looked to these potential black settlers to bring labor, skills and capital to aid in the building of the Haitian nation and each looked to the international community for the security of diplomatic ties.

In one of his first acts as ruler over an independent nation, Dessalines renamed St. Domingue Haiti. Symbolically washing away French control of the island and baptizing the new nation for a new era, Dessalines reached back into Caribbean history to a time before European contact. He used a centuries-old indigenous name for the island, which was among the few remains of an extinct tribe. The Taino Arawak name, Haiti, meaning "mountainous," anticipated a new epoch without slavery or Europeans. David Geggus suggests the choice of an Ameridian name by the leaders was a way to create a culturally neutral—neither European nor African—reference for the diverse population confronting a future together.⁴

The country was divided between rival factions of blacks and mulattos, speakers of French and the African language Creole, and adherents of Catholicism and Vodoo. And these differences in culture, religion, language, and color had to be bridged by more than a mere name change. Animosity rooted in the slave past, when creole mulatto masters enslaved black Africans, had shown itself during the

⁴ David Geggus, "The Naming of Haiti" *New West Indian Guide* 71 (1997): 43-68.

Revolution.⁵ Most overcame these differences during the last stages of the war when the French forces turned the conflict into one of racial extermination. This unity of purpose was short lived and the project of creating a nation out of a thinly-allied mulatto and black leadership posed an immediate challenge to Dessalines' skills as a leader.

Dessalines addressed the discord between “Blacks and Yellows” in his most famous 1804 “Liberty or Death” Proclamation and spoke directly for the need of these two groups with their different pasts to unite and live harmoniously together. Unity, he said, was “the secret of being invincible.”⁶ Yet when it came time to write a Constitution, Dessalines declared that all citizens of Haiti would be known henceforth as blacks—*noirs*, regardless of the color their skin., placing all colors under the designation of “black.”⁷ National identities throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had become increasingly predicated on color. Dessalines' axiomatic view of Haitians as black fell in line with the prevailing idea of how

⁵ For the most recent work on the Haitian Revolution: Laurent DuBois, *The Avengers of the New World: the Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004).

⁶ It was reprinted in English language publications such as *The Balance*. See *The Balance*, June 19, 1804, 197.

⁷ Women were left out of the equation altogether with Dessalines's constitution. The Constitution expressly stated that all citizens must be “good fathers, good husbands and above all else, a good soldier...to be called a Haytien citizen.” Quoted in Mimi Sheller, “Sword-Bearing Citizens: Militarism and Manhood in Nineteenth-Century Haiti” *Plantation Society in the Americas* 4 (1997): 244.

nations were constituted.⁸ The new “blackness” of the population has been read as Dessalines’ attempt at universalizing Haiti’s national identity and breaking down social stratification. It sought to abolish the color divide permanently and to subvert the light supremacy that had prevailed in Haiti’s intellectual and philosophical circles and had formed part of the justification of racial slavery. The Constitution also precluded whites from ever owning land or running a plantation again in Haiti.

To make certain that white landowners never gained access to their former lands, Dessalines ordered the total elimination of all white French residents living on the island, claiming they posed a security risk to the nation. He spared Americans and other foreigners but killed thousands of French men, women and children. The extent of his ire toward the former French planters surfaced in his “Liberty or Death” proclamation where he described white Frenchmen as “insatiate blood suckers” who are “fattened with our toils.”⁹ In exacting his revenge upon the remaining French inhabitants, Dessalines also destroyed a sizeable portion of the island’s population.

That population had already been decimated by the thirteen-year war, where by some estimates, one-third to one-half of the population had died or fled the island. Another 100,000 to 130,000 were permanently disabled.¹⁰ The revolutionary period also saw the productive fields, sugar mills, and irrigation works destroyed, burned

⁸ Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001); Peter Onuf, *Jefferson’s Empire: The Language of American Nationhood* (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 2000).

⁹ *The Balance*, June 19, 1804.

¹⁰ Alex Dupuy, *Haiti in the World Economy: Class, Race, and Underdevelopment since 1700* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1989), 74.

out, or left idle. The large standing army also kept the most productive workers from the fields. Dessalines declared that no soldier could work in the fields, leaving Haitian plantations short 37,000 potentially productive workers.¹¹

After thirteen years of war, the habits of work had diminished among the population. Women, who had worked in the fields as slaves, continued to fill that role after independence. Comprising two-thirds of the population, their labor remained essential to the island's productivity.¹² But they, too, abandoned this type of manual labor, becoming Haiti's small-scale marketers and traders.¹³ Without sufficient or willing laborers, the productivity of the island suffered. Between 1789 and 1801, the production of sugar decreased by 80%. The island's coffee crop also fell to 30% of its 1789 levels to 30 million lbs coffee in 1805.¹⁴ With these levels of production, the viability of the nation and its future economic situation remained in peril.

Realizing he needed to do something to improve Haiti's agricultural output, Dessalines resorted to the first migration scheme seeking to attract blacks from the United States. It would bolster Haiti's population, add new laborers, secure skilled

¹¹ James Graham Leyburn, *The Haitian People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966). 36, 4n. Dessalines and soldiers, Carolyn Fick, "Emancipation in Haiti: From Plantation Labour to Peasant Proprietorship," *Slavery & Abolition* 21 (2000): 30.

¹² Leyburn, *The Haitian People*, 33-34.

¹³ Sheller, "Sword-Bearing" 260. All foreign observers commented on the commercial activities of Haitian women. As one observer noted, "Women...are free to follow any business they may choose, unrestricted by public opinion. They are bakers, coffee speculators, and coffee-housekeepers. They buy and sell most of the dry goods and much of the salt provisions which are imported." (Hunt, *Remarks on Hayti*, 9).

¹⁴ Dupuy, *Haiti in the World Economy*, sugar, 54; coffee levels, 77.

manpower, and supply additional military personnel against a possible foreign invasion. He advertised in northern-based American newspapers and offered \$40 to ship captains for every man transported to the island.¹⁵ Dessalines also offered to buy African slaves bound for Jamaica from British slavers.¹⁶ Although no evidence indicates that Dessalines successfully implemented his proposals, this project of importing population would be revisited by his successors.

Support for a parallel plan had existed in the United States, but whether Dessalines knew of this previous plan is a mystery. In 1801, Thomas Jefferson contemplated exporting rebellious slaves to St. Domingue after Gabriel's Conspiracy. Jefferson, whose ideas of black inferiority were well-known, at first believed the island held great promise for the United States, especially to Southern slave states as a place to exile insubordinate slaves.¹⁷ Eventually, however, Jefferson feared that a powerful black nation in the Caribbean would become a rival

¹⁵ *The Balance*, June 19, 1804, 197; *National Intelligencer*, April 6, 1804; Jonathan Brown, *History and Present Condition of St. Domingo* (Boston: Weeks, Jordan & Co., 1839), 142.

¹⁶ Jonathan Brown writes "The first care which occupied the policy of Dessalines... was to repair the waste of population in the country from the long succession of war and massacre. For this purpose he refused to wait the slow operation of natural causes, but sought to attain his object by importation rather instead of reproduction." (*History and Present Condition*, 141).

¹⁷ Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes towards the Negro, 1550-1812* (New York: W. W. Horton, 1968). Jordan discusses the reception of Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (441). After Gabriel's Conspiracy was averted, Jefferson proposed transporting all ex-slaves to the island as the simplest solution to preventing a race war that manumission would unleash. Before 1804 when Dessalines declared Haitian independence, Jefferson believed America could contain the black revolutionaries. For a discussion of Jefferson, nation, and colonization see Onuf, *Jefferson's Empire*, 147-88; Michael Zuckerman, "The Power of Blackness: Thomas Jefferson and the Revolution in St. Domingue" In *Almost Chosen People: Oblique Biographies in the American Grain* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 202; Donald R. Hickey, "America's Response to the Slave Revolt in Haiti, 1791-1806" *Journal of the Early Republic* 2 (1982): 365.

and perpetuate a race war in the United States, resulting in the “extermination of one or the other race.”¹⁸ Dessalines’s actions in the deadly days of 1803 and then again with the French massacres, confirmed Jefferson’s fears: the United States must be protected from the contagion of the island and its race wars.¹⁹ This extended to trade with the island.

American policy towards the new republic in the Caribbean shifted dramatically once Thomas Jefferson became President. Determined to eliminate American exposure to Haiti, Jefferson imposed a general embargo against all trade with Haiti in 1804, two years before the passage of the Embargo of 1806. Scholars who study Jefferson debate his true motive in destroying the relationship between the United States and Haiti. Some argue that the specter of large-scale slave resistance, like Gabriel’s Conspiracy, brought home to Jefferson how dangerous the St. Domingue example could be to American slave masters.²⁰ Others believe that Jefferson’s overriding ambition to secure Louisiana and Florida drove him to

¹⁸ Quoted in Onuf, *Jefferson’s Empire*, “strength” 179; “extermination” 150.

¹⁹ These massacres and Dessalines’s refusal to allow the French residents to leave the country played directly into Jefferson’s fundamental belief in the incompatibility of whites and their former slaves living together in one nation. It also reinforced the necessity of his diplomatic approach—to eliminate all contact between the United States and Haiti. For more on Jefferson and his racial fears see Michael Zuckerman, “The Power of Blackness”.

²⁰Tim Matthewson, “Jefferson and Haiti” *Journal of Southern History* 61 (1995): 227; Tim Matthewson, “Jefferson and Nonrecognition of Haiti” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 140 (1996): 22. Matthewson’s recent book also discusses the domestic influences working on Jefferson’s foreign policy: *A Proslavery Foreign Policy: Haitian-American relations during the early Republic* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2003); Onuf, *Jefferson’s Empire*, Chapter 5.

embrace Napoleon's friendship and to abandon Haiti.²¹ Perhaps the writer of the Declaration of Independence, who once referred to the blacks of Haiti as "the Cannibals of the terrible republic," was uncomfortable with Africans possessing the same republican ideology and philosophical outlook as the white republic.²²

Unaware of Thomas Jefferson's animosity, Dessalines wrote personally to the American statesman to tell him that Haitian ports remained open to American merchants. He also highlighted the huge profits that awaited those who traded with the island.²³ He envisioned reestablishing the cozy trading ties that had existed between the U.S. and the island during the late 1790s when the United States became the primary outfitters of arms, ammunition and food supplies, supplying exports worth \$8.4 million in 1796.²⁴ American merchants made tremendous profits outfitting the island's military with arms, ammunition and food supplies during the administration of John Adams. Throughout the 1790s, the United States' willingness to trade without reservation allowed the St. Domingue revolutionaries to consider independence from France. In one year alone, more than 600 American ships were involved in the trade between the island and the United States and throughout the

²¹ Douglas R. Egerton, "The Empire of Liberty Reconsidered" In *The Revolution of 1800: Democracy, Race, and the New Republic* eds. James Horn, Jan Ellen Lewis, and Peter Onuf (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 2002), 324; Hickey, 374; R. W. Logan, *The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti, 1776-1891* (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1969), 141-6; Donald L. Robinson, *Slavery in the Structure of American Politics, 1765-1820* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanich, 1970), 368; Gordon S. Brown, *Toussaint's Clause: The Founding Fathers and the Haitian Revolution* (Jackson, Miss.: University Press of Mississippi, 2005).

²² Quoted in Matthewson, "Jefferson and Haiti," 217.

²³ Ibid, 233.

²⁴ Hickey, "America's Response," 365.

late 1790s, St. Domingue's trade was considered a valuable market for American finished goods and raw commodities. Dessalines, however, underestimated the antipathy he had created among the southern slave owners and their powerful representative in the United States—Thomas Jefferson.²⁵ Jefferson never responded to the letter, and, instead of supporting trade, he prevented American merchants from legally participating in the Haitian trade with a trade embargo.²⁶

Even before the American embargo, Dessalines had proved to be a poor promoter of Haitian trade.²⁷ He made trade difficult by imposing draconian restrictions on foreign merchants, policing what ports, custom officers, and trade goods made contact with Haiti.²⁸ If traders disregarded these restrictions, they faced threatened fines of \$300 for the first offense and \$500 for the second.

By 1807, Dessalines's inability to ameliorate the economic situation had increased his unpopularity among the growing established Haitian elite, which consisted of military officers and newly minted land owners. When he began a new

²⁵ Dessalines's disdain for white people is demonstrated in this statement: "Hang a white man below one of the pans in the scales of the customs house, and put a sack of coffee in the other pan; the other whites will buy the coffee without paying attention to the body of their fellow whites." Quoted in David Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour and National Independence in Haiti* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979; reprinted 1996), n12, 37.

²⁶ The embargo was passed one full year before the general embargo.

²⁷ H. B. L. Hughes, "British Policy Towards Haiti, 1801-1805" *The Canadian Historical Review* 25 (1944): 397-408. Reviving trade relations with Dessalines provided the British with one way to recoup the enormous losses suffered in the ill-fated bid to conquer the island during the turmoil of the Haitian Revolution. David Geggus, *Slavery, War, and Revolution: The British Occupation of Saint-Domingue 1793-1798* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967). Although the British had much to fear—their largest colony in the Caribbean, Jamaica, was Haiti's closest neighbor—they believed any potential threat from the island-nation could be contained easily by British sea power. The attempted conquest ended in complete disaster with thirty thousand lives lost and the British treasury was estimated to have spent 40 million pounds on the expedition.

²⁸ *National Intelligencer*, Nov. 21, 1804.

program to place all former plantation lands in the hands of the state, and then redistribute them as he saw fit, he pushed these landowners over the edge. A cabal of landowners and military personnel planned and executed an assassination of Dessalines to defend and maintain their property. Yet despite the unity of purpose in murdering their leader, the Haitian elite remained at odds over who should be the new leader.

Factions gathered around two candidates: One group supported Henry Christophe, Dessalines's second in command, while another group, a mulatto contingency, wanted Alexandre Petion, the head of the Haitian Congress, to be the new leader. Christophe, the black-skinned former slave, had commanded the northern army during the revolution. Petion, a military hero and wealthy planter from the south of Haiti, had been critical in liberating the island from Leclerc and Rochambeau at the end of the Revolution. Battles ensued between the two camps, culminating in a standoff where each general declared himself the "true" leader of Haiti. In reality, two nations coexisted after the conflict: the Kingdom of Haiti under Christophe's rule in the North and the southern Republic of Haiti under Petion. After carving the nation in two, both Petion and Christophe set about establishing control over their respective dominions. In the North, sugar had dominated the regions's pre-revolutionary agriculture, while in the south, coffee and indigo had been the main exports. In addition to re-establishing production, they needed to find trading partners and arm the country in preparation for a potential French attack.

As neither leader could renew trading relations with the U.S. or France, the island became economically dependent on Britain. Maintaining trade relations with the island provided great benefits to British commercial interests which enjoyed a near monopoly of its trade. For Haiti, however, this relationship stunted any economic advantages or bargaining power held by Petion or Christophe. Even when the United States returned to trading with the island, the British choke hold prevented American traders from gaining a foothold until the Napoleonic Wars, when Britain's attention turned elsewhere.²⁹

Despite having access to Britain's insatiable appetite for coffee and sugar, both Christophe and Petion found supplying these cash crops increasingly difficult. To maintain high agricultural production, Haitian leaders continued to rely on the large-scale, gang-based labor regimes that had made colonial St. Domingue so wealthy. After independence, the means of production remained the plantation system with agricultural laborers growing the export crops of sugar and coffee. During colonial days the export economy produced such enormous wealth that little diversification had occurred. Imported food provisions, clothing, and finished goods met the needs of the inhabitants.³⁰ Few indigenous manufacturers established themselves, leaving the economy completely dependent on exporting cash crops and

²⁹ Logan, *The Diplomatic Relations*, 183-185.

³⁰ During the colonial period, slaves cultivated plots of land to supplement food supplies. See Sidney W. Mintz, "Slavery and the Rise of Peasantries" *Historical Reflections/ Reflexions Historiques* 6 (1979): 213-42. St. Domingue planters still relied on imports for the much of slaves' food, including flour, salt, rice, codfish, and dried salted beef. See Dupuy, *Haiti in the World Economy*, 40-43.

importing goods. Re-imposing the plantation system became the route to economic and military security for both Haitis.

This system of labor, however, antagonized workers because it was too reminiscent of slavery. They resented returning to plantations under the gang-labor system and tilling lands and crops that were not their own, preferring instead to engage in small-scale farming and trading for goods and services amongst themselves. Reconciling the economic imperative of re-establishing the plantation systems and its national purpose with the desires of the liberated workers posed an enormous challenge.

Both Christophe and Petion attempted to re-activate cultivation by re-imposing labor laws first introduced by Louverture to keep workers productive. Christophe's labor laws were called the "Code Henry" while Petion proclaimed a "Code Rural." Both imposed forced labor systems to revitalize the export-driven economy that had been so productive—and lucrative—during colonial days. They differed in how they implemented these laws, however.

In Christophe's northern kingdom, the large plantations remained intact, with the state leasing large tracts to members of his nobility and to military leaders. He secured plantation laborers for these plantations by forcibly preventing the agricultural workers from leaving the plantations and refusing to distribute land in small parcels. Enforcing these labor laws was a group of more than 4,000 military police stationed at individual plantations. The police also served as overseers, who

watched for idleness among the laborers and used physical means to coerce labor.

Instead of cash wages, the workers divided one-fourth of the crop as salary.

Economically, Christophe's system worked as exports of coffee, sugar and other raw materials remained high. Coffee exports increased from 5,608,253 pounds in 1806 to more than 10,232,910 pounds in 1810. Sugar production also ballooned, going from 522,229 pounds in 1810 to more than 6.2 million pounds in 1815.³¹ Reporting more than \$3.5 million in revenue a year, and with as many as 150 foreign ships a year engaged in the commerce in Cape Hayti alone, the kingdom was universally considered wealthy.³² Christophe's kingdom, was perceived to be so wealthy, in fact, that one British observer claimed the king was "richer than the Bank of England."³³

In the southern republic, Petion's administration followed some of the same policies as Christophe. Petion gave vast estates to many of his cronies who had brought him to power. He also passed a series of laws similar to Christophe's that regulated the work habits of plantation laborers in the Code Rural and, as was true in the north, the workers received compensation in crops rather than cash. Unlike Christophe, Petion declined to impose a national military police to enforce these laws. This decision cost the Haitian Republic economically.

³¹ *British and Foreign State Papers*, 1828-1829, 2 vols. (London, 1831), Vol 2, 702.

³² He also replaced his coinage with gold and silver coins, adding to the idea of the wealth of the kingdom. *British and Foreign State Papers*, Vol 2, 667.

³³ "Bank of England" *Niles' Weekly Register*, June 13, 1818. In 1820, the king's Treasury possessed a \$6 million reserve. *British and Foreign State Papers*, Vol. 2, 667.

Although definite figures are unavailable for the Republic during these years, its treasury ran a deficit beginning in 1808 that continued through 1812.³⁴ Petion tried to encourage laborers to be more productive by creating agricultural festivals that celebrated the most productive laborer on certain plantations.³⁵ In an effort to gain more money for the treasury and jump start sugar planting, Petion abolished all taxes on sugar exports and increased taxes on coffee production to 10 gourdes per 1,000 pounds³⁶ Sugar promised greater profits but cultivating coffee fit the economic and labor requirements in the Republic: It required far less capital investment than sugar and individuals could work at their own pace rather than in the regimented factory system of labor required in sugar and cotton cultivation.³⁷ But, coffee was also far less lucrative as a cash crop than sugar.

By 1809, Petion faced a dilemma: His efforts to stimulate the economy had generated operating costs too steep for the government coffers. Salaries had to be paid, especially those of the army. Given soldiers' access to arms and ammunition, Petion could not afford to anger disgruntled soldiers and military officers.³⁸ Petion turned to the only available resource: land. He began distributing land in lieu of

³⁴ Robert K. LaCerte, "Evolution of Land and Labour in the Haitian Revolution, 1791-1820" In *Caribbean Freedom: Society and Economy from Emancipation to the Present* eds. Hilary Beckles and Verene Shepard (London: Currey, 1993), 45.

³⁵ Leyburn, *The Haitian People*, 61.

³⁶ From Petion's perspective, taxing coffee heavily made sense to put money into the treasury.

³⁷ On the early move to coffee within St. Domingue, see Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "The Inconvenience of Freedom: Free People of Color and the Political Aftermath of Slavery in Dominica and Saint-Domingue/Haiti" In *The Meanings of Freedom: The Economics, Politics, and Culture after Slavery*. eda F. McGlynn and S. Drescher (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992), 147-82.

³⁸ To avoid this scenario for the future, Petion could have cut the standing army. But, he needed this army to protect the republic from the continuing menace of France.

salaries in 1809. Treasury deficits continued, forcing Petion to give away more land in subsequent years. In all, Petion disbursed 400,000 acres. Maintaining standing armies was an expensive deterrent that strained budgets and he began looking for an ally to help share the burden.

Unsurprisingly, both Petion and Christophe sought diplomatic recognition from Great Britain, an important ally if a French war broke out. Great Britain, with its powerful navy, could protect the island so recognition would allow both leaders to begin decommissioning part or most of the standing army. Diplomatic ties would also legitimize one or the other as the “true” Haitian leader. Beginning in 1808, both Petion and Christophe attempted to gain acknowledgment from England. Petion sent an emissary to London to seek recognition, but received no guarantees of support. Christophe used a public ploy to force the European monarchy to recognize the sovereignty of his state by using a fictitious dispatch that stated “the British Government recognises His Excellency the President Henry Christophe as the chief of the Government of Haiti, and it is determined to contribute its aid to establish its supremacy.”³⁹ Nothing came of it. Christophe also went out of his way to repay debts to British merchants in 1813, hoping these merchants would help plead his case to the government. While notices were placed in the *Morning Chronicle* about how lucrative the trade with the kingdom was, no one urged acknowledging the

³⁹ Quoted in Herbert Cole, *Christophe, King of Haiti* (New York: Viking Press, 1967), 160.

Haitian kingdom's sovereignty. Despite the king's efforts, these machinations brought him little resolution.⁴⁰

Efforts to gain Haiti the security of a sovereign member of the international community engendered diplomatic outreach to the major powers. The first black nation sought legitimacy from the old white powers from whom it had broken. In 1814 when France once again contemplated invading the island, British friendship became even more imperative. French legislators voted to send a French military force to take the island at the behest of former St. Domingue planters.⁴¹ This kept both Petion and Christophe on tenterhooks. Fortunately, the unexpected return of Napoleon disrupted these plans and the imminent danger to Haiti receded—for the time being.

St. Domingue planters persisted in their calls for some resolution, however, and the French government, wishing to quiet these war mongers, approached Petion and Christophe, demanding that the Haitians pay a massive indemnity in exchange for a formal peace treaty.⁴² Negotiations broke down when Christophe refused the agreement; Petion expressed a willingness to consider such a resolution. Although Petion never agreed to a peace treaty with France, the fear of such an event pressed

⁴⁰ Karen Racine, "Britannia's Bold Brother: British Cultural Influence in Haiti During the Reign of Henry Christophe" *The Journal of Caribbean History* 33 (1999): 128.

⁴¹ Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator, (eds.) *Henry Christophe & Thomas Clarkson; A Correspondence* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 57-59; David Geggus, "Haiti and the Abolitionists: Opinion, Propaganda and International Politics in Britain and France, 1804-1838" In *Abolition and its Aftermath: The Historical Context, 1790-1916*. ed. David Richardson, (London: Frank Cass, 1985), 113-140.

⁴² Planters and shippers who were part of the so called Ultra –Royalists party, continued to push for military re-conquest of the island until 1825.

Christophe to reach out to British abolitionists—his most vocal supporters—for assistance against such a dangerous *détente*.

William Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson, the two leading British abolitionists began corresponding with Christophe in 1814, and because of these letters, we know something of the king's concerns and agenda. Thomas Clarkson, especially, became both an advisor and an unofficial representative for the king in Europe. Christophe believed that Clarkson held sufficient influence to sway British public opinion toward recognition and pressed him regularly about it in these letters.⁴³ Christophe's writings show how he agonized over Haiti's future, and particularly the issue of recognition; they also show how heavily these issues weighed on his mind.

In these letters, Christophe and Clarkson discussed various policies, including a national education program, implementing new agricultural methods, and the cultural life of the kingdom's subjects. Christophe's educational programs pushed English as well as French reading and writing. The king also flirted with making the kingdom's official language English rather than French and changing the state religion from Roman Catholic to Protestant to flatter the British. He contemplated these changes because he wished to remove the cultural legacy of the French and

⁴³ Boyer learned from his predecessors' frustrations and in the next chapter a discussion of Boyer's efforts to gain recognition will be discussed.

replace “them with the manners of habits of the English,” a people he admired and respected for their antislavery stand, commercial power, and social stability.⁴⁴

Christophe’s “favorite plan,” envisioned reducing the size of his standing army, but, without some guarantee of security from Great Britain, reducing the army’s size remained out of the question. According to some estimates, Christophe was supporting a standing army of between 20,000 and 25,000 soldiers, and he desperately wanted to decommission at least 5,000 men in order to return these soldiers to farming, believing they would add significantly to the kingdom’s productivity.⁴⁵ In order to reduce the army’s population, Christophe needed British recognition and “the positive assurance that England would “recognize our independence....”⁴⁶ Frustrated, Christophe reminded Clarkson, recognition was both “necessary” and “indispensable” for the “execution of my projects in their entirety.”⁴⁷ Recognition was not, however, forthcoming.

Left with few alternatives, Christophe turned to a novel plan to increase his population: he offered white men citizenship if they settled in Haiti and married a Haitian woman. By offering such a proposal, Christophe overturned the founding tenet of Haitian identity as a black nation for black people.⁴⁸ But his kingdom’s

⁴⁴ Quoted in Racine, “Britannia’s Bold Brother,” 133; ‘Henri I’ *The Atheneum*, May 1, 1821, 98.

⁴⁵ One publication estimated his army consisted of 50,000 men. *The Analetic Magazine*, May 1817, 403-417, 406. Evidence suggests workers regularly fled the kingdom’s harsh labor conditions for the republic.

⁴⁶ Griggs and Prator, (eds.) *Henry Christophe & Thomas Clarkson*, 108-109.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 108-109.

⁴⁸ Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier*, 53. When he claimed the northern region of Haiti, Christophe wrote up his own constitution, leaving out this aspect of Dessalines’s constitution. It was

need for capital and people overcame matters of identity. When this 1818 initiative apparently failed to attract the necessary numbers, Christophe sought help from the British navy to repeople his ailing kingdom. Since declaring British participation in the Atlantic slave trade illegal in 1807, British naval ships had routinely captured rogue slave ships transporting slaves. The policy of the navy was to return these slaves to Africa and resettle them in the British African colony of Sierra Leone or to send them to Trinidad. If the ships were interdicted in the Caribbean, Christophe offered to save the British the expense of resettlement by buying the captured slaves from the British government for \$45 a person and settling them in Haiti as free immigrants.⁴⁹ As Christophe turned to yet another project of re-peopling in 1818, this British plan was probably never undertaken.

Understanding the predicament Christophe faced, Clarkson suggested a version of Dessalines's project to alleviate the kingdom's woes: African American emigration. In his letter explaining his idea, Clarkson enumerated the many advantages African American settlement would give to the kingdom, including "strengthening" the king's position "at home and in the eyes of foreigners, and of France in particular." This new population would not only strengthen the kingdom in Haiti's long tactical battle against France, it would also give the kingdom practical benefits. Clarkson supported the idea, reminding the king that American black

only at the insistence of Thomas Clarkson that Christophe limited landownership to white people in towns and ports.

⁴⁹ *Niles' Weekly Register*, Oct 28, 1820.

settlement would help him “realize more rapidly your project of introducing the English language into Hayti.” Since becoming the reigning leader of the northern region of Haiti, Christophe initiated and encouraged the English language among his subjects. This new language would be one step in removing the cultural influences of the French among his people. Not only would black Americans bring with them their language, they would bring additional skills and capital. Clarkson noted that many of these Americans were wealthy, some possessing as much as “3000 dollars!” adding those that did not bring such monetary riches could work.⁵⁰

Luckily, Christophe could turn to Prince Saunders, a native of the United States, to promote his plan.⁵¹ Saunders, one of the first Northern African American civic and intellectual leaders to live in Haiti, worked as a Bostonian schoolteacher before moving to the kingdom in 1816 and becoming an education administrator at the recommendation of London’s African Institute. He quickly found his footing as a publicist, helping publish the *Haytian Papers*, a collection of official proclamations and documents from Christophe’s kingdom.⁵²

Saunders, because of his American background and ties to the black communities leaders (he was married to Paul Cuffee’s daughter), excelled at

⁵⁰ Griggs and Prator,(eds.) *Henry Christophe & Thomas Clarkson*, English language, 142; “dollars!”, 162.

⁵¹Prince Saunders had been sent to Haiti by the African Institute in the 1810s as an educational consultant. Arthur O. White “Prince Saunders: An Instance of Social Mobility Among Antebellum New England Blacks” *The Journal of Negro History* 60 (1975): 526-535.

⁵² The London publication of 1816 includes the chapter: “Reflections of the Editor” that was deleted for the Boston edition. The chapter praises Christophe and castigates Petion as a traitor to the Haitian people since he had “renounced real independence” referring to the rumor of his negotiations with France. (*Haytian Papers*, 192-3).

promoting Haiti in the United States. He spoke to the Augustinian Society, a Philadelphia African American group, about the Haiti's progress under Christophe. He also lectured to the American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery, another important group concerned with African Americans, late in 1818.⁵³ These talks seemed to successful: Saunders claimed thousands were prepared to emigrate from New England and the Middle States. Satisfied with Saunders' results, Christophe donated ships and \$25,000 to the project. Before the emigration scheme could begin, however, the king died. And with his death, the black nationalist project of augmenting Haiti's population, skills sets, and laboring system with American settlers ended too.

Christophe's death would be a warning to all succeeding Haitian leaders. Before his death, Christophe had suffered a massive stroke that rendered the right side of his body paralyzed, leaving him bed bound and reflective. According to witnesses, the king spoke of his regrets in treating his subjects so harshly and pushing them so hard.⁵⁴ Would Christophe have tempered his iron fisted rule? He was never given that chance for disaffected residents of his kingdom took the opportunity of the king's physical disability to depose him, arming and preparing themselves to storm the palace. Rather than submit his fate to the hands of his

⁵³ Prince Saunders, *Address delivered at Bethel Church, Philadelphia; on the 30th of September, 1818: Before the Pennsylvania Augustine Society, for the Education of People of Colour* (Philadelphia: Joseph Rakestraw, 1818). *A Memoir Presented to the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and Improving the Condition of the African Race, December 11th, 1818* (Philadelphia: Dennis Heartt, 1818).

⁵⁴ Herbert Cole, *Christophe, King of Haiti* (New York: Viking Press, 1967).

enraged subjects, the king shot himself as the mutineers closed in. In deposing the king, the subjects also overthrew the brutal labor regime they had endured under for so many years. For future leaders, Christophe's suicide in the face of an avenging mob was a reminder of the limits of power and the necessity of foreign support.

Meanwhile, the Republic also faced a population and labor shortage. In 1807, following Dessalines' example, Petion turned to the United States as a resource for populating the island and strengthening his military defenses. Repeating Dessalines's advertisements in American newspapers, Petion requested that men of color come to Haiti and reminded his audience that the "freedom and prosperity offered" to black people in Haiti could be found "no where else." Pointing to the Haitian Constitution—a document that "consecrates all your rights"—Petion urged those living in America to "come and share the benefits" of these laws in a new nation.⁵⁵ Whether Petion succeeded in attracting settlers remains unknown. In 1817, he reprised the advertising campaign.

Petion invited settlers "with open arms," and urged Americans to "abandon an ungrateful country" that failed to appreciate them.⁵⁶ He described settling in Haiti as a political act that would show "white men that there yet exists coloured and black

⁵⁵ *Republican Watchtower*, May 19, 1807.

⁵⁶ A James Tredwell, a member of the New York African American community, traveled to the Republic in 1816 to investigate conditions on the island. Upon his return, Tredwell published information on the settlement project in 1817 called *The Constitution of the Republic of Hayti; to which is added Document relating to the Correspondence of his most Christian Majesty, with the President of Hayti; preceded by a Proclamation to the People and the Army* (New York: James Tredwell, 1818), 7.

men who can raise a fearless front, secured from insult and from injury.” He also promised the emigrants “little difference in our manner of living from that of the places they shall leave,” encouraging a belief that the Republic was a sort of black United States that offered its citizens universal manhood suffrage, religious freedom, a constitutional republic, and a maturing capitalist society.⁵⁷ Throughout the history of black nationalism, economic gain has been discussed as a community issue in addition to being a matter of personal motivation. Too often in the U.S., basic economic rights were denied African Americans because of their skin color.

Petion understood this and advertised the economic opportunities in the republic. A skilled worker, he promised, could expect to make six to twelve dollars a week, while farmers would receive two to four dollars a week.⁵⁸ Even so, Petion made clear his desire for Americans with disposable capital, pledging returns on investments in “commerce or in cultivation,” at “fifty percent per annum.” He also assured laborers as well as sailors that they were in “great demand.” For “those who have no means,” Petion promised to pay their passages, offering \$40 for adult men and women and \$20 for children.⁵⁹ James Tredwell took up this offer and moved to Haiti, remaining there throughout the 1820s.⁶⁰ How many other New Yorkers joined in this 1817 settlement is unknown.

⁵⁷ *Constitution*, 5-6.

⁵⁸ *Constitution*, 7.

⁵⁹ *Constitution*, 7.

⁶⁰ Notary record in Port au Platt, Jose Augusto Puig Ortiz, *Emigracion de Libertos Norteamericans A Puerto Plata en la Primera Mitad Del Siglo XIX*, La Iglesia Metodista Wesleyana (Santo Domingo :

Petion died in the spring of 1818, leaving President Jean-Pierre Boyer, his successor, to finish the project of international ties and African American emigration. After Petion died from natural causes, Boyer, his second in command was voted into office with widespread support. Boyer, born in St. Domingue to a white father and an African slave mother, was educated in France. During the Revolution, he had fought against white planters who refused to grant political rights to the free people of color. He also had fought against Louverture and his army with General Rigaud's forces, and had fled the island for France upon defeat. En route to France, his ship was captured by American privateers, and he spent time in the United States in the home of New England Quakers.⁶¹ Boyer reiterated the offers made by Petion requesting that "artisans, farmers, and industrious men of any profession" of the United States settle in Haiti.⁶² Boyer also pledged that immigrants who worked as cultivators would find "very advantageous" positions, receiving from "from two to four dollars" per week in addition to room and board. He also promised that those who settled in the countryside would receive land after one year of cultivating it.⁶³ He made his preference for "mechanics and agriculturalists" especially clear.⁶⁴

Editora Alfa y Omega, 1978), 98-99. The record states that Tredwell had been living there for ten years in 1827.

⁶¹ John Edward Baur, "Mulatto Machiavelli, Jean Pierre Boyer, and the Haiti of His Day" *Journal of Negro History* 32 (1947): 307-53.

⁶² *Niles' Weekly Register*, Oct 17, 1818.

⁶³ *Niles' Weekly Register*, Feb 17, 1821. *Niles' Weekly Register* and *National Gazette and Literary Register* both published information about Boyer's offer.

⁶⁴ *National Messenger*, June 26, 1820.

Echoing Petion, Boyer assured his audience that Haiti had a wise constitution that "...insures a free country to Africans and their descendents." Boyer, aware of the American Colonization Society's continued push towards African colonization, insisted that emigrants would find life in Africa "less easy" than in Haiti, and called African colonization a "less honorable" proposition.⁶⁵ Arguing that the guiding hand of "Providence has destined Hayti for a land of promise" to African Americans, Boyer presented emigration to Haiti as more than just an employment opportunity, it was sanctioned by God.⁶⁶ These proposals attracted some American settlers in 1819, but it was not the mass movement Boyer had envisioned.⁶⁷

The need for cultivators, capitalists, and deterrents to French aggression only grew in importance during the 1820s, and Boyer's commitment to African American emigration grew accordingly. When he revisited the project in 1824, Boyer had gathered support among key constituents in the United States to enhance its success. He would, however, have to do battle against the entrenched fear and racism Haiti engendered among slaveholders. Taking the project of strengthening U.S. and Haitian ties from proposal to fulfillment would require all the stamina and intelligence Boyer possessed. It would remain to be seen if he succeeded.

⁶⁵ *National Messenger*, June 26, 1820.

⁶⁶ *Niles' Weekly Register*, July 1, 1820.

⁶⁷ A Baltimore Haytian Society was formed among free blacks but if they traveled to Haiti remains unknown. *Niles' Weekly Register*, Feb 17, 1821. A John Griffith, a public porter, left Philadelphia in 1819 for the republic to settle "there permanently." See Michael Nash, "Research Note: Searching for Working-Class Philadelphia in the Records of the Philadelphia Saving Fund Society" *Journal of Social History* 29 (1996): 684.

Chapter 3: Boyer's Project

When Jean-Pierre Boyer became the president of Haiti in 1818 upon President Alexandre Petion's death, he inherited the nation-building problems that his predecessor had faced—the costly standing army, the diminished capacity of the agricultural sector, and the stalled diplomatic fronts. In a departure from Petion's rule, Boyer concentrated his energies on securing his nation's diplomatic recognition. Recognition would bring security, and allow for a reduction in the large standing army and the attendant costs of feeding, clothing, equipping, and paying it. And, the 40,000 soldiers would then contribute their labor to Haiti's economic standing. This army, by some estimates, consumed more than 50% of the treasury, depriving Haiti the vital national development projects such as repairing roads, bridges, and canals, building of schools and hospitals, and expanding its merchant fleet.¹ Clearly, recognition was a pragmatic goal for the new president. But it would also validate the achievements of the young black nation.

¹ Robert K. LaCerte, "Xenophobia and Economic Decline: The Haitian Case, 1820-1843" *The Americas* 37 (1981): 508.

The task Boyer set himself was formidable. Despite concerted efforts, neither Christophe nor Petion, Boyer's predecessors, had succeeded in obtaining foreign recognition. Rather than looking solely to Great Britain or France as they had, Boyer sought acknowledgment from the United States, a strategy he believed would help him succeed where they had failed.² After his stint in New England in the early 1800s, Boyer believed he had the knowledge of the U.S. in addition to the political acumen to get the job done. To do so, he turned to merchants and manufacturers in the Northeast of America. Knowing they would be important allies, Boyer made promises of highly lucrative trade concessions and enormous profits.³ The American manufacturers and merchants' growing economic dependence—particularly in northern states—on exporting goods to the Caribbean gave Boyer an important bargaining chip in his bid to win recognition.

To Americans, the commercial relationship with Haiti had become increasingly important in the late 1810s and 1820s. In 1817, when British economic policies closed many Caribbean ports to American trade as part of the British Corn Laws, American commercial interests were left with few easily accessible overseas markets. Manufacturing in the northern states took off in the 1800s and 1810s, helped by Jefferson's ban on foreign trade in 1806. This act stimulated American

² Boyer did continue to negotiate with French authorities during this time as well.

³ Americans paid twelve percent duties on goods while British traders and merchants paid seven percent. The British duty was a hold over from the days when Great Britain monopolized the trade. American merchants, because of their greater numbers and volume of trade, lobbied to have their duty cut five percent to match the British.

industry in cotton, woolen, and iron manufacturing. The Napoleonic Wars in Europe kept British manufacturers busy supplying the war effort, allowing American industries to flourish in isolation. But once peace returned to Europe in 1815, Great Britain's attention refocused on the lucrative American market, leaving the nascent American manufacturing sector struggling to compete against the cheaper and more efficiently produced British goods.⁴ Many American textile factories went bust and more than half of that industry's work force lost their jobs. Even protective tariffs passed in 1816 proved futile against the British onslaught. To survive, American industry was forced to seek out new overseas markets. And as the reliable markets in the British West Indies remained closed, they looked to other Caribbean ports such as Haiti to keep afloat.⁵

The situation became even more desperate with the Panic of 1819, an unprecedented economic downturn.⁶ The Panic left five hundred thousand people nationwide out of work. In New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia alone, 50,000 people were either unemployed or irregularly employed. Farmers also felt the effects

⁴ In British Parliament, Lord Broughman explained that it was "well worthwhile to incur a loss...in order, by the glut, TO STIFLE IN THE CRADLE THOSE RISING IN MANUFACTURES IN THE UNITED STATES." Emphasis in the original. *Niles' Weekly Register*, Dec 1816; Norris W. Preyer, "Southern Support of the Tariff of 1816—A Reappraisal" *Journal of Southern History* 25 (1959): 312.

⁵ Logan, *The Diplomatic Relations*, 194.

⁶ The Panic was started by a contraction in the banking sector as well as a sudden drop in demand from Europe. For the only book length study of the Panic: Murry N. Rothbard, *The Panic of 1819: Reactions and Policies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962).

as commodity prices dropped 30% to 50%.⁷ As one American put it in 1822, “[l]ast year we talked of the difficulties of paying for our lands; this year the question is, how to exist.”⁸ In the 1820s, the opening up of new markets became imperative for the economic survival of American society.

What follows is how Boyer patiently pressured the U.S. to the brink of becoming the first international power to recognize the Caribbean nation, only to see his progress obliterated in an instant in South Carolina. In American historiography, the island has been characterized as an isolated and shunned nation from the time of Thomas Jefferson’s presidency until Abraham Lincoln’s recognition.⁹ What my research reveals is a more nuanced “Haitian debate.” In the 1820s, some Americans argued that Haiti deserved to be recognized for its republican principles, its stability, and for its economic importance to the U.S. Meanwhile, other Americans warned about the nation’s militant influence on free blacks and slaves. The debate about Haitian recognition and eventually emigration were early indicators of the growing rancor and intractable differences between the slaveholding south and the market-seeking north.

From the Haitian perspective, the recognition debate was pivotal. When Boyer agreed to pay 150 million francs as reparations for the revolution in exchange

⁷ By 1820, a barrel of flour cost four dollars, almost a third of its 1817 value. Mary H. W. Hargreaves, *The Presidency of John Quincy Adams* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1985), 12.

⁸ Quoted in Samuel Rezneck, “Depression of 1819-1822: A Social History” *American Historical Review* 39 (1933): 30.

⁹ Trouillot, *Haiti, State Against Nation*, 52-53; Zuckerman, “The Power of Blackness,” 176; Hickey, “America’s Response to the Slave Revolt,” 378.

for French recognition in April 1825, he signed away his nation's future. The agreement weighed the island down with debts that hindered its social and economic development throughout the nineteenth century. If Boyer and American northern interests had succeeded in gaining recognition from the United States, Haiti might not have been crippled by this enormous and unpayable indemnity.

If recognition had succeeded, the story of America's race relations would be different, too. In American history, the 1820s is acknowledged by many to be the decade when white racial superiority became entrenched. What the recognition debate reveals is that this racial hardening was not inevitable or uncontested. Many in the United States understood that this diplomatic relationship carried tremendous symbolic weight. To recognize Haiti as a nation would be to recognize at least some people of African descent as equals, and would be proclaiming it to the world. And, this is precisely why the plantation class in the South objected so strongly.

Beginning in 1819, Boyer gained control of the separate dominions existing in Haiti. First, he conquered the rogue province of Grand-Anse, a former republican region in the south that had rebelled and gained de facto independence from the republic in 1807. Reports on the conquest noted how Boyer accomplished this feat with little effort comparing it to Petion's who had "in vain attempted to subdue" the

region for years.¹⁰ And, in the fall of 1820, when Boyer conquered the former Kingdom of Haiti after Christophe's suicide, subduing supporters of the king quickly. He also brought "freedom" and "justice," which were said to be "producing the most happy effects" among the former subjects. His territorial triumphs received further attention and became an enduring point of interest among Americans when Boyer conquered the Spanish colony of Santo Domingo, making all of Hispaniola united under his rule.

In 1821, a revolution took place in the Spanish colony of Santo Domingo to win their freedom from Spain. Many insurgents rebelled with the intention of joining the Columbian Republic in South America. President Boyer, however, sought to lay claim to the area but leaders in City of Santo Domingo resisted the idea. Not wanting a long and brutal war, Boyer publicly announced his intention to visit that part of the island with a large force in order "to secure the new government, and to establish order and tranquility."¹¹ Boyer's use of the media and aggressive tactics worked, and on the 19th of January, the former Spanish territory flew the Haitian flag and had succeeded without a costly military conquest or loss of life.

Government officials in Haiti celebrated these territorial gains with a new sense of national destiny. Members of Haiti's Congress, foretold "[a] new era" that would "fix forever her happy destiny."¹² Editors of one local publication, the

¹⁰ *Niles' Weekly Register*, June 10, 1820.

¹¹ *Newburyport Gazette*, Feb 19, 1822.

¹² *National Gazette*, Jan 19, 1822.

Propagateur, stated “The situation of the republic becomes daily more prosperous....”¹³ There was a new sense of purpose and pride that these territorial gains had removed the “dark clouds” that had loomed over Haiti, revealing a “horizon” that was both “clear and serene.”¹⁴ To these Haitians, Boyer’s leadership had produced concrete results that would translate into economic prosperity for the nation.

These territorial conquests also caught the attention of Americans. Hezekiah Niles, the publisher of *Niles Weekly Register*, an American newspaper with a national presence concluded that Boyer was a “considerable politician as well as warrior.”¹⁵ Niles praised Boyer for his capture of the Spanish part of the island, stating “if ever an invasion was a right one, [it was this one, it] was both necessary and just.” Complimenting the president’s leadership, Niles wrote “there is no king of Europe, with the power that he possess, [who] would use it with the same moderation and justice.”¹⁶ And he predicted that Haiti would achieve under Boyer’s leadership “a very respectable rank among the states of the world.”¹⁷ A commentator in the *National Gazette*, noted how Haiti’s expansion into Santo Domingo, especially “the mild and honorable manner with which it has been conducted...will prove of the greatest importance to the people of Hayti.” Predicting

¹³ *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, Feb 24, 1823; *Propagateur*, Vol 3, 1822.

¹⁴ *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, Feb 24, 1823; *Propagateur*, Vol 3, 1822.

¹⁵ *Niles’ Weekly Register*, November 11, 1820.

¹⁶ *Niles’ Weekly Register*, Sept 27, 1823.

¹⁷ *Niles’ Weekly Register*, Feb 9, 1822.

that “under the auspices of their wise Chief, President Boyer,” Haiti would become “more respectable” and rise “in the estimation of the nations.”¹⁸

In American business quarters, Boyer’s territorial triumphs also raised hopes for a quick economic recovery in the United States. As one Boston newspaper put it, the Haitian market alone could keep American manufacturers “constantly employed.”¹⁹ They saw that with all of Hispaniola under one government, the second largest island in the Caribbean was now a single market, with one hundred thousand new consumers.²⁰ One report noted that with Boyer at the helm, the island would soon become “a powerful and wealthy nation” that needed numerous American products.²¹

Even before the annexation of Santo Domingo, the value of American exports sold to the island increased by seventeen-fold between 1817 and 1820 (from \$130,000 to \$2.2 million), even as world commodity prices fell dramatically.²² Though Haiti’s trade made up only 5% of all American exports, the turbulent economic situation in the US during these Panic years meant any increase in overseas markets was greatly valued.²³ As one observer wrote, American imports

¹⁸ *National Gazette*, April 17, 1822.

¹⁹ *Boston Patriot* July 16, 1823.

²⁰ The population of Santo Doming was estimated at 100,000 in 1822.

²¹ *Niles’ Weekly Register*, Sept 7, 1822.

²² R. W. Logan, *Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti, 1776-1891* (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1969), 194.

²³ American manufacturers, hit by the resumption of peace in Europe and by increased British competition, were working at 50% of their pre-1815 capacity. David J. Lehman, “Explaining Hard Times: Political Economy and the Panic of 1819 in Philadelphia” (Ph.D. diss., University of California Los Angeles, 1992), 179.

into Port au Prince were of such “magnitude” that “our government and citizens” needed to realize “the importance of the commerce of our country with this island.”²⁴

Hezekiah Niles highlighted how perfectly Haiti complemented American needs and was in the position to help America recovery from its economic depression. He used his newspaper to give sustained coverage to the importance of this trade. In addition to taking American manufacturing surpluses, the island bought large quantities of American fish, wheat, and rice.²⁵ Others, such as the editors and readers of the *Boston Patriot*, *Boston Centinel*, *National Gazette*, *Poulson’s* and the *Newburyport Gazette*, seconded Niles’s sentiments on how this market could serve American manufacturers.²⁶

American merchants also began to demand that Haiti be recognized and used domestic newspapers to publicize these demands. This recognition, they argued, would give merchants greater profits because of the more favorable trading duties. Despite these calls, American administrations had officially ignored the island’s commercial links and diplomatic status. A reader of *Boston Centinel* complained that, “the apathy and indifference of the American government” meant the Haytian trade was “left to take care of itself.”²⁷ In a letter published in *Poulsons* another

²⁴ *National Intelligencer*, reprinted in *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, December 1821. The article mentioned that “nine thousand barrels of flour, one thousand and fifty tierces of rice, five hundred and thirty-three barrels of port,[and] thirty-two thousand hams” had been sold. 33,123 barrels of flour were sold in Port au Prince in 1825, *Niles’ Weekly Register*, July 16, 1825.

²⁵ *Boston Patriot*, Sept 7, 1822.

²⁶ *Boston Patriot*, July 16, 1823.

²⁷ The *Boston Centinel* writer had been quoted in *National Gazette*, March 31, 1821.

commentator, urged “statesmen, merchants and philanthropists” to act with justice towards Haiti and acknowledge that nation’s right to independence.²⁸ Comments like these could be found in newspapers in every northern city.²⁹

Southern slave owners bridled at the prospect of a closer diplomatic and economic relationship between the island and the United States and demanded their interests be taken into account. The editor of *United States Gazette* cautioned that any change in diplomatic status would damage “the interests of the south and the slave holding states.” He urged the United States to remember it must “consult general rather than individual interests.”³⁰ Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri demonstrated the southern position on this debate:

“Our policy...has been fixed, Mr. President, for three and thirty years. We trade with her, but no diplomatic relations have been established between us. We purchase coffee from her, and pay her for it, but we interchange no consuls or ministers [as]...the peace of eleven [slave owning] states will not permit the fruits of a successful negro insurrection to be exhibited among them.”³¹

An article in the *Baltimore Patriot* crystallized two sides of the question: “Hayti, under its present circumstances, must be and in fact is viewed by the Southern

²⁸ *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, Jan 24, 1823.

²⁹ *New York American; New York Mercantile Advertiser; North American Review*.

³⁰ *United States Gazette*, Feb 26, 1824.

³¹ Quoted in Jackson, “Origins of Pan-African Nationalism: Afro-American and Haytian Relations, 1800-1863” (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1976), 41.

Planters, with great anxiety; while its valuable commerce renders it an object of interest to our merchants.”³²

Writing in Baltimore, the most southern of the North’s cities, the *Baltimore Patriot* was well positioned to make such assessments. Hezekiah Niles, who also lived in Baltimore, understood the North-South split clearly.³³ Aware that this split could waylay commercial and diplomatic relations, Niles used his direct access to readers to argue that the interests of the people of the U.S. with Haiti were less “sectional” than “some would make it out to be.”³⁴ He pointed out that southerners’ economic self-interests were as tied up with the Haitian trade as northerners’ were. For example, he argued, the Caribbean trade boosted prices of flour, an important cash crop in the Upper South.³⁵ Niles would have also been the most familiar with the wheat industry as Baltimore was becoming the wheat port of America.³⁶

Even as men like Niles argued that recognition was good for all Americans, President Boyer had to contend with interest groups in Haiti who opposed his course of action. That’s partly because Boyer used a tactic that would become

³² *Baltimore Patriot*, Sept 8, 1821.

³³ Rothbard, *Panic of 1819*, “Preface,” v. Rothbard notes that newspaper editors were some of the “leading economists of the day.”

³⁴ *Niles’ Weekly Register*, April 12, 1823.

³⁵ In Baltimore, the price of a barrel of flour dropped every year between 1815 and 1820. Wheat had become increasingly important to the economies of the middle southern states of Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina in the 1800s. See Clyde Haulman, “Virginia Commodity Prices during the Panic of 1819” *Journal of the Early Republic* 22 (2002): 675-688.

³⁶ For Baltimore’s development as a wheat port, see Geoffrey N. Gilbert, “Baltimore’s Flour Trade to the Caribbean, 1750-1815” *Journal of Economic History* 37 (1977): 249-251 and Pearle Blood, “Factors in the Economic Development of Baltimore, Maryland” *Economic Geography* 13 (1937): 187-208.

commonplace among small countries in the twentieth century: he made his country a more attractive place for foreigners to do business. He did this by honoring debts incurred during Petion's administration, paying one American merchant 60,000 dollars.³⁷ He also gave foreign merchants more options for debt collecting, which enabled them to use the island's court system to force Haitians to pay their loans. Boyer understood merchants were pivotal allies in the battle for recognition and accommodated them as much as he dared.

Boyer also made traveling to Haiti easier for merchant captains. As W. Jeffrey Bolster's work has revealed, during Petion's administration black sailors were able to desert from ships with impunity, claiming abusive employment situations. During Petion's presidency, Haiti's courts routinely ruled in favor of the black sailors' rights. As president, Boyer occasionally reversed the courts' decision, ruling in favor of captains.³⁸ Because of these and other changes, the president was "much esteemed" by the owner's of these merchant's ships.³⁹

Boyer's initiatives brought condemnation and praise from different sections of the Haitian populace. Many in the nation's intellectual class, such as publishers and

³⁷ *National Gazette*, Dec 6, 1825. This repayment also raised Haiti's credit rating which according to one source, had been "somewhat impaired." These policies were expensive for Haiti. Though Boyer received a boon when 150 million francs in gold from Christophe's treasury was sent to Port au Prince, by 1822, the treasury was once again in debt. (Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Haiti, State against Nation*, 49). Mackenzie wrote it was worth 6 million dollars. (*British and Foreign State Papers*, Vol 2, 667).

³⁸ State Department Consular Despatches, Cape Haitien, Series, Vol 4; Cape Haytien, Andrew Armstrong to Secretary of State, Henry Clay, Port au Prince, June 14, 1825. "On several occasions when the case has been absolutely a flagrant injustice, the President has discountenanced the practice...."

³⁹ *Newburyport Gazette*, Oct 19, 1821.

writers, supported the president's efforts because they saw his policies having an effect. After reading a Boston newspaper's report on Haiti and the commercial advantages to Americans who traded there, the editor of the Haitian publication the *Propagateur* predicted that soon "our republic will stand among the independent governments of the world."⁴⁰ Not all shared the *Propagateur's* impression of Boyer's pro-trade policies, however. Some opponents employed sabotage to make their views known, while others—to their peril—publicly condemned Boyer's policies.

The first tactic made its appearance at noon on August 15th, 1820 when a "a great fire" started near the center of Port au Prince. The blaze incinerated between four and five hundred buildings, most of them merchants' homes and warehouses. Damage estimates ran between three and four millions dollars.⁴¹ The published newspaper report portrayed the fire as arson designed to burn out foreign merchants.⁴² Illustrating his determination to foster U.S. relations and to help the victims of this fire stay in business, Boyer removed the patent taxes foreign merchants were required to pay for five years.⁴³ This was a considerable and expensive concession since each foreign merchants paid \$1600 a year into the Haitian treasury. Evidently

⁴⁰ *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, Feb 24, 1823; *Propagateur*, vol 3, 1822.

⁴¹ Haitian Papers, 1811-1846, Letter of Aug 18, 1820, 37.

⁴² *Niles' Weekly Register*, Sept. 16, 1820. Letter of Aug 18, 1820 signed by Robert Golden, John Milroy J. R. Bernard, stated that the fire was set as more fires were started during the subsequent days later. The merchants wanted to publish their own report in which they stated their belief that the fire had been deliberately set. This report was suppressed by Boyer who refused to grant approval for its printing. Haitian Papers, 1811-1846, 37-38.

⁴³ Haitian Papers, 1811-1846, 36. Boyer increasingly relied on money lent by foreign merchants to meet Haiti's debt payments. Trouillot, *Haiti, State Against Nation*, 68-69.

that angered his opponents even more, since another fire broke out in 1822, in the exact same location as the 1820 fire. This, too, was reportedly “the work of an incendiary.”⁴⁴ The fire caused losses of four million dollars to foreign merchants.

Opposition to Boyer’s policies did not end with arson. In 1822, political opponents challenged openly Boyer when Felix Darfour, a member of Haiti’s elite, spoke to an assembled meeting of the Haitian Congress. Darfour railed against the President’s trade concessions to foreigners and accused Boyer of selling “the country to the whites.”⁴⁵ The official report published in *Le Telegraphe*, another Haitian publication, insisted that Darfour acted treasonously and was “agitating a conspiracy.”⁴⁶ Boyer acted quickly—he removed all of Darfour’s supporters within the Congress from government duty and banished them from Port au Prince. Eventually, Darfour was executed for seditious behavior.⁴⁷

Negative press coverage about this incident soon followed in southern American newspapers. Polemicists trotted out the sordid affair to argue that black people were “inferior to the whites” and that “the government of Hayti” was “despotic.” Benjamin Lundy, editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* and a leading American abolitionist of the 1820s, disgusted that the incident was being

⁴⁴ Incendiary, *Newburyport Gazette*, January 17, 1823 ; losses, *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, January 16, 1823. For detailed reports on the fire, see *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, January 25, 1823. *Le Telegraphe* reported that the 1822 fire was “more afflicting” than that of 1820. *Le Telegraphe*, December 19, 1822; *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, Jan 14, 1823.

⁴⁵ Sheller, *Democracy After Slavery*, 113; Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier*, 72.

⁴⁶ *Le Telegraphe*, September 1, 1822; *National Gazette*, September 28, 1822.

⁴⁷ *Newburyport Gazette*, October 4, 1822.

used to denigrate the island nation, reminded his audience that these critics were our “republican advocates of slavery,” who had little right to throw stones. Lundy admitted that the government of Haiti may have acted rashly, but that overall the “principles of liberty” were established.⁴⁸ Lundy would later become a staunch supporter of Haitian emigration.

Setbacks to the international reputation and incidents such as the Darfour situation notwithstanding, Boyer and American supporters remained optimistic about recognition. And they appeared on the brink of success in the spring of 1822, when a writer for the *Newburyport Gazette* predicted that President Monroe’s next message to Congress would “recommend the recognition of the Government of Hayti.”⁴⁹ When Monroe instead recognized the South American countries’ independence from Spain, Haitian supporters protested arguing that the U.S. owed the island that same right too. One writer, who used the pen name “Howard,” objected to the United States’ double standard, arguing that the new nations of South America were not as permanently settled as Haiti.⁵⁰ Boyer himself wrote that it was an “outrage done to the Haytian character” that certain powers acknowledged the South American states independence, “while they pass over our rights.”⁵¹

⁴⁸ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, December 1822.

⁴⁹ *Newburyport Gazette*, March 19, 1822.

⁵⁰ *Niles’ Weekly Register*, July 3, 1824 This is an oblique reference to the 1823 French and Spanish plan to re-colonize the continent of South America and the belief that the new nations could not maintain their independence against such an attack.

⁵¹ *United States Gazette*, Feb 16, 1824.

Feeling the time was right for direct action, Boyer sent a letter of appeal to Secretary of State John Quincy Adams. Asking how the administration could refuse Haiti the justice that was her due, Boyer reminded Adams that the United States had “in another epoch found themselves in the same situation and felt the same need” for recognition.⁵² Boyer also appealed to the United States as a trading partner “who exchange[s] the products of their soil” to “feel the necessity of acknowledging the Independence of the Queen of the Antilles.”⁵³ By using the phrase “Queen of the Antilles” Boyer pointedly referenced an old sobriquet for Saint Domingue, as the most productive and richest colony in the Caribbean, if not in the world.

Advocates of recognition also began to argue that Haiti’s progress as a nation, its stability, its republican sensibilities, and its American-like revolutionary heritage warranted its acknowledgment. Hezekiah Niles stated, “blacks of this island so increase as to take a rank among nations, with [the] talents, skill and force to cause their rights to be respected.”⁵⁴ O. L. Holly, Esq. delivered a 4th of July speech in which he exhorted his audience to consider the Haitian revolution “without prejudice.” He also praised the citizens of the island:

[because despite] the obstacles thrown in their way by the jealous pride of other nations, they have confirmed their sovereignty. They have cultivated successfully the arts of peace, as well as war; commerce has prospered with them; and they have already done much

⁵² Logan, *Diplomatic Relations*, 197-198.

⁵³ *Newburyport Gazette*, Aug 16, 1822; *Niles’ Weekly Register*, Aug 17, 1822.

⁵⁴ *Niles’ Weekly Register*, Sept. 22, 1821.

towards provid[ing]for their own education and moral advancement....⁵⁵

The unspoken sticking point was race. To convince the American public that the island deserved to be treated like any other independent and sovereign state was to assail the prevailing conventional wisdom of white superiority. The liberated “Howard” believed that the fact that the people’s skin color was “a few shades darker than our own” should have had no bearing on recognition. He chastised supposedly liberal Republicans “who profess to believe in the principles of that immortal instrument, the Declaration of Independence” for so unworthy a prejudice. Asserting “the Almighty, in his Providence” had already “granted Independence to Hayti,” Howard argued the United States should do the same.⁵⁶ Other supporters pointed to the island’s constitutional government, “of which the most enlightened nation of *white men* might be proud.”⁵⁷

Just as these arguments on behalf of the young nation’s right to recognition were gaining currency, a bolt from the blue struck in the summer of 1822 when the world learned of the Denmark Vesey Conspiracy. In July of 1822 in Charleston, South Carolina, evidence of a revolt planned against the white populace by a diverse group of rebels, free blacks, and enslaved people was uncovered (or created). The

⁵⁵ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, December 1822.

⁵⁶ *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser* Jan 29, 1823 “Howard” might be the same writer who wrote a series of essays during the years of the Panic of 1819 on the U.S. economy. (Samuel Rezneck, “Depression of 1819-1822, 35). Rothbard also cited the use of “Howard” by Mordecai Manuel Noah, the publisher of the *National Advocate*.

⁵⁷ *Boston Patriot*, Sept 7, 1822.

authorities acted quickly and apprehended the conspiracy's alleged ringleader within hours of the investigation's onset, naming Denmark Vesey, a free black fifty-five year old carpenter the organizer. By the investigation's conclusion, thirty free and enslaved blacks had died on the gallows and numerous other co-conspirators were banished from the state.

During the trial, accusers outlined an elaborate and detailed plot that even featured President Boyer as an active agent, who had planned to provide ships and give refuge to the rebels in Haiti. Michael P. Johnson, a historian who studied the Charleston conspiracy concluded there was a conspiracy in Charleston—it was among the white prosecutors who relentlessly sought out and concocted evidence against would be conspirators.⁵⁸ Whether or not a conspiracy existed in Charleston in 1822 to destroy the slave system is beyond the scope of this discussion. What is of interest is the active role ascribed to President Boyer and Haiti by the white community.⁵⁹ Why did the Charleston community fit the Caribbean island into its conspiracy?

Haiti was also on trial in the Vesey case and the island was judged a threat to slavery. This hysteria proved enough to end talk of diplomatic recognition. Whether

⁵⁸ Richard C. Wade first questioned how “real” the Denmark Vesey Conspiracy was in “The Vesey Plot”: A Reconsideration” *Journal of Southern History* 30 (1964): 143-161 and in his book, *Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820–1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967).

⁵⁹ Michael P. Johnson, “Denmark Vesey and His Co-Conspirators” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 58 (2001): 915-976, 965 n184. In his reappraisal of the conspiracy, Johnson discusses why Vesey and his fellow black Charlestonians would evoke Boyer and how Haiti would act have served as a potential refuge. He concluded that the subject of Haiti had appeared several times in the *Charleston Courier*.

the conspiracy was real or imagined, Haiti's supporters could do little but reiterate that the island played no part in the Charleston slave conspiracy, as a *Boston Patriot* article did.⁶⁰

Boyer attempted to offset this bad publicity by appealing to the northern economic interest groups who had been so gung ho on Haitian recognition before the Vesey trials. He asked "friends of liberty in the United States" who "interest themselves particularly in the fate of the Haytians" to continue to "exercise a happy influence upon the public opinion."⁶¹ Although some continued to lobby for the nation's claim to recognition, the argument was essentially over.⁶² Even Hezekiah Niles counseled the United States to take a cautious approach.⁶³

The spate of bad publicity did not end with the South Carolina incident. White southerners continued to associate Boyer with other slave rebellions in the region: colonists in Martinique and Jamaica claimed slave uprisings on their islands were instigated and supported by Haitians.⁶⁴ Boyer assured the international community

⁶⁰ *Boston Patriot*, Sept .7, 1822. The writer also urged the United States take "immediate measures" towards recognizing Haiti's independence.

⁶¹ He wrote letters to private individuals such as John Dodge of Massachusetts. *Newburyport Gazette*, Aug 16, 1822; *Niles' Weekly Register*, Aug 17, 1822.

⁶² *Boston Patriot*, Sept 7, 1822.

⁶³ *Niles' Weekly Register*, Sept 27, 1823.

⁶⁴ Martinique, *Niles' Weekly Register*, Feb 14, 1824; Jamaica, *United States Gazette*, Nov. 25, 1823. The report on Jamaican conspiracy: "We have received a letter from our correspondent, dated Kingston, Jamaica, October 14, 1823, in which he states that an attempt had been made to organize a conspiracy in that city as generally believed. Several Aliens of colour had been taken up, and one had been sent off the island. The conspirators had formed a lodge of pretended Masons; and were initiated into some mysteries by a brown man from St. Domingo, and corresponded with Admiral Padilla of the Colombian coast...The island was in considerable ferment respecting the attempt made in Britain to legislate for the colonies and emancipate the slaves...."

that neither he nor any individual Haitian provoked these conspiracies and issued a proclamation stating his nation had “no participation in the disturbances that have taken place in the West India Islands.”⁶⁵

In an effort to forestall accusations of supporting neighboring slave revolts, Boyer was forced to isolate his nation by declaring an embargo. This embargo separated Haiti from all of its Caribbean neighbors who owned slaves, as well as from the states of North and South Carolina.⁶⁶ The law forbade “the entry of all vessels, either from Europe, or South or North America” into Haitian ports if they had “touched at any other Island in the West Indies.” As one observer noted in *Poulson’s*, this law showed

[in] the most explicit manner, that the Haytien government does not wish to interfere in the rights of others, or to meddle, in any way, with the concerns of the neighboring islands disproving all the false assertions which have been made, that Hayti has lent its aid or influence in exciting commotions among slaves or other islands, or in the southern States.⁶⁷

The report ended with high praise for the law and stated that Boyer could not have adopted “[a] more salutary measure....”⁶⁸

⁶⁵ *United States Gazette*, Feb 16, 1824. The proclamation was dated the 6th of January, 1824.

⁶⁶ The authorities in South Carolina passed laws to prevent contact between sailors and slaves in what were called Negro Seaman Acts which required all black sailors to spend the duration of the ship’s time in port in jail. They also required the sailors to pay the expenses incurred while incarcerated.

⁶⁷ *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, May 23, 1823.

⁶⁸ *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, May 23, 1823.

After the Denmark Vesey conspiracy, Boyer's recognition campaign lost much of its support.⁶⁹ No mention was made of the island during Monroe's 1823 address to Congress, which included an articulation of the famous Monroe Doctrine asserting American primacy in the hemisphere. Boyer felt the slight and sent expressions of his displeasure to American papers to print. These publications, however, did not print the supportive commentary that had previously accompanied such statements.⁷⁰

With his support eroding, Boyer changed tactics. Having lost northern public support, Boyer stopped pushing directly for recognition from the United States. Boyer's quest to bring the United States and Haiti closer continued, however, and he sought out other means of appeal by revising an old idea—of offering Haiti as an emigrant destination for African Americans. Given a clearer understanding of how the different interests in the United States clashed over their nation's relationship to Haiti, Boyer believed opening his nation as a relocation site for African Americans would mute opposition to recognition. By serving white northerners' desires for an increase in trade and some southerners' hope for a destination to which they could

⁶⁹ British policy towards American trade in the Caribbean also underwent a change in 1822 that lessened the need for Haitian trade. They relaxed their prohibition of American trade in certain colonial ports.

⁷⁰ *Propagateur*, Feb 18th, 1824; *United States Gazette*, Feb 25 1824; *New York Gazette*, Feb 23, 1824; and again in *Propagateur*, June 6, 1824; *United States Gazette*, Aug 5, 1824.

deport freed slaves, Boyer hoped for success. His new project possessed nothing for northerners or southerners to reject.⁷¹

In Boyer's public offer of the proposal, he made the "win-win" aspects clear to American audiences. First, he addressed the northerners' interests. He noted "the more consumers" that "a manufacturing state" like the United States could gain elsewhere, the better it would be. In sending hundreds of thousands of American settlers, a population with the "manners, taste, language and impress of North American character," Boyer predicted that American goods would obtain "greater preference" in Haiti and thus further augment the trade between the two nations. His appeal, however, did not end there. He pointed out that emigration would also whiten America.⁷² Emigration, Boyer argued, would foster this goal by withdrawing such large numbers of black people that it would "bring into more active and successful exercise, the arts, professions and employment of a numerous class of... white citizens."⁷³

Boyer then addressed southern interests. He argued that the migration of enslaved Americans would benefit white southerners by providing them a method of

⁷¹ Many members of the American Colonization Society, a society that proposed sending freed slaves to its colony on the West coast of Africa, were southerners. For a picture of the southern abolitionist movement see James Brewer Stewart, "Evangelicalism and the Radical Strain in Southern Antislavery Thought During the 1820s" *Journal of Southern History* 39 (1973): 379-396; Eric Burin, *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005).

⁷² For the whitening of America, see William W. Freehling, (ed.) *Reintegration of American History: Slavery and the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

⁷³ *Le Telegraphe*, July 25, 1824; reprinted in *Niles' Weekly Register*, Sept 11, 1824.

freeing their slaves without any “dread of future consequence.”⁷⁴ He even used the recent scare of the Denmark Vesey conspiracy to remind his audience that as

long as the United States bears within its bosoms [sic] a population of two million, strangers to its general interests as well as to the very existence of the country...it slumbers upon the brink of a volcano, where the explosion will be the more appalling, [the]... longer [it is] retarded.

Boyer assured his audience that the removal of African Americans to Haiti would root out the “political cancer” that was preying on the nation’s “vitals;” it would also establish forever America’s “happiness, glory, and independence.”⁷⁵ This bright future, Boyer implied, could only be achieved by making his nation the destination for African Americans. Appealing to American economic interests had failed, so Boyer offered Haiti as a release valve for its racial tensions. Not only could America export its goods to Haiti, Boyer argued, it could also export its race problem.

Although Boyer’s initial efforts to gain recognition had been thwarted by white South Carolina in a dubious slave scandal, his wiliness and grasp of American social and political issues provided him another chance for achieving recognition—African American emigration. He understood how important African American removal was to most American constituents, and how this majority could force reluctant reformers to the table. How realistic was this possibility? As William

⁷⁴ *Le Telegraphe*, July 25, 1824; reprinted in *Niles’ Weekly Register*, Sept 11, 1824.

⁷⁵ *Le Telegraphe*, July 25, 1824; reprinted in *Niles’ Weekly Register*, Sept 11, 1824.

Freehling has so brilliantly articulated in his work, the South had increasingly become splintered with Upper South planters working for some sort of solution to slavery while Deep South planters held back and eventually moved into a defensive mode. But that posture may have been harder to justify if emigration succeeded, and this is what Boyer gambled on in his second bid. Assisted by potential settlers, abolitionists, and disgruntled American Colonization Society members, Boyer seized another opportunity to achieve Haiti's recognition.

Chapter 4:

The Marketing of Haiti to white America

When Boyer advertised Haiti as an emigrant destination for free and enslaved African Americans in 1824, he was capitalizing on the positive media attention Haiti was receiving in American newspapers recommending the U.S. recognize the island. In this 1824 offer, he was also attempting to tap the support of a new and powerful American institution, the American Colonization Society, (ACS).¹ With this powerful institution's backing, he hoped Haiti would no longer be ignored diplomatically.

The ACS's foundational aim was the removal of the black populace, both free and enslaved from the United States. From its origins in 1817, the society pushed for the colonization of the west coast of Africa by America's black population. At the outset, such supporters of the ACS as Henry Clay expected that once an African colony was established—and flourishing—Southerners would free

¹ The classic work on the ACS continues to be P.J. Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961). For more recent works, see Eric Burin, *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society* (Gainesville: University Press Florida, 2005); Claude A. Clegg, *Price of Liberty: African Americans and the Making of Liberia* (Chapel Hill: University North Carolina Press, 2004).

slaves to send there.² Public support for and confidence in the institution's colonial enterprise had dwindled by the 1820s, however.³ Problems plaguing the African colony included high rates of illness, warfare, civil dissent, and the high cost of supplies and transport. Because of the spectacular failure of this African colony, Boyer believed when he offered Haiti as an emigrant destination in 1824, that it would be embraced by the society for black emigrants.

Boyer thought he had won the support of the ACS when a letter of inquiry arrived from Loring Dewey, agent of the New York branch of the ACS, requesting information on Haiti as an emigration destination. Erroneously believing Dewey represented the ACS rather than writing—as he did—as a private individual, Boyer must have felt all of his prayers were answered in the letter from New York. With the backing of the ACS, which enjoyed close ties to the federal government and also had a network of state auxiliaries, Boyer expected economic revitalization and diplomatic relations to begin immediately.

Despite Dewey's interest, the ACS refused to sanction the project. Rather than seeing Haiti as an alternative, many in the ACS began to view the Haitian project as a rival. For example, efforts to develop a national solution to slavery had

2 Robert Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, 141. Frances Wright had worked under a similar expectation when she established Nashoba in Tennessee for freed slaves. She believed Southerners when they expressed a desire to free their slaves. Gail Bederman, "Revisiting Nashoba: Slavery, Utopia, and Frances Wright in America, 1818-1826" *American Literary History* 17 (2005): 438-459.

³ In 1822, rather than send free blacks to the ACS colony at Mesurado, the Baltimore Colonization Society chose to begin their own colony near the Pongo River, see Bruce L. Mouser, "Baltimore's African Experiment, 1822-1827" *Journal of Negro History* 80 (1995): 113-130.

been proposed in Ohio in January of 1824, calling for gradual emancipation which would free slaves after the age of 21. National financing of foreign colonization was to be part of that initiative, too. Eight other northern states signed on to the plan.⁴ With Haiti in the wings, the ACS realized it faced a formidable competitor for such funds. Society members also feared that any association with Haiti would hurt its support among southern planters, who feared the spread of the island's slave revolt.⁵ Even more so, they feared recognition of the island nation, realizing the issue would be on the table again if Haiti became a relocation site for African Americans.

The ACS would split ranks over Haiti. Some northern whites credited Haitian emigration with the same advantages as the Liberian scheme. The influence of southern interests, however, caused the mainstream of the ACS to actively oppose Boyer's project—determined not to have any truck with a state that emerged from a slave revolt or that was ruled by blacks. The result was a marketing war between the ACS and supporters of Haitian emigration.

Despite the ACS's rejection of Boyer's plan, many Americans considered Haiti as the release valve that could—once and for all—make the United States “a white man's country.” If Haiti proved a popular alternative to Africa among free blacks, it would surely work for freed slaves, these people believed. Some public opinion makers shifted support from Africa to Haiti and their efforts to recruit others

⁴ William Freehling, *The Road to Disunion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 159-160.

⁵ Although as a group, southern planters had been far from supportive constituents, sending all of 6 slaves to the ACS's African colony between 1820 and 1825, (Burin, 17).

can be traced in the newspaper coverage of the day. As an example of the attention Haiti garnered, at least eleven different U.S. newspapers reported on the arrival of Jonathas Granville, Boyer's representative, who had been sent to organize and finalize emigration plans in the U.S.⁶ To understand this shift in public opinion away from Africa to Haiti, we must first examine the difficulties the ACS encountered in promoting and organizing African colonization.

The genesis of the ACS was in the late 18th century when prominent American intellectuals such as Thomas Jefferson had advocated the establishment of a separate territory or nation outside the United States for freed slaves and free blacks. Jefferson, who subscribed to the belief of white superiority, at first believed St. Domingue held great promise for the United States—as a place to exile insubordinate slaves.⁷ Later, however, he came to fear that a powerful black nation in the Caribbean would become an enemy and help stimulate a race war in the United States, resulting in the “extermination of one or the other race.”⁸ That fear remained prevalent in the minds of many in the South. The concept was not

⁶ As samples of the intense interest in Granville see, *United States Gazette*, June 21, 1824; *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, July 13, 1824; *Niles' Weekly Register*, July 3, 1824; *National Gazette*, June 29, 1824; *Commercial Courant*, June 29, 1824; *National Advocate*, June 29, 1824; *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, November 1824; *Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, July 17, 1824; *Connecticut Courant*, June 29, 1824; *New York Observer*, June 19, 1824; *Vermont Gazette*, June 29, 1824.

⁷ Jefferson returned to this idea in 1824 (Freehling, *Road to Disunion*, 156).

⁸ Quoted in Onuf, *Jefferson's Empire*, “strength” 179; “extermination” 150. After the British used emancipation as a chip in the American Revolution, Jefferson conceived of slaves as a captive nation willing to take any chance to eliminate their former masters, and was never reconciled to the peaceful coexistence of blacks and whites again. (Onuf, *Jefferson's Empire*, 157); Tim Matthewson, “Jefferson and Haiti”; Michael Zuckerman, “The Power of Blackness”.

completely abandoned, however. With the moderate success of Great Britain's Sierra Leone colony in West Africa in the 1790s, Americans began to contemplate establishing their own colony for African Americans. The black ship captain, Paul Cuffe, envisioned African Americans joining the colonial enterprise at Sierra Leone and worked towards this goal. Cuffe died before fully realizing this dream.

The idea of a black sanctuary gained currency in the 1810s when Northerners and Southerners alike became increasingly concerned about the rise in the black population, both free and enslaved. Although the overall proportion of enslaved and free people remained steady throughout the early nineteenth century—at about 20% of the population—certain cities and states witnessed a dramatic rise in the size of their black communities, generating a perception that the black population was proportionately much greater than it really was. The most dramatic growth in the North occurred in Baltimore, from 1790 to 1820 where the black population increased steadily, ballooning from 1,577 to 14,519, so that the black quotient of the total population surged to 23.0% from 11.7% in 1790.⁹ New York City's black population climbed from 3,500 African Americans in 1800 to roughly 10,368 in 1820, which increased the proportion of the population that was black to 6.8% from 4.4%. In Philadelphia, the black population numbered 6,436 in 1800 and rose to 12,110 in 1820, making the black population 10.7% of the total, up from 9.5% in 1790.

⁹ Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, Table 18, 236.

Made anxious by the perceived increase in the free black population, Charles Fenton Mercer of Virginia and Robert Finley, a minister in New Jersey, began to advocate separately for free black Americans' removal to a colony in Africa.¹⁰ The mutual interest of men from different states in this endeavor, set the stage for the establishment of the American Colonization Society in Washington, D. C. in January of 1817

Understanding the power of celebrity marketing, the Colonization Society reached out to famous people. Members included such luminaries as the famous orator and politician Henry Clay, and Bushrod Washington, the nephew and symbolic heir of George Washington. The ACS attracted support from all across the United States, quickly establishing auxiliary societies in states north and south of the Mason Dixon line.¹¹ Its platform called for the removal of free blacks and freed slaves, and was devised to appeal to both antislavery and slave-owning Americans. As one supporter of African American removal put it, colonization promised "a time

¹⁰ Finley wrote *Thoughts on the Colonization of Free Blacks* to gather support for the idea of the "separation of the black from the white population" and argued that Africa was the best place for such a colony of blacks as it was the "home of their fathers." Douglas Egerton, "'Its Origin Is Not a Little Curious' A New Look at the American Colonization Society" *Journal of the Early Republic* 5 (1985): 463-480 unveils evidence that rather than Finley being the founding figure of the Society, Mercer deserves (because he came to the idea earlier than Finley) to be given full credit for establishing the American Colonization Society.

¹¹ State auxiliary societies could be found in Louisiana, Mississippi, Kentucky, Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Vermont.

when we [the United States] shall be one homogenous nation....”¹² The organization’s mass appeal stretched it thin, achieving very little of either goal.

Eventually, free blacks and antislavery whites developed deep animosity to the group, growing suspicious of the ACS’s motives, especially once many members were exposed as slaveholders. These members openly endorsed the perpetuation of slavery and saw African colonization as “materially tend[ing] to secure” slave property.¹³ Despite these frank statements, other supporters continued to reconcile the ACS with antislavery goals.

For these antislavery supporters, whether the Society believed in abolition or the perpetuation of slavery mattered little since “their exertions must” eventually bring about “universal emancipation,” as one prominent newspaper, the *National Recorder*, put it. As for those slave owners’ reluctance to emancipate, these supporters believed that once it had “effected a settlement—the difficulties will gradually diminish.”¹⁴ As long as the goal of black removal succeeded—and a location outside the United States was established—then the Colonization Society’s ambivalence about slavery seemed of little consequence.

¹² American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States, *The Eleventh Annual Report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: James C. Dunn, 1828), 18.

¹³ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, February 1825; “tending” Staudenraus, *Colonization Society*, 51, 17n.

¹⁴ *National Recorder*, November 20, 1820; Burin, *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution* argues the position as well.

For some African Americans, however, the ACS's motivations proved pivotal. In an 1819 New Year's speech celebrating the end of the Atlantic slave trade, Lewis Tapsico, a "colored man," took the opportunity to castigate the American Colonization Society and warned "a momentous crisis" had arrived for the African American community. Pointing to the "strange contradiction" that slave holders would take an interest in promoting the happiness of free descendants of Africa, Tapsico believed it was "plain as light itself," that the true object behind African colonization was "to get rid of the free colored people." He argued the ACS wanted to remove the idea that people of color could be free. Tapsico concluded with this indictment: "The more this plan of colonization is examined, the more disgusting and shocking do its features appear."¹⁵ Following Tapsico's speech, a meeting was called in Philadelphia in which three thousand black Philadelphians gathered to publicly reject Africa and the American Colonization Society's plan. The meeting's attendants, led by James Forten, a wealthy sailmaker, unanimously found that African colonization "would stay the cause of the entire abolition of slavery," something they as a community could not tolerate.¹⁶ Forten later reported that there

¹⁵ *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, Feb 13, 1819.

¹⁶ Staudenraus, *Colonization Society*, 33.

was not one soul who favored African colonization at the meeting.¹⁷ Such African American opposition proved detrimental to the ACS's goal of recruitment.¹⁸

Despite northern African Americans' public opposition, Colonization Society members remained hopeful that a successful colony would cause the community to rally around the project and "feel more strongly the desire of a country where they may enjoy the equality which they never can attain here."¹⁹ This easily anticipated success, however, proved elusive. The first location of the colony, Sherbro Island, was abandoned after a few weeks mostly because of the site's unsuitability for long term settlement: the island possessed neither fresh water nor a working harbor. The colony and its administrators relocated to a place called Cape Mesurado, in what would later be called Liberia. The colonial administrators' lack of preparation and foresight hurt public opinion. It also put off potential colonists: from 1820 to 1824 only 300 African Americans ventured to Monrovia, the ACS's new capital at Cape Mesurado.

Unfortunately, an unhealthy environment existed at Cape Mesurado too. Settlers suffered from what began to be called "African fevers"—malaria and yellow fever. This affliction took administrators, naval officers, and settlers alike. At one point, more than forty colonists took ill simultaneously and the death rates spiraled

¹⁷ Winch, *A Gentleman of Color*, 191.

¹⁸ Marie Tyler-McGraw "Richmond Free Blacks and African Colonization" *Journal of American Studies* 21/2 (1987): 207-224 argues that in Richmond free blacks did support the ACS's Liberian colony and one hundred of that city's black population settled there in the 1820s.

¹⁹ *National Recorder*, Nov 20, 1820.

upward. By 1824, 85 out of the 225 colonists who had moved to Liberia had died.²⁰ This level of illness and death made cultivating food and developing trade relations difficult. As a result, the colony continued to depend on stores of food and trade items brought from the United States, hardly fulfilling the image of a self-sufficient satellite envisioned by the administrators. Organizers began to understand the Herculean task they had set themselves—the time, effort, expense, and lives necessary to establish a colony from scratch.

Simply supplying settlers proved difficult. New arrivals on the West Coast required substantial and uninterrupted supplies of food, and the uncertain relations with neighboring indigenous peoples meant the colony also required cannon, muskets, and gun powder. So enraged by the colonial settlement, their new neighbors had launched two large scale attacks on the settlement in 1822. The Dei people, the original inhabitants, had been forced to turn over the Cape Mesurado land after American administrators used “gun boat” diplomacy to obtain the land. Between 800 and 1,600 natives reportedly participated in the attacks. Seven of the settler’s children were kidnapped and four killed.²¹ Small wonder farming and trading were slow to develop when security and health issues loomed so large.

African colonization was considered a morass. Promoted as an idyllic self-sufficient settlement that would discourage the illegal trade of African slaves, the

²⁰ *Boston Recorder*, May 15, 1824; Burin states that between 1820 and 1830, 29% of the colony’s population died. Burin, *Peculiar Solution*, 17.

²¹ Staudenraus, *Colonization Society*, 89.

colony could barely protect itself. Other reports reached the United States that slavers had been spotted leaving the British colony of Sierra Leone, further undermining convictions that African colonization would end the illegal slave trade.²² Publicly, some observers even concluded, “The Mesurado Colony, is, and must ever be, a feeble, and comparatively, inoperative palliative of this evil.”²³ With little headway made in either establishing the colony’s independence or eradicating the illegal slave trade, the project also broke the ACS’s bank.

The colony’s costs ran so high, between \$4,000 and \$6,000 a year, that the Colonization Society’s treasury was empty by 1822. Donations, which had helped sustain it, also dried up as news of the colony’s problems reached the United States. By 1823, the ACS acknowledged publicly that it “had arrived at a crisis.”²⁴ Many members felt that without some sort of large government assistance, they would have to abandon the colony.²⁵ Pessimism reigned. As Benjamin Lundy, concluded in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, the Colonization Society had spent “immense sums” and more would be required “to effect any thing of importance, upon the plan which they have devised.”²⁶ Hezekiah Niles of the *Niles’ Weekly Register* warned that sending African Americans to Africa would cost “millions of dollars a year” and

²² Michael J. Turner, “The Limits of Abolition: Government, Saints, and the ‘African Question’” *English Historical Review* 112 (1997): 319-357.

²³ *New York American*, June 18, 1824.

²⁴ Staudenraus, *Colonization Society*, fund raising, 81; crisis, 76.

²⁵ From its inception, the ACS had envisioned working in partnership with the federal government, and the Society had petitioned Washington several times for direct financial assistance, but the government rebuffed these requests.

²⁶ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, February 1825.

predicted that not even “the whole revenue of the United States” could accomplish an independent and secure colony.²⁷ Overall, the prognosis for the colony looked grim.

Conscious of the public image of the colony as an abject failure, members debated desperate measures to salvage it. In 1823, Leonard Bacon, the brother of Samuel Bacon, one of the colonial administrators in the initial African expedition to Sherbro Island, suggested that to “quicken” and “dramatize” colonization, the ACS must charter four ships every year to leave from the large port cities of New York, Boston, Charleston, or Providence. Even if the ships sailed half empty, merely by placing ads in various local newspapers, the ACS would give the positive impression that colonization was progressing. He hoped this “spinning” of public opinion would in fact bring about the desired result.²⁸ The ACS never implemented any of his proposals.

The ACS’s inertia frustrated its supporters. Benjamin Lundy predicted that if the ACS continued along the same path, “disastrous occurrences” awaited its colony.²⁹ Hezekiah Niles expressed doubts about Africa “producing any sensible effect, as to a reduction of the amount of the black population among us.”³⁰ He also tabulated that “[w]ith all of our exertions, at a great cost of money and sacrifice of

²⁷ *Niles’ Weekly Register*, June 26, 1824.

²⁸ Staudenraus, *Colonization Society*, 77-78.

²⁹ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, January 1822.

³⁰ *Niles’ Weekly Register*, July 3, 1824.

life, we have sent only about 300 persons...”³¹ This number, a paltry few compared to the tens of thousands originally projected by the Colonization Society, did little to achieve the whitening of America. Niles’s disillusionment with the African project was made clear both to the public and to members of the ACS when he began to advocate for Haitian emigration. He also gave sustained coverage to the project: Almost every edition of the *Niles’ Weekly Register* beginning June 24, 1824, contained at least one article on Haiti or Haitian emigration. And, he joined the Baltimore Haytian Emigration Society in June of 1824.³²

Haitian emigration reanimated Benjamin Lundy, Hezekiah Niles, and Loring Dewey, supporters of African colonization who had seen whitening dreams scuttled on African shores.³³ To them, Haiti was the ideal destination for a quick and efficient removal of the black population. Support for emigration was also motivated by more favorable costs, the anticipated commercial benefits American merchants and manufacturers would garner, and the project’s antislavery potential.

A cost-based analysis of African colonization and Haitian emigration convinced many of the merits of Haiti over Africa. Comparing the transportation costs alone showed how much more practical Haiti was—for one person to sail to Haiti, the estimated cost was between \$12 and \$14. In order to send one person to

³¹ *Niles’ Weekly Register*, July 3, 1824.

³² *New York American*, July 23, 1824.

³³ Lundy couched emigration in these terms—of wanting a white America—knowing this would add to its appeal. Benjamin Lundy has received a full length biography that discusses his attitude towards black America. Merton L. Dillon, *Benjamin Lundy and the Struggle for Negro Freedom* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966).

Africa, the costs doubled to \$26. With these lowered costs, far greater numbers could be settled. Haitian emigration would also exact far less of a long-term financial commitment. Boyer's offer included paying the settlers' passage, donations of food, supplies, and land. These offers left America with far less financial responsibility for the settlers than African colonization did.

In Haiti, established trade networks existed already and could easily be expanded upon. As the *National Advocate* remarked, American emigrants would "carry with them American particularities and feelings," ensuring "the influence of these upon the commerce of Hayti."³⁴ These sentiments were often repeated in American newspapers. As Hezekiah Niles noted, "Every one can perceive perfectly" that emigration would be "an infallible means of augmenting the commerce of the United States."³⁵ American emigrants with their American tastes and preferences could potentially make trade with Haiti even more profitable: Once American emigrants settled in and began to prosper, they would want to buy American goods and products they had been accustomed to in the United States. Their acquisitiveness would spur growth in both nations.

The promise of trade between the United States and Haiti also won abolitionists to the cause. Although few public pronouncements were made about Haiti's antislavery potential, abolitionists envisioned making it the centerpiece of the free produce movement, a consumer-driven campaign against the sale and use of

³⁴ *National Advocate*, July 20, 1824. President Boyer's appeals had hit their intended mark.

³⁵ *Niles' Weekly Register*, June 26, 1824.

products from slave labor.³⁶ In Haiti, unlike almost every place in the New World in 1824, no ambiguity existed as to whether the laborers working in the fields were free or enslaved, making Haitian products and crops ideally suited to the free produce movement.³⁷ With the introduction of more laborers from the United States, Haiti was in a perfect position to supply this new market.

First conceived in England as a political and consumer boycott of slave grown sugar, the free produce movement organized as a grass-roots movement in England in 1791, in a campaign to abolish the Atlantic slave trade. As a result of their campaign, more than 300,000 Britons abstained from using sugar in protest over its use of slave labor.³⁸ The free produce movement in nineteenth-century America approached the abolition of slavery by exerting economic pressure in an attempt to end slavery. Advocates of the boycott envisioned free laborers cultivating and manufacturing products that would compete directly with slave produced goods.³⁹ This movement involved both producers and consumers: With the

³⁶ Ruth Nuermberger, *The Free Produce Movement: A Quaker Protest Against Slavery* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1942). A form of the Free Produce Movement began in England in the 18th century to boycott slave produced sugar and force the abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade.

³⁷ French Guyana, a French colony in South America, was being established as free labor colony at this time. France advertised settlement opportunities to free African Americans, see *United States Gazette*, June 10, 1824; *Niles' Weekly Register*, Sept 11, 1824; Jonathas Henri Théodore Granville, *Biographie de Jonathas Granville par son fils* (Paris: E. Brière, 1873),126; *National Gazette*, June 22, 1824.

³⁸ The practice crossed the Atlantic and found a voice in the writings of Thomas Branagan, specifically in his “Buying Stolen Goods Synonymous with Stealing” *The Penitential Tyrant; or, Slave Trader reformed: A Patriotic Poem in Four Cantos* (New York: Samuel Wood, 1807).

³⁹ Advocates for free labor and free produce were also making their voices heard in England in the 1820s. James Cropper and Elizabeth Heyrick were both abolitionists who proposed some form of free labor and free produce to defeat slavery. For a comparison of their two perspectives see David Brion

increased availability of free labor products, they hoped conscientious consumers would opt for goods made by free hands. If a large enough market developed for free labor products, advocates believed, the movement could eventually drive slave products—and slavery—out of existence. These goods—from coffee, tobacco, sugar and cotton to manufactured items like cloth and clothing—would be comparably priced and untainted by the immorality or brutality of slavery.

The free produce movement in the nineteenth century was closely aligned with Haitian emigration.⁴⁰ To Elias Hicks and Charles Collins, two prominent New York Quakers, Haiti was key to their project for defeating slavery. Elias Hicks began supporting the free produce movement as early as 1811 in *Observations on the Slavery of the Africans and Their Descendants, and on the Use of the Products of their Labor*.⁴¹ Hicks publicly advocated for Haitian emigration and hosted a meeting in his Long Island home in the summer of 1824 devoted to the project. Hicks also corresponded with Charles Collins about emigration.⁴² Collins, a grocer, stocked his Cherry Street store entirely with free produce goods from 1817 to 1843,

Davis, “James Cropper and the British Anti-Slavery Movement, 1823-1833” *Journal of Negro History* 45 (1961): 155-156.

⁴⁰ There were other Quakers involved in the free produce movement who were not directly associated with Haitian emigration. Quaker merchant Jeremiah Thompson also advertised his preference for free labor products. Thompson, famous for his development of the Black Ball Line of packet ships between New York and Liverpool, was a cotton baron who made his fortune in the cotton trade. According to Lundy, Thompson showed a preference for buying cotton from free laborers. See *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Sept 17, 1825.

⁴¹ Elias Hicks, *Letters of Elias Hicks: Including also Observations on the Slavery of the Africans and Their Descendants, and on the Use of the Produce of their Labor* (Philadelphia, 1861).

⁴² *United States Gazette*, Dec 25, 1824.

making it the first store devoted entirely to goods produced without slave labor.⁴³

Collins also publicly supported Haitian emigration—he hosted Granville at his home during the Haitian agent’s stay in New York.⁴⁴ He also sold the 50,000 lbs. of Haitian coffee Boyer sent to pay for the emigrants’ transportation costs.⁴⁵

Benjamin Lundy also worked for the development of the consumer boycott.⁴⁶ He advertised Charles Collins’s grocery store in *Genius* and made one of the first public pronouncements on Haiti’s role in promoting the system of free labor in his December 1824 edition. Lundy also pointed out that goods purchased from Haiti could be bought “without contributing to the gains of oppression.” This was, he believed, a subject that deserved “serious attention.”⁴⁷ Lundy continued his work throughout the 1820s and became one of the leading voices of the free produce movement.⁴⁸

Advocates of emigration believed that if large numbers of free blacks were seen venturing to Haiti, then slave owners would warm to the idea and manumit their slaves in order to send them to Haiti. Hindsight has shown that the philanthropy of slave owners never reached beyond small numbers of manumissions. For a time in the 1820s, however, American abolitionists Benjamin Lundy and William Lloyd

⁴³ Nuernberger, *The Free Produce Movement*, Appendix.

⁴⁴ *Niles’ Weekly Register*, June 25, 1824.

⁴⁵ Loring Dewey, *Correspondence Relative to the Emigration to Hayti, of the Free People of Colour, in the United States. Together with the Instructions to the Agent Sent Out by President Boyer* (New York: Mahlon Day, 1824), 15.

⁴⁶ For a discussion of Lundy’s free labor advocacy and its effect on his antislavery activism, see Dillon, *Benjamin Lundy*, 76-78.

⁴⁷ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, December 1824.

⁴⁸ Nuernberger, *The Free Produce Movement*, 21.

Garrison believed if given the opportunity the “majority of the southern people, and even the slave-holders” wanted slavery abolished.⁴⁹ Sending these slaves to Haiti offered just such an opportunity. Hezekiah Niles urged slave owners to accept this golden opportunity in his July 3rd article.⁵⁰

Beyond the antislavery constituencies, public pressure mounted on the ACS to back Haitian emigration. Observing public opinion turn towards Haiti, the ACS acknowledged problems had dogged their colony and even admitted, “We are fearful that our Colony at Messuarado will not realize all the favourable results which have been anticipated.” But the ACS continued to deflect calls to abandon the colony and pleaded for patience.⁵¹ Attempts to dissolve the pressure proved unsuccessful. At a New York public meeting called to discuss Haitian emigration, the participants declared the Mesurado colony a failure and the continuation of any project involving African colonization useless.⁵² While conscious of these efforts, the ACS refused to bow to pressure and urged its auxiliaries “to take no measures on behalf of Haitian emigration.”⁵³ The organization also asked Loring Dewey to step down as an ACS member in retaliation for his role in bringing the now popular competitor, Haitian emigration, to the attention of the public. Soon thereafter, the ACS initiated its own campaign against Haiti.

⁴⁹ Quoted in Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, 141.

⁵⁰ *Niles' Weekly Register*, July 3, 1824.

⁵¹ *National Advocate*, June 23, 1824.

⁵² Granville, *Biographie*, 120-122; *New York Commercial Advertiser*, June 21, 1824.

⁵³ Staudenraus, *Colonization Society*, 84.

In this campaign, the ACS warned that—unlike the continent of Africa—the island of Haiti was far too small for the entire black American population to settle.⁵⁴ And, as Haiti was not the natural home of African descendents as Africa was, it would be less suited to them, they said. Other disadvantages included the fact that Haiti offered nothing to the fight against the illegal slave trade or to the twin missions of Christianizing and civilizing Africa.⁵⁵ ACS spokesmen finally conceded that Haiti’s proximity to the United States was a factor in their opposition, admitting that if the ACS supported Haitian emigration, it would lose the slave-owning constituents’ cooperation whose “alarms and apprehensions” had already been voiced at the prospect of Haitian emigration.⁵⁶

Haitian supporters grew impatient with the ACS’s attacks and their concessions to southern slaveowners’ fears of Haiti. One newspaper stated that—contrary to public statements about Haiti’s size—the “republic could receive all the colored persons of the United States, bond or free, at once, without being overstocked.”⁵⁷ As for the ACS’s contention that Haitian emigration contributed nothing to Christianizing or abolishing slavery in Africa, Benjamin Lundy scoffed at this “flimsy pretext.” Clearly, the Cape Mesurado experience showed little progress on these fronts either. If the ACS wished to do away with slavery as it avowed, Lundy

⁵⁴ Granville, *Biographie*, 120-122.

⁵⁵ *New York Commercial Advertiser*, July 9, 1824; Granville, *Biographie*, 144-146.

⁵⁶ *New York Commercial Advertiser*, July 9, 1824; Granville, *Biographie*, 144-146.

⁵⁷ *Niles’ Weekly Register*, July 3, 1824.

asked, “why not choose a place where we have the means of sending a sufficient number”?⁵⁸

Taking on the southerners’ fears, a writer in the *National Gazette* argued that, for their own security, they should support Haitian emigration. It was far easier to deal with an external foe than a domestic one, he argued.⁵⁹ Hezekiah Niles also tried to persuade critics that accepting Haitian emigration was a smart thing to do. For those who feared Haiti’s enmity, Niles wrote that for expediency “our object should be to cultivate the best disposition in the people of Hayti.” To do this, he argued, the U.S. must accept and encourage emigration.⁶⁰ He urged opponents of Haitian emigration to face reality: “It is an event that must be expected—one that we cannot prevent.”⁶¹ For Niles, establishing friendly relations with Haiti would ultimately protect the southern United States, by improving trade and at the same time bring about the necessary removal of black Americans.

Because Boyer’s proposal seemingly answered every need of the United States, some worried the offer came with hidden strings. Questions began to emerge about whether Boyer would demand American recognition of Haiti in exchange for opening up his country as seen in a *New York American* article.⁶² Robert Walsh the editor of the *National Gazette* underscored that these two events were in no way

⁵⁸ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, January 1825.

⁵⁹ *National Gazette*, June 22, 1824.

⁶⁰ *Niles’ Weekly Register*, June 26, 1824.

⁶¹ *Niles’ Weekly Register*, July 3, 1824.

⁶² *New York American*, June 21, 1824.

connected and political relations with Haiti need not be established.⁶³ This was, however, Boyer's hope and many who supported emigration had been public advocates for American recognition before the Denmark Vesey trials.

Watching as the Haytien Emigration Society organized ships of emigrants, the ACS realized it could not stop the emigration project with its propaganda. Knowing the public's focus centered on Haiti, the ACS and its state auxiliaries gave up all fundraising efforts in New York and Pennsylvania.⁶⁴ In order to win support for African colonization and compete against Haitian emigration, the ACS realized it needed its own publishing apparatus and began to publish *African Repository and Colonial Journal* in the winter of 1825.⁶⁵

In the northern United States, as the summer of 1824 wore on, support for emigration was building. Learning from the defects in the ACS publicity campaign, proponents of Haitian emigration made use of newspapers in advertising the project. Newspapers heralded the departure dates of ships, sometimes weeks in advance. Indeed, with the support of the newspaper publishers and editors such as Hezekiah Niles, Robert Walsh, and Benjamin Lundy were instrumental in marketing Haiti to the public. They published minutes of meetings, of Haitian emissary Granville's speeches, emigration office addresses, and eventually letters written by emigrants. These activities succeeded in promoting Haitian emigration widely.

⁶³ *New York American*, June 21, 1824.

⁶⁴ Staudenraus, *Colonization Society*, 86.

⁶⁵ Staudenraus, *Colonization Society*, 100.

To supporters of Haitian emigration the thousands of free black Americans willing to sail for Haiti were the fruits of this activism. By October of 1824, the editor of *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* pointed out that “vessel after vessel is dispatched” and confidently concluded, “emigration to Hayti is progressing with unexampled rapidity; it is not a mere experiment.”⁶⁶ Another newspaper tabulated that from Philadelphia alone, “18 vessels have sailed or about sailing from Philadelphia, which will carry about 2,000 emigrants.”⁶⁷ These numbers supported the projections of Lundy and his cohorts—that emigration to Haiti would whiten America in far less time and for far less money than African colonization. As Lundy boasted, “I should be pleased to see a statement of the expenses already incurred, in planting the colony of *three hundred persons* at Monrovia, within the last six years, that I might contrast it with the amount of cost in transporting the FIVE THOUSAND, to Hayti, in a period of six *months*....”⁶⁸ Lundy believed the United States had finally found a “judicious system” for the “riddance of our country of its black population.”⁶⁹ For Lundy and other white believers, these departures justified the heated public battle waged against African colonization and gave them hope that Haiti could save America from slavery and the racial discord they feared. They also expected—as did Boyer—that formal diplomatic relations, even recognition, would be established once Haitian emigration proved itself.

⁶⁶ *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, Oct 15, 1824.

⁶⁷ *New Bedford Mercury*, Nov 26, 1824.

⁶⁸ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, February 1825.

⁶⁹ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, November 1824.

Chapter 5:

Push and Pull in Haitian Emigration

A range of social pressures pushed African American individuals to leave everything they knew in America and a variety of hopes pulled them to settle in Haiti. Each migration is a mixture of push and pull factors, and each was motivated as much by the America left behind as by the hoped-for Haiti.¹ Backgrounds varied widely, with family groups and single men and women traveling; and people from all social levels— from laundresses to merchants, from skilled artisans to unskilled day laborers, from farmers to urbanites, all choosing to settle in Haiti.² Such prominent figures as John Allen son of Rev. Bishop Richard Allen; Dr. Belfast Burton of Philadelphia; John Sommersett, a cigar maker and church leader of the Philadelphia AME Bethel Church; and a former Presbyterian minister, Benjamin F. Hughes, all chose to move to Haiti. Other individuals, whose stories and motivations are only

¹ Though I use the term migration and emigration, this movement can be called transnational migration since settlers remained in contact with their American communities of origin and used letters and the press to spur the settlement, a definite feature of transmigration. See Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton (eds.), *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered* (New York: New York Academy of Arts, 1992). Also by Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton, "From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration" *Anthropological Quarterly* 68 (1995): 48-63, especially page 50.

² Appendices I-IV.

reaching posterity for the first time include Abel Reed, an educated young New York African American; a ship carpenter named King from Baltimore; Hannah Quincy, a New York laundress apparently traveling alone; William Baldwin, another New Yorker with his wife and two children; and the farming family, the Butlers from the Mid-Atlantic State of Pennsylvania or Maryland, traveling 11 strong: the patriarch Charles Butler, his wife and nine children ranging in age from 11 to 20. These individuals and their stories are representative case studies of this emigration, and the promises, expectations, and fears that motivated it.

Each narrative shares some elements: a sense of alienation from mainstream American life, a belief in the potential for financial or other advancement in Haiti, and a desire to be united as a people in a black nation. All sought to work there for the betterment of themselves, of Haiti, and of their brethren in chains. Pushed out of an America that refused to treat them as equals, these Americans saw a place where the political and economic opportunities that were closed to them in their native country were readily available. They were drawn to a country that offered a republican government where they could vote without prejudice of color or property, and where the skin color that increasingly set them apart as outcasts in the U.S was privileged. Haiti was in every way presented and understood to be their black “land of the free.”

By the 1820s, the black inhabitants of Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York lived in well-established communities that were served by black-run schools, churches, and institutions. Some were dispersed through neighborhoods; others clustered together on certain streets.³ Many were sizeable. Baltimore contained the largest black population, with over 14,000 free blacks and another 10,000 slaves. Philadelphia and New York City both housed more than 12,000 free blacks, and small slave populations. For Northern African Americans, city life was increasingly the norm—in stark contrast to the rest of the United States, where less than 4% of the population lived in urban communities.⁴ Not all the Haitian emigrants were urban residents, however; many farmers also chose to relocate to Haiti.

Life in the United States had become increasingly constrained for African Americans (and for many poor Americans) by 1820 as the country languished in a deep and prolonged recession sparked by the Panic of 1819. Specific numbers are unavailable for African American joblessness; but in Philadelphia alone, between 1816 and 1819, almost seven thousand workers were laid off.⁵ In 1820, the New

³ Emigrants came from all over including Ohio, Richmond, Virginia; Providence, Rhode Island as well as the states of New Jersey and Maine.

⁴ Haitian Revolution brought in a number of émigrés, both white and black, into all of these cities, with the exception of Boston. The great influx of immigrants from Europe, specifically from Ireland and Germany had started in the 1810s in Philadelphia but faltered during the 1820s. Immigration from Europe was still sizeable in New York during this period.

⁵ Samuel Reznick, “Depression of 1819-1822: A Social History” *American Historical Review* 39 (1933): 31.

York Society for the Prevention of Pauperism estimated that 12,000 people—10% of the city's population—sought poor relief.⁶

The economic changes most deeply affected African American workers because most were among the most vulnerable population—the working poor. While the average laborer in the United States could expect a \$1 a day, African Americans, who often worked as unskilled laborers in the Northeast, earned much less. Compounding the difficulties for African Americans living in New York and Philadelphia was the arrival of Irish and German immigrants.⁷ These new arrivals crowded the streets with cheap labor and drove up the costs of housing. The Panic also hit the agricultural sector. Farmers, who had seen unprecedented prices for their crops during the Napoleonic Wars, saw economic ruin when the Panic hit, causing prices on flour, rice, and cotton to fall between 35% and 50%. And, whether working as domestics, farmhands, maritime laborers, or other unskilled workers, unskilled workers experienced declining wages.⁸

Not all African Americans worked as unskilled laborers, however. Some found positions as semi and skilled laborers such as cloth makers, spinsters, shoemakers, and tailors. For these artisans, the Panic only added to the economic woes that had started for them after the ending of the Napoleonic Wars with the unleashing of pent up British manufacturing capacities on the American market.

⁶ Ibid, 31.

⁷ Baltimore did not receive large numbers of European immigrants until the 1840s.

⁸ Donald R. Adams, Jr., “Wage Rates in the Early National Period: Philadelphia, 1785-1830” *Journal of Economic History* 28 (1968): Table 1, 406.

During the war, goods that had been languishing in warehouses in Great Britain were dusted off and shipped en masse to the American market. Structural changes within the workplace also added to the declining fortunes of the artisan class. With the introduction of manufacturing, the traditional crafts system that masters, journeymen, and apprentices had participated in for centuries, lost its grip. Skills that had once required years of training were now activities that any laborer could perform on the first day of the job. During the 1820s, these two labor systems, the traditional craft shop and the large capitalized factories, overlapped.⁹ And, just as jobs moved to factories, African Americans faced exclusion from this new labor system as whites refused to work alongside them in the close quarters required.¹⁰ Among this group, moving to Haiti provided opportunities to open their own shops and work their own trades, a throwback to better times in a world transformed. For others, who accepted that the traditional craft system was irrevocably lost, and envisioned becoming entrepreneurs, Haiti also beckoned.

This economic pressure came just as African Americans faced political constraint with the passage of suffrage laws that limited black voting. In New York, the African American community retained the right to vote, but needed substantial property to qualify. Property requirements for white males, in contrast, had been

⁹ Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 107.

¹⁰ James Oliver Horton and Lois Horton. *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community, and Protest among northern free Blacks, 1700-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998),117-118; Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*. (New York: Routledge, 1995), 100-102

suspended, allowing all adult white males to participate regardless of their property qualifications. In other states, curtailed political rights were well established. In Maryland, free blacks had been prohibited from voting since 1810. Even in Pennsylvania—the cradle of liberty—laws restricting free black rights routinely came under review in the state legislature. These laws proposed preventing free blacks from traveling into the state; they also moved to require all free blacks to register and obtain freedom certificates. And, if a free black should be convicted of crime, they were to be sold into slavery and their purchase price given to their victims as “compensation.”¹¹ Although these proposals never passed into law, each time the state considered such actions, the African American community felt the sting of racial persecution acutely and the cumulative effect meant it felt a chronic threat of greater oppression. Many blacks recognized how diminished their prospects were for prosperity, equality, or liberty in early 1820s America.

Boyer carefully tailored his proposals to the wants and needs of the free black community at a juncture when work was scarce and white exclusion touched all aspects of their daily lives. Although he advertised to all classes of African Americans, Boyer was most pressed to find farmers and laborers. American laborers would revive the plantation economy of Haiti, and American laborers, artisans and professionals would bring skills and capital the nation needed. These skills would stimulate the economy by increasing the export capacity of Haiti, and by developing

¹¹ Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 180-82; quote, 182.

and strengthening the nascent manufacturing sector.¹² Because Haiti's economy was so heavily geared towards export crops, Boyer's master plan for the bulk of the emigrants was to use them as farmers and laborers in strengthening the coffee and sugar trade which had been the basis of St. Domingue's enormous wealth and prosperity.

Boyer essentially proposed three separate plans: the first for farmers; the second for sharecroppers and laborers; and the third for artisans and professionals. He extended different incentives to each group: Farmers would receive three acres of land per person. Black farmers who had struggled to obtain title to good land in the United States were promised freehold grants of 3 acres per person upon moving to Haiti. A family of 5 could start with a fifteen acre farm before having to buy any land. Those who sharecropped land would receive valuable experience cultivating crops; after one or two years, they, too, would be eligible for land. Nor would they have to go to the expense of buying tools. Mechanics and professionals received exemptions on taxes for one year, enabling them to establish businesses without any additional expenses. All the American settlers could expect four months of food

¹² Historians examining these early decades argue that the island's lack of industry—there were no mills, (either textile or granaries), naval yards, or extensive manufacturing of any kind—limited and prevented Haiti from breaking the grip of exporting crops held over from its colonial economic system. Historians and contemporaries of the time cited Haiti's refusal to allow any foreigners to own land as limiting its capital accumulation and movement into a mature capitalist society. For example, Dupuy, *Haiti in the World Economy*; Leyburn, *The Haitian People*.

provisions and their passage to Haiti on chartered vessels. Of course, Boyer's offer was a rare chance of relief in such hard times.

For William Baldwin and his wife and children, Serena, age 12 and William, age 10, migrating to Haiti was an act of hope and a significant risk. In 1824, the family lived in the "Five Points" section of New York, on Orange Street—one of the three streets that crossed to create the infamous intersection. Five Points in the 1820s, however, had not yet become the den of vice and crime that would make it notorious. Baldwin, who in the 1819 Jury List possessed \$150 worth of property, was not wealthy by New York standards. For an African American, however, he was well off and possessed enough disposable income that the family lived alone, an uncommon luxury among the city's African American community whose householder often supplemented their incomes by taking in boarders.¹³ And, rather than send Serena out to service, the family chose to—and had the means to—educate their only daughter.

What allowed for this relative comfort was Baldwin's job as an oysterman.¹⁴ That job description could encompass everything from selling shucked oysters on street corners to running an entertainment establishment such as that operated by Thomas Downing, one of the most successful New York African Americans who

¹³ Whether Mrs. Baldwin worked to supplement the family's income remains unknown. Although the average property owned by an African American is unknown, in 1825 only 68 members of the community of 12,000 met the residency and \$250 property requirement for voting. George E. Walker, *The Afro-American in New York City, 1827-1860* (New York: Garland Pub., 1993), 116.

¹⁴ *New York City Directory*, 1824.

was also known as an “oysterman.”¹⁵ Where Baldwin’s oystering business fell in this range remains unknown. Posterity does suggest that neither adult Baldwin could read nor write, since Serena, rather than her parents, penned letters back to the United States.¹⁶ Because of his work along the waterfront, Baldwin may have known other languages, such as Spanish, Dutch, and French, through daily contact with the thousands of international visitors to his city. New York City’s participation in international trade, even in the early part of the nineteenth century, made it one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the United States. As one commentator noted in the 1830s, German, French, Spanish, and Italian could all be heard on Broadway.¹⁷ Baldwin may have even traveled to Haiti earlier as a sailor, since 40% of free African American men in the North shipped out at some point in their lives.¹⁸ The Baldwins departed from New York sometime in September, but precisely when remains unknown. On arrival on the Caribbean island, the family settled in Santo Domingo where Spanish continued to be the primary language. Perhaps he knew Spanish far better than French, but we do not know.

¹⁵ Shane White, “The Death of James Johnson” *American Quarterly* 51 (1999): 753-795 discusses the entertainment culture that oyster houses promoted.

¹⁶ Serena had learned how to read and write during her time at the girls African Free School, located on William Street, where girls learned reading, penmanship, arithmetic, grammar, geography, as well as needlework.

¹⁷ Ofelia Garcia, “New York’s Multilingualism: World Languages and their Role in a U.S. City” in *The Multilingual Apple: Languages in New York City*, 2nd ed. eds. Ofelia Garcia and Joshua A. Fishman (New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997), 22.

¹⁸ W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1997), 145.

Despite the relative comfort of the Baldwins' New York City life, William had good reason to be disenchanted. As a property holder who could lawfully exercise his voting privileges before 1821, Baldwin may have chafed at the new 1821 New York State Constitution that imposed onerous property qualifications on African Americans—a flagrantly inequitable law. In Haiti, no such constraints on political participation existed. And William probably looked at his son and namesake as well as his other children, and realized how limited their futures were in such an unequal society.

Like many, Baldwin may have learned about the emigration project directly from Haytien Society meetings where Jonathas Granville spoke to the African American community. In one extant speech, Granville reminded the parents in the audience of the lives their children would face continuing to live in the United States. Granville painted a bleak picture of these children enduring “evils” and suffering “degradations” in America, promising that in Haiti they would enjoy “the blessings of Providence.”¹⁹ Granville addressed the dreams of all immigrant parents throughout history—that their children enjoy better lives and opportunities than they experienced.

But for Baldwin, and all those with children, settling in Haiti involved risk, as rumors circulated of an imminent French attack. Haiti's troubles with its former colonial ruler France continued into the 1820s and had intensified. In the spring of

¹⁹ *Niles' Weekly Register*, Aug 7, 1824.

1822, a French squadron invaded the town of Samana in the former Santo Domingo, killing hundreds of Haitian soldiers. Then, a small insurrection took place in Martinique that some in France blamed on Haitian instigators. At the same time, French men-of-war, battleships were reported to be assembling in Martinique, fueling rumors of a possible all-out assault by the French on the entire island. Boyer readied the port cities and French merchants left the island.²⁰ Clearly, some families with children decided that the benefits of life in Haiti outweighed these imminent dangers.

For a Baltimore ship carpenter by the name of King, these dangers present in Haiti were offset by the economic enticements and job security offered. Baltimore in the 1820s had become one of the top three ports for shipbuilding in the United States, largely because of skilled black shipbuilders and caulkers. And, though ship building remained an occupation open to African Americans in the 1820s, here, too, whites increasingly elbowed them out. Carpentry, the most highly paid work in a ship yard, was almost exclusively the preserve of whites.²¹ Frederick Douglass, who worked as a slave caulker at Fells Point in Gardener's ship yard, experienced firsthand how strongly white carpenters resented "having their labor brought into

²⁰ *Niles' Weekly Register*, May 22, 1824. *United States Gazette*, Feb 16, 1824; *New York Daily Advertiser*, May 31, 1824; *National Gazette*, June 3, 1824. Granville reassured audiences that Boyer had the French situation under control.

²¹ In one of the city's largest shipyards, owned by Joseph Despeaux, this was the situation. Christopher Phillips, *Freedom's Port: The African American Community of Baltimore, 1790-1860* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 79. Caulking was dominated by free black workers. In the 1822 *Baltimore City Directory*, 19 of the 20 caulkers listed were free blacks. (Phillips, 78).

competition with that of a colored freeman” and had seen how these carpenters had repeatedly attempted to drive “the black freeman out of the ship-yard.”²² If the white carpenters’ efforts to keep the shipyard white were as violent as what Douglass himself experienced, King and other black carpenters must have feared for their very lives. In one incident, Douglass’s face “was beaten and battered most horribly” when four fellow apprentices attacked him. He also had to defend himself against other murderous white assaults and grew so fearful of the work place that he ran away from the ship yard. For black mechanics trained as ship carpenters—a highly specialized and skilled job—this treatment and color preference must have been galling.

Pushed by this sort of intimidation at the workplace, King sailed in one of the ships for Haiti, which one is unknown, in search of a place where his skills and color were in demand. Envisioning Samana as the national shipyard for Haiti, Boyer sought African Americans experienced in ship building to fill its ranks and specifically requested his agent Granville to find skilled carpenters, woodsawyers, blacksmiths, caulkers, ropemakers, and sail makers.²³ Granville reportedly recruited many Philadelphian workers, including sail makers John Newport, John Cromwell, and Moses Anderson, as well as Francis Mitchell, a shipwright.²⁴ In Philadelphia,

²² Frederick Douglass, “Life and Times of Frederick Douglass” in *Autobiographies*, ed. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., (New York: Library Classics of the United States, 1995), 628.

²³ *Correspondence*, 25; Granville, *Biographie*, 231; Winch, *A Gentleman of Color*, 218.

²⁴ M. Anderson and J. Newport, Appendix, 1825. Francis Mitchell was mentioned in a letter by fellow emigrant, John Cromwell. *United States Gazette*, April 5, 1825.

shipbuilding had slowed due to competition from Boston, Baltimore, and New York shipbuilders. Of course, the economic downturn brought on by the increased competition with British traders also hurt the trade. In 1816 and 1817, the city's ship yards produced only one ship. And though the industry improved slowly in the 1820s, the city dropped to fourth place behind Boston, New York, and Baltimore in 1826.²⁵ As demonstrated by King's presence in Samana, Granville attracted skilled Baltimore craftsmen to the Haitian shipyards.²⁶

King and the craftsmen from Philadelphia may also have considered ship building ability as crucial to Haiti's continued independence and may have known Samana was the target of a French attack only one year previously. A French invasion would not just have been a battle between nations over trading rights, territory, or diplomatic issues. France had both publicly and privately vowed to re-enslave the island and re-impose the plantation system that had brought such wealth in colonial days. With this in mind, King may have been among the group of 300 Baltimore men who traveled to Haiti without their families. Such men reportedly went to Haiti to become "Colonels and Generals" in the Haitian military, to help "wield the destinies of the nation."²⁷ His destination, Samana, suggests that he was not avoiding battle against the French.

²⁵ Winch, *A Gentleman of Color*, 83.

²⁶ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, May 1825 in a letter from Loring Dewey to Daniel Raymond.

²⁷ *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, Feb 10, 1825.

Some American observers believed the inexorable slide toward war with France enhanced the island's attractiveness to potential emigrants. African Americans, they believed, gloried "in an opportunity...to be placed upon the bulwark that stood between Gallic oppression & Haytien liberty." France, an emigrant assured his American reader in a letter, would never succeed in conquering the island because there were "too many brave men here...determined to die" to defend the young nation.²⁸ Two settlers compared their reception to that of General Lafayette's when the Frenchman was celebrated in fetes all across America in 1824 for aiding America during its monumental struggle for freedom.²⁹ Pulled by dreams of glory and by an hour of need, these Americans envisioned their military achievements in Haiti as equivalent to those of Lafayette's; they would be instrumental in saving the island nation.³⁰

Military achievements and glory may have helped pull another single male emigrant to settle in Haiti, a twenty-five year old by the name of Abel Reed. But the lack of opportunities in America for someone of his color, skills, and education certainly would have pushed him. Unfortunately, what work Reed pursued in America or in Haiti is unknown.³¹ He was literate, as his letters home to America

²⁸ *United States Gazette*, Dec 23, 1824.

²⁹ *Information* (Philadelphia, 1825), 6.

³⁰ Of course not all emigrants were attracted to Haiti to prove their military prowess. The Ohio group who was sent to Haiti by George Flowers praised Boyer who gave them exemptions from military duty for one year. *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Oct 1824.

³¹ *United States Gazette*, Sept 23, 1824.

indicate.³² He might very well have been a freed slave who took his skill and advertised it in his name, someone who was “Able to Read.”³³ Reed represents the many African Americans who had gained an education in the United States in schools such as the African Free School in New York, but had continued to see the doors of opportunity close. Frustrated by the prospects before him, Reed apparently chose to seek his fortune and use his education elsewhere. For people like Reed, the Haitian government offered clerical positions for a \$300 a year salary.³⁴

Reed and others like him may have conceived of government jobs in the context of the United States’ emerging spoils system. The spoils system gave political loyalists jobs in the expanding postal service and other federally funded agencies or offices and emerged from a changing perception of authority. Since Jefferson’s presidency, meeting the president in the White House was a right conferred on ordinary Americans. By the 1820s, with the erosion of deference and the rise of the “common man,” ambitious and upwardly mobile Americans hoped to meet the President and tap him directly for civil service or military positions. Black

³² *United States Gazette*, Sept 23, 1824.

³³ New York State’s Gradual Emancipation Laws gave freedom to all slaves born after July 4, 1799 at the age of 18 for males and age 25 for females. Reed, who was 26 years old in 1825, may have been an educated slave who had negotiated his freedom early. For a recent and thorough examination of this period in New York history, see David Gellman, *Emancipating New York: The Politics of Slavery and Freedom, 1777-1827* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006); Shane White, *Somewhat Independent The End of Slavery in New York City, 1770-1810* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1991); Leslie M. Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626-1863* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

³⁴ *New York American*, Nov 29, 1824. Prince Saunders, who had worked in Christophe’s government, was another example of an educated African American who had gone to Haiti to become a government minister.

Americans were not, however, included in this “democratization” of American politics and society. They may have hoped for similar practices in Haiti’s republican system and expected President Boyer to award such positions to them.³⁵

Women also participated actively in the emigration to Haiti.³⁶ New York emigrant Hannah Quincy worked as a laundress and was apparently single.³⁷ As many as 60% of the African American women in New York probably worked as laundresses as it was the most common work available to them.³⁸ Without a husband or children to keep her in the country, any woman would likely welcome a change from doing laundry as her sole occupation. A ticket to Haiti was Quincy’s ticket out of the laundry.

Laundry in the nineteenth century was one of the most exhausting, time consuming jobs available to a man or woman. Lye soap was the main washing agent and it made a scrubber’s hands raw and red from use. Washing clothes for a living would have required maintaining boiling pots of clothes on fires, lifting tubs of water, carrying bundles of wet clothes to the clothesline. The work did not end there. Once the clothes were dry, Hannah Quincy would have ironed the clothes with heavy hot irons. For a laundress, this was work she did every day—not just one day a week.

³⁵ See letter by Arthur J. Jones and George Jann in *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Oct 1824.

³⁶ More than 244 females over the age of 14 appeared on the Passenger Lists.

³⁷ Appendix III, 1827.

³⁸ Although no estimates exist for how many women worked as laundresses in New York City, it is likely that, as in Baltimore, more than 60% worked in this capacity. Phillips, *Freedom’s Port*, Table 13, 111.

Women in Quincy's position were recruited to leave for Haiti by white activists. Black females were considered to be on the front lines in efforts to whiten the nation and remove slavery. They have an "effect on the future as well as the present population of the country" according to the *Niles' Weekly Register* because women bore the future generations.³⁹ Attracting women to leave the United States was essential to this increasingly coordinated effort. Hezekiah Niles proposed that a dowry be given to single women to find husbands in Haiti and that the money the Haytian Emigration Society collected be spent on this proposal "exclusively."⁴⁰ In this way, he hoped to encourage the settlement of women who would become mothers to Haiti's rising generation rather than to a rising generation of free black Americans.⁴¹

In New York City, unlike in Baltimore or Philadelphia, free black women outnumbered free black men two to one, leaving many unwed and working. For black women in New York who wished to be married, the gender ratio in the city, of two women to every one man, precluded many from joining in matrimony.⁴² Hezekiah Niles suggested that these women could marry up if they left for Haiti, becoming "respected matrons." Rather than having "vagabonds" for husbands, which would be their fate if they remained in America, he promised they would become the

³⁹ *Niles' Weekly Register*, July 3, 1824.

⁴⁰ *Niles' Weekly Register*, July 3, 1824.

⁴¹ Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

⁴² Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery*, 74. Perhaps these observers were unaware of Haiti's gender ratio, which by some estimates, women outnumbered men three to one.

wives of “grave and revered senators...gallant captains, independent land-holders or thrifty merchants.”⁴³ Whether Quincy migrated to Haiti specifically for such reasons is not clear.⁴⁴

Although Boyer certainly welcomed these women, he made most of his promises to men. He made assurances that they would be treated as “brothers” in Haiti and emigrants attested to being “received more like brothers than strangers.”⁴⁵ These feelings of fraternal heritage were widely held. One Haitian publication explained that African Americans and Haitians were “brothers,” because they shared the same blood and “the same interests.”⁴⁶ Framing emigration as uniting the family of Africa would certainly have appealed to African Americans such as Charles Fisher who identified themselves as African.⁴⁷

Unfortunately, little is known about Charles Fisher’s life before he settled in Haiti. In his letters to his father, who continued to live in Baltimore, Fisher said he believed the island was an “African nation” and urged “African brothers and sisters” in the United States to join in aiding and “supporting an African government.” In such statements, Fisher demonstrated that this shared diasporic identity had been important in his decision to move, and he articulated a version of the exhortations

⁴³ *Niles’ Weekly Register*, July 3, 1824; *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, November, 1824.

⁴⁴ In the Passenger List, her marital status is not noted.

⁴⁵ *United States Gazette*, December 23, 1824.

⁴⁶ Philanthropic Society of Hayti, 1824; *United States Gazette*, April 16, 1825.

⁴⁷ James Sidbury, *Becoming African in America: Race and Nation in the Early Black Atlantic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007) traces the uses and meanings of “African” among Anglophone populations and argues that blood and historical understandings of kinship were important.

common to later black nationalist movements.⁴⁸ Fisher, however, was not a blind idealist. As an American who may have only spoken English, he chose to settle in Cape Haiti, the former capital of Christophe's kingdom where the king had supported the study and use of English among his subjects.

A similar mix of antislavery ideas and practical business savvy motivated John Allen, Bishop Richard Allen's son, to move to Haiti. A tailor by trade, John Allen must have experienced the disruption caused by the changing business practices in the clothing industry in the 1820s. With the introduction of ready-made clothing in the 1810s and early 1820s to the United States, the traditional role of tailoring was revolutionized by the introduction and use of the "putting out" system, where women sewed clothing pieces in their homes. This type of business model produced ready-made clothing at a fraction of the cost of tailor-made clothing.⁴⁹ Clearly, this was a push factor for a tailor. When the opportunity to migrate to Haiti came up, John Allen recognized that he was in a unique position to take his skills as a tailor to a place where they were still marketable.

John Allen settled in Haiti to market and produce items for the free produce movement. Within Philadelphia's black community, support for the free produce movement centered on Allen's father, Bishop Richard Allen, the leader of the

⁴⁸ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, July 1825. Fisher, however, was not appealing to the essentialist idea of difference but to the shared goal of a black nation for all people of African descent.

⁴⁹ According to one observer a tailor had become a "merchant-taylor" by 1820, a profession that needed at least \$2,000 to open a shop in New York City. Richard Brigg Stott, *Workers in the Metropolis: Class, Ethnicity, and Youth in Antebellum New York City* (Ithica, New York: Cornell University Press, 1990).

African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. He joined the Free Produce Society in the 1820s and urged other African Americans to join in the boycott of slave produced items.⁵⁰ Richard Allen also contributed to the manufacture of free labor products by recruiting local black seamstresses to design bonnets and dresses to be worn and sold as symbols of abolitionist sentiment.⁵¹ He and his son likely envisioned extending these activities in Haiti as evidence suggests that Richard Allen and the rest of the Allen family planned to join John in Haiti. In his October 24th letter to his father, John wrote “I am expecting to see you here before long....”⁵² In the same letter, John spoke about his brother Richard’s anticipated arrival date. The Allens may have anticipated a whole new line of ready-made clothing that could thrive as free labor products from the Caribbean island.⁵³ With an ample supply of cotton, which grew both in the wild and in cultivation, these items would compete with the finest from the United States and Great Britain.

⁵⁰ The free produce movement did not become formally organized into the Free Produce Society until 1826. Individuals, however, had been boycotting slave produced goods prior to the Society’s establishment.

⁵¹ Carol V.R. George, *Segregated Sabbaths: Richard Allen and the Emergence of the Independent Black Churches, 1760-1840* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 132. Neither George nor Nuemberger indicate whether this apparel looked different or distinctive.

⁵² *United States Gazette*, Dec 23, 1824.

⁵³ Similar to how “Organic” is used to today on products to sell them to environmentally conscious individuals. Ready-made clothing was in its infancy during the 1810s and 1820s. A few “clothiers” had established themselves in New York City and were making enormous profits. One man, Henry Brooks, the father of the famous Brooks Brothers Company, opened a grocery store on Cherry Street and expanded into the ready-made clothing business in the late 1810s. By the 1820s, he was making over \$50,000 a year. Michael Zackim, “A Ready-Made Business: The Birth of the Clothing Industry in America” *Business History Review* 73 (1999): 61-90.

During colonial times, French planters in St. Domingue had produced more than 11 million pounds of cotton a year, which was a considerable amount given that planters concentrated their labor and land on sugar and coffee.⁵⁴ Haitian cotton, also called “French or small-seed cotton,” was a very productive type of long-staple cotton that yielded 3 to 400 pounds per acre and grew rapidly with two crops in a year. The island’s reputation as the French colony of St. Domingue—the most profitable and productive colony in the world in the late eighteenth century—continued to influence such exaggerated projections of the island’s economic and agricultural potential. For those who doubted Haiti’s competitive capacity, they only had to look at the island’s productivity during colonial days as evidence. If the same focus of energy, manpower, and capital that once caused the sugar boom could be harnessed for the growing of cotton, then Haiti could compete against the American cotton growers. Or so, supporters of the free produce movement believed.⁵⁵

Scant evidence of Boyer’s support for the free produce movement survives. Public discussions of the idea received coverage in the Haitian publication *Le Propagateur*. Although brief, one article argued that the only way the system of slavery would “quickly disappear,” was for “buyers of cotton and sugar” to

⁵⁴ Granville’s account of Haiti published with *Information*, (Philadelphia, 1825), 11.

⁵⁵ The idea of cultivating cotton in Haiti to compete with American cotton producers did not end with the 1820s effort. James Redpath in the 1860s renewed this idea and made plans to supply free labor cotton, sugar, and tobacco. See Willis B. Boyd, “James Redpath and American Negro Colonization in Haiti, 1860-1862” *The Americas* 12 (1955): 173.

“exclusively” seek out items created by free labor.⁵⁶ Boyer may have reduced patent duties to those who bought and sold goods for the free produce movement as he did in other instances for the distressed merchants burned out in 1822.

In order to manufacture free labor products such as cotton cloth and cotton clothing, the movement needed skilled laborers. John Allen, because of his father’s prominent position in the African American community, would have had the access and the organizational power to recruit skilled artisans. A number of seamstresses, spinsters, and milliners left his dioceses in Philadelphia and New York to settle in Haiti.

Another American settler, a William Edmonds from New York City, also aspired to make his move to Haiti a contribution to the free produce movement. As a retailer of tobacco, a recession proof staple, Edmonds felt little disruption to his business caused by the Panic of 1819. Buying and selling tobacco, however, would have caused Edmonds to be directly involved with slavery and slave-produced products. Although not much is known about the tobacco business in New York City during the early decades of the nineteenth century, the tobacco sold there likely originated in the fields of Virginia or Maryland.⁵⁷ Edmonds expected to use his experience and knowledge of tobacco tastes in America to develop a Haitian trade

⁵⁶ *Le Propagateur*, Sept 14, 1826, 11 “Le principe est etabli clairement et distinctement que la marche d’esclaves doit etre abolio, ou bien la traite des esclaves ne sera JAMAIS detrait. Il est aussi vrai de dire que si les acheteurs de coton et de sucre bonnaienuet leurs speculations aux articles qui praviennet escusivement d’un travail libre, le systeme de lesclave serai bientot rejete.”

⁵⁷ Although wheat production had grown significantly during this period in Virginia and Maryland, tobacco continued to be grown.

with the United States. While doing so, he would contribute to the destruction of slavery by supplying tobacco products that directly competed with slave grown tobacco.⁵⁸

Charles Butler also sought to assist the free produce movement while turning a profit. A farmer from Pennsylvania, Butler represents migrants who sought something that would be long denied African Americans at home: land. Fear among farmers that another Panic would strike, wiping away their livelihood, was rife.

Many historians assume almost all northern free blacks migrated to the cities after manumission looking for work and fellowship. While many certainly did so, some remained in rural settings and continued to work as laborers or leased land for farming.⁵⁹ Butler, an experienced farmer who had likely grown potatoes, corn, and wheat on farms in the Brandywine country, probably did not own the land he worked, because farm land was expensive in the vicinities of Philadelphia and Baltimore. Around Baltimore, for example, cultivated land without a barn or house could sell for \$140 an acre, while land with an attached house and barn sold for \$200

⁵⁸ John Sommersett from Philadelphia was a cigar maker by trade and he too migrated to Haiti in 1824. On Sommersett's work in the United States see Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 239. In 1824, 718,679 lbs of tobacco leaf was exported. 393,800 cigars were exported in 1823. (*British and Foreign State Papers*, Vol 2, 683).

⁵⁹ Although there are no works that focus on northern free black rural life, two works that discuss free black rural life in the upper South: Reginald Dennin Butler, "Evolution of a Rural Free Black Community: Grochland County, Virginia, 1728-1832" (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins, 1989) and Michael L. Nicholls, "Passing Through This Troublesome World: Free Blacks in the Early Southside" *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 92 (1984): 50-70.

an acre.⁶⁰ In Philadelphia, land was less expensive but still quite dear: on average, a cultivated acre sold for \$50.⁶¹ As a result, it is doubtful that many African Americans owned farms.

On offer in Haiti was not just any land. This land, unlike in the freeholdings on offer in the western U.S., was cleared. Cleared land eliminated the time-consuming and back-breaking weed-whacking and tree-cutting required with virgin land. It could be cultivated immediately, making the land immediately productive and revenue generating. When Butler learned that he and his family would be eligible to 36 acres of land, Haiti must have seemed a land of milk and honey.⁶²

Reports circulated that the fertility of the Haitian soil and the fast growing cycle on the island allowed two, three, or four crops a year to be harvested. An observer concluded that “Three acres here [in Haiti]” would be as “valuable as 15 or 20 are in America, north of the Potomac.”⁶³ The Butlers’ plot of land, if such estimates proved accurate, would produce as much as 144 acres in America, a sizeable property.⁶⁴ An American settler living in Haiti claimed he would refuse an

⁶⁰ Adam Hodgson, *Remarks During a Journey Through North America in the Years 1819, 1820, and 1821, in a Series of Letters* (1823, Reprint, Greenwood Press, 1970), 45-46.

⁶¹ Hodgson, 46.

⁶² Boyer gave farmers who gathered themselves into groups of 12, 3 acres each. Because Butler, his wife and ten children made up a group of 12, they received the full allotment. Appendix I, 1825.

⁶³ *United States Gazette*, March 1, 1825.

⁶⁴ This meant the land if sold in Philadelphia was worth \$7200.

offer of \$3,000 for his Haitian land.⁶⁵ As one newspaper put it, “[a]ll agree in representing the soil of that island as the most fertile in the world.”⁶⁶

One writer trumpeted that a man could attend to three acres of coffee trees easily, leaving plenty of free time for other crops. Not only was coffee touted as easy to grow, but in some areas, little cultivation was necessary since trees were, “breaking down with coffee.”⁶⁷ And, according to some reports, coffee rotted on the trees because it was so plentiful.⁶⁸ Cocoa, another cash crop, was also very simple to grow, “requiring very little labour [or] attendance” according to these reports.⁶⁹ Fruit trees were also easily cultivated since these trees yielded “spontaneously.”⁷⁰ Even more mundane products grew at an accelerated and explosive rate. One acre of potatoes yielded 500 bushels of potatoes, four times as much as an acre of potatoes in the United States would produce.⁷¹ An acre of corn could yield three different corn harvests in one year while wheat and rice were considered “equally productive.”⁷² To what extent African Americans believed these descriptions of Haiti as an Edenic paradise remained to be seen. They were reported as fact and meant to attract large numbers of potential farmers and cultivators. For those unfamiliar with cultivation and its potential challenges, these would have been doubly attractive.

⁶⁵ *United States Gazette*, December 25, 1824.

⁶⁶ *Vermont Gazette*, March 22, 1825.

⁶⁷ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Jan 1825.

⁶⁸ *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* Jan 15, 1825.

⁶⁹ *New York American*, Feb 22, 1825.

⁷⁰ *New York American*, Feb 22, 1825.

⁷¹ *Vermont Gazette*, March 22, 1825 and *United States Gazette*, March 1, 1825.

⁷² *New York Observer*, Feb 26, 1825.

Even with such productiveness, if the commodities did not have a market then the land might turn out to be worthless.

In Haiti, that abundance usually came with riches. Cultivating cash crops in Haiti produced sizeable returns, another feature influencing Butler's decision. If, for example, coffee sold for \$10 per 100 pounds then the expected profits cleared would be as much as \$1500, almost ten times what the average Philadelphia African American held in property.⁷³ Tobacco also produced profits, \$600 worth on three acres.⁷⁴ Even corn and potatoes yielded substantial profits: 50 cents a bushel for corn and 20 cents a bushel for potatoes.⁷⁵

As an experienced farmer, Butler knew that even with fertile land and a reliable market, every individual crop brought its own challenges and every climate and soil their own peculiarities. Although probably familiar with growing corn and potatoes, his unfamiliarity with coffee must have given Butler pause: Could he and his family be successful in Haiti cultivating this crop? Some of Butler's qualms may have been alleviated when he learned that Boyer instituted an education program for neophyte cultivators of coffee, dispatching an advisor to demonstrate

⁷³ \$1500, *New York Observer*, Feb 6, 1825; In Philadelphia, families living in the neighborhoods of Southwark, Moyamensing, and Cedar Ward, where two-thirds of the city's African American community lived, held property worth an average of \$165. (Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 248). In Baltimore, the average black property holder in 1815 owned property worth \$150. (Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, 98). Although estimates are not available for New York City's black population, in 1825 only 68 out of 10,000 of the city's black residents owned property worth more than \$250. George E. Walker, *The Afro-American in New York City, 1827-1860* (New York: Garland Pub., 1993), 116.

⁷⁴ *Vermont Gazette*, March 22, 1825.

⁷⁵ *United States Gazette*, March 1, 1825.

techniques and tricks.⁷⁶ Having an advisor who could provide hands-on experience looking out for his interests may have eliminated any of Butler's remaining reservations. As an experienced farmer, Butler was exactly the sort of settler Boyer most wanted to target.

Commentators on emigration have remarked upon the fact that so many urban dwellers sought to work in Haiti as cultivators. For those toiling away in America, such as Edward Anderson, a 24 year old "laborer" and Ann Holland, a 22 year old "adventurer," accounts of the riches to be made in Haiti must have been a powerful incentive indeed.⁷⁷ And Boyer made it very easy for these men and women without any prior experience when he offered sharecropping. Cropping was effectively on-the-job training because it gave inexperienced African Americans knowledge of cultivation techniques without the enormous risks or responsibilities involved in farm ownership. The American croppers worked for a year or two on a large plantation in exchange for one-fourth of the harvest. In addition, after one year of sharecropping, a cropper became eligible for three acres of land. Settlers without money could begin immediately as sharecroppers since food, lodging, and tools, including horses, mules, plows, and hoes were provided by the landowner to the workers. Because so little initial investment was required of the laborers, Boyer asked the settlers to repay the government their passage money at the end of six

⁷⁶ *United States Gazette*, March 1, 1825.

⁷⁷ Appendix I, 1825; Appendix III, 1827.

months. The passage fare promised to be easily repaid since profits on crops were understood to be high.

Philadelphian Benjamin F. Hughes, like many of his fellow travelers, envisioned Haiti providing economic opportunities. The economic incentive, in this case, outweighed concerns about religious tolerance. Hearing of the vast fortunes made from trade and the assistance Boyer was prepared to give American settlers instilled in Hughes a desire to travel to Haiti. Boyer gave exemptions to Americans who pursued mercantile activities for one year. For a wholesaler, this amounted to 150 gourdes (Haitian dollars) and for a merchant, 300 gourdes.⁷⁸ A Presbyterian minister in Philadelphia, Hughes felt pinched from the shortage of funds and had resigned his appointment in the First African Church in Philadelphia, when “the support” he received was insufficient “to sustain him.” He made clear his intention to “engage in mercantile pursuits” elsewhere.⁷⁹ In the meantime, Hughes took an appointment offered by the New York Missionary Society in the summer of 1824 to

⁷⁸ These were the fees in 1825. Linstant, Baron S. *Récueil général des Lois et Actes du Gouvernement d’Haiti, depuis la proclamation de son indépendance jusqu’ à nos jours* 5 vols. (Paris: Auguste Durand, 1851-1860) Vol 4, 174; 180. The only Haitian workers exempt from the patent tax included farmers, public or military employees, and hired day laborers or domestic workers. Every other worker in Haiti was required to pay a patent tax from carters to fishermen. Foreigners, usually merchants, were also required to pay the patent tax but they were charged a premium, sometimes thousands of dollars for the privilege of working in Haiti. (Linstant, *Recueil*, Vol 4, 170-183 for the full list).

⁷⁹ Throughout this period, community professionals, ministers, teachers, publishers, often worked second jobs to support themselves. Quoted in Arthur Truman Boyer, *Brief Historic Sketch of the First African Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, Pa.* (Philadelphia: [s.n.], 1944), 84. Boyer claims that Hughes left the city and even the country and spent the rest of his life in Africa.

go to Haiti.⁸⁰ Judging by his reports, he never pursued missionary activities during his stay, as Boyer had clearly prohibited Protestant evangelical activities.⁸¹ Hughes probably thought he could do both: cater to the spiritual needs of the American settlers and pursue his own merchant activities.⁸² These Presbyterian settlers, he must have calculated, would obtain enough wealth in Haiti to sustain a minister. If not, he could always maintain himself with commercial activities of his own.

Not all went for profit, however. Another Philadelphian, Dr. Belfast Burton may have seen the article in the *National Gazette* that complained of the shortage of doctors in the Haitian countryside. The advertisement stated, “The number of physicians in Hayti is below what is called for by the amount of our population, those whom we have are, for most part, residents in our cities.”⁸³ Perhaps because of the paucity of doctors, Burton moved to Samana, in the newly incorporated Spanish region. The town was also the destination of fellow Philadelphians moving to work in the ship yards, settling in a new place with a different climate and needing the services of a doctor.⁸⁴ Another consideration for Burton would have been language

⁸⁰ *New York Observer*, Dec 18, 1824. The Society was \$6,000 in debt and probably could not even pay his passage there.

⁸¹ Boyer allowed for private religious worship just not missionary work. Public disturbances had broken out between Protestant missionaries and Catholics in Port au Prince in the early days of Boyer’s presidency and he did not want these repeated. Leslie Griffiths, *A History of Methodism in Haiti* (Port au Prince: Imprimerie Méthodiste, 1991), 27-28.

⁸² A group of New York Presbyterians ventured to Haiti in the summer of 1824. *Western Luminary*, Dec 8, 1824.

⁸³ *National Gazette*, Sept 13, 1823; *Propagatuer*, Aug 1, 1823.

⁸⁴ *New York American*, Feb 22, 1825.

skills, since being a doctor required some proficiency. Did Burton know Spanish?

Perhaps he did, but he left no trace of it.

African Americans saw in Haiti a place where they could fulfill economic and social dreams of advancement. But it was also a place where equality for those with a black skin existed, and for some, a place to avenge injustices through standing in arms with a black army. As the summer of 1824 drew to a close, the African American community recognized a historic opportunity in Haiti, an opportunity to contribute to an independent black nation through their labor and skills; an opportunity to support the defense of that nation against its former colonial power; an opportunity to provide an economic alternative to slavery; and in so doing, an opportunity to give themselves and their children a better life. President Jean-Pierre Boyer's second great attempt at strengthening ties with the U.S. was in full swing.

Chapter 6:

Haitian Realities and the Emigrants' Return

On arrival in Haiti, many emigrants such as Daniel Copelain, Aaron Blandon, and Abel Reed wrote glowing letters about Haiti to friends and family back in the United States. Daniel Copelain wrote how he had purchased one hundred and forty-seven acres of land in Samana and expected within three months to gather “about two thousand weight of coffee.” “I am very well satisfied with the country,” he wrote.¹ Samana, a small port town in the former eastern Santo Domingo, received 460 American settlers by April of 1825, many of whom expected to work in the new shipyards while others would grow coffee. Aaron Blandon, a Philadelphia settler, lived near Cape Haiti, where more than 800 other Americans had settled. He wrote how “thankful” he was “that a kind Providence” had “opened this door.”² Abel Reed, who landed in Port au Prince, was one of 4,000 American settlers who made the capital their home. Reed wrote of meeting President Boyer and the warm reception he and his

¹ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Aug 1825.

² *New York Observer*, July 16, 1825.

fellow American had received, noting how Boyer had taken each of their hands as a father would “the hands of his children” after a long absence.³

Boyer watched the progress of American settlement closely, and had every reason to greet the settlers so warmly. The success of his grand stratagem hung in the balance—would opening up Haiti as an emigrant destination bring the U.S. to the diplomatic bargaining table? By 1824, Boyer’s relationship with France had hit a diplomatic impasse when that country demanded Haiti become a tributary state in exchange for a formal peace treaty. After twenty years of self rule, these were unacceptable—and disrespectful—terms. Boyer cut off further diplomatic talks. Rumors persisted that French officials contemplated using military intervention to force Haiti to some agreement or even designed to retake the colony.⁴ For these reasons, Boyer watched the American settlement process to see if it would produce the expected diplomatic thaw in Washington.

When Boyer proposed the emigration project, he had hoped to disperse large numbers of emigrants evenly throughout the island.⁵ Instead of 1,000 emigrants

³ *United States Gazette*, Sept 23, 1824.

⁴ *United States Gazette*, Feb 16, 1824; June 10, 1824; *Niles’ Weekly Register*, May 22, 1824; *New York Daily Advertiser*, May 31, 1824; *National Gazette*, June 3, 1824.

⁵ Dewey, *Correspondence*, 27. Cape Haiti, Port au Prince, and Santo Domingo, and Port au Platt, were each to receive about a 1,000 emigrants. Jeremie, Jacmel, Aux Cayes and Samana were to

landing in Port au Prince, more than four thousand did.⁶ The unanticipated influx of people created a scarcity of nearby and available government lands for the American settlers. Boyer had envisioned most Americans would take up his offer to farm government lands, under which each person was entitled to 3 acres. He had made this the most attractive of his offers, since these farmers—unlike emigrants seeking other situations—would not have to repay the cost of their passage.⁷ But emigrants who arrived in Port au Prince refused to take government that were 30 to 40 miles away from the city, too far for many Americans who had envisioned a smoother transition from urban to rural living. As the Americans poured in to Port au Prince, government lands within proximity of the city were quickly exhausted, and rather live in isolation, many Americans chose to become sharecroppers.

Sharecropping became the most common labor system in post independence Haiti. It had become the default method because landowners had little cash to pay wages but still needed a work force. All cropping agreements consisted of a share of the crop (usually both sugar and coffee) to be divided between the landowner and the laborers. Planters hoped to exert control over the workers and keep them motivated by sharing a part of the crop at the end of the season. In addition to the crop,

receive between 200 and 500 emigrants. Boyer relied on American ship captains to transport the emigrants who may have ignored directives.

⁶ *New York Observer*, July 9, 1824; *Connecticut Courant*, June 29, 1824; *New York Observer*, June 19, 1824.

⁷ Americans who came to work as sharecroppers or as artisans or merchants were obliged to repay the cost of their passage within four months.

landowners supplied lodging, tools, medical services, and sometimes food as part of the labor contract.

To the Americans in Port au Prince, sharecropping had other advantages besides ease of access to the city. It gave emigrants with no experience an opportunity to learn farming without the risk or responsibility that working their own lands entailed. And for Americans who arrived without tools or the money to buy them, it gave these neophytes an entrée to the farmers' life. One group of settlers, for example, agreed to sharecrop for the promise of "horses, jacks, mules, carts and ploughs, and all farming utensils."⁸ Indeed, shortage of money pressed many into accepting cropper work.

For others, sharecropping may have been prompted by a more short-term problem—hunger. In addition to flour, rice, corn, bread, coffee, and salted fish, Boyer promised the emigrants beef and pork rations as part of their four-month supply of government provisions. In reality, however, many never received these provisions of meat. Regardless of wealth, meat—whether salted pork, sausage, or pickled beef—was a staple of most Americans' diets and was served at most meals in the United States. Emigrants deprived of the staple likely hungered for such victuals. James Lee, who lived in the Cape Haiti region, reported how he and his fellow Americans "neither tasted nor saw a piece of meat."⁹ Another emigrant

⁸ *United States Gazette*, Jan 19, 1825; *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, January 1825.

⁹ *Baltimore Patriot*, March 10, 1826.

reported that emigrants had complained bitterly about the scarcity of meat in Haiti.¹⁰ One group of settlers, after being promised hogs and chickens, plus a share of the sugar and coffee crop, agreed to work plantation lands located ten miles outside Port au Prince.¹¹

In their agreements, some Americans received the entire crop the first year and then shared the crop with the owner for the subsequent years. One American group seemed to have negotiated a good deal, for they received everything grown the first year, and for the subsequent years, half the cane and coffee.¹² Another group of emigrants worked for Madame Granville, the mother of Jonathas Granville, Boyer's representative in America, who agreed to the settlers taking the entire crop for the first two years while the third year she would take half the coffee and cane. This arrangement must have seemed an attractive deal as more than 40 emigrants took up her offer.¹³ These lucrative agreements show that the emigrants were not going into sharecropping work purely out of desperation.

Unfortunately for the emigrants, the situation around Port au Prince where the vast majority of the settlers lived became dire. This area was hit by an "unprecedented" drought in the winter of 1825. The drought, reportedly the worst seen in sixty years, caused streams and rivers to run dry all over the region.¹⁴

¹⁰ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, March 1825.

¹¹ *United States Gazette*, Jan 19, 1825.

¹² *United States Gazette*, Jan 19, 1825; *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Jan 1825.

¹³ *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, Jan 11, 1825.

¹⁴ *New York Observer*, April 16, 1825.

Because of the drought, many emigrants were unable to grow and ready their own stockpiles for when the government supplies ended, and even those settlers who had negotiated food provisions as part of their contracts were affected. Many plantation owners reneged on the agreements, throwing the settlers off their lands when the provisions supplied by the government ran out. They calculated that the crops yields were too skimpy and food too short to warrant the expenditure on the workers.¹⁵ This situation left many settlers without food, work, or homes by early spring.

The drought also affected those who took up government lands. Although the documents do not reveal how many or which emigrants settled these lands, we can assume that some families such as the Butlers, the Paschals, and the Connors, all designated as “farmers,” chose to farm their own lands.¹⁶ They probably began growing food provisions such as corn, potatoes, bananas and other fruits in preparation for the time when their provisions of food would end. With such a severe drought, they, too, must have faced food shortages.

Without food, shelter, or the means to support themselves, many emigrants drifted back to Port au Prince in search of employment and sustenance. Perhaps as a result of the drought, the cost of food in Haiti in 1825 was extraordinarily high. While a bushel of corn could be bought for about 10 cents in the United States, corn bushels in Haiti ranged between 50 cents and one dollar.¹⁷ Many items such as

¹⁵ *New York Observer*, July 8, 1825.

¹⁶ In the National Archives Passenger Lists, this is their designated occupation. See Appendix I, 1825.

¹⁷ *New York Observer*, July 23, 1825.

wheat and corn meal—staples of most emigrants' diet—continued to be imported, so these too were expensive.

For the American settlers in Port au Prince, the difficulties continued mounting. A smallpox epidemic swept through the city and region in the winter of 1825, eventually spreading to Cape Haiti.¹⁸ Haitians blamed the epidemic on the American emigrants who, they said, had carried the disease from the U.S. A Philadelphia group that arrived in Port au Prince in December of 1824 reportedly had introduced the epidemic.¹⁹ More than 40,000 people perished in the vicinity of Port au Prince, while in Cape Haiti more than 10% of the city's population died.²⁰

Although it is impossible to say whether the Philadelphia settlers commenced the epidemic (the ship had been quarantined), an American emigrant likely introduced the dreaded disease, since public health officials in both New York and Philadelphia had battled smallpox earlier that winter. In New York, 394 black New Yorkers reportedly become infected with smallpox, and 113 died from the disease.²¹ In Philadelphia, 87 African Americans contracted smallpox, and of those, 66 died.²² As the incubation period for the disease lasted up to 2 weeks, those who were infected and contagious often did not realize they were ill until fevers, chills,

¹⁸ *National Gazette*, July 7, 1825; State Department Consular Despatches, Cape Haitien Series, Vol. 4, Cape Haytien, 20 Oct, 1825 Brice to Clay.

¹⁹ *Baltimore Patriot*, Dec 18, 1824 taken from the *Philadelphia National Gazette*.

²⁰ On Port au Prince estimates, *Rhode Island Republican*, April 27, 1826; For Cape Haiti, State Department Consular Despatches, Cape Haitien Vol 4, Cape Haytien, March 13, 1826 Brice to Clay.

²¹ *Christian Journal and Literary Register*, March 1825.

²² *Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences*, Jan 1, 1824.

and blisters emerged.²³ American settlers traveled in cramped, crowded conditions on ships for up to 3 weeks at a time, conditions ripe for the spread of small pox. A sneeze, a cough, or a touch was all the microbe required for transmission. The public image of emigrants as smallpox carriers may explain why the residents of Port au Prince who had been “hospitable in the extreme” and had rendered “every assistance in their power, for the comfort of the emigrants” as one report put it, were unwilling six months later to host Americans in their homes.²⁴

The disease, however, should not have had such a devastating effect among the inhabitants in Haiti since smallpox vaccinations had been administered extensively there in the 1810s.²⁵ Vaccination—a newer and more effective approach than inoculation—was meant to eradicate the disease and should have stopped the disease’s deadly path. Unfortunately, the smallpox epidemic of 1825 revealed the Haitian vaccination project had been made up of “spurious” viral material which gave recipients no immunity to the disease.²⁶ The false belief that they were inoculated may have discouraged caution among the island’s inhabitants and inadvertently hastened the spread of the disease. American settlers who were

²³ Elizabeth Fenn, *Pox Americana: The Great Small Pox Epidemic of 1775-1782* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2001).

²⁴ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, June 1825; *New York Observer*, July 8, 1825.

²⁵ Prince Saunders had been one of the primary vaccinators, bringing the vaccine from England. White, Arthur O. White, “Prince Saunders: An Instance of Social Mobility Among Antebellum New England Blacks” *The Journal of Negro History* 60 (1975): 526-535; 529.

²⁶ *Portsmouth Journal of Literature and Politics*, July 16, 1825.

moving into all regions of Haiti may also have carried the disease into remote and isolated regions.

Large numbers of Americans began to flee Port au Prince and with it Boyer's experiment.²⁷ The drought coupled with the smallpox epidemic dashed hopes, both for them and for Boyer. By the end of March of 1825, 200 emigrants had returned to the United States. These emigrants may have wanted to leave much earlier in the year but the dangers of a drastic change in temperature—jumping from the extreme heat of Haiti to the bitter cold of the northern United States in wintertime—would have played into considerations and may have delayed departures. Many large farming families such as the Butlers, Connors, and the Pachals sought voyages back to Philadelphia and New York with financial assistance from Boyer.²⁸ The drought and the cost of food were undoubtedly harsh on families with so many mouths to feed.²⁹

But the Port au Prince region was not the only challenging environment. In Samana, John Cromwell, the Baltimore ship carpenter named King, and the other Philadelphia and Baltimore shipbuilders may have expected to find a bustling shipyard, and found instead a veritable ghost town. Boyer had changed his mind about developing a shipyard in Samana, leaving shipwrights, ship carpenters, caulkers, and others and their families adrift with very little means of subsistence. In

²⁷ Appendix I, 1825.

²⁸ Appendix I, 1825.

²⁹ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, June 1825.

one of his first acts back in Haiti, Granville traveled to Samana to distribute money, clothes, and supplies to the Samana settlers, spending almost \$400.³⁰ While there, he gave John Cromwell and Thomas Robertson enough money to give them a “start at store keeping” and goods worth over ninety dollars.³¹ Granville also gave \$30 for Philip Bell, \$60 to Francis Duperton and Francie Mitchell as well as several women money, “for their subsistence.”³² Although these emigrants received assistance, many emigrants did not. Many chose to return to the United States rather than face any further hardships in a foreign country.

Peter Williams, Jr., who had arrived on the island in January of 1825, for his own inspection of the settlements, accompanied a shipload of the settlers returning to New York. He may have organized on their behalf the returns. Boyer must have been keenly aware that the publicity for the project would be damaging for his diplomatic efforts, paid for the Americans’ passages back to the U.S. These returning emigrants, however, proved to be fatal blow to his project. For in April of 1825, Boyer announced the end of his financial underwriting of any further

³⁰ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, March 1825.

³¹ *United States Gazette*, April 5, 1825

³² *United States Gazette*, April 5, 1825. John Cromwell reports all of this information in his letter to Richard Allen, dated January 14, 1825. I have been unable to obtain further information on John Cromwell. Philip Bell may have been the husband to Eliza Bell who was from Richmond, Va. and returned to New York in November 1825 or he may have been the Philip A. Bell who was the New York agent for the William Lloyd Garrison’s *Liberator*. (See Charles A. Wesley, “The Negro in the Organization of Abolition.” *Phylon* 12 (1941): 223-235; 224). There is no further information concerning Thomas Robertson or Francis Duperton. Francie Mitchell may have remained in Samana as a family of Mitchell’s living in Samana today can trace their origins back to the 1820s. See E. Valerie Smith, “Early Afro-American Presence on the Island of Hispaniola: A Case Study of the ‘Immigrants’ of Samana” *Journal of Negro History* 72 (1987): 33-41; 34 for a list of families who trace their family origins back to the 1820s.

American emigrants' passage to the island.³³ After June of 1825, the Haitian government would no longer pay the fares of American emigrants.

Boyer explained that his decision was prompted by evidence of wide-spread American swindling. He claimed that American ship captains, in concert with the emigrants, arrived in Haitian ports only with the intention of receiving the passenger money, and then ship, captain, and settlers would promptly return to the United States within a few days, pocketing the money. He decried the actions of the captain and passengers of the *Olive Branch* as one example of such duplicitous behavior. That ship allegedly had spent only three days in port, without the passengers ever even disembarking.³⁴ Then the ship and passengers sailed away. Certainly, such activities would have angered Boyer, but there were other considerations that likely prompted the President's decision.

More tellingly, American recognition seemed no closer to becoming a reality than it had before the emigration project. The American Colonization Society continued to resist emigration, and publications attacked the emigration project and President Boyer, calling him a despot.³⁵ After six months of spending a great deal of Haitian money—more than \$300,000—Boyer's gamble of driving recognition

³³ The original offer stood minus paid fares to Haiti: four months of provisions, free land, and the right to work on shares remained.

³⁴ Linstant, *Recueil*, Vol 4, 156; *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, May 1825.

³⁵ *Petersburg Intelligencer* and *National Intelligencer* both wrote long articles about President Boyer's despotism and the island's unsuitability. The cease fire between the ACS and Haitian Emigration Society members had broken down. Reprinted in *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, July 4, 1825. Lundy reprinted these articles to demonstrate the malevolence of the new attacks.

through emigration looked like a bust.³⁶ He likely chose to end the project early and save what he could of his country's treasure.³⁷ Boyer's negotiations with France over recognition were making headway in early 1825, and these talks obviated some of the diplomatic motives for emigration. These talks and the costs of emigration may have prompted Boyer to conclude that financing American emigration was no longer in the nation's economic interest.³⁸ And Boyer needed to save what he could, because in signing the peace treaty with France, he agreed to pay an indemnity that hobbled Haiti's economic and national development for decades.

At first, news of the French and Haitian agreement was welcomed as Haiti's independence had finally been acknowledged.³⁹ Celebrations filled the streets with cheering crowds calling out "Vive la France, vive Haiti, vive Charles X, vive Boyer!" Boyer spoke before the Port au Prince crowds declaring the French have "consecrate[d] the legitimacy of your emancipation" and predicted that the nation's "Commerce and agriculture will now be greatly extended. The arts and sciences,

³⁶ *Eastern Argus*, June 13, 1825.

³⁷ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, May, 1825; *Niles' Weekly Register*, June 25, 1825; L'Instant, *Recueil*, Vol 4, 156.

³⁸ Negotiations between the two countries had been on and off since 1820 but had remained at an impasse since the winter of 1824 when diplomatic relations had been suspended over a slave rebellion in Martinique blamed on Haiti and a French invasion of Samana to transport French citizens living in the former Santo Domingo out. For more on this, see Chapter 3, Boyer's Project. Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier*, 62-65.

³⁹ The signed treaty, which still needed Boyer's and the Haitian legislative approval to be finalized, reached Port au Prince in early July. There are different interpretations of how Boyer agreed to this peace treaty. Some historians and contemporaries argue Boyer was forced to sign the treaty when a large French fleet accompanied the French ambassador bearing the treaty. See J. N. Leger, *Haiti: Her History and Her Detractors* (1910; reprint, Westport, Conn.: Negro University Press, 1970). *Niles' Weekly Register*, July 30, 1825 the feeling was that the French, probably to give dignity to the mission sent a large fleet to escort their ambassador to Hayti, as will be seen in the account."

which rejoice in peace, will be highly improved, [and will]... embellish your new situation with all the benefits of civilization.”⁴⁰

The news was greeted in the United States with celebrations, and African Americans commemorated the event with dinners, speeches, toasts, and songs. One group of Boston celebrants believed that now the two nations would soon “be united by [a] treaty of Amity and Friendship.”⁴¹ Commentators seconded Boyer’s predictions, stating the treaty would bring “new vigor to the agriculturalists, and inspire with new enterprise the merchants [in Haiti].”⁴² All aspects of commercial life would improve as Boyer could now finally disband the army. These men would greatly add to the labor force in Haiti’s fields and the reduction in troops would ameliorate Haiti’s overall economic health, as the army had been a huge drain on the treasury.

Contrary to these expectations, the island’s prospects failed to improve after the peace treaty. In fact, they grew worse. Under the terms, the young nation was on the hook for 150 million francs to be paid in installments of 30 million; the first one was to be paid in January of 1826. As one American noted, the indemnity “changes

⁴⁰ *United States Gazette*, Aug 13, 1825.

⁴¹ *Niles’ Weekly Register*, Sept 1825; *National Gazette*, Aug 30, 1825; *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Aug 1825, Francis Johnson, *Recognition March of the Independence of Hayti* (Philadelphia: F. Willing, 1825).

⁴² *United States Gazette*, July 29, 1825.

the whole aspect of things” and was “so degrading and so dangerous” to Haitian interests that it would create far greater “injury than advantage.”⁴³

Boyer may have remained optimistic about paying off the first installment of the indemnity.⁴⁴ He had negotiated a loan of 24 million francs from a French bank, leaving the remaining 6 million to be obtained. He did so by levying additional taxes on patents, higher duties on coffee exports, and a new tax called the contribution tax, a \$5 head tax on every inhabitant in the nation.⁴⁵ These taxes were the only feasible way to meet the repayments. He also believed that one of his greatest expenses—the maintenance of the army—would be cut dramatically with France’s signed peace treaty.

In his rush, Boyer instantly raised the patent tax—forms of business licenses—on all Haitians. The effect of these higher taxes on the American emigrants can be seen immediately. For example, Dr. Belfast Burton, who worked as a doctor and sold medicine on the side, faced a tax increase of 50 gourdes—as much as \$35 American—for just the right to sell medicine in 1825. To practice his

⁴³ *Eastern Argus*, Sept 6, 1825. Other commentators remained hopeful. Hezekiah Niles believed “the purchase money to France will be easily paid...it was already in hand, waiting for the purpose.” *Niles’ Weekly Register*, July 30, 1825.

⁴⁴ He had secured 24 million franc loan from French bankers to pay off the first installment. This left Boyer to raise the remaining 6 million francs.

⁴⁵ Mackenzie, *Notes on Haiti*, Vol II, 197. The economic and social pressures weighed so heavily on Boyer and Haiti that he commenced mining operations in the former silver and gold mines of the island but these proved exhausted. *Niles’ Weekly Register*, Aug 19, 1826.

profession, he paid an additional 24 gourdes, or as much as \$17 a year.⁴⁶ Burton may have calculated that it cost too much to be a practicing doctor in Haiti and chose to return to the United States in December of 1825, days before the new fees were to be assessed.⁴⁷ Accompanying Burton were a shoemaker, a hatter, joiners, farmers, milliners, mechanics, laborers, and traders. They all set sail in ships bound for the United States in late 1825 and early 1826. The timing of these artisans' return suggests the new taxes on business were a factor. Boyer may have shown more concern and effort to appease the American settlers if diplomatic matters had not threatened because Haiti still needed the Americans' labor.

American settlers rose in importance again when Boyer's grand plan of paying the indemnity became irrevocably endangered. Boyer had expected that once peace had been established with France, he could begin decommissioning soldiers from the army, adding vast amounts to the beleaguered Haitian treasury. The standing army was so expensive to maintain that it ate huge amounts of the government's treasure every year. This anticipated revenue boost, however, became jeopardized. Just as Boyer began to reduce the size of the army—as many as twelve thousand soldiers by one estimate—Spain demanded monetary compensation for the

⁴⁶ Linstant, *Recueil*, Vol 4, pharmacists, 170, doctor, 176. In 1829, the exchange rate of 67 American cents to 1 Haitian gourde was cited in *Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Exchange* 41, (1859), 344.

⁴⁷ Appendix I, 1825.

loss of Santo Domingo.⁴⁸ The Spanish negotiations became so heated that the Spanish crown threatened to attack the island. This put an end to Haiti's demilitarization. It also reopened the drain on the treasury and undercut Boyer's plans to deal with the indemnity.

To make matters worse, the Haitian treasury saw additional losses to its operating funds in 1825 and 1826 because of a lower-than-expected coffee crop. In 1824, Haitians sold 44 million pounds of coffee but that dropped 20% in 1825 to 36 million pounds of coffee and remained near this level in 1826.⁴⁹ Although the drought certainly must have played into the lower production levels in 1825, by 1826, the drought had lifted. Why hadn't production levels increased?

To understand why American laborers failed to boost production or the overall economic wellbeing of the nation in 1825 or 1826, the vagaries of coffee cultivation must be understood. For emigrants who worked as farmers and sharecroppers cultivating coffee turned out to be more demanding than had been described in America, requiring larger reserves of capital, greater physical demands, and a longer term commitment than anticipated. It was also far less lucrative than they had been led to believe.

Much of the land in Haiti had become overgrown with weeds and shrubs native to the tropical climate as many coffee plantations lay neglected after the

⁴⁸ Spanish demands for compensation: *National Gazette*, Nov 17, 1825; decommissioning troops: *The Friend*, May 28, 1831.

⁴⁹ Mackenzie, *Notes on Haiti*, Vol II, 181. The drought hit coffee production as well.

revolution. Trees required pruning and separating—back-breaking work—as the closely planted trees grew into tangled groves. Even if a farmer had been fortunate and the trees on his land did not require extensive clearing, weeding was a constant chore in the tropics where there was no killing frost. In addition to these tasks, farmers had to harvest the beans, dry them, and then bag the crop for the market. The coffee harvest coincided with the rainy season in the Caribbean, and the torrential rains made the gathering, an arduous job at the best of times, that much tougher. Drying the coffee was more challenging in wet conditions and the risk of losing the entire crop to mold was higher if the farmer did not take the proper precautions. The Americans, new to the processing of coffee and inexperienced with its handling, likely jeopardized their crop in many instances.⁵⁰

Furthermore, cultivating coffee was not as profitable as many emigrants were originally led to believe. If the coffee trees were in their prime, yielding as much as 4 pounds a tree, or 19,500 pounds of coffee per three acres, then the yields could be considerable—about \$2,350. That yield represented high levels of productive trees and a peak market of 13 cents a pound. Even when coffee sold at such a high price, however, coffee trees did not produce at these levels indefinitely, usually passing their peak productivity after sixty years. Because many Haitian coffee trees had been planted in the 1760s, by the 1820s, they were past their prime.

⁵⁰ P.J. Laborie, *The Coffee Planter of Saint Domingo* (1795 reprint, Colombo : W.J. Van Geysel, 1845).

These older trees yielded less per acre. Most Americans likely saw considerably less yield than the prime output from their 3 acres and far less in profits.

Haiti also had many immature coffee trees, trees that had spread and grown wild over many years of neglect. For those Americans who tended them, these trees would not produce the 4 pounds annually that a prime tree could. These trees normally required up to five years to reach maturity and begin bearing a full coffee crop. For many Americans, a five-year time period may have been too great a commitment to cultivation—work most settlers had little familiarity with and many had turned to only for cash.

In addition to these problems with production, the market was down, compounding the revenue situation. Coffee prices went into free fall with declines of as much as fifty percent: So dramatic was the price decline that coffee sold at half of its 1822 value in 1826.⁵¹ In Haiti, coffee had sold for as much as 13 cents a pound in the early 1820s, but by 1825, the bottom had fallen out of the market, with the crop selling between 3 and 6 cents a pound. For example, the 19,500 pounds of coffee from three acres was worth \$585 when calculated at 3 cents a pounds. Coffee was the blood supply for the entire Haitian economy. As an American who settled in Jeremie noted, all business stood still until the coffee crop was sold.⁵² With lower prices on the world market, this meant that Haitian coffee bought far fewer imported goods. The effect of the drop in coffee production and prices could already be seen

⁵¹ A price list for coffee from 1820 to 1830 was reprinted in *Niles' Weekly Register*, Aug 21, 1830.

⁵² *Jeremie Journal*, 21.

in the stores and shops of the island in the spring of 1825. Loring Dewey—on a tour of the island and the American settlements—was struck by the lack of goods available and commented that, “You can hardly look into a shop or purchase an article of any description.”⁵³ Without coffee, the economy was anemic. Overall, commercial trade fell between 30% and 50% between 1824 and 1826.⁵⁴

In a drastic attempt to jump-start productivity, Boyer enacted the Code Rural. Put into effect on May 1st of 1826, the series of laws created a class of forced laborers on plantations.⁵⁵ With the exception of landowners, government and military officers, and artisans and shopkeepers, no laborer was allowed to leave his or her assigned plantation without a license—a type of pass—or he or she was subject to punishment, either a fine or imprisonment. The Code Rural not only limited the movement of the workers, it also limited the prospects of the children of plantation cultivators. These children could not attend school or become apprentices without the permission of the local justice of the peace. The plantations were also assigned military officers who controlled the movements and enforced the day-to-day schedule of the workers. For those who had survived Christophe’s former kingdom, these rules and regulations would have been familiar as he had imposed similar laws on his subjects. Louverture and Dessalines had also implemented such laws during their rule.

⁵³ *New York Observer*, July 25, 1825.

⁵⁴ *British and Foreign State Papers*, 1828-1829, Vol II, 669.

⁵⁵ *The Rural Code of Haiti* (London: B. McMillan, 1827).

While the regulations forbade the use of physical force by these officers, instances of physical punishment and violence were common.⁵⁶ One such incident involved an administrator of Boyer's own staff who swung a cocolacac—a heavy jointed cane—with enough force to knock out the eye of a seeming “loiterer,” an agricultural laborer found not working.⁵⁷ Reminiscent of the slave era, these new enforcement techniques and the new labor laws caused massive discontent among the populace.

Unsurprisingly, these measures coupled with the dissatisfaction over the French indemnity fueled great instability. Popular unrest was reported in Cape Hayti almost immediately after the treaty—and the terms of the indemnity—were made public. Other civil disturbances continued intermittently throughout the island, even in the republican strongholds of Port au Prince and Aux Cayes.⁵⁸ Despite Boyer's attempts to quell it, the rioting continued. So did calls for Boyer's resignation and the repudiation of the French treaty. One American predicted Haitian citizens would break out in “revolution” if the treaty was not renegotiated.⁵⁹ In a later report

⁵⁶ Boyer also implemented more positive incentives. According to Mackenzie, the new May 1st Festival created by Boyer during this period was “to encourage agriculture by the award of prizes to the most successful cultivators.” (Mackenzie, *Notes on Haiti*, Vol I, 22). According to Leyburn, *The Haitian People*, Petion first established this festival. (61).

⁵⁷ Mackenzie, *Notes on Haiti*, Vol I, 60.

⁵⁸ *Eastern Argus*, Aug. 25, 1826; *National Gazette*, Sept 6, 1825; Sept 8, 1825; Nov 19, 1825; *Baltimore American*, April 1, 1828; *United States Gazette*, April 3, 1828.

⁵⁹ *National Gazette*, March 13, 1826.

another observer expected that President Boyer would resign his “post by request,” because the discontent had become so widespread.⁶⁰

These violent outbreaks of civil discord may even have involved some American settlers. John Allen, the son of AME bishop Richard Allen, was rumored to have been shot in Haiti. Little is known about how the rumor began, but it created such a stir within the Philadelphia community that the Colored Haytien Emigration Society of Philadelphia printed a statement in its 1825 publication of *Information for the Free People of Colour* refuting the shooting.⁶¹ That such a rumor started at all demonstrates the American perception of a violent breakdown in the country’s law and order.

The popular dissatisfaction with the French indemnity also raises questions about the settlers’ perception of Boyer and Haiti’s commitment to black independence, a strong attraction of the black nation to them. Was Haiti truly independent in the face of such a payment? Had Boyer sacrificed too much in accepting such an agreement? The Americans who remained in Haiti must have found the debates over Haiti’s independence coupled with the Code Rural’s ruthless enforcement difficult to reconcile with the black-nationalist promise. Worse, Boyer agreed to a British treaty provision that if a slave runaway “from the British colonies” made his or her way to his dominions, they would be restored to the

⁶⁰ *National Gazette*, Aug 11, 1826.

⁶¹ Haytien Emigration Society for Colored People, *Information for the Free People of Colour* (Philadelphia: J.H. Cunningham, 1825).

colonial authorities.⁶² What happened to the Haiti where all worked together for the unity and prosperity of the nation and the black race?⁶³

Among U.S. abolitionists, the Code Rural also made Haiti's involvement in the free produce movement problematic, since by most standards the workers of Haiti were now forced labor. Thus, some emigrants' expectations that schemes such as supplying Haitian cotton goods and other various crops for the free produce movement were deflated. According to scant records on cotton in Haiti, it appears that Port au Prince and Gonaives were the two centers of cotton cultivation and that a territorial duty of 16 gourdes per 1,000 pounds was required.⁶⁴ When Boyer planned the distribution of the emigrants, he anticipated more than a thousand American settlers would cultivate cotton around Port au Prince and Gonaives.⁶⁵ These cotton cultivators were now likely subject to the Code Rural, which imposed laws on all plantation laborers.

As for the manufacturing aspects of the free produce movement, Haiti's economy was clearly unprepared for such enterprises. As Loring Dewey reported,

⁶² *National Gazette*, Aug 31, 1826.

⁶³ Most historians of Haiti see Boyer's Code Rural as the last gasp of presidential power. See Trouillot, *Haiti, State Against Nation*, 74; Dupuy, *Haiti in the World Economy*, 96-97; Leyburn, *The Haitian People*, 66.

⁶⁴ Duty, Linstant, *Recueil*, Vol 2, 483. Charles Mackenzie expressed frustration many times about the widely differing numbers and estimates he was given during his time in Haiti on the cotton crop. (*British and Foreign State Papers*, 1828-1829, Vol II, 707 and again on 714). He wrote that "Cotton has varied so much that it is impossible to say whether great irregularity in the cultivation or it, or the uncertainty of the crop has acted" (714).

⁶⁵ Loring Dewey, *Correspondence Relative to the Emigration to Hayti, of the Free People of Colour, in the United States. Together with the Instructions to the Agent Sent Out by President Boyer* (New York: Mahlon Day, 1824), 27. How the dry conditions brought on by the drought affected the cultivation of the cotton crop also remains unknown.

there was minimal manufacturing of cloth: “[t]here are no cloths made in the island, either of cotton, silk, or wool, not even of the home-made family manufacture. The spindle and loom are hardly known in the island.”⁶⁶ As most Haitian cloth came from British manufacturers and merchants, the American emigrants may have been uninformed about the state of Haiti’s textile industry and the country’s utter dependence on foreign-made cloth. Developing textile manufacturing on the island was difficult, since banking was unknown in Haiti until the end of the 1820s. The economic havoc the French treaty wrought on the island’s already vulnerable financial state took most available cash out of the system.⁶⁷

John Allen and others must have been frustrated by the situation of the manufacturing sector. The cotton entrepreneur must have realized that his plans were unworkable in the economic environment in Haiti. Because of the radical alterations in Haiti’s social and economic outlook, settlers such as John Allen who had hoped to capitalize on their skills and fight slavery on an economic level, thought it best to return to the United States. John Allen left Port au Prince in September of 1826 on a ship that also carried two returning American seamstresses, Harriet and Rachel Webster.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ *New York Observer*, July 25, 1825. Serena Baldwin wrote to Miss Cox, her African Free School teacher, requesting knitting needles be sent. *United States Gazette*, Nov 1, 1824.

⁶⁷ Money could be had but it was charged an interest rate of 75%.. Mackenzie, *Notes on Haiti*, Vol I, 101.

⁶⁸ Appendix II, 1826.

The return of the artisans and skilled laborers may also reflect the reality of Haiti's lack of support for new businesses and the tough competition from already established Haitian businesses. According to Charles Mackenzie, Port au Prince was well stocked with "[a]ll the ordinary tradesmen, such as tailors, [and] shoemakers."⁶⁹ When Boyer stopped paying for the transport of Americans in the summer of 1825, he eliminated potential future clients and communities to serve. Because servicing their countrymen in Haiti was likely a big draw for many of these artisans in the first place, when large numbers began to leave, they followed. Boyer may have shown more concern and effort to appease the American settlers if he were not distracted by the nation's crisis.

Confronted by the draconian social system created by the Code Rural, Americans also experienced first-hand the gap between *de jure* and *de facto* political rights in Haiti. The Haitian Constitution guaranteed to all black skinned males over the age of 21 after one year of residency the right to vote in Haitian elections. Certainly, African American men must have eagerly anticipated exercising their right to vote when in December of 1826 the first elections since their arrival were called for members of the Haitian Congress. A group of Americans living in Port au Prince not only prepared to vote, but they also put up a fellow settler, a Methodist minister, as a candidate. According to one report, when they approached the polling booth, both the minister and the rest of the Americans were "entered in at one door and

⁶⁹ Mackenzie, *Notes on Haiti*, Vol I, 43.

civily handed out of the opposite one, without having been allowed a solitary vote.”⁷⁰ Not only were the Americans denied the right of suffrage, it must have also been clear to them that the election as a whole was a sham. According to one report, no one knew who was running until “after the election was over” when the “elected” deputies took office.⁷¹ Other instances existed that made the full exercise of their citizenship rights impossible. Jury duty, which had been denied to black New Yorkers regardless of their freehold status was also withheld in Haiti. Although legislation mandating trial by jury passed in 1826, the system was never utilized by the Haitian courts.⁷² The reality of political life in Haiti must have undermined many settlers’ view of the island as their “black republic.” Here, they were denied the privilege of voting so brazenly as to be reminiscent of life in the United States. In circumventing the Americans’ vote, the Haitians revealed their reluctance to uphold the promise of Haiti as a black nation for all descendents of Africa. Haiti, which had promised them equality, guaranteed them citizenship, and welcomed them as brothers and sisters failed to deliver on any of these. This was one of the enormous costs of the indemnity to the social, political, and economic life of the nation.

In 1826, American newspapers reported on the ominous change in the Haitian situation since the peace treaty. After strenuous efforts to pay the first

⁷⁰ Mackenzie, *Notes on Haiti*, Vol I, 110-111; Winch, *A Gentleman of Color*, 219.

⁷¹ *United States Gazette*, Feb 19, 1827.

⁷² *Eastern Argus*, June 13, 1828.

installment of the indemnity, the Haitian economy was in ruins. In December of that year, the *Eastern Argus* described how “A few years since, [Haiti] was in a flourishing condition, both as respect its commerce and fiscal concerns...This change is attributed to the artful terms of the recognition of Hayti, by the French government.”⁷³ In the same edition, another correspondent from Cape Haiti also conceded that “all confidence is at an end” and that “the commerce of the country is all but annihilated.”⁷⁴ Boyer had even been forced to issue additional paper money to help offset the loss of currency.⁷⁵ According to the *National Gazette*, Haiti had never been “in such distress as at this moment.”⁷⁶ Later that month, another report in the *National Gazette* stated the inhabitants of Haiti were experiencing “an unprecedented state of poverty and misery.”⁷⁷

Because they earned so little money during their stay and had spent whatever savings they arrived with, many American settlers were forced to remain in Haiti until they had gathered enough money to finance their return passage.⁷⁸ This situation took some emigrants years to negotiate while others never did. The Passenger List for Philadelphia shows that at least one emigrant, a William Rop,

⁷³ *Eastern Argus*, Dec 15, 1826.

⁷⁴ *Eastern Argus*, Dec 15, 1826.

⁷⁵ *National Gazette*, Dec 14, 1826.

⁷⁶ *National Gazette*, Dec 16, 1826.

⁷⁷ *National Gazette*, Dec 28, 1826.

⁷⁸ Boyer had donated money to assist the first 200 emigrants back to the United States but he refused to finance any further returnees' passage. He also remained adamant that settlers who had sailed to Haiti who had signed a contract to repay the government were still obligated to pay back their passage money. Those emigrants who financed their own passages to Haiti were under no obligation to the government and could depart from Haiti when they desired.

financed his return by working as a sailor aboard the schooner *Amelia*.⁷⁹ How others financed their return passage is unknown. Some emigrants like James Lee, the Cape Haitian emigrant who complained of the lack of meat, reported “he made his escape on the 28th of November [1825], but was compelled to leave his family behind.”⁸⁰ Another settler, William Tapsico, who sailed from Jeremie in 1827, may have left his pregnant wife, Mary, until the birth of their baby, because both mother and child departed from Jeremie for Philadelphia in 1828. In leaving their families behind, Lee and Tapsico were probably in the minority of most husbands and fathers who sent their wives and children ahead to the United States. Perhaps both men believed their earning potential was greater in the United States and thus could send for family much faster than if they had remained in Haiti.⁸¹

It is difficult to know how many women and children who traveled back to the United States alone left behind husbands or fathers or followed them home separately.⁸² William Rop’s ability to finance his return trip gives clues to what may have happened in some circumstances. Seeking passage on a merchant ship may have been one method families used to finance their return to the United States. Since many of the men would have had some experience as sailors, they could likely

⁷⁹ Appendix IV, 1828.

⁸⁰ *Baltimore Patriot*, March 10, 1826 originally published in the *Hartford Times*.

⁸¹ No records have been found on James Lee’s departure. Two children, Aug. and Samuel Lee age 4 and 6 respectively sail from Cape Haiti on the schooner *Sharn* in April of 1826 to Boston. These may have been Lee’s children. No female accompanied them and they were the only passengers on board. Appendix II, 1826.

⁸² The Baltimore Passenger Lists from 1820 to 1832 were lost.

negotiate terms to receive a portion of their wages early. This money, in turn, could finance the return passage of his family back to the United States. According to the Passenger Lists, 37 women with children sailed back to the United States without a male companion. In addition to these women, there were 32 women unaccompanied by children designated either “Mrs.” or as “wife” in the Passenger List records, and they, too, traveled without a male relative.⁸³

Many women may have been widowed during their stay in Haiti.

Widowhood was widespread among women in the African American community living in America with nearly one in six women over the age of 24 living as widows in Philadelphia at this time.⁸⁴ Although the mortality rates cited in Samana disproportionately affected women and infants, as the emigrants settled in and began the hard physical labor required for farming, men likely succumbed to diseases, too.

The Passenger Lists also indicate that many children were orphaned during their sojourn in Haiti. Sailing on the schooner, *Mary Ann*, George, age 2, a free black child, had no last name indicated. He may have been the child of one of the several women on board, but the fact that he has no last name and is not described with the more common, “child of,” may indicate his orphaned state. There were also the Gray children, Patience and Francis, both 14 who traveled alone to Philadelphia without another family member, as did Joseph Peco and Matilda Johnson, 8 and 11

⁸³ Interestingly, many of these women traveled together, two even three on the same ship, suggesting that for some, the return passage may have been an organized event. None of these women were designated a widow.

⁸⁴ Gary Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 252.

respectively, who both departed from Cape Haiti for Philadelphia.⁸⁵ Were these children orphaned by the smallpox epidemic that hit Cape Haiti? The three sisters, Clarissa, Eliza, and Lydia Edmunds may have been the daughters of William Edmonds, a tobacconist from New York, who sailed on the *De Witt Clinton*.⁸⁶ The daughters' embarkation without their father raises questions about his fate in Haiti. Charles Mackenzie cited the example of the French consul to Port au Prince as indicative of the high death rates—in less than two years, five of the consul's six family members were dead.⁸⁷ In addition to the smallpox epidemic that hit, settlers would have been exposed to malaria.

Malaria infection, as one observer noted, was a “constant” presence in Port au Prince, because the shallow water near the quays allowed “all sorts of uncleanness.”⁸⁸ Even for those Americans who had survived the rigors of settlement, the return passage exposed many to the disease. The specter of death did not leave the emigrants on the wharf in Haiti, it followed some on board: The two year-old daughter of Francis and Louisa Webb, Mary Ann, died en route to

⁸⁵ Gray children, Appendix III, 1827; Peco and Johnson, Appendix IV, 1828.

⁸⁶ *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, Sept 6, 1824. William Edmonds age 45, a tobacconist is located on New York City's 1819 Blacks Heads of Household List. For the New York passengers whose occupations were not ascribed, some hints as to what they did have been attempted by cross-referencing the Heads of Household List and Head of Household List of 1819 with the Passenger Lists: The seamstress, E. Joseph[s] may have been a widow who lived on Thomas St.; J. Henry, may have been either a cookshop worker or a chimney sweep; An James, a sawyer, N. Gome, may have been either the wife or sister to George Gomes, a cooper who lived on Church Street. Sally James, who traveled from Port au Prince, may have been a laundress and called Sarah James who lived on Spruce Street, New York.

⁸⁷ Mackenzie, *Notes on Haiti*, Vol I, 15-16.

⁸⁸ John Candler, *Brief Notices of Haiti: With its Condition, Resources, and Prospects* (London: T. Ward & Co, 1842), 69.

Philadelphia.⁸⁹ She may have caught malaria while she and her family waited on the docks in Port au Prince to board the ship to return to America.

Serena Baldwin was apparently more fortunate, because no one in her family died in Haiti or on the return passage back to New York. The Baldwin family remained in the City of Santo Domingo until 1828, when they, too, followed many of their compatriots and made their departure for New York City.⁹⁰ Although not much is known of what William Baldwin did during his stay in Haiti, his occupation was listed as a “merchant” on the Passenger List. This was a step up from his “oysterman” occupation in New York, suggesting he may have tried his hand at trading since Santo Domingo had a bustling trade in luxury wood and cattle.⁹¹ He may have adjusted to paying 75 gourdes a year to be in business, but as the Haitian economy faltered and the commercial presence of American shippers declined, Baldwin would have found turning a profit ever more difficult.⁹² Even if Baldwin wished to develop trade with the Caribbean neighbors, this became impossible in 1827 when Boyer again imposed an embargo on all Haitian vessels traveling to foreign ports, effectively ending trade with other Caribbean islands.⁹³ As for

⁸⁹ Appendix IV, 1828.

⁹⁰ A William Baldwin, designated “coloured,” is listed in the *New York City Directory* for 1830-1831 on Mulberry Street but disappears thereafter from any future directories.

⁹¹ Mackenzie described Santo Domingo as having more “internal traffic... than in [sic] most towns in Haiti” (*Notes on Haiti*, Vol I, 268).

⁹² Mackenzie noted that American trade declined remarkably after 1825 when France demanded it pay only 6% compared to the 12% the British and American traders had to pay. In 1826, there were 41 fewer American vessels trading at the same time there were 23 additional French vessels. (*Notes on Haiti*, Vol II, 179).

⁹³ The two exceptions were St. Thomas and Curacao.

Baldwin participating and developing a trade network between Haitian ports, the high cost of coastal shipping would have made this unfeasible.⁹⁴

Emigrants returned home for similar reasons: unforeseen hardship, disease, and a clash between reality and what they had been led to believe. Disillusionment came in the form of a regime that failed to live up to its black nationalist promise to uphold republican rights of equal citizenship, and an economic landscape that discouraged rather than encouraged commercial enterprise. It was as if all their expectations were punctured one by one in a declining economy and a failed diplomatic policy.

For President Boyer, the emigration was an enormous disappointment. It failed to bring about the desired result—American recognition. He expended vast reserves bringing the African Americans to Haiti, only to see their impressions of his state used against it. Very quickly, he realized that his efforts to promote diplomatic status in Washington had been foiled again. This time, he had no one to blame but himself, and, perhaps, the French negotiating team.

A few emigrants endured the hardships. The story of a group of emigrants (eight families) who were still living outside Port au Prince in 1831 sheds light on what motivated some to endure the trials, culture shock, and hard work needed to make it in Haiti. Telling their story to a writer in *The Friend*, a Quaker publication, the group of Americans related what had befallen them in the seven years since they

⁹⁴ In one estimate, a barreled item transported between Cape Haitian and Port au Prince cost twice as much as it did to be shipped between Port au Prince and New York. (Hunt, *Remarks on Hayti*, 6).

had settled on the island. After attempting to cultivate and make a living from farming the government lands, “expend[ing] what little capital” they possessed on “fruitless endeavors,” they grew frustrated, leaving these lands and moving to Port au Prince. There, all they found was “absolute destitution.” It was in Port au Prince that the eight families met and chose to work with “united industry” on lands close to the city and within reach of the market. Pooling their resources, which added up to less than “10 dollars Haitian,” they purchased tools, began working land abutting President Boyer’s personal plantation, Poids le General, planting it with sugar cane.

Sugar was far more profitable than coffee and was in demand worldwide. Sugar was also subject to less taxation than coffee since sugar growers paid no territorial duties like those imposed on coffee. Still, it was hardly easy money—sugar was also the most physically demanding of crops grown in Haiti. Unlike coffee trees, sugar cane needed to be replanted every two years, a grueling task. Some farmers cultivated ratoons—stumps of cane that remained in the fields from the previous year’s harvest—but this was relatively rare because ratoons yielded less sugar than seed-grown sugar. To plant seed-grown sugar cane, laborers dug thousands of individual holes, then inserted seeds into these holes, all by hand. Once this arduous task was complete, workers manured the entire field. Plowing would have reduced the onerous work of holing but plows were never widely adopted in

sugar cultivation in the Caribbean.⁹⁵ In Haiti, some plantation owners owned plows—but again, they never became widespread.⁹⁶

Once the cane sprouted, intensive hoeing and weeding became daily activities. At maturity, the most taxing aspect of sugar cultivation awaited—the harvest. Cane had to be cut swiftly and then processed immediately, which meant the continual transport of the cane from the fields to the mill house, laborious work. As for processing their sugar cane, they agreed to Boyer’s offer of using his sugar mills in exchange for ¼ of the crop as payment.

The group described themselves as living in “comparative comfort and comparative wealth” which allowed them to obtain cows, pigs, poultry, and other “household wants.” Although the Americans considered themselves “fortunate,” they regretted the lack of schools and religious instruction available for their children. But when asked if they would return to America, the group expressed no desire to live in a country that stirred only feelings of “bitterness.” To them, America held no “redeeming or consolatory hope.”⁹⁷ For a few, the trials and hardships had proved worthwhile—Haiti was their home.

⁹⁵ David Barry Gaspar, “Sugar Cultivation and Slave Life in Antigua before 1800” in *Cultivation and Culture: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas* Eds. Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 104.

⁹⁶ In an emigrant account, there was mention of ploughs in sharecropper agreements. See *United States Gazette*, Jan 19, 1825; *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Jan 1825, 58.

⁹⁷ *The Friend*, Oct 22, 1831.

Conclusion

Even as Boyer failed to gain recognition through the emigration project, he moved his nation closer than any other Haitian leader had to achieving international status without any strings attached. One white resident of Haiti, upon learning of France's acknowledgment, expressed gratification that these "worthy people" could now "take their seat among the nations of the earth," but found it troubling that recognition came from France rather than the United States. He wrote, "when I call to mind the innumerable evils France has inflicted upon the Haytiens, it seems but a poor reparation that she should be the first to recognize their political independence." He believed the United States, if it had been the first, would have finally lived up to its "high toned liberality," to its "principles," and to its "national character." Because of its own history of independence, this was a "measure...which the Haytiens and the whole world had a right to expect."¹

It is difficult to look past the horrors of white racism and black slavery in U. S. history, but at the turn of the 1820s, the dye was not necessarily cast. For an instant, many U.S. contingents—whatever their diverse interests—seemed ready to

¹ *New York Observer*, Aug 20, 1825.

embrace a black nation. The precedent of Haitian recognition might have changed the slavery and race debates that raged throughout the nineteenth century.

Historians have long understood that race is an ideology constructed out of the social and cultural context of a certain time.² Indeed, the date that diplomatic acceptance of Haiti was finally forthcoming from the United States was close to the date when President Lincoln declared emancipation of Confederate southern slaves—1863. Many Americans agreed with President Boyer that the United States, in order to uphold its image of itself as a champion of liberty, must recognize Haiti as a “sister republic” born from the same revolutionary womb.³ In sum, there was no inevitability to white racism or to notions of white superiority in the nineteenth century, because many Americans, black and white, viewed the island nation of Haiti and its people as equal, deserving to be recognized for their achievements. In the early 1820s, the advocates for this black nation made their voices heard.

After 1825, the U.S. became aggressive in its efforts to isolate Haiti, no longer just willing to passively ignore the island. Southern interest swayed U.S. policy on the Congress of Panama, a meeting of all the independent nations in the New World to draw up treaties of friendship. President Boyer was expected to attend

² Barbara J. Fields, “Ideology and Race in American History” In *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward* eds. J. Morgan Kousser and James McPherson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 143-7.

³ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Nov 24, 1827.

and receive recognition for his nation. The United States, however, threatened to boycott the meeting if Haitian delegates were allowed to attend, fearing antislavery talks and Haitian recognition would dominate.⁴ American opponents to the meeting not only wanted Haiti excluded from the conference but wished to “direct all our ministers in South America and Mexico to protest against the independence of Hayti.”⁵ Despite the aid Haiti had given him as a revolutionary in fighting Spain, Simon Bolivar, who had organized the conference, acceded to America’s requests, leaving Haiti the only New World nation uninvited and unacknowledged at the Panama talks.

Benjamin Lundy, who continued to work towards Haitian emigration long after Boyer and other American supporters abandoned the idea, called these southern congressmen “slaveites,” for blocking Haiti’s participation in the Panama meeting. Benjamin Lundy concluded that these congressmen not only “opposed to the personal liberty of all people but themselves, but they are also opposed to the political liberty, whenever that political liberty is likely to promote the personal liberty of the blacks.”⁶ Lundy made one last effort to appeal to northern commercial interests to fight this southern opposition by reminding them that as long as the U.S. refused to acknowledge Haiti’s independence, trade would suffer because

⁴ N. Andrew N. Cleven, “The First Panama Mission and the Congress of the United States” *Journal of Negro History* 13 (1928): 225-254; 236-236-241.

⁵ *Genius Universal Emancipation*, May 20, 1826.

⁶ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, April 29, 1826.

of increased commercial duties.⁷ As one writer noted, “We are a commercial people; and so long as we suffer southern influence” in our foreign and commercial policies, “our relations with our southern neighbors will begin to grow weaker and weaker.”⁸ It is important to note, however, that the 1820s was a decade when the U.S. as a nation became much more economically integrated—the North increasingly relied on southern consumers and the expansion of cotton.⁹ American slavery and racism cast such tremendous shadows over nineteenth-century history that imagining a less benighted story of race relations is difficult. Yet, we have seen, as Boyer saw in editorials in the *Niles’ Weekly Register*; in the Granville audiences; in the dreams of the emigrants; and in their letters home, the potential for an enlightened view of a black nation, and by extension, of the black race in America.

⁷ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Feb 18, 1826.

⁸ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Nov 24, 1827.

⁹ Robert G. Albion, *Rise of New York Port, 1815-1860* (New York: Scribner, 1970).

Appendix I, 1825													
Departure	First	M	Last	Age	Sex	Occupation	Country	Intended	Port	Ship	Type	Date	
Aux Cayes	L		Aupaix	22	male	merchant	N. York	USA	New York City	Panther	brig	July 9, 1825	
Aux Cayes	J	L	Mortes	29	male	merchant	N. York	USA	New York City	Panther	brig	July 9, 1825	
Aux Cayes	J	L	Helau/n	25	male	merchant	N. York	USA	New York City	Panther	brig	July 9, 1825	
Aux Cayes	Tho.		Frances	49	male	merchant	N. York	USA	New York City	Panther	brig	July 9, 1825	
Aux Cayes	Robert		Clarkson	24	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Ariel	brig	Nov 25, 1825	
Aux Cayes	Daniel		Ladd	38	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Ariel	brig	Nov 25, 1825	
Aux Cayes	John		Kimball	35	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Ariel	brig	Nov 25, 1825	
Aux Cayes	M.	E.	Graham	23	female		Philadelphia	USA	New York City	Fancy	brig	Oct 1, 1825	
Aux Cayes	A.	M	Graham	3	female		Philadelphia	USA	New York City	Fancy	brig	Oct 1, 1825	
Aux Cayes	Wm.	C	Graham	26	male	merchant	Philadelphia	USA	New York City	Fancy	brig	Oct 1, 1825	
Aux Cayes	Edmund		Peters	19	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Ariel	brig	Sept 1, 1825	
Jacmel/Hayti	Moses		Eaton	33	male	gentleman	USA	USA	New York City	Maria Ann	sch	May 18, 1825	
Jacmel/Hayti			Caston	40	male	pak south	USA	USA	Boston	Hope Sally Ann	brig	Dec 1825	
Cape Haytien	David		Walker		male				Philadelphia	Jane	sch	Jun 27, 1825	
Cape Haytien	Rebecca		Bulsch/Bulah		female				Philadelphia	Jane	sch	June 27, 1825	
Cape Haytien	William	C	Lorniell/Ornell		male				Philadelphia	Jane	sch	June 27, 1825	
Cape Haytien	Julian		Bulsch/Bulah		male				Philadelphia	Jane	sch	June 27, 1825	
Cape Haytien	Matilda		Black		female				Philadelphia	Buck	brig	Sept 16, 1825	
Cape Haytien	Richard		Black		male				Philadelphia	Buck	brig	Sept 16, 1825	
Cape Haytien	Randal	H	Philips		male				Philadelphia	Buck	brig	Sept 16, 1825	
Cape Haytien	Jesse		Black		male				Philadelphia	Buck	brig	Sept 16, 1825	
Cape Haytien	Jacob		Black		male				Philadelphia	Buck	brig	Sept 16, 1825	
city of St. Domingo	Wm		Closby		male				Philadelphia	Rolla	sch	Sept 26, 1825	
city of St. Domingo	Charles		Morris		male				Philadelphia	Rolla	sch	Sept 26, 1825	
city of St. Domingo	Hugh		Seymour		male		Philadelphia		Philadelphia	Rolla	sch	Sept 26, 1825	
city of St. Domingo	Simon		Peters		male				Philadelphia	Rolla	sch	Sept 26, 1825	
Jacmel/Hayti	Wm. Sheed	wife of A. A. Sheed		25	female		USA	USA	New York City	Amazon	sch	Aug 29, 1825	
Jacmel/Hayti	Abraham			33	male	merchant	USA	USA	New York City	Amazon	sch	Aug 29, 1825	
Jacmel/Hayti	Davis		Loring	37	male	Mariner	USA	USA	New York City	Amazon	sch	Aug 29, 1825	
Jacmel/Hayti	Stephen		Lylles	28	male	Mariner	USA	USA	New York City	Amazon	sch	Aug 29, 1825	
Jacmel/Hayti	Julian		Wood	23	female	Domestic	USA	USA	New York City	Washington	sch	June 13, 1825	
Jacmel/Hayti	Anthony		Wood	25	male	Blacksmith	USA	USA	New York City	Washington	sch	June 13, 1825	
St. Domingo	Matilda		Martin	38	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Eliza Pigott	sch	July 5, 1825	
St. Domingo	Mary		Taylor	30	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Eliza Pigott	sch	July 5, 1825	
St. Domingo	Am			11	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Eliza Pigott	sch	July 5, 1825	
St. Domingo	Henry		Martin	45	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Eliza Pigott	sch	July 5, 1825	
St. Domingo	Augustus		Jones	35	male		France	USA	Philadelphia	Eliza Pigott	sch	July 5, 1825	
St. Domingo	John		Williams	40	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Eliza Pigott	sch	July 5, 1825	
St. Domingo	J	P	Ningall/Wingall	21	male	supercargo	Wilmington	USA	New York City	Margaret's Son	sch	July 6, 1825	

Departure	First	M	Last	Age	Sex	Occupation	Country	Intended	Port	Ship	Type	Date
Port au Prince	M.		Fawcet	8	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	Aug 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Mary	L. C.	Dory	24	female	millner	USA	USA	New York City	Nassau	brig	Aug 13, 1825
Port au Prince	Mary	Louisa	Rodney	35	female	millner	USA	USA	New York City	Nassau	brig	Aug 13, 1825
Port au Prince	Nancy		Shorter	30	female	laborer	USA	USA	New York City	Nassau	brig	Aug 13, 1825
Port au Prince	Elizabeth		Shorter	1	female		USA	USA	New York City	Nassau	brig	Aug 13, 1825
Port au Prince	Sally		James	30	female		USA	USA	New York City	Nassau	brig	Aug 13, 1825
Port au Prince	Sally	Ann	James	4	female		USA	USA	New York City	Nassau	brig	Aug 13, 1825
Port au Prince	Elizabeth		James	2	female		USA	USA	New York City	Nassau	brig	Aug 13, 1825
Port au Prince	Salinda		Yancy	33	female		USA	USA	New York City	Nassau	brig	Aug 13, 1825
Port au Prince	Lucy		Yancy	11	female		USA	USA	New York City	Nassau	brig	Aug 13, 1825
Port au Prince	Mary		Yancy	8	female		USA	USA	New York City	Nassau	brig	Aug 13, 1825
Port au Prince	Ely		Yancy	1	female		USA	USA	New York City	Nassau	brig	Aug 13, 1825
Port au Prince	Robert		Shorter	5	male		USA	USA	New York City	Nassau	brig	Aug 13, 1825
Port au Prince	Francis		James	56	male		USA	USA	New York City	Nassau	brig	Aug 13, 1825
Port au Prince	Gavetson		James	12	male		USA	USA	New York City	Nassau	brig	Aug 13, 1825
Port au Prince	John	Pierre	James	4 months	male		USA	USA	New York City	Nassau	brig	Aug 13, 1825
Port au Prince	John		Yancy	41	male		USA	USA	New York City	Nassau	brig	Aug 13, 1825
Port au Prince	John	James	Yancy	6	male		USA	USA	New York City	Nassau	brig	Aug 13, 1825
Port au Prince	James	H	Yancy	5	male		USA	USA	New York City	Nassau	brig	Aug 13, 1825
Port au Prince	William		Yancy	3	male		USA	USA	New York City	Nassau	brig	Aug 13, 1825
Port au Prince	Hetohuntl		Sexton	10	female		New York	New York	Boston	StephenJones	sch	Aug 1825
Port au Prince	Scup		Fisher	23	male	mariner	USA	USA	Boston	Echo	brig	Aug 1825
Port au Prince	John		Jones	21	male	mariner	USA	USA	Boston	Echo	brig	Aug 1825
Port au Prince	Joseph		Parkand	40	male	seaman	New York	New York	Boston	StephenJones	sch	Aug 1825
Port au Prince	Manguir		Parkand	39	male		New York	New York	Boston	StephenJones	sch	Aug 1825
Port au Prince	James		Anthony	23	male	blacksmith	New York	New York	Boston	StephenJones	sch	Aug 1825
Port au Prince	Y.		Cauffon	28	male	merchant	Hayti	Hayti	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	July 18, 1825
Port au Prince	H. W/M		Campbell	33	male	merchant	line	line	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	July 18, 1825
Port au Prince	F	B	Hughes	27	male	priest	USA	line	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	July 18, 1825
Port au Prince	N. W.		Brodman	19	male	clerk	Hayti	line	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	July 18, 1825
Port au Prince	George		Clarke	21	male	merchant	London	USA	Philadelphia	John London	brig	June 10, 1825
Port au Prince	Dr.		Bellenein	65	male	physician	France	USA	Philadelphia	John London	brig	June 10, 1825
Port au Prince	N		Townsend	47	male	carpenter	USA	USA	Philadelphia	John London	brig	June 10, 1825
Port au Prince	James		Townsend	17	male	carpenter	USA	USA	Philadelphia	John London	brig	June 10, 1825
Port au Prince	Miss		Trummslls	17	female	none	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary	brig	Nov 11, 1825
Port au Prince	George		Shorter	35	male	gentleman	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary	brig	Nov 11, 1825
Port au Prince	Andrew		Shorter		male	none	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary	brig	Nov 11, 1825
Port au Prince	master		shorter	10	male		New York	USA	Philadelphia	Astrea	brig	Nov 11, 1825
Port au Prince	E.		Green	25	female	servant	Philadelphia	USA	New York City	Astrea	sch	Nov 16, 1825
Port au Prince	Rosana		Johnson	30	female	servant	Richmond	USA	New York City	Astrea	sch	Nov 16, 1825
Port au Prince	Eliza		Bell	25	female	servant	Richmond	USA	New York City	Astrea	sch	Nov 16, 1825
Port au Prince	Graham		Bell	5	male	child	USA	USA	New York City	Stephen Gerard	sch	Nov 16, 1825

Departure	First	M	Last	Age	Sex	Occupation	Country	Intended	Port	Ship	Type	Date
Port au Prince	Mrs.		Morel		female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	Nov 18, 1825
Port au Prince	Elizabeth		Green		female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	Nov 18, 1825
Port au Prince	M		Morel	22	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	Nov 18, 1825
Port au Prince	M		Anderson		male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	Nov 18, 1825
Port au Prince	M		Augustu		male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	Nov 18, 1825
Port au Prince	John		Wallace	19	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	Nov 18, 1825
Port au Prince			Hemmenar				USA	USA	Philadelphia	Nassau	brig	Nov 18, 1825
Port au Prince	Hannah		Brown	30	female		USA	USA	New York City	Nassau	brig	Nov 2, 1825
Port au Prince	William		Dillon	32	male	merchant	West Indies	USA	New York City	Nassau	brig	Nov 2, 1825
Port au Prince	Chay.		Ferique	43	male	mariner	Bourbon	USA	New York City	Nassau	brig	Nov 2, 1825
Port au Prince	Peter		Sidney	37	male	merchant	USA	USA	New York City	Nassau	brig	Nov 2, 1825
Port au Prince	John		Dias		male	Hattis/Hattes	USA	USA	New York City	Nassau	brig	Nov 2, 1825
Port au Prince	Wm.		Brown	35	male	merchant		USA	New York City	Tassel	brig	Nov 2, 1825
Port au Prince	Mrs		Stoltz	30	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Tassel	sch	Sept 26, 1825
Port au Prince	G		McKinley	32	male	merchant	Germany	USA	Philadelphia	Tassel	sch	Sept 26, 1825
Port au Prince	C. A		Stoltz	35	male	merchant		USA	Philadelphia	Tassel	sch	Sept 26, 1825
Port au Prince			Stoltz	2	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Henry	sch	Sept 26, 1825
Port au Prince	John		Richards	30	male	joiner	USA	USA	Boston	John London	brig	Sept 28, 1825
Port au Prince	Eliza		Macklin	27	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	John London	brig	June 10, 1825
Port au Prince	H.		Anderson	47	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	John London	brig	June 10, 1825
Port au Prince	C		Tappan		female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	John London	brig	June 10, 1825
Port au Prince	P. D.		Tappan	4	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	John London	brig	June 10, 1825
Port au Prince	Catherine		Tappan	1	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	John London	brig	June 10, 1825
Port au Prince	Wm.		Macklin	5	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	John London	brig	June 10, 1825
Port au Prince	Robert		Tappan	3	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	John London	brig	June 10, 1825
Port au Prince	Isaac		Macklin	3	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	John London	brig	June 10, 1825
Port au Prince	Jeremiah		Macklin	31	male	labourer	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	June 10, 1825
Port au Plate	Ceppa		Walsey	38	male	merchant	USA	USA	New York City	Sarah Herrick	brig	June 11, 1825
Port au Plate	Noah		Ripley	22	male	gentleman	USA	USA	New York City	Sarah Herrick	brig	June 11, 1825
Port au Plate	John		Castax	17	male	gentleman	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mmargaret	brig	June 11, 1825
Port au Plate	Mary		Mason	26	female	none	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Margaret	brig	Dec 27, 1825
Port au Plate	B		Burton	50	male	physician	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Richmond	brig	Dec 27, 1825
Port au Plate	Belly		Aine	40	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Margaret	brig	Dec 27, 1825
Port au Plate	Moss		Olmstead	50	male	mariner	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Margaret	brig	Dec 27, 1825
Port au Plate	Master		Mason	4	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Richmond	brig	Dec 27, 1825
Port au Plate	Thomas		Harrison	28	male	mariner		USA	Philadelphia	Tassel	brig	Dec 27, 1825
St. Domingo	John	F	B/White	18	male	merchant		New York	New York City	Remittance	sch	Aug 2, 1825
St. Domingo	Isaac		Saunsas		male				New York City	Remittance	sch	Aug 2, 1825
St. Domingo	Wm		Young		male				New York City	Remittance	sch	Aug 2, 1825
St. Domingo	Isaac		Bailey		male		Philadelphia		Philadelphia	Pegasus Busch	sch	Aug 2, 1825
St. Domingo	Matilda		Estel		female		Philadelphia		Philadelphia	Pegasus Busch	sch	Aug 5, 1825
St. Domingo	James		N/Morris	23	male		USA		Philadelphia	Eliza Pigott	sch	Aug 5, 1825

Departure	First	M	Last	Age	Sex	Occupation	Country	Intended	Port	Ship	Type	Date
St. Domingo	Matilda		Martin	38	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Eliza Pigott	sch	July 5, 1825
St. Domingo	Mary		Taylor/Taylor	30	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Eliza Pigott	sch	July 5, 1825
St. Domingo	Am			11	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Eliza Pigott	sch	July 5, 1825
St. Domingo	Henry		Martin	45	male	merchant	France	USA	Philadelphia	Eliza Pigott	sch	July 5, 1825
St. Domingo	Augustus		Jones	35	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Eliza Pigott	sch	July 5, 1825
St. Domingo	John		Williams	40	male		Wilmington	USA	New York City	Margaret's Son	sch	July 5, 1825
St. Domingo	J	P	Ningall/Wingall	21	male	supercargo		USA	Philadelphia	Mary	sch	July 6, 1825
St. Domingo	Mrs.		Price		female				Philadelphia	Mary	brig	Sept 4, 1825
St. Domingo	Mrs.		Stewart		female				Philadelphia	Mary	brig	Sept 4, 1825
St. Domingo	Mrs. Nancy		Brown		female				Philadelphia	Mary	brig	Sept 4, 1825
St. Domingo	Rebecca		Peck		female		USA		New York City	Robert Reade	brig	Sept 4, 1825
Cape Haytien	Catherine		Todd	25	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Columbia	brig	Dec 19, 1825
Cape Haytien	Mary		Johnson	40	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Columbia	brig	Dec 19, 1825
Cape Haytien	Leah		Hill	40	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Columbia	brig	Dec 19, 1825
Cape Haytien	V. P.		Lawrence	50	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Columbia	brig	Dec 19, 1825
Cape Haytien	James		Todd	50	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Columbia	brig	Dec 19, 1825
Cape Haytien			Johnson	2			USA	USA	Philadelphia	Columbia	brig	Dec 19, 1825
Cape Haytien			Johnson	4			USA	USA	Philadelphia	Columbia	brig	Dec 19, 1825
Cape Haytien			Brown	35			USA	USA	Philadelphia	Columbia	brig	Dec 19, 1825
Cape Haytien			Brown	18months			USA	USA	Philadelphia	Columbia	brig	Dec 19, 1825
Cape Haytien			Brown	3			USA	USA	Philadelphia	Buck	brig	Dec 19, 1825
Cape Haytien	Christian		Washington	35	male	labourer	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Margaret	brig	Dec 20, 1824
Port au Plate	Mary		Mason	26	female	none	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Margaret	brig	Dec 27, 1825
Port au Plate	B		Burton	50	male	physician	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Richmond	brig	Dec 27, 1825
Port au Plate	Belly		Aine	40	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Margaret	brig	Dec 27, 1825
Port au Plate	Moss		Olmstead	50	male	mariner	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Margaret	brig	Dec 27, 1825
Port au Plate	Master		Mason	4	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Richmond	brig	Dec 27, 1825
Port au Plate	Thomas		Harrison	28	male	mariner	USA	USA	New York City	John Loudon	brig	Dec 27, 1825
Port au Prince	Hannah		Henderson	41	female		USA	USA	New York City	John Loudon	brig	Dec 1825
Port au Prince	Amelia		Henderson	20	female	children	USA	USA	New York City	John Loudon	brig	Dec 1825
Port au Prince	Hannah		Henderson	18	female	children	USA	USA	New York City	John Loudon	brig	Dec 1825
Port au Prince	Julia		Henderson	5	female	children	USA	USA	New York City	John Loudon	brig	Dec 1825
Port au Prince	William		Henderson	12	male	children	USA	USA	New York City	John Loudon	brig	Dec 1825
Port au Prince	Daniel		Henderson	10	male	children	USA	USA	New York City	John Loudon	brig	Dec 1825
Port au Prince	Henry	C	Mervin	24	male	sailor		USA	New York City	John Loudon	brig	Dec 20, 1825
Cape Haytien	Mary		Bailyn	35	female	none	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Buck	brig	March 21, 1825
Cape Haytien	Caroline		Bailyn	13	female	none	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Buck	brig	March 21, 1825
Cape Haytien	J.		Minor	50	male	merchant	USA	USA	Boston	Fornax	brig	March 21, 1825
Cape Haytien	M.M/N.N.		Skilings	51/57	male	merchant	New York	USA	Boston	Volart	brig	April 1825
Cape Haytien	Louis		L.		male		Philadelphia	New York	Boston	Volart	sch	April 1825
Cape Haytien	Anae/Huae		Wilson		male	labourer	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	Boston	Volart	sch	April 1825
Cape Haytien	John		Brown	19	male	carpenter	Massachusetts	Philadelphia	Boston	Volart	sch	April 1825

Departure	First	M	Last	Age	Sex	Occupation	Country	Intended	Port	Ship	Type	Date
Cape Haytian	N. B/M.B		Richardson	39	male	merchant	Portland	Boston	Boston	Sky lock	sch	April 1825
Port au Prince	Benj/c		Franklin	39/34	male	seaman	USA	Boston	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	sch	April 1825
Port au Prince			Butler	18	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	May 28, 1825
Port au Prince			Butler	16	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	May 28, 1825
Port au Prince			Butler	15	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	May 28, 1825
Port au Prince			Butler	14	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	May 28, 1825
Port au Prince			Butler	12	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	May 28, 1825
Port au Prince			Butler	12	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	May 28, 1825
Port au Prince			Butler	11	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	May 28, 1825
Port au Prince	Ann		Essex	22	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	May 28, 1825
Port au Prince	Eliza		Johnson	20	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	May 28, 1825
Port au Prince			Butler	17	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	May 28, 1825
Port au Prince	Henry		Williams	21	male		St Domingo	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	May 28, 1825
Port au Prince	Madame		Bohlen	22	female		St Domingo		Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	March 16, 1825
Port au Prince	Frances		Bohlen	6 mo	female		USA		Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	March 16, 1825
Port au Prince	Daniel		Thomas	25	male	merchant	St Domingo		Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	March 16, 1825
Port au Prince	David		Bohlen	6	male		USA		Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	March 16, 1825
Port au Prince	Elias		Hadley	25		merchant			Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	March 16, 1825
Port au Prince	Rosanna		Peterson	8	female	none	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary	brig	March 31, 1825
Port au Prince	Wm.		Purvis	18	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary	brig	March 31, 1825
Port au Prince	Thomas		Black	30	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary	brig	March 31, 1825
Port au Prince	Luke		Peterson	35	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary	brig	March 31, 1825
Port au Prince	M		Peterson	30	male	none	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary	brig	March 31, 1825
Port au Prince	John		Peterson	10	male	none	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary	brig	March 31, 1825
Port au Prince	Essex		Peterson	4	male	none	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary	brig	March 31, 1825
Port au Prince	E		Harmon	35	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary	brig	March 31, 1825
Port au Prince	J		Newport	35	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary	brig	March 31, 1825
Port au Prince	A		Emery	25	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary	brig	March 31, 1825
Port au Prince	J.P		Pareal	25	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary	brig	March 31, 1825
Port au Prince	L		Newman	25	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary	brig	March 31, 1825
Port au Prince	L		Jones	25	male	merchant	Italy?	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	March 31, 1825
Port au Prince	Madame		Generise	22	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	May 28, 1825
Port au Prince	Mrs.		Butler	35	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	May 28, 1825
Port au Prince			Butler children	20	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	May 28, 1825
Port au Prince	W. K.		Courey	30	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	May 28, 1825
Port au Prince	Edward		Curtis	22	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	May 28, 1825
Port au Prince	Asa		Crosby	32	male	merchant	France	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	May 28, 1825
Port au Prince	Mons.		Ginderlsy	43	male	priest	Italy	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	May 28, 1825
Port au Prince	Gilbert		Sarrington	27	male		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Abraham		Caldwell	26	male		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	John		Hale	40	male		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	James		Harris	20	male		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825

Departure	First	M	Last	Age	Sex	Occupation	Country	Intended	Port	Ship	Type	Date
Port au Prince	Edward		Haynes	43	male	mechanic	USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	George	H	Henry	32	male	merchant	USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	A		Hull	23	male		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Chin		Hurse	26	male		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Robert		Jackson	37	male		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	John		Johnson	29	male		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Eliza		Connor	13	female		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Hetty		Connor	32	female		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	James		Connor	35	male	farmer	USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	John		Connor	10	male		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	John		Creighton	35	male		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	James		Dickson	9	male		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	John		Dickson	16	male		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Julia		Dickson	30	female		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Mr		Dickson	14	male		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	David		Diggs	31	male		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Ephram		Diggs	10	male		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Nancy		Diggs	4	female		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Rachel		Diggs	28	female		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	J		Michael	24	male		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	John		Montgomery	9	male		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Benjamin		Pachal	33	male		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Deborah		Pachal	31	female		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Julia		Pachal	18	female		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Lavina		Pachal	3	female		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Benjamin		Pachal	43/63	male		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Betty		Pachal	54	female		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Edward		Thomas	28	male	shoemaker	USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Jane		Thomas	25	female		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Abijah		Torman	28	female		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Peter		Williams	41	male	preacher	USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Charles		Wilmore	33	male		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Josep		Randolph	40	male		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Abel		Reade	26	male		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Edward		Anderson	25	male	labourer	USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Caroline	A. M	Anderson	17	female		USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Augustus		Thomas	40	male	labourer	USA	USA	New York City	Robert Reade	brig	April 12, 1825
Port au Prince	Chris		Hurie	26	male	trader	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Columbia	brig	April 12, 1825
Aux Cayes	Amazon		Wignon	40	male	merchant	USA	USA	New York City	Pedler	brig	May 27, 1825
Aux Cayes	Richard		Bowich	38	male	hastler/hartter	USA	USA	New York City	Pedler	brig	May 27, 1825
Aux Cayes	John		Wather	30	male	Mariner	USA	USA	New York City	Pedler	brig	May 27, 1825

Departure	First	M	Last	Age	Sex	Occupation	Country	Intended	Port	Ship	Type	Date
Aux Cayes	Jorge		Leyney/Leynig	30	male	Mariner	USA	USA	New York City	Pedler	brig	May 27, 1825
Aux Cayes	Isaac		Burton	29	male	Mariner	USA	USA	New York City	Pedler	brig	May 27, 1825

Appendix II, 1826												
Departure	First	Middle	Last	Age	Sex	Occupation	Country	Intended	Port	Ship	Type	Date
Aux Cayes	Wm.		Louet	28	male	merchant	Maine	USA	Philadelphia	Ariel	brig	Feb 14, 1826
Aux Cayes	D.		Graham	32	male	merchant	Gaudaloupe	USA	Philadelphia	Ariel	brig	Feb 14, 1826
Port au Prince	Lewis		Sadleford	22	male	merchant	France	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	Feb 22, 1826
Port au Prince	James		Hunt	40	male	merchant	Scotland	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	Feb 22, 1826
Port au Prince	Henry		Walpole	40	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	Feb 22, 1826
Port au Prince	Augusta		Shriver	28	female			USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	Feb 22, 1826
Port au Prince	E. C.		Hutz	20	female			USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	Feb 22, 1826
Port au Prince	John	Geo.	Clarkson	22	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	Feb 22, 1826
Port au Prince	J. J.		Waterford	40	male	merchant	Germany	USA	Philadelphia	Stephen Gerard	brig	Feb 22, 1826
Aux Cayes	Robert		Waterford						Philadelphia	Lovely Hope	sch.	Feb 27, 1826
Cape Haytien	Mrs.		Thomson	60	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Buck	brig	March 26, 1826
Cape Haytien	miss		Thomson	16	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Buck	brig	March 26, 1826
Cape Haytien	Mrs		Lisby	40	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Buck	brig	March 26, 1826
Cape Haytien	Mr		Hart	9	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Buck	brig	March 26, 1826
Cape Haytien	Mrs		Miller	30	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Buck	brig	March 26, 1826
Cape Haytien	Mrs		Miller	45	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Buck	brig	March 26, 1826
Cape Haytien	Mrs		Miller	40	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Buck	brig	March 26, 1826
Cape Haytien			Miller	9	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Buck	brig	March 26, 1826
Cape Haytien			Miller	7	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Buck	brig	March 26, 1826
Cape Haytien			Miller	1	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Buck	brig	March 26, 1826
Cape Haytien			Horse/Hosey	25	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Buck	brig	March 26, 1826
Cape Haytien			Jackson	6	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Buck	brig	March 26, 1826
Jeremie	Morris		Jackson	31	male	accompanant	USA	Baltimore	Philadelphia	Mary Ann Knight	sch.	April 15, 1826
Port au Prince	Mrs.		Jackson	30	female	none	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Gen. La Fayette	sch.	April 19, 1826
Port au Prince	Andrew		Randolph	16	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Gen. La Fayette	sch.	April 19, 1826
Port au Prince	S		Randolph	1	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Gen. La Fayette	sch.	April 19, 1826
Port au Prince	Mrs		Smith	30	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Gen. La Fayette	sch.	April 19, 1826
Port au Prince	Mary		Latemer	2	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Gen. La Fayette	sch.	April 19, 1826
St. Domingo	Roger		Barton	40	male	mariner	Usa	USA	Philadelphia	New Orleans	sch.	May 12, 1826
St. Domingo	George		Casey, jr	23	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	New Orleans	sch.	May 12, 1826
Jeremie	ann		Clarkson	20	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Brilliant	sch.	May 30, 1826
Aux Cayes	W/Mr. James		Dupey	25		merchant	Bordeaux		Philadelphia	Ariel	brig	June 2, 1826
Aux Cayes	Robt.		Ellis	25		merchant	Philadelphia		Philadelphia	Ariel	brig	June 2, 1826
Cape Haytien	A	M	Thomas						Philadelphia	Dove	sch.	June 15, 1826
Cape Haytien	Nathan		Hill						Philadelphia	Dove	sch.	June 15, 1826
Cape Haytien	Edward		Miller						Philadelphia	Dove	sch.	June 15, 1826
Cape Haytien	Lewis		Kesyer						Philadelphia	Dove	sch.	June 15, 1826
Cape Haytien	James		Christy						Philadelphia	Dove	sch.	June 15, 1826
Cape Haytien	Margaret		Mentist						Philadelphia	Dove	sch.	June 15, 1826
Cape Haytien	Mary		Smith						Philadelphia	Dove	sch.	June 15, 1826
Cape Haytien	Rebecca		Johnes						Philadelphia	Dove	sch.	June 15, 1826
Cape Haytien	Ann		Smith						Philadelphia	Dove	sch.	June 15, 1826
Cape Haytien	Arena		Covey						Philadelphia	Dove	sch.	June 15, 1826
Cape Haytien	John		Martin						Philadelphia	Dove	sch.	June 15, 1826
Port au Prince	W.	R/H	Blake	33	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Horatio	sch.	June 29, 1826

Departure	First	Middle	Last	Age	Sex	Occupation	Country	Intended	Port	Ship	Type	Date
Port au Prince	Sarah		Randolph	35	female		France	USA	Philadelphia	Horatio	sch.	June 29, 1826
Port au Prince	Sarah		Soraelle	25	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Horatio	sch.	June 29, 1826
Port au Prince	Ino?		Holland	30	male	mechanic	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Horatio	sch.	June 29, 1826
Port au Prince	David		Gient?	65	male		France	USA	Philadelphia	Horatio	sch.	June 29, 1826
Port au Prince	Rachel		Stortord/Stirord	40	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Horatio	sch.	June 29, 1826
Aux cayes	Wm.		Stortord/Stirord	21	male	merchant	England	USA	Philadelphia	James and david	sloop	July 29, 1826
Jeremie	Richard		Cain	19	male	farmer	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary Ann	sch.	Aug 5, 1826
Jeremie	Ann		Allen	22	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary Ann	sch.	Aug 5, 1826
Jeremie	Hennrietta		Webster	18		unknown	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary Ann	sch.	Aug 5, 1826
Port au Prince	John		Webster	25	male	taylor	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Horatio	sch.	Sept. 8, 1826
Port au Prince	Harriet		Leslie	25	female	seamstress	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Horatio	sch.	Sept. 8, 1826
Port au Prince	Rachel		Miers	20	female	seamstress	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Horatio	sch.	Sept. 8, 1826
St. Domingo	John		Miller	40	male	gentleman	St. Croiz	USA	Philadelphia	Charles	brig	Sept. 14, 1826
St. Domingo	Elizabeth		Miller	25	female	none	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Charles	brig	Sept. 14, 1826
St. Domingo	Geo.		Nunex	13	female	none	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Charles	brig	Sept. 14, 1826
St. Domingo	Webster		Smith	11	female	none	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Charles	brig	Sept. 14, 1826
Jeremie	Joseph		Davis	23	male	merchant	France	France	Philadelphia	Brilliant	sch.	Sept. 23, 1826
St. Domingo	Robert		Davis	48	male	captain	USA	USA	Philadelphia	General Jackson	brig	Oct 2, 1826
St. Domingo	Peter		Lees	30			USA	USA	Philadelphia	General Jackson	brig	Oct 2, 1826
St. Domingo	Maria		Wright	24	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	General Jackson	brig	Oct 2, 1826
Aux cayes	Wm.	L	Smith						Philadelphia	Superior	sch	Oct 19, 1826
Cape Haytien	Elizabeth		Waterfield	25	female	servants	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Blakely	sch	Oct 26, 1826
Cape Haytien	Elizabeth		Statton	22	female	servants	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Blakely	sch	Oct 26, 1826
Cape Haytien	Sarah		Waterfield	20	female	servants	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Blakely	sch	Oct 26, 1826
Cape Haytien	Anna		Smith	18	female	servants	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Blakely	sch	Oct 26, 1826
Cape Haytien	John		Webb	1	male	none	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Blakely	sch	Oct 26, 1826
Cape Haytien	Elizabeth		Webb	10months	female	none	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Blakely	sch	Oct 26, 1826
Port au Prince	Francis		Webb	38			USA	USA	Philadelphia	Cyrus	sch	Nov 7, 1826
Port au Prince	Louisa		Webb	37			USA	USA	Philadelphia	Cyrus	sch	Nov 7, 1826
Port au Prince	Elizabeth		Webb	9			USA	USA	Philadelphia	Cyrus	sch	Nov 7, 1826
Port au Prince	Ann		Webb	7			USA	USA	Philadelphia	Cyrus	sch	Nov 7, 1826
Port au Prince	John		Dawson	4			USA	USA	Philadelphia	Cyrus	sch	Nov 7, 1826
Port au Prince	Mary		Wilk	2			USA	USA	Philadelphia	Cyrus	sch	Nov 7, 1826
Port au Prince	Geo.	M.	Clarkson	23	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Joseph Meades	sch	Nov 13, 1826
City of St. Domingo	Henrietta		Lloyd	25	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary	brig	Dec 13, 1826
Aux cayes	Robert		Dukeheart	27	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Nancy	sch	Dec 14, 1826
Aux cayes	Thomas	L	Gandard	30	male	lawyer	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Callao	brig	Dec 16, 1826
Jeremie	Thomas		Hodges	36	male	sea capt.	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary ann	sch	Dec 19, 1826
Port au Prince	F.		Dorricksn/Der	30	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Horatio	sch	Dec 19, 1826
Port au Prince	C.		Dorricksn/Der	30	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Horatio	sch	Dec 19, 1826
Port au Prince	Ann		Dorricksn/Der	30	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Horatio	sch	Dec 19, 1826
Port au Prince	Martha		Dorricksn/Der	30	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Horatio	sch	Dec 19, 1826
Port au Prince	Maria		Dunkin[s]	10	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Horatio	sch	Dec 19, 1826
Port au Prince	Wm.		Adams	10	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Horatio	sch	Dec 19, 1826
Port au Prince	C.		Jenkins	50	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Horatio	sch	Dec 19, 1826
Aux Cayes	R.	H.	Gilman	30	male	merchant	USA	USA	New York	Robert Reade	brig	Jan 30, 1826
Aux Cayes	Frank		no last name	38	male	servant	USA	USA	New York	Robert Reade	brig	Jan 30, 1826

Departure	First	Middle	Last	Age	Sex	Occupation	Country	Intended	Port	Ship	Type	Date
St. Domingo	Jos		Bomusler	27	male	merchant	Germany	Philadelphia	New York	Almira	sch	Feb 6, 1826
Aux Cayes	Harriet	Matilda	Belton	30	female		G. Britain	G. Britain	New York	Industry	sch	Feb 14, 1826
Port au Plate	John		Walker	38	male	merchant			New York	New York	brig	Feb 14, 1826
Port au Plate	Sam.l		Myrick	40	male	Mariner	USA	USA	New York	New York	brig	Feb 14, 1826
St. Domingo	Minor		Butler	51	male	gentleman	USA	USA	New York	Only Daughter	brig	Feb. 20, 1826
St. Domingo	Jos	Ann	Lianza	30	male	gentleman	Spain	St Domingo	New York	Enterprize	brig	Feb 27, 1826
St. Domingo	Mrs.		Butler	30	female		New York	USA	New York	Enterprize	brig	Feb 27, 1826
Port au Prince	D.	P	Ray	38	male	merchant	American	Port au Prince	New York	William	sch	Feb 28, 1826
Port au Prince	G	R	Barry	30	male	merchant	English	Port au Prince	New York	William	sch	Feb 28, 1826
Port au Prince	Rebecca		Freeman	20	female		American	USA	New York	William	sch	Feb 28, 1826
Port au Prince	Charity		Freeman	18	female		American	USA	New York	William	sch	Feb 28, 1826
Port au Prince	George		Ferguson	22		merchant	USA	USA	New York	Emily	brig	March 11, 1826
Port au Prince	Elisa		William	21			USA	USA	New York	Emily	brig	March 11, 1826
Jacmel/Hayti	A	N	Sheed.Shud	34	male	mariner	USA	USA	New York	Robert Y. Haynes	sch	March 13, 1826
Jacmel/Hayti	Geo.	Y	Glenzy	30	male	laborer	St.Domingo	St.Domingo	New York	Robert Y. Haynes	sch	March 13, 1826
Jacmel/Hayti	Pardon		Vars	27		mariner	USA	USA	New York	Robert Y. Haynes	sch	March 13, 1826
Port au Prince	A.		Armstrong	30	male	US consul agen	USA	USA	New York	Mazzinghi	brig	March 31, 1826
Port au Prince	Adolphe		Villers	28	male	merchant	France	USA	New York	Mazzinghi	brig	March 31, 1826
Port au Prince	Charles		Baillend						New York	Mazzinghi	brig	March 31, 1826
Port au Prince	Madame		Baillend		female				New York	Mazzinghi	brig	March 31, 1826
Port au Prince	Pbersect		no last name	20		merchant			New York	Mazzinghi	brig	March 31, 1826
Port au Prince	Clarissa	Ruby	Edmunds	23					New York	Mazzinghi	brig	March 31, 1826
Port au Prince	Ruby		Lentsh	18					New York	Mazzinghi	brig	March 31, 1826
Port au Prince	Eliza		Edmunds	19					New York	Mazzinghi	brig	March 31, 1826
Port au Prince	Lydia		Edmunds	14					New York	Mazzinghi	brig	March 31, 1826
Port au Prince	John		Washington	48		trader			New York	Mazzinghi	brig	March 31, 1826
Port au Platt	M		Kelly	29	male	merchant	Ireland	USA	New York	Annawan	brig	April 3, 1826
Port au Platt	A		Chio	43	male	merchant	France	USA	New York	Annawan	brig	April 3, 1826
Port au Platt	Luis		Magoneuse	35	male	merchant	France	USA	New York	Annawan	brig	April 3, 1826
Port au Platt	L.	H	Hapley	42	male	merchant	USA	USA	New York	Annawan	brig	April 3, 1826
Port au Prince	J.	A	Blanchett	26	male	merchant	Port au Prince	Port au Prince	New York	Cadmus	brig	April 14, 1826
Aux Cayes	Geo.		Villineus	49	male	merchant	France	Hayti	New York	Nelson	sch	April 18, 1826
Aux Cayes	Alex		Villineus	16	male	line	France	Hayti	New York	Nelson	sch	April 18, 1826
Port au Platt	Mrs.		Hollingsworth	25	female		USA	USA	New York	Sarah Herrick	brig	May 13, 1826
Port au Platt	George		Hollingsworth	3	male		USA	USA	New York	Sarah Herrick	brig	May 13, 1826
Port au Platt	Emanuel		Hollingsworth	4	male		USA	USA	New York	Sarah Herrick	brig	May 13, 1826
Port au Platt	J.	H	Branch	19	male	merchant	USA	USA	New York	Sarah Herrick	brig	May 13, 1826
Port au Platt	Jonathan		Dibble		male		USA	USA	New York	Sarah Herrick	brig	May 13, 1826
Port au Prince	August		Muler	29	male	merchant	France	France	New York	Emigrant of New York	sch	May 15, 1826
St. Domingo			Soloman	35	male	merchant	France	France	New York	Almira	sch	June 14, 1826
Port au Prince	Felix		Fellsu	32	male	merchant	France	France	New York	Annah	brig	June 21, 1826
Port au Prince	Caroline		Marcher	32	female	spinster	USA	USA	New York	Annah	brig	June 21, 1826
Port au Prince	Princes		no last name	25	male	none	USA	USA	New York	Annah	brig	June 21, 1826
Port au Prince	Joseph		Vantigu	40		line	USA	USA	New York	Annah	brig	June 21, 1826
Port au Prince	Luis	A	Blanchett	30	male	merchant	Hayti	Hayti	New York	Artibonite	brig	July 3, 1826
Port au Prince	Francis		Gaudend	40	male		Hayti	Hayti	New York	Artibonite	brig	July 3, 1826
Port au Prince	Richard		Henderson	28	male		Hayti	Hayti	New York	Artibonite	brig	July 3, 1826

Departure	First	Middle	Last	Age	Sex	Occupation	Country	Intended	Port	Ship	Type	Date
Port au Prince	Capt. Mr. C		Barstow	29	male	mariner	USA	USA	New York	Artibonite	brig	July 3, 1826
Port au Prince	Wm.	B	Conlan	27	male	ship master	citizen of NY	USA	New York	Camille	brig	July 31, 1826
Port au Prince	L		Lafos	75	male	merchant	citizen of NY	USA	New York	Camille	brig	July 31, 1826
Port au Prince	John		Dios	38	male	ditto	citizen of NY	USA	New York	Camille	brig	July 31, 1826
Aux Cayes	Catherine		Burton	22	female	none	USA	USA	New York	Leader	brig	Aug 2, 1826
Aux Cayes	Sally		Dubois	22					New York	Leader	brig	Aug 2, 1826
Aux Cayes			Dubois	2		child			New York	Leader	brig	Aug 2, 1826
Aux Cayes	D.		Lavengslave	35	male	coachman	New York	USA	New York	Falcon	sch	Aug 16, 1826
Aux Cayes	E.		Joseph	25	female	seamstress	do.	do.,	New York	Falcon	sch	Aug 16, 1826
Aux Cayes	John		Child	15	male			do.,	New York	Falcon	sch	Aug 16, 1826
Aux Cayes	Buy		Johnson	53	male	mariner	USA	USA	New York	Ranger	brig	Aug 19, 1826
Port au Prince	Susan		Bay	30	female	none	Port au Prince	USA	New York	Director	sch	Sept. 6, 1826
Port au Prince	F.		Jacquemoat	28	male	merchant	Port au Prince	Port au Prince	New York	Artibonite	brig	Sept. 9, 1826
Port au Prince	Horiat		Brown	28	male	merchant	Port au Prince	USA	New York	Artibonite	brig	Sept 9, 1826
Port au Prince	F	N	Durmond	50	male	merchant	Port au Prince	France	New York	Artibonite	brig	Sept 9, 1826
Port au Prince	W.		Pauvis	21	male	merchant	Port au Prince	USA	New York	Artibonite	brig	Sept 9, 1826
Port au Prince	John		Brown	35				Port au Prince	New York	Artibonite	brig	Sept 9, 1826
Port au Prince	Copen			24	male	seaman	France	France	New York	Artibonite	brig	Sept 9, 1826
Port au Prince	Gherce			27		seaman	France	France	New York	Artibonite	brig	Sept 9, 1826
Port au Prince	Le Caussiour			25		seaman	France	France	New York	Artibonite	brig	Sept 9, 1826
Port au Prince	Le Clue			28		seaman	France	France	New York	Artibonite	brig	Sept 9, 1826
Port au Prince	le Fort			30		seaman	France	France	New York	Artibonite	brig	Sept 9, 1826
St. Domingo	Amos		Nayes	25	male	merchant	USA	USA	New York	New Packet	brig	Sept. 30, 1826
St. Domingo	B.	M	Hayes	25		physician	USA	USA	New York	New Packet	brig	Sept. 30, 1826
St. Domingo	A. G.	L	Titus	23		merchant	USA	USA	New York	New Packet	brig	Sept. 30, 1826
St. Domingo	Wm.	H.	Meyer	22		Mariner	USA	USA	New York	New Packet	brig	Sept. 30, 1826
St. Domingo	Geo		Jones	45		farmer	USA	USA	New York	New Packet	brig	Sept. 30, 1826
St. Domingo	Hendrick		Spring	56		farmer	USA	USA	New York	New Packet	brig	Sept. 30, 1826
St. Domingo	Wm		Saunjders	33		hatter	USA	USA	New York	New Packet	brig	Sept. 30, 1826
St. Domingo	Susan		Saunders	27		line	USA	USA	New York	New Packet	brig	Sept. 30, 1826
St. Domingo	Wm.		Saunders	14		line	USA	USA	New York	New Packet	brig	Sept. 30, 1826
St. Domingo	Sarah		Saunders	5		line	USA	USA	New York	New Packet	brig	Sept. 30, 1826
St. Domingo	Ino?		Saunders	5 mo			USA	USA	New York	New Packet	brig	Sept. 30, 1826
St. Domingo	Robt.		Osborn	35		mariner	USA	USA	New York	New Packet	brig	Sept. 30, 1826
Port au Plate	Wm.		Freeman	35	male	merchant	Providence	USA	New York	New York	brig	Oct 3, 1826
Port au Plate	Mrs.		Freeman		female		Providence	USA	New York	New York	brig	Oct 3, 1826
Port au Plate	Nil		Freman	2			Providence	USA	New York	New York	brig	Oct 3, 1826
Port au Plate			Hatch	21			Providence		New York	New York	brig	Oct 3, 1826
Port au Plate	Muss.		Greenman	1			Providence		New York	New York	brig	Oct 3, 1826
Port au Plate	Thomas		Harrison	32	male	merchant	Philadelphia		New York	New York	brig	Oct 3, 1826
Port au Plate	Abr		Harrison	34			Philadelphia		New York	New York	brig	Oct 3, 1826
Port au Plate	C.		Halsey	45	male	merchant	New York	USA	New York	Sarah Herrick	brig	Oct 7, 1826
Port au Plate	R	M	Shepherd	24	male	mechanic	Philadelphia	USA	New York	Sarah Herrick	brig	Oct 7, 1826
Port au Plate	James		Clements	22	male			USA	New York	Sarah Herrick	brig	Oct 7, 1826
Aux Cayes	Madame		Dispauck	30	female	lady	USA	USA	New York	Maria Ann	sch	Oct 21, 1826
Aux Cayes	John		Dispauck/Du	14m	male				New York	Maria Ann	sch	Oct 21, 1826
St. Domingo	Allen		Austin	26	male	merchant	Phi	Phil	New York	Panther	brig	Oct 21, 1826

Departure	First	Middle	Last	Age	Sex	Occupation	Country	Intended	Port	Ship	Type	Date
Port au Prince	B.	J	Hughes	27	male	merchant	Hayti	Hayti	New York	Camille	brig	Nov 1, 1826
Port au Prince	Jos.	P	Burnet	25	male	ship master	Baltimore	USA	New York	Camille	brig	Nov 1, 1826
Aux Cayes	M		Busay	46	male	merchant	France	USA	New York	Le Pacquet des Cayes	brig	Nov 6, 1826
Port au Prince	M.		Moeo	47	male	merchant	France		New York	Artibonett	brig	Nov 21, 1826
Port au Prince	Lewis		McCardy	25	male	merchant	Cuba		New York	Artibonett	brig	Nov 21, 1826
St. Domingo	Ippolet		Zenne	51	male	merchant	Martinique	Martinique	New York	Samuel	brig	Nov 28, 1826
Port au Prince	J-		Arlie	19	male	merchant	Hayti	USA	New York	Jean Baptiste	brig	Dec 2, 1826
Port au Prince	Mrs.		Josephine	30	female		Hayti	USA	New York	Jean Baptiste	brig	Dec 2, 1826
Port au Prince	Miss		Josephine	17	female		Hayti	USA	New York	Jean Baptiste	brig	Dec 2, 1826
Aux Cayes	J		Burnham	36	male	capt	USA	USA	New York	La Ville de Cayes	brig	Dec 5, 1826
St. Domingo	Debby		Jones/James	25	female	none	USA	USA	New York	Almira	sch	Dec 11, 1826
St. Domingo	Wm.		Jones/James	5	male		USA	USA	New York	Almira	sch	Dec 11, 1826
St. Domingo	Elizabeth		Jone/James	2	female		USA	USA	New York	Almira	sch	Dec 11, 1826
St. Domingo	Lquice		Jones/James	4	female		USA	USA	New York	Almira	sch	Dec 11, 1826
St. Domingo	Charles		Stickes	45	male	seaman	America	America	New York	L'Oristelle	sch	Dec 15, 1826

Appendix III, 1827												
Departure	First	M	Last	Age	Sex	Occupation	Country	Intended	Port	Ship	Type	Date
Port au Prince	Wm/Mr.		Durand	25	male	merchant	France	USA	New York	Eugenie	brig	Jan 29, 1827
Port au Prince	Fed.		Blanchett	27	male	gentleman	Hayti	Hayti	New York	Artbonite	brig	Jan 31, 1827
Port au Prince	L.	De	Coundray	27	male	gentleman	France	USA	New York	Artobonite	brig	Jan 31, 1827
Port au Prince			Bennage	28	male	mariner	USA	USA	New York	Artobonite	brig	Jan 31, 1827
Port au Prince	Sarah		Carlow	24	female	wife	USA	USA	New York	Camille	brig	Feb 1, 1827
Port au Prince	Sarah		Brown	33	female	wife	USA	USA	New York	Camille	brig	Feb 1, 1827
Aux Cayes	H.		Valiston/W	36	male	merchant	New York	New York	New York	Paquet des Aux Cayes	brig	Feb 3, 1827
Aux Cayes	Mrs.		Sallie?Gallic		female		Hayti	Hayti	New York	Speculator	brig	Feb 12, 1827
Port au Prince	John		Verjospere	32	male	merchant	St. Domingo	USA	New York	Topaz	brig	Feb 23, 1827
Port au Prince	Jos.		Dreamsend	24	male		France	USA	New York	Topaz	brig	Feb 23, 1827
Port au Prince	Paul		Berry	55	male	seaman	Maryland	USA	New York	Topaz	brig	Feb 23, 1827
Port au Prince	J.		Jardon	32	male	merchant	PauP	Porte Auprima	New York	Jean Baptiste	brig	March 5, 1827
Port au Prince			Sarderst/	32	male	capenter	PauP	Porte Auprima	New York	Jean Baptiste	brig	March 5, 1827
Port au Platt	Benjm		Johnson	52	male	mariner	USA	USA	New York	New York	brig	March 19, 1827
Port au Prince	William		Mason	35	male	mariner	USA	USA	New York	Oristello	brig	March 19, 1827
Jacmel/Hayti	A		Asheed	35	male	merchant	USA	USA	New York	Perry	sch	March 21, 1827
Port au Prince	Anm		James	22	male	none	USA	USA	New York	Hope & Hannah	sch	March 28, 1827
St. Domingo	Thomas		Nevins	30	male	mariner	USA	USA	New York	Rose in Bloom	sch	April 9, 1827
St. Domingo	D.	H	Specer	27	male	mariner	USA	USA	New York	Rose in Bloom	sch	April 9, 1827
St. Domingo	T		Nead	25	male	mariner	USA	USA	New York	Rose in Bloom	sch	April 9, 1827
Aux Cayes	F		Ellis	38	male	mariner	USA	USA	New York	Villard de Cayes	brig	April 10, 1827
Aux Cayes	J/T		Bell	27	male	mariner	USA	USA	New York	Villard de Cayes	brig	April 10, 1827
Port au Prince	Mary		Loan	30	female	barber's wife	America	USA	New York	Good Return	brig	April 12, 1827
Port au Prince			Loan	4	female		American	USA	New York	Good Return	brig	April 12, 1827
Port au Prince			Loan	6	female		American	USA	New York	Good Return	brig	April 12, 1827
Port au Prince	W		Neddele	28	male	mariner	USA	USA	New York	Artbonite	brig	April 19, 1827
Port au Prince	W.		Vamen	20	male	mariner	USA	USA	New York	Artbonite	brig	April 19, 1827
Port au Prince	J.		Welch	39	male	mariner	USA	USA	New York	Artbonite	brig	April 19, 1827
Aux Cayes	John		Bruce	35	male	merchant	USA	USA	New York	Paquet des Cayes	brig	April 25, 1827
Aux Cayes	Andrew		Deitz	25	male	merchant	USA	USA	New York	Paquet des Cayes	brig	April 25, 1827
St. Domingo	Phillis		Gibson	50	female	house wife	New York	New York	New York	New Packet	brig	May 9, 1827
St. Domingo	Clarissa		Gibson	12	female		New York	New York	New York	New Packet	brig	May 9, 1827
St. Domingo	Mary		Yoeoman	45	female	none	USA	USA	New York	Ann Eliza Jane	brig	May 10, 1827
Aux Cayes	Johanna		Green	38	female	none	USA	USA	New York	Duplicate	brig	May 22, 1827
Port au Prince	Richard	M	Kane	32	male	merchant	England	USA	New York	Topaz	brig	May 26, 1827
Port au Prince	George		Amos	27	male	tanner	USA	USA	New York	Topaz	brig	May 26, 1827
Jeremie	James		Moreau	35	male	merchant	Hayti	USA	New York	Moreau	sch	June 21, 18 27
Jeremie	James		Vildrium	30	male	merchant	Hayti	USA	New York	Moreau	sch	June 21, 18 27
Port au Prince	Henry		Phelps	35	male	merchant	USA	USA	New York	Bunker Hill	brig	June 25, 1827
Port au Prince	Andrew		Armstrong	30	male	US consul agen		USA	New York	Bunker Hill	brig	June 25, 1827
Port au Prince	John			14	male	servant		USA	New York	Bunker Hill	brig	June 25, 1827
Port au Prince	Robt.		Willis	28	male	merchant	London	USA	New York	Bunker Hill	brig	June 25, 1827
Port au Prince	Timothy		Phelps	18	male	merchant	USA	USA	New York	Bunker Hill	brig	June 25, 1827
Jacmel/Hayti	Richard		Shield	40	male	merchant	Ireland	New York	New York	William	brig	June 29, 1827
Porto Platt	Jm.	B	Duchamp	54	male	merchant	USA	USA	New York	New York	brig	June 29, 1827
Porto Platt	Ann		Hill	19	female		USA	USA	New York	New York	brig	June 29, 1827

Departure	First	M	Last	Age	Sex	Occupation	Country	Intended	Port	Ship	Type	Date
Porto Platt	Jeremiah		Hill	4	male		USA	USA	New York	New York	brig	June 29, 1827
Port au Prince	A		Obern	30	male	doctor	France	USA	New York	Artbonite	brig	July 2, 1827
Port au Prince	V		Jacquemount	26	male	gentleman	Havana	USA	New York	Artbonite	brig	July 2, 1827
Cape Haytien	A		Meindadeir	28	male	supercargo	USA	USA	New York	Haytie	brig	July 2, 1827
Jacmel/Hayti	C.		Labaubere	27	male	merchant	France	France	New York	Perry	sch	July 3, 1827
Jacmel/Hayti	Hannah		Quincy	37	female	wash woman	USA America	USA	New York	Robert Y. Haynes	brig	July 3, 1827
Jacmel/Hayti	Chica			7					New York	Robert Y. Haynes	brig	July 3, 1827
Aux Cayes	Jose		Penarredonda	21	male	merchant	America	USA	New York	Paquet des Cayes	brig	July 9, 1827
Aux Cayes	F.		Thomas	12					New York	Paquet des Cayes	brig	July 9, 1827
Aux Cayes	D		Richards	30	male	merchant	Aux Cayes	Aux Cayes	New York	Nestor	sch	July 12, 1827
St. Domingo	P		Dechuran	29	male	Mariner	USA	USA	New York	Sentiment	brig	July 30, 1827
St. Domingo	A.		Victoria	25	male			St. Domingo	New York	Sentiment	brig	July 30, 1827
Cape Hayti	Wm	Van	Horton	50	male	merchant	USA	USA	New York	Topaz	brig	July 31, 1827
Port au Platt	Mary		Hill	40	male	farmer	Philad	Phila	New York	Sarah Herrick	brig	Aug 10, 1827
Port au Platt	May		Hill	39					New York	Sarah Herrick	brig	Aug 10, 1827
Port au Platt	Margaret		Hill	14					New York	Sarah Herrick	brig	Aug 10, 1827
Port au Platt	Elizabeth		Hill	8					New York	Sarah Herrick	brig	Aug 10, 1827
St. Domingo	Fanny		Waters	45	female	cook	Baltimore	USA	New York	New Packet	brig	Aug 16, 1827
St. Domingo	William		Waters	12	male	boy	Baltimore	USA	New York	New Packet	brig	Aug 16, 1827
St. Domingo	Samuel	C	Hustles/p	35	male	merchant	USA	USA	New York	Abeona	brig	Aug 20, 1827
St. Domingo	Edw.		Cooke	17	male	none			New York	Abeona	brig	Aug 20, 1827
Jacmel/Hayti	J		Harold		female	none	USA	USA	New York	Fanny	brig	Sept 17, 1827
Port au Prince	H		Hendrick	42	male	gentleman	Gbritain	England	New York	Paragon	brig	Sept 22, 1827
Port au Prince	B.		Celeston	35		merchant	America	America	New York	Paragon	brig	Sept 22, 1827
Port au Prince	Wm		Gardner	38		merchant	America	Hayti	New York	Paragon	brig	Sept 22, 1827
Port au Prince	John		Harrison	32		cabinet mak	America	America	New York	Paragon	brig	Sept 22, 1827
Port au Prince	E.		Eldridge	26		seaman			New York	Paragon	brig	Sept 22, 1827
Port au Prince	July		Roy/g	20	female				New York	Paragon	brig	Sept 22, 1827
Port au Prince			Roy/g		male				New York	Paragon	brig	Sept 22, 1827
Port au Prince			Roy/g		female				New York	Paragon	brig	Sept 22, 1827
Port au Prince			Roy/g		male				New York	Paragon	brig	Sept 22, 1827
Port au Prince	N		Gome	30	female				New York	Paragon	brig	Sept 22, 1827
Port au Prince	H		Smith		male				New York	Paragon	brig	Sept 22, 1827
Port au Prince	J		Henry		male				New York	Paragon	brig	Sept 22, 1827
St. Domingo	William		Hogg	32	male	seaman	Great Britain		New York	Voltigeuse	sch	Oct 4, 1827
St. Domingo	William		Herrington	25	male	seaman	Great Britain		New York	Voltigeuse	sch	Oct 4, 1827
Aux Cayes	Thomas		Kelby	45	male	master of ves	State main		New York	Paquet des Cayes	brig	Oct 11, 1827
Aux Cayes	Nathaniel		Peterson	28		Boston	Boston		New York	Paquet des Cayes	brig	Oct 11, 1827
Aux Cayes	George		Hogarth	25		farmer	Baltimore		New York	Paquet des Cayes	brig	Oct 11, 1827
Port au Prince	Hippolithie		Baillio	28	male	merchant	Hayti		New York	Belle Victorie	sch	Oct 15, 1827
Port au Prince	John		Valders	45			Amer		New York	Belle Victorie	sch	Oct 15, 1827
Port au Prince	John		Sbarron	50	male	merchant	Hayti		New York	Nestor	sch	Oct 20, 1827
Port au Prince	John	H	Alexander	45	male	merchant	Hayti		New York	Nestor	sch	Oct 20, 1827
Port au Prince	Mary		Peale	38	female		USA		New York	Nestor	sch	Oct 20, 1827
St. Domingo	Charles		Murray	28	male	merchant	USA	USA	New York	New Packet	brig	Oct 20, 1827
St. Domingo	Loise		Lafayette	28	female	lady	USA	USA	New York	New Packet	brig	Oct 20, 1827
St. Domingo	Josephine		Lafayette	7	female	child	USA	USA	New York	New Packet	brig	Oct 20, 1827
St. Domingo	Edgar		Lafayette	6	male	boy	USA	USA	New York	New Packet	brig	Oct 20, 1827

Departure	First	M	Last	Age	Sex	Occupation	Country	Intended	Port	Ship	Type	Date
St. Domingo	Eliza		Mason	34	female	seamstress	USA	USA	New York	New Packet	brig	Oct 20, 1827
St. Domingo	John		Mason	5	male	boy	USA	USA	New York	New Packet	brig	Oct 20, 1827
St. Domingo	Ellen		Hanks	32	female	lady	USA	USA	New York	New Packet	brig	Oct 20, 1827
St. Domingo	Thomas	H	Mailland	30	male	sailor	USA	USA	New York	New Packet	brig	Oct 20, 1827
St. Domingo	Jabis		Hosea	28	male	sailor	USA	USA	New York	New Packet	brig	Oct 20, 1827
St. Domingo	Horan		Reed	25	male	sailor	USA	USA	New York	New Packet	brig	Oct 20, 1827
Jeremie	Wm.,		Hamilton	40	male	sea captain	America	USA	New York	Mount Parnassus	brig	Nov 13, 1827
Port au Prince	Altose		Abort	20	mulatto	hatter	New York	New York	New York	Fortuna	sch	Nov 13, 1827
Aux Cayes	A.		Bracheer	28	male	dentist	France	USA	New York	Elizabeth Malvina	brig	Dec 6, 1827
Aux Cayes	P		Lalords	29	male	merchant	France	USA	New York	Elizabeth Malvina	brig	Dec 6, 1827
Aux Cayes	P		Duboisson	56	male	dentist	France	USA	New York	Elizabeth Malvina	brig	Dec 6, 1827
Aux Cayes	E./C		Laubat	14	male		France	USA	New York	Elizabeth Malvina	brig	Dec 6, 1827
Aux Cayes	Timothy		Crittenders	17	male			Georgetown, DC	New York	Gleaner	sch	Dec 6, 1827
Jacmel/Hayti	Benjamin		Durand	34	male	merchant	USA		New York	Bucksport	brig	Dec 8, 1827
Jacmel/Hayti	Walter		Mastain	34	male	merchant	New York	New York	New York	La Plata	brig	Dec 29, 1827
Port au Platt	Charles	W	Hoyt	28	male	seaman	USA		New York	Virginia	sch	Dec 31, 1827
Port au Prince	Charles		Adams	26	male	merchant	Great Britain	USA	Philadelphia	Superior	brig	Feb 9, 1827
Port au Prince	Enoch		Jenkins	35	male	hatter	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Superior	brig	Feb 9, 1827
Port au Prince	Louisa		Willis	38	female		France	USA	Philadelphia	Superior	brig	Feb 9, 1827
Port au Prince	Louisa		Wright	27	female			USA	Philadelphia	Superior	brig	Feb 9, 1827
city of St. Domingo	A		Jackson	37	male	mariner	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary	brig	March 7, 1827
city of St. Domingo	Adam		Lloyd	45	male	labourer	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary	brig	March 7, 1827
city of St. Domingo	Sarah		Johnson	27	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary	brig	March 7, 1827
Cape Haytien	V. P.		Lawrence	40	male	merchant	France	USA	Philadelphia	Industry	brig	March 12, 1827
Cape Haytien	J		Depardin	30	male	merchant	France	USA	Philadelphia	Industry	brig	March 12, 1827
Cape Haytien	Wm		Hale	22	male	merchant	great Britain	USA	Philadelphia	Industry	brig	March 12, 1827
Cape Haytien	Ann		Savile	40	female			USA	Philadelphia	Industry	brig	March 12, 1827
Cape Haytien	S. Ann		Savile	17	female			USA	Philadelphia	Industry	brig	March 12, 1827
Cape Haytien	Peter		Jafen/Jasein	30	male	labourer	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Industry	brig	March 12, 1827
Cape Haytien	M		Nicholas	30	male	labourer	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Industry	brig	March 12, 1827
Cape Haytien	N.J		Batiste?	18	male	labourer	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Industry	brig	March 12, 1827
Aux Cayes	Mr. William	L	Lees	30		merchant	USA		Philadelphia	Hiram	sch	March 19, 1827
Aux Cayes	Mr. James		Bovee			mariner	USA		Philadelphia	Hiram	sch	March 19, 1827
Aux Cayes	Mr. Moses		Movril			merchant	USA		Philadelphia	Hiram	sch	March 19, 1827
Aux Cayes	Wm.		Graham	26	male	merchant	USA		Philadelphia	Nester	sch	April 9, 1827
Aux Cayes	Mrs.		Graham	21	female		USA		Philadelphia	Nester	sch	April 9, 1827
Aux Cayes	Miss		Graham	3	female		USA		Philadelphia	Nester	sch	April 9, 1827
Aux Cayes	Mrs		Howard	60	female		USA		Philadelphia	Nester	sch	April 9, 1827
Aux Cayes	Henry	J	Sharp	28	male	merchant	USA		Philadelphia	Nester	sch	April 9, 1827
Jeremie	William		Tapsico	22	male	seaman	natives of phi		Philadelphia	Mary Ann	sch	April 19, 1827
Jeremie	Mrs.		Cowper	60	female		natives of phi		Philadelphia	Mary Ann	sch	April 19, 1827
Jeremie	Mrs		Wilson	22	female		natives of phi		Philadelphia	Mary Ann	sch	April 19, 1827
Jeremie	Emiline		Cowper	15	female		natives of phi		Philadelphia	Mary Ann	sch	April 19, 1827
Jeremie	George		free black child	2			natives of phi		Philadelphia	Mary Ann	sch	April 19, 1827
Port au Prince	F		Squires	32	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Nancy	sch	May 11, 1827
Port au Prince	P.C		Dumas	28	male	mariner	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Nancy	sch	May 11, 1827
Port au Prince	M		Dumas	9	female	none	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Nancy	sch	May 11, 1827
Port au Prince	P		Wallis?	10	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Nancy	sch	May 11, 1827

Departure	First	M	Last	Age	Sex	Occupation	Country	Intended	Port	Ship	Type	Date
Port au Prince	Mr		Boller	27	male	handreper	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Nancy	sch	May 11, 1827
St. domingo	capt. R,		Smith	50	male	mariner	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary	brig	May 24, 1827
St. domingo	Ann a black woman								Philadelphia	Mary	brig	May 24, 1827
Cape Haytien	F		Tuel	26	male	merchant	France	USA	Philadelphia	Ann	brig	June 2, 1827
Cape Haytien	Mrs		Dolly	25	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Ann	brig	June 2, 1827
Cape Haytien	Mrs		Burton	24	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Ann	brig	June 2, 1827
Port au Prince	Mr/Wm		GilefGill	29	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mechanic	sch	June 21, 1827
Jeremie	William		Freeman	25	male	mariner	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary Ann	sch	Aug 6, 1827
Port au Prince	Charles		hodge	34	male	adventurers	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Richmond	sch	Aug 6, 1827
Port au Prince	John		poulson	28	male	adventurers	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Richmond	sch	Aug 6, 1827
Port au Prince	Pt.		Dufey	23	female	adventurers	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Richmond	sch	Aug 6, 1827
Port au Prince	C		Dufey	13	male	adventurers	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Richmond	sch	Aug 6, 1827
Port au Prince	John		Edwards	30	male	adventurers	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Richmond	sch	Aug 6, 1827
Port au Prince	Mary		Edwards	28	female	adventurers	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Richmond	sch	Aug 6, 1827
Port au Prince	Moses		Young	35	male	adventurers	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Richmond	sch	Aug 6, 1827
Port au Prince	Charlotte		Young	30	female	adventurers	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Richmond	sch	Aug 6, 1827
Port au Prince	Ann		Holland	22	female	adventurers	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Richmond	sch	Aug 6, 1827
Port au Prince	Margaret		Derickson	43	female	adventurers	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Richmond	sch	Aug 6, 1827
Port au Prince	Isabella		Lanes/James	19	female	adventurers	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Richmond	sch	Aug 6, 1827
Port au Prince	Susan		Luff	25	female	adventurers	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Richmond	sch	Aug 6, 1827
Port au Prince	Phoebe		Webster	24	female	adventurers	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Richmond	sch	Aug 6, 1827
Port au Prince	Patience		Gray	14	female	adventurers	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Richmond	sch	Aug 6, 1827
Port au Prince	Francis		Gray	14	female	adventurers	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Richmond	sch	Aug 6, 1827
Port au Prince	Charlotte		Fisher	24	female	adventurers	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Richmond	sch	Aug 6, 1827
Port au Prince	Margaret		Matthews	22	female	adventurers	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Richmond	sch	Aug 6, 1827
Port au Prince	Eliza		Bowen	35	female	adventurers	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Richmond	sch	Aug 6, 1827
Port au Prince	Ino		Taylor	40	male	farmer	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Nancy	sch	Sept 4, 1827
Port au Prince	Mrs.		Taylor	36	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Nancy	sch	Sept 4, 1827
Port au Prince			Taylor	2	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Nancy	sch	Sept 4, 1827
Port au Prince	Sarah		Thompson	40	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Nancy	sch	Sept 4, 1827
Port au Prince	Harriet		Thompson	17	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Nancy	sch	Sept 4, 1827
Port au Prince			Thompson	3	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Nancy	sch	Sept 4, 1827
Port au Prince			Thompson	6	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Nancy	sch	Sept 4, 1827
Port au Prince	Henry		Butler	20	male	servant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Nancy	sch	Sept 4, 1827
Port au Prince	Lewis		Aman	7	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Nancy	sch	Sept 4, 1827
Port au Prince	Eward		Lloyd	40	male	merchant	scotland	USA	Philadelphia	Nancy	sch	Sept 4, 1827
Port au Prince	Ino		Wallis	20	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Nancy	sch	Sept 4, 1827
Cape Haytien	Joseph		Price	41	male	shipwright	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Sally Barker	brig	Sept 17, 1827
Cape Haytien	Henrietta		Price	35	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Sally Barker	brig	Sept 17, 1827
Cape Haytien	Nathan		Price	16	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Sally Barker	brig	Sept 17, 1827
Cape Haytien	Miranda		Price	14	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Sally Barker	brig	Sept 17, 1827
Cape Haytien	Louisa		Price	12	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Sally Barker	brig	Sept 17, 1827
Cape Haytien	Janed		Price	10	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Sally Barker	brig	Sept 17, 1827
Cape Haytien	Babel		Price	7	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Sally Barker	brig	Sept 17, 1827
Cape Haytien	Nelson		Price	6	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Sally Barker	brig	Sept 17, 1827
Cape Haytien	Jesse		Johnson	40	male	shipwright	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Sally Barker	brig	Sept 17, 1827
Cape Haytien	Maria		Johnson	35	male		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Sally Barker	brig	Sept 17, 1827
Cape Haytien	Mary Ann		Johnson	7	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Sally Barker	brig	Sept 17, 1827

Departure	First	M	Last	Age	Sex	Occupation	Country	Intended	Port	Ship	Type	Date
Cape Haytien	Martha		Johnson	6	female		USA	USA	Philadelphia	Sally Barker	brig	Sept 17, 1827
Cape Haytien	an infant		Johnson						Philadelphia	Sally Barker	brig	Sept 17, 1827
Cape Haytien	V. P.		Lawrence	35	male	merchant	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Mary Ann	brig	Sept 17, 1827
Aux Cayes	Wm		Losemore?	50	male	mariner	USA	USA	Philadelphia	V ernon	sloop	Sept 26, 1827
Aux Cayes	John		Hamilton	27	male	mariner	USA	USA	Philadelphia	V ernon	sloop	Sept 26, 1827
Aux Cayes	Charles		Fielding	30	male	mariner	USA	USA	Philadelphia	V ernon	sloop	Sept 26, 1827
Aux Cayes	C		Moore	25	male	mariner	USA	USA	Philadelphia	V ernon	sloop	Sept 26, 1827
Aux Cayes	B.J.		Bond	27	male	mariner	USA	USA	Philadelphia	V ernon	sloop	Sept 26, 1827
Aux Cayes	W		Burke	25	male	mariner	USA	USA	Philadelphia	V ernon	sloop	Sept 26, 1827
Aux Cayes	Jos		Broonham?	25	male	mariner	USA	USA	Philadelphia	V ernon	sloop	Sept 26, 1827
Cape Haytien	Adelaide		Dodge	25	female	none	USA	USA	Philadelphia	Good Friends	sch	Oct 13, 1827
St. Domingo			Lozier		male	supercargo	St. Domingo	USA	Philadelphia	Eastern Trader	sch	Oct 16, 1827
Cape Haytien	David		Lelligren	22	male	mariner	Sweden	USA	Philadelphia	Mary Ann	brig	Dec 10, 1827
Gonaives	Mitchell		Man	42	male	merchant	France	France	Boston	George Glover	sch	April 9, 1827
Cape Hayti	M		Kelly	32	male	merchant	Hayti	USA	Boston	Combine	sch	Oct 9 1827
Cape Hayti	Mary		Landers/Sanders	40/46	female	none	USA	USA	Boston	Alfred Donaldson	sch	Oct 20, 1827
Cape Hayti	Mary		Landers/Sanders	3	female	none	USA	USA	Boston	Alfred Donaldson	sch	Oct 20, 1827
Cape Hayti	Francis		Landers/Sanders	12	male	none	USA	USA	Boston	Alfred Donaldson	sch	Oct 20, 1827
Cape Hayti	Enoch		Landers/Sanders	6	male	none	USA	USA	Boston	Alfred Donaldson	sch	Oct 20, 1827

Appendix IV, 1828												
Departure	First	M	Last	Age	Sex	Occupation	Country	Intended	Port	Ship	Type	Date
Port au Prince	Mrs. Sarah			20	female		Phil	USA	New York	Jean Baptiste	brig	Jan 7, 1828
Port au Prince	Sally			3	female		Phil	USA	New York	Jean Baptiste	brig	Jan 7, 1828
Port au Prince	James		Welds	45	male	disteller	America	America	New York	Trafalagar	brig	Jan 18, 1828
Port au Prince	James		Hamilton	20	male	accountant	America	America	New York	Trafalagar	brig	Jan 18, 1828
Port au Prince	Francis		Salaman	28	male	marriner	America	America	New York	Trafalagar	brig	Jan 18, 1828
Jeremie	John	M	Vigoux	35	male	merchant	France	USA	New York	Mont Parnassus	brig	Jan 31 1828
Jeremie	Lewis		Plete	26	male	merchant	American	USA	New York	Mont Parnassus	brig	Jan 31, 1828
Jeremie	A.	D	Regules	22	male	mechanic	American	USA	New York	Mont Parnassus	brig	Jan 31, 1828
Aux Cayes	Mad		Cherriaud	22/42	female	none	Aux Cayes	Aux Cayes	New York	Paquest des Cayes	brig	Mar 10, 1828
Port au Prince	John		Gilmere	19	male	merchant	Virginia	USA	New York	United States	sch	April 1, 1828
Jacmel/Hayti	C	S	Dunning	30	male	mariner	USA	USA	New York	Beaver	brig	April 2, 1828
Cape Hayti	J.		Dejardin	26	male	merchant	Cape Hayti	USA	New York	Topaz	brig	April 7, 1828
Cape Hayti	V	De	Argardin	18	male	merchant	Cape Hayti	USA	New York	Topaz	brig	April 7, 1828
Cape Hayti	C		Chaaham	30	male	merchant	USA	USA	New York	Topaz	brig	April 7, 1828
St Domingo	Mrs.		Drummond		female		Phil	USA	New York	Abcona	brig	April 25, 1828
St Domingo	Mary		Drummond	7	female		Phil	USA	New York	Abcona	brig	April 25, 1828
St. Domingo	Elizabeth		Drummond	5	female		Phil	USA	New York	Abcona	brig	April 25, 1828
St. Domingo	Hannah		Drummond	3	female		Phil	USA	New York	Abcona	brig	April 25, 1828
Port au Prince	Elizabeth		Martin	41	female		USA	Phil	New York	Sicity	brig	April 25, 1828
Port au Prince	A.		Thayer	36	male	Mariner	America	USA	New York	Confidence	brig	April 26, 1828
Port au Prince	Theodore		Durand	23	male	merchant	France	USA	New York	Confidence	brig	April 26, 1828
Port au Prince	S		Feber	13	male		New York	USA	New York	Confidence	brig	April 26, 1828
Cape Haytien	Norman		Wells	29	male		USA	USA	New York	Alfred	sch	April 26, 1828
Cape Haytien	Nelson		Beakan	20	male		USA	USA	New York	Alfred	sch	April 26, 1828
Cape Haytien	R.		Norman	22	female		USA	USA	New York	Alfred	sch	April 26, 1828
Cape Haytien	Ann		Peters	35	female	lady	Phil	Phil	New York	Inspector	sch	May 26, 1828
Cape Haytien	S	B	Counory	45	male	merchant	France	Cape Haytien	New York	Inspector	sch	May 26, 1828
Cape Haytien	Thomas		Urnford	40	gentleman		Phil	Phil	New York	Inspector	sch	May 26, 1828
Cape Haytien	Henry		Miller	40	male		Phil	Phil	New York	Inspector	sch	May 26, 1828
Cape Haytien	Cpharaim		Bundick	35	male		Phil	Phil	New York	Inspector	sch	May 26, 1828
Cape Haytien	Ann		Bundick	30	lady		Phil	Phil	New York	Inspector	sch	May 26, 1828
Cape Haytien	John		Bundick	8	boy		Phil	Phil	New York	Inspector	sch	May 26, 1828
Cape Haytien	Ann		Bundick	6	female		Phil	Phil	New York	Inspector	sch	May 26, 1828
Cape Haytien	Betsy		Bundick	4	female		Phil	Phil	New York	Inspector	sch	May 26, 1828
Cape Haytien	Alfred		Alexander	42	gentleman		Phil	Phil	New York	Inspector	sch	May 26, 1828
Cape Haytien	Mary		Alexander	40	lady		Phil	Phil	New York	Inspector	sch	May 26, 1828
Cape Haytien	Alfred		Alexander	2	male		Phil	Phil	New York	Inspector	sch	May 26, 1828
Cape Haytien	Wma		Lewis	30	lady		Phil	Phil	New York	Inspector	sch	May 26, 1828
Cape Haytien	A		Lewis	2	girl		Phil	Phil	New York	Inspector	sch	May 26, 1828
Aux Cayes	Mes		Chorran	22	woman		St.Domingo	USA	New York	Paquest des Cayes	sch	May 26, 1828
Aux Cayes			Holbrach	30	man	seaman	USA	USA	New York	Paquest des Cayes	sch	May 26, 1828
Aux Cayes	Mrs. Ann		Jepner	23	woman		St.Domingo	USA	New York	Paquest des Cayes	sch	May 26, 1828
Aux Cayes	Mary		Berda	43	woman		St.Domingo	USA	New York	Paquest des Cayes	sch	May 26, 1828

Departure	First	M	Last	Age	Sex	Occupation	Country	Intended	Port	Ship	Type	Date
Cape Hayti	A L	R	de la Cheineye	36	male	consul	France	France	New York	Topaz	brig	May 27, 1828
Cape Hayti	Prosper	D	d'Egremore	22					New York	Topaz	brig	May 27, 1828
Cape Hayti	Mrs		Dubois	26	female			USA	New York	Topaz	brig	May 27, 1828
Port au Prince	John		Hearne	33	m	merchant	England	England	New York	Gleaner	brig	June 6, 1828
Port au Prince	Dorothy	H	Hearne	30	female		England		New York	Gleaner	brig	June 6, 1828
Port au Prince	Henry		Pinkcombe	28	male	surgeon	England		New York	Gleaner	brig	June 6, 1828
Port au Prince	Laurence		Welch	39	male		Hayti	Hayti	New York	Gleaner	brig	June 6, 1828
Port au Prince	E.	A	Davis	26	male	mariner	USA	USA	New York	Gleaner	brig	June 6, 1828
St. Domingo	William		Baldwin	36	male	merchant	USA	USA	New York	Lark	brig	June 6, 1828
St. Domingo	Mrs		Baldwin	30	female		USA	USA	New York	Lark	brig	June 6, 1828
St. Domingo	S		Baldwin	16			USA	USA	New York	Lark	brig	June 6, 1828
St. Domingo	Wm		Baldwin	14			USA	USA	New York	Lark	brig	June 6, 1828
St Domingo	Mrs.		Johnson	35	female		USA	USA	New York	Lark	brig	June 6, 1828
St. Domingo	Mrs.		Dous	30			USA	USA	New York	Lark	brig	June 6, 1828
Jacmel/Hayti	B		Durand	40	male	merchant	Brooklin	Brooklin	New York	Hew	sch	July 5, 1828
Jacmel/Hayti	I		Benjamin	31		painter	Jacmel	NewOrleans	New York	Hew	sch	July 5, 1828
Jacmel/Hayti	S		Elger?	15					New York	Hew	sch	July 5, 1828
Port platt	Patrick		Brown	50	male	merchant	England	England	New York	New york	brig	July 7, 1828
Port platt	David		Martin	12	male	sailor	England	England	New York	New york	brig	July 7, 1828
Jacmel/Hayti	S		Huntington	45	male	merchant	USA	St.Domingo	New York	General warren	brig	July 10, 1828
Jacmel/Hayti	N		Huntington	35	female		USA	St.Domingo	New York	General warren	brig	July 10, 1828
Jacmel/Hayti	Louisa		Huntington	14	female		USA	St.Domingo	New York	General warren	brig	July 10, 1828
Jacmel/Hayti	K		Huntington	12	male		USA	St.Domingo	New York	General warren	brig	July 10, 1828
Jacmel/Hayti	Mary		Huntington	10	female		USA	St.Domingo	New York	General warren	brig	July 10, 1828
Jacmel/Hayti	Paul		Huntington	2	male		USA	St.Domingo	New York	General warren	brig	July 10, 1828
Jacmel/Hayti	J		Paul	18	male		St.Domingo	St.Domingo	New York	General warren	brig	July 10, 1828
Jacmel/Hayti	N		Wilkins	30	female	servant	St.Domingo	St.Domingo	New York	General warren	brig	July 10, 1828
Jacmel/Hayti	M		Louisa	15	female	servant	StDomingo	St.Domingo	New York	General warren	brig	July 10, 1828
St. Domingo	J.A.		Bellan	40	male	merchant	Hayti	USA	New York	Larch? Larck	brig	July 18, 1828
St Domingo	F		Bellan	11	male		Hayti	USA	New York	Larch? Larck	brig	July 18, 1828
St Domingo	I		Bellan	9	male		USA	USA	New York	Larch? Larck	brig	July 18, 1828
St Domingo	I		Nettles	36	male		USA	USA	New York	Larch? Larck	brig	July 18, 1828
St Domingo	I		Nettles	38	female		USA	USA	New York	Larch? Larck	brig	July 18, 1828
St Domingo	R.		Nettles	11	female		USA	USA	New York	Larch? Larck	brig	July 18, 1828
St Domingo	R.		Nettles	8	female		USA	USA	New York	Larch? Larck	brig	July 18, 1828
St Domingo	M		Nettles	6	female		USA	USA	New York	Larch? Larck	brig	July 18, 1828
Cape Hayti	G. N		Boubault	28	male	saddler	France	USA	New York	Topaz	brig	July 23, 1828
Cape Hayti	H		Mignow	32	male	watchmaker	France	USA	New York	Topaz	brig	July 23, 1828
Cape Hayti	A		Maradie	23	male	merchant	France	USA	New York	Topaz	brig	July 23, 1828
Port au Prince	John		Everaerts	40	male	consul			New York	Ranger	brig	July 29, 1828
Port au Prince			Albaret	35	male	merchant	Hayti		New York	Ranger	brig	July 29, 1828
Port au Prince			Preston	35	male	merchant	Hayti		New York	Ranger	brig	July 29, 1828
Port au Prince			Alexander	30	male	grocer	Hayti		New York	Ranger	brig	July 29, 1828
Port au Prince	Martens		Elyaende	25	male	grocer	Hayti		New York	Ranger	brig	July 29, 1828
Port au Prince	Philip		Gatierres	25	male	grocer	Hayti		New York	Ranger	brig	July 29, 1828

Departure	First	M	Last	Age	Sex	Occupation	Country	Intended	Port	Ship	Type	Date
Port au Prince	H		Palafee	25	male	grocer	Hayti		New York	Ranger	brig	July 29, 1828
Port au Prince	John		Brown	35	male	merchant	PauPrince	PauPrince	New York	Ann Eliza Jane	brig	July 30, 1828
Aux Cayes	A		Etests	35	male	merchant	France	St.Domingo	New York	Elionor	sch	Aug 5, 1828
Port au Prince			Mills	23	male	shoemaker	PauPrince	New York	New York	Jean Baptiste	brig	Aug 11, 1828
Port au Prince	A.F		Neil	38		merchant	PauPrince	New York	New York	Jean baptiste	brig	Aug 11, 1828
Port au Prince	John		Henry	21	male	tanner	Rhode Island	Rhode Island	New York	Jean baptiste	brig	Aug 11, 1828
Port au Prince	Antonio		Touchino	25	male	tailor	Venice	France	New York	Jean baptiste	brig	Aug 11, 1828
Cape Hayti	capt. Seneca		Mosley	40	male	shoemaker	USA	USA	New York	James Monroe	sch	Aug 12, 1828
Cape Hayti	Mary		Smith	19	female	spinster	USA	USA	New York	James Monroe	sch	Aug 12, 1828
Cape Hayti	Elizabeth		Jackson	17	female	spinster	USA	USA	New York	James Monroe	sch	Aug 12, 1828
Cape Hayti	Mary		T/Sammons	23	female	spinster	USA	USA	New York	James Monroe	sch	Aug 12, 1828
Aux Cayes	Miss		Lewis	22	female	lady	USA	USA	New York	Paquest des Cayes	brig	Aug 16, 1828
Aux Cayes	J		Bovee						New York	Paquest des Cayes	brig	Aug 16, 1828
Port au Prince	James		Shinner			merchant	France	France	New York	Columbus	sch	Aug 20, 1828
Aux Cayes	R		Clarkson	28	male	merchant	USA	USA	Phil	Monticello	brig	Feb 22, 1828
Aux Cayes	A		Gillot	28	male		USA	USA	Phil	Monticello	brig	Feb 22, 1828
Port au Prince	Alice		Bird	30	female		USA	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	Feb 26, 1828
Port au Prince	David		Richards	30	male	storekeeper	PauPrince	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	Feb 26, 1828
Port au Prince	Henry		Hemings	35	male	blacksmith	USA	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	Feb 26, 1828
Port au Prince	Samuel		Jackson	28	male	farmer	USA	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	Feb 26, 1828
Cape Haytien									Phil	lelia	brig	April 5, 1828
Jeremie	J		Erry	31	male	merchant	Jeremie		Phil	Enterprize	schooner	April 5, 1828
Jeremie	In		Sebrelon	32		merchant	Jeremie		Phil	Enterprize	sch	April 5, 1828
city of St. Domingo	Wm		Jackson	34	male	dyer	USA	USA	Phil	Mary	brig	April 12, 1828
city of St. Domingo	Eliza		Jackson	26	female		USA	USA	Phil	Mary	brig	April 12, 1828
city of St. Domingo	Ann		Jackson	15			USA	USA	Phil	Mary	brig	April 12, 1828
city of St. Domingo	Fanny		Jackson	18 months			USA	USA	Phil	Mary	brig	April 12, 1828
city of St. Domingo	Mary		Jackson	3			USA	USA	Phil	Mary	brig	April 12, 1828
Port au Platt	Robert		Dobson	47	male	mariner	USA	USA	Phil	Florian	ship	April 25, 1828
Port au Platt	Stephen		Holt	30	male	mariner	USA	USA	Phil	Florian	ship	April 25, 1828
Port au Platt	John		Pierson	22	male	mariner	USA	USA	Phil	Florian	ship	April 25, 1828
Port au Platt	Thomas		Harrison	30	male	mariner	USA	USA	Phil	Florian	ship	April 25, 1828
Port au Prince	William		Baker	20	male	merchant	USA	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	April 26, 1828
Port au Prince	W.A .		Dawson	21	male	merchant	PauPrince	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	April 26, 1828
Port au Prince	A. H		Dawson	10	male		PauPrince	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	April 26, 1828
Port au Prince	Louis		Seppe	23	male		PauPrince	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	April 26, 1828
Port au Prince	A		Griier	21	male	surveyor	PauPrince	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	April 26, 1828
Port au Prince	I		Troup	40	male	farmer	PauPrince	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	April 26, 1828
Port au Prince	Fanny		Duffe	35	female		USA	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	April 26, 1828
Port au Prince			Duffe	8	male		USA	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	April 26, 1828
Port au Prince			Duffe	10	male		USA	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	April 26, 1828
Port au Prince	Phoebe		Overton	28	female		USA	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	April 26, 1828
Port au Prince	Mary		Turner	12	do		USA	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	April 26, 1828
Port au Prince	H		Hemmings	35	male	blacksmith	USA	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	April 26, 1828
Aux Cayes	H		Byo	40	male	merchant	USA	USA	Phil	Nancy	sch	May 1, 1828

Departure	First	M	Last	Age	Sex	Occupation	Country	Intended	Port	Ship	Type	Date
Aux Cayes	Paul		Barth	35	male	merchant	USA	USA	Phil	Nancy	sch	May 1, 1828
Aux Cayes	James		Banks	25	male	mariner	USA	USA	Phil	Nancy	sch	May 1, 1828
Aux Cayes	M		Harrison	30	male	mariner	USA	USA	Phil	Nancy	sch	May 1, 1828
Aux Cayes	Jos		Luire	50	male	merchant	USA	USA	Phil	Vernon	sch	May 16, 1828
Port au Prince	Colonel		Grenier	85	male	gentleman	France	USA	Phil	Yellow Bird	brig	May 23, 1828
Port au Prince	Thomas		Luise	25	male	merchant	USA	USA	Phil	Yellow Bird	brig	May 23, 1828
Cape Haytien	Peter		Delbas	60	male	gentleman	USA	USA	Phil	Comet	sch	May 26, 1828
Cape Haytien	F		Tuelle	28	male	merchant	France	USA	Phil	Comet	sch	May 26, 1828
Port au Prince	William		Cole	22	male	merchant	Hayti	USA	Phil	Seneca	sch	May 30 1828
Jeremie	John		Wright	43	male	merchant	USA	USA	Phil	Marquis	sch	June 7, 1828
Jeremie	Ralph	C	Cutter	19	male	clerk	USA	USA	Phil	Marquis	sch	June 7, 1828
Jeremie	Mary		Tapsico	23	female	none	USA	USA	Phil	Marquis	sch	June 7, 1828
Jeremie			Tapsico	6 months	male		USA	USA	Phil	Marquis	sch	June 7, 1828
Cape Haytien	Margaret		Clair	30	female		USA	USA	Phil	Macdonough	sch	June 12, 1828
Cape Haytien	Joseph		Peco	8	male		USA	USA	Phil	Macdonough	sch	June 12, 1828
Cape Haytien	George		Green	45	male	labourer	USA	USA	Phil	Macdonough	sch	June 12, 1828
Cape Haytien	Elizabeth		Green	34	female		USA	USA	Phil	Macdonough	sch	June 12, 1828
Cape Haytien	Paul		Green	10	male		USA	USA	Phil	Macdonough	sch	June 12, 1828
Cape Haytien	Isabella		Green	8	female		USA	USA	Phil	Macdonough	sch	June 12, 1828
Cape Haytien	Susan		Green	6	female		USA	USA	Phil	Macdonough	sch	June 12, 1828
Cape Haytien	George		Green	5	male		USA	USA	Phil	Macdonough	sch	June 12, 1828
Cape Haytien			Green	8 mon	male		USA	USA	Phil	Macdonough	sch	June 12, 1828
Cape Haytien	Benjm		Walker	45	male	labourer	USA	USA	Phil	Macdonough	sch	June 12, 1828
Cape Haytien	Darby		Walker	28	female		USA	USA	Phil	Macdonough	sch	June 12, 1828
Cape Haytien	Jouquin		Walker	7	male		USA	USA	Phil	Macdonough	sch	June 12, 1828
Cape Haytien	James		Walker	5	male		USA	USA	Phil	Macdonough	sch	June 12, 1828
Port au Prince	John		Williamson	45	male	doctor	Hayti	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	June 23, 1828
Port au Prince	P		Yost	35	male	merchant	USA	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	June 23, 1828
Port au Prince	chas.		Appo	23	male	merchant	USA	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	June 23, 1828
Port au Prince	M		Benoer	29	male	accountant	France	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	June 23, 1828
Port au Prince	M		Roberts	40	female		USA	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	June 23, 1828
Port au Prince	M		Bennester	60	female		USA	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	June 23, 1828
Port au Prince	M		Le Roy	18	male	none	Hayti	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	June 23, 1828
Port au Prince	John	D	Shay	20	male	none	USA	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	June 23, 1828
Port au Prince	C		Vandine	27	male	mariner	USA	USA	Phil	L'Oristelle	sch	July 14, 1828
Port au Prince	Eliza		Maln	26	female		USA	USA	Phil	L'Oristelle	sch	July 14, 1828
Port au Prince	A		Maln	1	male		USA	USA	Phil	L'Oristelle	sch	July 14, 1828
Port au Prince	Wm		Maln	3	male		USA	USA	Phil	L'Oristelle	sch	July 14, 1828
Port au Prince	James		Sister	30	male	consul	England	GreatBritain	Phil	Isabella	sch	July 23, 1828
Port au Prince	F		Money	11		servant do	France		Phil	Isabella	sch	July 23, 1828
Cape Haytien	Matthew		Clemsone	45	male	mason	USA	USA	Phil	Macdonough	sch	Aug 11, 1828
Cape Haytien	Mrs		Newsome	42			USA	USA	Phil	Macdonough	sch	Aug 11, 1828
Cape Haytien	Svinia		Forman	42			USA	USA	Phil	Macdonough	sch	Aug 11, 1828
Cape Haytien	Isaac		Forman	11			USA	USA	Phil	Macdonough	sch	Aug 11, 1828
Cape Haytien			Forman	10			USA	USA	Phil	Macdonough	sch	Aug 11, 1828

Departure	First	M	Last	Age	Sex	Occupation	Country	Intended	Port	Ship	Type	Date
Cape Haytien	Martha		Jackson	21			USA	USA	Phil	Macdonough	sch	Aug 11, 1828
Cape Haytien	Matilda		Johnson	11			USA	USA	Phil	Macdonough	sch	Aug 11, 1828
Port au Prince			Chardon	40	male	merchant	France	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	Aug 11, 1828
city of St. Domingo	P	C	Dumas	29	male	merchant	Hayti	USA	Phil	Eleanor	sch	Sept 6, 1828
city of St. Domingo	J.H		Smith	25	male	merchant	USA	USA	Phil	Eleanor	sch	Sept 6, 1828
Jeremie	Joshua		Webb	26	male	merchant	USA	USA	Phil	Fancy	sch	Sept 29, 1828
Port au Prince	H	W	Smith	21	male	merchant	USA	USA	Phil	Prudence	sch	Oct 10, 1828
Port au Prince	C		Hantyens	35	male	merchant	USA	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	Oct 13, 1828
Port au Prince	Mrs.		Hentby	32	female	none	USA	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	Oct 13, 1828
Port au Prince	Mrs		Jackson	40	female		USA	USA	Phil	Amelia	sch	Oct 13, 1828
Port au Prince	Thomas	W		30	male	merchant	USA	USA	Phil	Hannah	sch	Oct 31, 1828
Port au Prince	Francis	M		32	male	merchant	USA	USA	Phil	Hannah	sch	Oct 31, 1828
Port au Prince	Augusta		Desame	21	male	merchant	France	USA	Phil	Hannah	sch	Oct 31, 1828
Port au Prince	Isaac		Carr	20	male	seaman	USA	USA	Phil	Hannah	sch	Oct 31, 1828
Port au Prince	M		Noel	28	female		USA	USA	Phil	Mary	brig	Nov 20, 1828
Port au Prince	A		Noel	20 mont	female		USA	USA	Phil	Mary	brig	Nov 20, 1828
Port au Prince	Mrs		Wright	40	female	none	USA	USA	Phil	Native	brig	Nov 24, 1828
Port au Prince	John		Wright	6	male	none	USA	USA	Phil	Native	brig	Nov 24, 1828
Port au Prince	Elizabeth		Wright	8	female	none	USA	USA	Phil	Native	brig	Nov 24, 1828
Port au Prince	M		Crosman	28	male	merchant	USA	USA	Phil	Apollo	brig	Jan 20, 1828
Port au Prince	J.L.		Dussoe	30	male	sugar refiner	France	USA	Phil	Apollo	brig	Jan 20, 1828
Port au Prince	Wm		Rop	26	male	mariner			Phil	Amelia	sch	Feb 10, 1828
Cape Hayti	M		Butler	40	female		Hayti	USA	Boston	Ligonia	brig	April 21, 1828
Cape Hayti	J		Losie/Dosie	42	male		Hayti	USA	Boston	Ligonia	brig	April 21, 1828
Cape Hayti	J	L	Scoth	35	male		Hayti	USA	Boston	Ligonia	brig	April 21, 1828
Cape Hayti	J L.	H	Mills	20	male		USA	USA	Boston	Ligonia	brig	April 21, 1828
Cape Hayti	Patience		line for last	25	female		Hayti	USA	Boston	Ligonia	brig	April 21, 1828
Cape Hayti	Eliza		line for last	18	female		Hayti	USA	Boston	Ligonia	brig	April 21, 1828
Cape Hayti	Maria		line for last	20	female		Hayti	USA	Boston	Ligonia	brig	April 21, 1828
Aux Cayes	A		Lithgouh	38	male	mariner	USA	USA	Boston	Marion	brig	May 30, 1828
Aux Cayes	Mons.		Lithgouh	45	male	merchant	Hayti	Hayti	Boston	Marion	brig	May 30, 1828
Santo Domingo	John		Lithgouh	53	male	merchant	USA	USA	Boston	Attentive	brig	June 10, 1828
Cape Hayti	David		Lithgouh	50	male	labourer	USA	USA	Boston	Argus	brig	Jun 27, 1828
Cape Hayti	Joseph		Lithgouh	31	male	labourer	USA	USA	Boston	Argus	brig	June 27, 1828

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